An Archaeology of Temple Assemblages and Social Practice in Early South-Eastern Roman Britain

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Abstract

This research focuses on artefactual assemblages from temples in the south-east and east of England from ~50 BCE to 250 CE. In order to evaluate these data, which primarily consists of faunal remains, coins, and items of personal adornment, quantitative methods to perform intra-site and inter-site analyses are utilised.

As a result of the analyses conducted, a range of social practices were identified, including those specific to individual temples, and those that were shared to varying degrees across the breadth of the study area. The study also examines how a site’s unique environmental and political conditions characterised the assemblages of each temple. Moreover, it reveals that the pre-Roman Eastern and Southern kingdoms continued to influence the nature of practices on temple sites into the Roman period, and that the impact of Roman conquest was much less persuasive as might be expected from previous research on religion in Roman Britain. The conclusions of this study emphasise the significant future potential of the finds evidence to illuminate studies of religion in the Roman empire, as well as highlighting the diverse nature of religion in early Roman Britain.
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1 | Introduction

There has been significant progress in recent research on Roman Britain that links the study of artefacts to social practices. These have illuminated understandings of cultural change and the functioning of society during those times. Such studies range from the correlation of material culture to a big picture historical view - those by Mattingly for example - to those which focused on the influence of a particular find - such as those by Kiernan. Mattingly investigated the extent to which material culture revealed social patterns; an example of this includes his research on the importance of the Latin language for the military in Roman Britain.\(^1\) Through an examination of the Vindolanda tablets, he states that literacy was widespread, even amongst the lower ranks. On the other end of the spectrum, Kiernan concentrated on the meaning and function of miniature votive offerings. His research discussed the many ways in which these items may be interpreted, exposing the highly complex nature of these objects. For example miniature axes could have been substitutes for real weapons, acted as talismans or symbols of a sky deity, or were a representation of Roman sacrificial axes.\(^2\)

However, scholarship of this nature are not typical for studies on religion in Roman Britain. Although recently there have been a handful of exceptional works, this field of study in many ways has lagged behind the research of other areas. For example, there is a tendency for studies of temples to concentrate only on the architecture of a site or on objects

\(^1\)Mattingly (2007), 199ff.
\(^2\)Kiernan (2009), 140-151.
which appear to be highly pertinent to the study of religion (e.g. votives).\textsuperscript{3} This has led to the neglect of many other kinds of archaeological finds and consequently has led to many studies not sufficiently paying attention to the context of a site and its finds. The identification of this gap highlights the potential for further research of the material culture within temple assemblages, and indeed this study aims to test the potential that further analyses of temple assemblages has to offer.

Many temple assemblages have yet to be contextualised within their local and wider landscapes. For this reason, a study of social practices at temple sites is enables us to clarify the unity and diversity in religious practice within England. Although archaeology is unable to fully reconstruct the complexities of a religious practice,\textsuperscript{4} an archaeological study of social practice ought to be considered representative of some of the practices that would have taken place at temple sites. In other words, research along these lines can expose the ways in which practices varied on each site, and also how some practices were likely related to each other.

\subsection*{1.1 Aims of the study}

The main research aim of this thesis is to explore the finds evidence within temple assemblages and see how they provide evidence for a variety of social practices in the south-east and east of England from the Late Iron Age (LIA) to the mid Roman period. Material culture provides a glimpse into the stories of those who lived in the province, and enables us to better clarify our image of practices on temple sites. By doing this, this research continues to build on and develop current understandings of the practices which took place on temple sites, and provides a comprehensive analy-

\textsuperscript{3}See especially Lewis (1966) on temples and Green (1976, 1978). An example of an excavation report along these lines is Graham (1936). See also Green (1986a) and Woodward (1992).

\textsuperscript{4}Religion involved more than artefacts and their place of deposition. It is common knowledge that rituals incorporated physical actions which do not leave a trace in the archaeological record. For complications on deciphering religion using archaeology see Hawkes (1954) and Insoll (2004a).
sis centred on the study of archaeology and religion. There is still ample opportunity to develop the field of Romano-British religion utilising different types of evidence and alternative approaches to the evidence. It is through these detailed analyses that we may be able to continue pushing the boundaries of our knowledge.

There are three core objectives integral to this research. The first is to identify the existence of shared practices, and in the process explore the extent to which practices developed individually or came from different origins. Furthermore, being able to provide information on the unity and diversity of practices on temple sites illustrates the intricacies of Romano-British religion. It can also develop more thorough narratives of each site and the people who used them, and ultimately comments on the degree of interconnectivity throughout the studied areas of the province.

The second is to analyse the impact that local political and geographical landscapes had on temple sites. Although this is difficult to ascertain, temple sites developed according to their surroundings. These factors thus changed the character of each site. Archaeological assemblages can be seen as the product of their local environments and thus evidence the complexity of each site. Understanding the correlation between temple sites and their political and geographical landscapes is vital in producing a more contextually-sensitive consideration of the factors influencing the development of their assemblages. This is particularly paramount for studies which focus on social practice since such research concentrates on the active roles the material finds had on practices.

The third core objective is to examine the nature and extent of continuity in practice from the LIA that lasted into the Roman period. Indeed, both continuity and the lack of continuity provides information on what factors affected the community using a site. Whether or not there was continuity from the LIA not only helps determine the potential origin of practices on a site, but it suggests there was an enduring influence of the ancestral past for those who used the site. If such an emphasis on the preservation of social memory did indeed exist, then this would have shaped how the temple site functioned. This point also involves exploring the extent to
which these changes were influenced by the Roman conquests.\textsuperscript{5}

In order to address these aims and objectives, this research utilises both intra- and inter-site analyses to highlight the complexity of and expose the variety of practices within the religious landscape. This enables sites of good quality and quantity to contextualise small sites, which should expose a range of major and minor social practices on the sampled temple sites. Therefore, this research also tests the effectiveness of jointly using these methods as a means to answer the objectives discussed previously. The opportunity to shed light on the aforementioned aims illustrates the importance and exciting prospects of this research.

\subsection*{1.2 Investigating cultural change}

The aim of this section is to review relevant approaches to cultural change and material culture in the study area. This leads into a discussion of what theoretical frameworks influenced this research, and rationalises why an approach focused on social practice is taken. Finally, it investigates the ways in which a social practice and religious practice can be distinguished.

\subsubsection*{1.2.1 Theoretical frameworks}

The study of Roman Britain become increasingly popular from the early 20th century, when, as a result of the contemporary experiences of the British empire, it is arguable that colonial thinking framed approaches used to analyse the evidence.\textsuperscript{6} This and the focus on Roman texts, most notably Tacitus’ \textit{Agricola}, led to the development of the term Romanization,\textsuperscript{7} The term Romanization was first introduced by Haverfield.\textsuperscript{8} It is a highly

\textsuperscript{5}In other words, whether the changes can be ascribed under the process of Romanisation. N.b. Romanisation is not a key concept in this thesis due to the academic baggage it carries along with it. For the evolution and use of the term see Gardner (2013), Mattingly (2004), and Revell (2009), 5-10. For recent discussions see the dialogues of Hingley (2014), Versluys (2014), and Woolf (2014).

\textsuperscript{6}See for example the approaches discussed and used by Hingley (1997b).

\textsuperscript{7}Most famously, Tac. \textit{Agr}. 21 and 30 on spreading \textit{humanitas} and Roman ideals.

\textsuperscript{8}Haverfield (1923).
contested term used to explain cultural change within the Roman sphere of influence. The theory behind the term originally implied the separation of two cultures, namely the “Romans and natives”. It explored how Romans influenced the indigenous population and transformed their culture into something more Roman. There are a lot of problems with interpretations along these lines. Roman culture and what defines someone as Roman is difficult to define. This is especially important considering that what defines a culture varies according to time and geography. How someone acted would have also changed depending on a person’s social position.\(^9\) There was a tendency for scholars using this framework [of Romanisation] to overlook influences non-elites would have had on society. It also undermined the impact indigenous people had on the process of cultural change. Therefore, there have been multiple attempts to redefine Romanization.\(^10\) As Woolf recently stated, the bibliography for this topic is massive, partly due to how many attempts there have been to redefine it.\(^11\)

Romanization began to rapidly fall out of fashion in the last couple of decades, but there have been attempts to bring it back. Millett most notably challenged its tendency to concentrate on the transfer of power and ideas from the Romans to the indigenous Britons; instead, he proposed that Romanization also includes the transfer of cultural ideas from the indigenous elites, who for whatever reasons wanted to emulate selective parts of the Roman ideal.\(^12\) Still, the power struggles that would have taken place due to the introduction of new provincial administration after the Claudian conquest should not be underestimated. The impact of these power struggles is explored by Mattingly, who examined the implications that the formation of discrepant identities (in opposition to their conquerors’) would have had on cultural change.\(^13\) More recently, Versluys argued for the revitalisation of a Romanization which embodies a different character.\(^14\) In addition to

\(^9\)There are a plethora of sources on the topic of cultural change but see Revell (2009), 7-9 for a discussion on Romanisation and how identity changes from situation to situation.

\(^10\)Gardner (2013) nicely sums these up.


\(^12\)Millett (1990).

\(^13\)Mattingly (2007).

\(^14\)Versluys (2014).
using the term as a way to further investigate what is meant to be Roman, Versluys believes it can be re-conceptualised in terms of networks of material exchanges in order to decipher the intricacies of different cultures within the single cultural container of the Roman world. In other words, he acknowledges how unpopular the use of the term “Romanisation” has become and attempts to redefine it so as to keep the conversation going on what it meant to be Roman.\textsuperscript{15}

After the tendency to discredit Romanization, numerous other terms were also developed to describe cultural change.\textsuperscript{16} These include post-colonial approaches such as the previously mentioned discrepant identity as well as creolisation and bricolage.\textsuperscript{17} These theories attempted to take the viewpoint of the indigenous people in order to gain a more accurate and well-rounded view of the situation. While this movement very much achieved its aim in highlighting the experiences of indigenous peoples, it is arguable that it also further emphasised the “us versus them” attitude which continues to be a major problem with the use of the term Romanization. Such binary approaches to the evidence fail to not only acknowledge the diversity of the evidence but also to fully appreciate the complexity of available data.

Other alternative approaches have focused on uncovering the identities of people and societies. Identity studies, which mainly stem from the social sciences, explore the diversity of individuals and often stress the impact that personal experiences would have been on the evidence we have available (whether that be text or archaeological objects).\textsuperscript{18} Jenkins, who

\textsuperscript{15}Versluys essentially suggests that, after the term is redefined, it can be used under the heading of globalisation. See the end of this section for a discussion of globalisation, and Versluys (2014) for further discussion of how globalisation can be the “Romanisation 2.0”.

\textsuperscript{16}For summaries of theories see Gardner (2013), Mattingly (2004) and/or Revell (2009), 5-10.

\textsuperscript{17}For discrepant identity see Mattingly (2007); resistance and creolism see Hingley (1997b) and Webster (2001); and for bricolage see Terrenato (1997). Furthermore, Said (1994), whose work focuses on imperialism and colonialism, is often times a core text for the developers of these theories.

\textsuperscript{18}This led to the rise of studies on ethnicity. However, these studies are much less popular. For its implications and development see Eidheim (1969),
published one of the foundation texts for the study of identity, explains that people possess multiple identities since facets of identity can be changed according to situation and assigned by other people.¹⁹ He also states that people also possess collective identities.²⁰ The nature of identity as a highly subjective term thus creates complications in interpreting the implication that one’s identity to that of the material culture.

At face value, the dearth of literary texts diving into the thoughts of people who lived in Roman Britain makes it nearly impossible to describe such individualism let alone try to explain how a community functioned; however, thinking about the implications and use of collective identity allows us to interpret patterns in archaeological assemblages with more confidence. Collective identities are formed by shared experiences. Shared experiences are formed through events, or social practices. And these social practices shape and are in turn shaped by material culture.

A focus on collective identity does not over-generalise the evidence but merely makes it more achievable to produce fruitful results. In his discussion on identity in Roman Britain, Mattingly concludes that since there is no common conception of what it meant to be Roman, that the diversity (versus the unity) of the situation needs to be emphasised.²¹ However, Mattingly’s analyses still focus on patterns exemplified by the evidence. Similarly, Revell (who uses a range of examples, many of which focus on Britain) discusses how even though identity in the Roman period changed according to different contexts, that one can still identify shared practices (and collective identities).²²

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¹⁹Jenkins (2002).
²⁰The bibliography for the study of identity in the ancient world is massive. A few which discuss the abstract nature of the term are: Diaz-Andreu et al. (2005), Hill (2001), and Wallace-Hadrill (2007).
²²Revell (2009), esp. 149: “[Again], this leads us to the idea of similarity and difference: that although there was a form of religious ritual which could be broadly classified as ‘Roman’ evidence at all sites, it was not an identical phenomenon, but one subject to
A theory emphasising that habits and human agency create identities and influence social practices was developed by Bourdieu, who explained this through the theory of *habitus*.\(^{23}\) *Habitus* is difficult to define, but can be viewed as a domain which shapes and is shaped by practices and social interaction. *Habitus* includes experiences concerning different levels of the self (personal and collective) and all echelons of society. Even though it is an abstract construct, following a theoretical framework which acknowledges *habitus* allows the material culture within its domain to be analysed without prescribed biases. It also keeps in mind the diversity of the evidence, the diversity of those who used them, and the diversity of the social practices, which varied according to each situation.\(^{24}\)

Sharing some parallels to identity studies, the concept of globalisation has recently been introduced to Roman studies from the social sciences. This concept, although originally used in the field of economics to describe the change of products on a global scale, can also be utilised as a way to highlight the complexity of cultural change and local identities.\(^{25}\) Even though the term developed in accordance with our modern views on the functioning of a global world, its focus on connectivity and communication networks enables better descriptions of processes of change that happened in multiple directions between multiple centres, moving beyond the dichotomy of core and periphery. Furthermore, it acknowledges that cultural boundaries are very permeable in nature. Having said this, the extent in which power struggles (caused by conflict and violence) influenced society should not be underestimated. While analysing the material culture of a site, there should be a focus on factoring in local contextual information alongside interpretations of how the material culture provides evidence for the existence of social practice(s).\(^{26}\)

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\(^{24}\) See Revell (2009), esp. p. 12-13 on the importance of repetitive everyday actions.

\(^{25}\) For the concept of globalisation and its application see Pitts and Versluys (2012). C.f. Gardner (2013) and Mattingly (2007) who do not believe this is a feasible approach.

\(^{26}\) For emphasis on the power struggle of the Romans and indigenous peoples being im-
where there was a fort formally stationed in close vicinity to a temple site. This is because of the presence of a fort may be an indication that a military community could have used the site.

The approach taken in this research is one which is influenced by perspectives related to collective identity, *habitus*, and globalisation. This research looks to investigate the extent in which there is evidence for collective practices through close observation of the material culture; it emphasises that even though local practices and identities would have shaped and been shaped by their local landscapes, that the evidence enables us to highlight collective social practices. This is conducted by observing patterns in the data, and by being mindful of the contexts of these objects. Moreover, close attention is given to the implications of the connectivity of a region or site in the given period. Finally, as a consequence of this discussion, and following standard usage, I use the term “Roman” largely as a convenient technical shorthand, such as “Romano-British”, “Roman religion”, and “Roman period”, and do not refer to groups of people or collective identities.

### 1.2.2 Emphasis on social practice

Social practices are those practices which existed within a particular community and were performed in social situations. A focus on social practice allows a complex narrative to be drawn out, without imposing assumptions on the data from the start. Studies on social practice furthermore centre on discovering how objects held active roles in practice, versus these objects merely representing abstract concepts of identity. This is because the everyday items people used can provide information on how those people lived. For example, it is a very different thing to say that the presence of lamb bones on a rural site likely shows the site served a certain community, versus investigating the ways in which the lambs were used (for both religious and everyday purposes). Although the former interpretation

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27 Important to consider alongside a diversity of evidence see esp. Woolf (1998) and Mattingly (2007).

is useful in its own right, such a conclusion should be made after the context of the finds has been evaluated alongside an exploration of the social implications of these finds.\textsuperscript{28} Therefore, the archaeological finds provide information on the kinds of routines and practices that took place in addition to developing theories on what communities used a site.\textsuperscript{29} These objects not only enable us to comment on identity more generally, but also on how the site functioned and therefore on the nature of religion in the province.

Advocates for integrating the study of archaeological objects and social practice have been successful in deciphering the complex contexts within their respective studies. In his article on artefacts and social practice, through careful inspection of multiple find types Pitts was able to identify the presence of multiple communities within pre-Boudican Sheepen, and provide further evidence that the practice of feasting took place at the settlement at Baldock.\textsuperscript{30} Similarly, in Eckardt’s study on the social distribution of artefacts, Eckardt was not only able to develop links between social associations and artefacts, but she also exposed the complex situations involved in making such conclusions.\textsuperscript{31} For example, she found that even though knee brooches appear to have held a military association, these brooches have also been found on sites without such an association. Furthermore, this correlation appears to have been stronger in the mid Roman period. This in turn may represent an increasing formalisation of military identity or links with Germanic units.\textsuperscript{32}

Therefore, since past studies have shown that a focus on social practice has the potential to successfully address the intricacies of cultural change, such an approach is utilised for this research. This section has

\textsuperscript{28}See discussions in Eckardt (2005) (esp. p.141) on the importance of artefact analyses to focus on context versus haphazardly assigning prescribing identities.

\textsuperscript{29}Gardner (2007). Especially p.137: “…I believe that thinking about practices provides a fruitful way of connecting artefact patterns to social interpretations. This is because the identities which structure social relations are built upon similarities in ways of doing things on a routine basis and these routine patterns of daily life are often quite discernible in archaeological contexts.”

\textsuperscript{30}Pitts (2010a).

\textsuperscript{31}Eckardt (2005).

\textsuperscript{32}See also Cool (2003), 30.
shown that other approaches, notably that of *habitus*, have influenced the methods used within this research; however it has also shown that an approach which focuses on the contexts of archaeological assemblages has the greatest potential to both be practically applied and to describe activities within the study area.

### 1.2.3 Social versus religious practice

What constitutes a “social practice” versus a “religious practice” should be briefly discussed.\(^{33}\) Gardner defines social practice as “a series of activities...which can be interpreted from the relationships between different kinds of finds and different kinds of contexts on archaeological sites.”; he uses this concept to link the “concept(s) between patterns of the archaeological record and past human social life.”\(^{34}\) Gardner and I share the same view that patterns in the material culture are able to highlight social practices and show the process in which these practices were performed. My definition of social practice thus can be defined as: a practice which happens in a social setting and is often repeated over a period of time.

Social practice can be contrasted with a religious practice. Revell defines religious practice as multiple and dynamic [in nature],[and] a combination of private impulse and communal set-pieces."\(^{35}\) Similarly, Hill merely refers to ritual practice as an organised form of social practice in a religious setting.\(^{36}\) What defines a religious practice is difficult to pinpoint, religious practice can be viewed as social practices conducted in religious settings. Aspects of a religious practice can be difficult to decipher especially considering that many elements of the practice included ones not traceable in the archaeological record.\(^{37}\) This includes chants, body motions, and

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\(^{33}\) There lies the danger of becoming over-perspective of the evidence, thus drawing attention away from the practice itself.

\(^{34}\) Gardner (2007), 128.

\(^{35}\) Revell (2009), 129.


\(^{37}\) See Hawkes (1954), who says that religion is the most difficult aspect of society for the study of archaeology to address.
other biodegradable evidence such as the offering of food and the pouring of libations.\textsuperscript{38}

If the definitions for a social practice and religious practice are so similar, how are we able to distinguish between the two? Figure 1.1 illustrates a helpful way to characterise these concepts. Since both religious and non-religious practices are repeated and can be structured, perhaps the most defining difference is that religious practices are consciously performed and for a particular purpose, whereas when someone performs a non-religious practice they are often “only tacitly aware of the skills and procedures involved...without motivation, their [the practice’s] change usually unintended.”\textsuperscript{39} Since the intentions of the people who performed these practices cannot be sufficiently explored through artefactual studies, the contexts of the artefacts need to be closely observed before characterising a practice.

I view religious practice and social practice as separate entities. Indeed, this study tests the extent in which temples were prime locations for

\textsuperscript{38}For a full comprehensive discussion of the difficulties of the archaeology of religion see Insoll (2004a,b).

\textsuperscript{39}Hill (1996), 25. See also Giddens (1979), 59, 218.
religious practices to occur. Even though actions with a connection to a temple have a greater tendency to be a religious practice over ones which happened on settlements, it would be dangerous to assume from the outset that everything taking place at a temple was related to religion. This is a false dichotomy, since deposition may be the product of everyday practice or religious practice. The bottom line is that context needs to be closely observed before coming to a conclusion on what kind of practice was being conducted. For example, if a deposition possesses unusual characteristics compared to the findings in other nearby archaeological contexts, or there appears to be some kind of continuity in the way the items within a context were put in, then there is a high chance that these items were intentionally deposited (instead of casually lost). When this is the case, we should then consider the possibility that these depositions may be structured depositions, and, if so, what implications this would have had on the interpretation of the practices on any given site.

1.3 The evidence and its potential

Assemblages on temple sites contain a large variety of finds within them. Therefore, only a few types of finds were selected for this study. The selected small-sized objects were chosen since they were found in abundance within the sampled assemblages, and since they were used by people on a regular basis. The evidence for this study are the animal bones, brooches, coins, and hairpins. The sections explores how research of the finds evidence and the methods used to analyse the evidence have developed over time; finally, brief comment is provided on the potential each of the selected find types to address this research. Close inspection of the finds evidence can provide valuable insights into the customs, or social practices, taking place on the sampled temple sites.40

40 Spradley (2000), 104: “Identity requires the study of objects which are believed to have occupied a place close to the people being studied, and nothing could be closer than the objects used on a daily basis.”
Since the finds evidence includes small finds, it is worth commenting on the development of the field. The study of small finds is a growing field. Before the late 1900s, this aspect of archaeology was seriously neglected.\textsuperscript{41} If the excavation reports noted the small finds, they were often listed without any other information. Luckily, occasionally illustrations or old photographs were included, but the necessary contextual information needed to analyse their value was still lacking. This is probably partly because the focus of the study of Romano-British religion during that time was very much concentrated on the study of the temple itself. The archaeological finds, unless they were visually appealing, large, or strange in appearance, were not seen as that important. It was not until 1983 when Crummy published a comprehensive catalogue of the finds at Colchester that small finds began to receive proper recognition.\textsuperscript{42} Awareness of the field further increased since the Portable Antiquity Scheme (PAS) was established in the 1990s.\textsuperscript{43}

Still, the study of small finds really only began to be taken seriously after the turn of the century. One of the earliest advocates promoting the study of small finds was the Roman archaeologist and historian, Spradley. She published an article highlighting the potential that studying small finds is able to offer to Romano-British studies, and discussed how a closer look at these items can provide information about the daily lives of those who lived in Britain.\textsuperscript{44} This was followed much later on by a compilation of articles edited by Hingley and Willis. In this compilation, the authors examine the implications and complications for the field as a whole, and provide ideas as to how researchers can continue to effectively scrutinise the evidence.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{41}Arguably this is still the case compared to other fields of research.
\textsuperscript{42}Crummy (1983); Cooper (2007), 46.
\textsuperscript{43}Even though the PAS data were considered, they were not found to be useful for this research. Note that there are some core complications in utilising these data. Quite fundamentally, the contextual details were usually of poor quality, and the finds were not normally located on temples sites.
\textsuperscript{44}Spradley (2000).
\textsuperscript{45}Hingley and Willis (2007).
evidence was mainly used as methods to date the site.\textsuperscript{46} This explains why so little detail was given in early excavation reports and consequently within past scholarship on Romano-British religion.

However, the way to interpret the selected find evidence (including small finds) both on temple sites and other types of settlements widened during the later 20th century. For example, animal remains were used as a way to describe provincial diet and Romanisation.\textsuperscript{47} Furthermore, observing the social implications of material finds began to gain recognition as an alternative way to analyse sites from the beginning of the 21st century. Since then there have been a number of large works concentrated on small finds.\textsuperscript{48} However, exploring their social implications on temple sites is more of a recent development.\textsuperscript{49} there has yet to be a comprehensive study focusing on the influence the small finds had within the religious landscape of Roman Britain, there have been a number of smaller studies on the topic.\textsuperscript{50} It is also becoming more routine to examine this type of evidence in detail in recent excavation reports.

As mentioned before, the finds evidence selected for this study are the animal remains, brooches, coins, and hairpins. Each of these objects has the potential to highlight aspects of social practice and allow analyses of assemblages to be approached from different angles. The animal bones provide information on one of the most iconic religious practices, animal sacrifice, and can also shed light on post-mortem practices. The brooches on the other hand were a popular item of personal adornment in the early Roman period and can suggest what kinds of communities were using the

\textsuperscript{46}Cool (2006) explains this quite elegantly: “If the specialist reports are so important, why are they so underused? The answer lies in the fact that this knowledge base developed as a service industry providing excavators with the information they needed to understand the structural narrative. It was generally very highly focused towards the provision of dating evidence because of the way Romano-British studies developed...the preferred approach was to use the archaeology as an illustration of the meagre historical record derived from the ancient sources.” (p.2)

\textsuperscript{47}E.g. King (2001, 1999).


\textsuperscript{49}Especially since the influential studies of Spradley (2000), Hingley and Willis (2007), Willis and Hingley (2007) and Cooper (2007).

\textsuperscript{50}See Bird (2011), and articles in Rudling (2008a).
area. Furthermore, the LIA coins evidence can comment on the political situation of the temple site. Lastly, the hairpins suggest what kinds of hairstyles were popular at the time, and also on the inherent religious value of types of materials; whether they were used or not may also hint at attitudes towards bodily appearance more generally. These, amongst many other aspects, highlight the potential of this study. Contextual studies of material finds and social practice have been shown to be an innovative way to reveal more about society on a theoretical level, and have also proved fruitful when practically applied. This sort of research therefore has ample capability of further being scrutinised.

1.4 Thesis structure

Chapter 2

The next chapter includes a literature review and information about the study area. It first outlines how the study of religion in Roman Britain has been explored and how evidence on temple sites has been interpreted. This is followed by a discussion of the political and physical geography of the south-east and east of England. Narratives are then drawn for different regions within the south-east and east of England. These narratives include introductions to the many temple sites within the study area. While there are a range of potential areas this study could focus on, the south-east and east of England is a suitable study area for a few reasons. The first is that there has been intensive modern development of the region that has resulted in a wealth of recent archaeological developments for both temple and non-temple sites. The second is that this has led to an exceptional amount of good quality data (often in high quantities) which have yet to be fully exploited. Finally, the south-east and east of England was a major region for those coming from the Continent in the LIA

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51 Gardner (2007); Gwilt and Haselgrove (1997); Spradley (2000); Willis and Hingley (2007).
52 Section 1.2. See also Carr (2006); Eckardt (2005, 2014); Ivleva (2011); Morrison (2013); Pitts (2010a,b, 2014), amongst others.
and early Roman period. In addition to presenting general background information, this chapter investigates the extent to which temple sites were influenced by their local landscapes as well as the diversity in character of these sites. This is particularly important since regional topographies affected how well connected sites were to each other.

Chapter 3

This chapter explains the methodology used to gather and interpret the data. This thesis emphasises the need for studies to utilise both intra-site analyses (by studying assemblages in depth) and inter-site analyses (by incorporating the evidence more widely) to understand the social practices of the time. As such, this chapter explores the ways in which the evidence can be examined so that a contextually sensitive study can be properly performed. It also discusses how the selected finds evidence have been analysed in Romano-British religion, examines important factors to study the finds, and outlines the methods used to analyse the selected finds. The selected finds evidence provide very different information about the character of a site; it is only after this information is processed that the pieces can be put together so that practices on a site can be more accurately
described. The main aim of this chapter is to outline the methodologies
deemed to be the most efficient way to develop the complex image of the
religious landscape for this research.

**Chapters 4-6**

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 are the case studies of Great Chesterford in Essex, Springhead in Kent, and Wanborough in Surrey. These sites have excellent contextual data available, and large assemblages. Intra-site analyses of these sites via in-depth case studies enable us to bring to light a variety of major and minor practices. The study of these sites furthermore acts as the basis to contextualise smaller sites, and to characterise religious practice.

Great Chesterford is a settlement located alongside the River Cam between the chalk hills in northern Essex. Many temples may have been functioning inside the settlement, the excavated temple lies 1km to the east of the settlement, and experienced a large amount of activity, especially in the early Roman period. The site seems to have been catering to the local population, even though there may have been an early Roman fort located within the settlement.

Springhead is one of the largest known religious sites in England. Situated alongside the Walting Street road, which ran from Richborough to London, the local sanctuary and temple complex were accompanied by a roadside settlement on the west side of the springs. The diversity of the material culture on the site is outstanding, and the site was likely not just used by the local community, but also by travellers and merchants passing through.

Wanborough is a rural temple site accessible via a trackway running from eastern Kent to Ilchester (in Somerset). The site is located at least 20 miles away from any urban settlements; however, it is next to at least

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4 early villa sites. The temple site is famous for the amount of priestly regalia within its assemblage, and is known for having been damaged by illegal treasure hunting. Despite this, the quality and quantity of the site’s assemblage make it ideal for characterising religious practice.

The main aim of these chapters is not only to engage in detailed discussions concerning the assemblages of these sites, but also to serve as key points for comparison when contextualising the wider religious landscape. Moreover, the nature of these sites appear to be distinct from each other and this may serve as one of the first hints that different communities used the sites and that in turn different practices were taking place.

**Chapters 7-8**

Intra-site analyses are effective in determining major and minor practices on a site, but the impact of these practices can only be amply addressed through inter-site analyses. Chapters 7 and 8, therefore, bring together the data of this research and collectively examine them.

Chapter 7 synthesises the finds data from all of the sampled assemblages, and explores any apparent major and minor patterns that appear to have influenced the functioning and/or nature of multiple temple sites. If the impact of these patterns appears to have been significant for a group of sites, then this may indicate the presence of a shared social practice across a wider area.

Chapter 8 explores the main shared social practices identified in Chapter 7. This information is then used to discuss the wider implications of this research. It develops a narrative for cultural change in the province from the LIA to the Roman period, and also elucidates the extent to which practices from the LIA continued in the Roman period. Additionally, since it is unclear how the political and historical landscape of the region affected practices on temple sites, this concluding chapter draws conclusions on how relevant the political situation of the LIA kingdoms, as well as the im-

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54 For Farham see Lowther (1955); for Broad Street see Poulton (2005); and for Compton see Bird (1987).
pact of the Claudian conquest, were for temple sites. Finally, this chapter evaluates the effectiveness of the research and provides some final comments on future directions for those in the field.

The main aim of these chapters is to use the information from the intra-site analyses to contextualise Romano-British religion more generally. In addition to exposing the diversity of religion in the province, this research has the potential to provide valuable narratives on more general themes (mentioned above) related to the study of Roman Britain. This thesis thus aims to effectively synthesise the studies of material finds and social practice to that of Roman religion.
2  |  Review of the literature and the study area

The aim of this chapter is to present a review of the relevant literature for this research, and introduce the study area as a whole. This entails not only an examination of how religion has been treated in the study area, but also a consideration of its political and physical geographies. A review of all of these topics is necessary to more accurately analyse the contexts and assemblages of the sampled temple sites both on an intra- and inter-site level.

This chapter first outlines past approaches to religion in Section 2.1. Since there is a tendency for audiences to first question the usefulness of literary sources in the field of Roman religion more generally, this section presents the ancient literary sources first (in Section 2.1.1). While they are not the focus for this research they are still worthy of note. Following this, the ways in which religion in Roman Britain has been addressed is brought forward (in Section 2.1.2). This is important in understanding why certain methodologies and directions were taken for this research. After these more general points are discussed, there is then a consideration of how religion has been treated for the study area (in Section 2.2). Afterwards, the area’s political geography, particularly a consideration of the LIA kingdoms, is brought forward (in Section 2.3). Finally, since the political and geographical situations of the south-east and east of England are so different, the study area was split into zones; these zones and the temples within them are then systematically discussed (in Section 2.4). Analyses
of the zones specifically focus both on their local topographies and their levels of connectivity. This includes discussions on the density of road networks and accessibility of sites via rivers and the sea; understanding these factors allows us to gain an insight on the external and internal influences on the religious landscape.

2.1 Past approaches to religion in Roman Britain

2.1.1 The ancient literary sources and how they have been scrutinised

This section at first briefly discusses the relevance of the literary evidence on a general level, including comment on how the ancient literature has been used to analyse Roman religion. Finally, a conclusion is drawn on how useful this type of evidence is for this research.

The main Latin authors who characterised and provided details on the geography, people, and practices within Britain were Caesar and Tacitus; others who discuss the region include Pliny, Strabo, and Cassius Dio.¹ These authors often painted a picture of how “uncivilised” the indigenous peoples were.² Specifically concerning religion, the druids, who acted as religious and political leaders in the LIA, were portrayed as manipulative and barbaric because they were seen as a threat to Roman rule.³ The druids were accused of controlling the British populace, and performing brutal and immoral human sacrifices.⁴ Although it appears that human sacrifice was indeed performed, the druids were seen in a rather posi-

¹See esp. Caesar, Gal., IV-V and Tacitus, Agr.
²E.g. Tacitus, Agr., 21 on how the Romans civilised the Britons. For the violent nature of the Britons see for example Dio, Epitome, LXII, 7-12. This passage by Dio also draws a connection between the Briton’s inhumane practices and religious ritual.
³N.b. most ancient texts writing about the druids were commenting on druids within Gaul. The number of sources here is vast, but important works include: Caesar, Gal., 13-18; Strabo, 4.4.4-5; Diodorus Siculus, 5.31.2-5, and Pliny, Nat. Hist., XVI.249-251, etc. E.g. the only comment Suetonius offers is “Claudius totally abolished the dreadful and savage religion of the Druids...” Suet., Clau., 25.5.
tive light before Caesar’s conquest and were not always portrayed with so much hostility.⁵

There are copious works which heavily rely on the literary sources alongside the archaeological evidence;⁶ however, they are insufficient in analysing the selected finds evidence and determining social practice. Rather, this type of evidence is particularly helpful for those wanting to gain a general overview of how religion in Roman Britain was viewed, and how the authors of these works wanted to portray the local populace. Henig’s research on Romano-British religion is an example of how the literary sources can be amply scrutinised.⁷ Indeed his approach in a way exhausted what can be extracted from the literary evidence (which in itself is scarce), and opened the doors for more contextually focused works on Romano-British religion to be done.

The literary sources and epigraphy found throughout the province have been used particularly to determine a connection between Roman gods and those from the indigenous population’s religion; this is called syncretism. Syncretism involves finding parallels between different ensembles of deities, or seeing how the combination of certain gods (e.g. on inscriptions) provides information on the character of a site. Contemporary authors had a tendency to make comparisons with unfamiliar gods and those of the Roman pantheon,⁸ and this served as the basis for studies to examine the meaning behind these syncretisms.⁹ The aim of these studies is to see how a consideration of these syncretisms develops current understandings of Roman religion, mainly which deities were being

⁶See for example Puttock (2002) on items of personal adornment in Britain.
⁷Specifically Henig (1984), although also his later commentary published in 2004.
⁸The quote from Dio, Epitome, LXII, 7-12 is an example of this: “All this they did to the accompaniment of sacrifices, feasting and orgies in their various sacred places, but especially in the grove of Andate. This is the name they gave to Victory, and they regarded her with particular reverence.”
worshipped and why this was the case. However, such studies ultimately fail to acknowledge the full diversity of religion in Roman Britain, and inadequately contextualise the evidence on both a site specific (intra-site) and wider (inter-site) level. Therefore, such an interpretation would not be fruitful for this study.

For the purposes of this research, the literary sources offer limited insight. This is because they heavily generalise the situation, and are prejudiced to portray their point of view in a positive light, thereupon usually casting a negative light on communities which did not conduct themselves in the manner seen as acceptable to the author(s). What has been said about religion is also mostly relevant for the period before the Roman conquests. Finally, they do not provide many specific details about practices on temple sites. This means they are unable to be used as a main source for this study.

2.1.2 Contemporary perspectives

Although the way in which Roman religion has been studied is complex, a few trends, or phases, of how the evidence has been treated can be identified. These divisions can be simplified in chronological order as follows: 1) focus on temples; 2) incorporation of contextual information; and 3) thematic approaches to the evidence. The aim of this section is to explore how the field of Romano-British religion has developed and to make clear how this research is situated in modern scholarship.

Focus on temples

Studies about religion in Roman Britain initially focused on the architecture of the temples themselves. Although there are numerous works and excavation reports published beforehand, the tendency to focus on the development of temples is exemplified by Lewis’ compilation and assessment of temples throughout the province.\(^\text{10}\) In his then comprehensive

\(^{10}\)Lewis (1966). See also: Atkinson (1916) on Lowbury Hill, Wheeler (1928) on Harlow, and Atkinson (1930) on the Caistor area, and Graham (1936) on Titsey, amongst others.
list of all of the known temples within Britain, Lewis commented in great detail about the specificities regarding a temple’s location and assessed how “Romanized” the architecture appeared. This is a useful commentary on the morphology of temple structures, but his study divorces the temples from their individual contexts, thus severely limiting what can be said regarding the practices within the temples themselves.

Other studies of this nature were later produced by Green, who similarly published a corpus of temple sites. Even though Green’s studies expand more on the material objects found within the assemblages of these sites, Green had a tendency to focus on objects which are visually appealing since they are exceptional objects that fit expectations of displaying temple sites as being of abnormal character. Examples of such objects include face pots, miniature objects, statues, and priestly regalia. Still, her studies were particularly influential for the development of the field of Romano-British religion since they incorporated the material culture alongside the study of temples. However, since she mostly only did this for archaeological objects of a highly unusual character, her approaches often merely commented on how the strangeness of these objects somehow illustrate their ritual value. Green’s selective approach furthermore did not provide any real attempt at deciphering the meaning of these objects as well as their implications on the wider or local religious landscapes.

Incorporation of contextual information

The first studies incorporating local contextual information alongside the study of Romano-British religion were those which capitalised on approaches emphasising a Roman versus pre-Roman dichotomy. This approach is best exemplified by Henig’s study on Romano-British religion. Henig’s work offers an in-depth analysis of religion before the impact of the Claudian conquests and also includes traditional text-led understandings of Ro-

\footnote{Green (1976, 1978).}

\footnote{Indeed Green published a number of other books on this topic. Similarly, the late 20th century was also characterised by a shift in works emphasising the might of Rome to the struggle of indigenous peoples. E.g. Green (1995, 1992, 1986b).}

\footnote{See footnote 7.}
man religion. He investigates the extent to which the two religions changed the religious landscape of those who lived in Roman Britain. Although Henig’s approach limited what can be said about the diversity of the religious landscape, his efforts revitalised the field. It factored in both (ancient and modern) literary sources and archaeological objects in order to explore what characterised Romano-British religion. It was also one of the first monographs on religion in Roman Britain that incorporated contextual information of where the votive objects came from. Although the underlying focus on Romanization restricted what was able to be said about the sort of practices happening on temple sites, it provides an useful introduction to the topic as a whole, and can be seen as one of the core texts for the field.¹⁴

Around the same time as Henig’s influential work, Rodwell published a compilation of articles discussing a variety of themes and well-known temple sites.¹⁵ This compilation was one of the earliest attempts at developing analyses of temple sites that incorporated local information that was not biased by approaches tackling the Romanization debate. One of the studies summarises the contents of Hayling Island’s excavation report while at the same time attempting to find the meaning behind the finds and architecture of the site.¹⁶ This report identifies the abnormally early date of the site’s origins and explores parallels within Europe in an attempt to explain any unusual characteristics. As a result, the authors narrowed down the construction of the temple to the later 1st century BCE, and theorised that there was a possibility that Commius, who was a leader in the LIA, was somehow involved with the site.¹⁷ This interpretation would later be developed by King and Soffe, who propose that the purpose of the temple may have been to worship Commius via some kind of ancestral

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¹⁴There are still a lot of scholarship which takes similar approaches to Henig and focuses on objects which are more visually appealing and what can considered to be more stereotypically Roman types of evidence (e.g. dedications, statues, etc.). E.g. Bird (2011) and King (1990).

¹⁵Rodwell (1980).

¹⁶Downey et al. (1980).

¹⁷Downey et al. (1980), 295-296.
Rodwell’s compilation as a whole acted as a stepping stone to more contextual approaches to the evidence, even if the amount of explanatory information far outweighed the amount of analysis provided.

Studies in the 1990s began to more routinely incorporate the local contexts of the studied temple sites. A good example of this is Forcey’s consideration of the situations at Folly Lane (near Verulamium) and at Gosbecks (near Colchester). Forcey theorised that the burial that is predicted to have taken place at Folly Lane was actually the burial of a local elite. He also argued that even though a bronze statue of Mercury was found at Gosbecks, this does not necessarily correlate with the deity being worshipped there. Forcey claimed that it is unconvincing to assume that the god of trade would be worshipped at Gosbecks since most trading activities would have taken place at Colchester, which was only about 2 1/2 miles away. Furthermore, since a chthonic meaning has often been attached to the image of Mercury, and since Cunobelin was believed to have lived in this area, the temple at Gosbecks may have been built as a shrine to worship Cunobelin. This interpretation thus demonstrates the importance of not only local agency but also the impact of the new flow of ideas resulting from the Roman conquests. Regardless of whether or not these theories are correct, they show the increasing importance of observing context within the field.

Studies which emphasised and utilised local contextual information naturally incorporated the material finds since they affected the character of and practices at temple sites. Although the architecture of a temple is important to bear in mind, the studies which attempt to gain a more comprehensive picture of a temple site are the ones which were particularly effective in developing current understandings of Romano-British religion.

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18King and Soffe (2008).
19Many studies in the 1990s also focused on developing distribution maps. Many of these only served to generalise the evidence and were not particularly useful. However, the distribution maps within Chapter 8 of Jones and Mattingly (1990), which outline types of temples, dedications to certain deities, and the location of a small selection of archaeological finds, are worth observing to obtain an overview of the religious situation of the province.
20Forcey (1997).
The next section explores later approaches which tended to analyse the evidence for a certain conceptual objective or according to different categories.

**Thematic approaches to the evidence**

Approaches since the turn of the century often take a thematic approach. The focal point of many works was often not religion, but it was not uncommon for elements of religious studies to be included throughout many studies. An example of a categorical approach to the evidence is a study conducted by Smith,\(^{21}\) which focuses on the art and archaeology of dogs in the IA (Iron Age) and Roman Britain. Smith’s study meticulously analyses and evaluates current interpretations about the evidence. Since dog bones and representations of dogs have been found on temple sites, such a focussed study which was also contextually-sensitive is useful in developing our knowledge of Romano-British religion. Smith also utilises a number of methods to suitably analyse the evidence. For example, one chapter is dedicated to the influential temple complex of Springhead, whereas another focuses on what kind of symbolism dogs held in Roman Britain. Moreover, Smith’s innovative approach utilises multiple methods to examine the evidence and this was highly effective in highlighting patterns and determining social practice.

Examples of conceptual approaches to the evidence include those of Mattingly and Revell.\(^{22}\) Mattingly focuses on the negotiation of power throughout society. His chapter on the religious landscape successfully addresses the big picture; however, it glosses over a lot of valuable contextual data. This is because his analyses includes a plethora of archaeological evidence and an unwieldy area size, resulting in sweeping generalisations and assumptions attempting to draw the study together. For example, it states that curse tablets were widely adopted even though closer inspection of temple assemblages indicates otherwise.\(^{23}\) The chapter also

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\(^{21}\)Smith (2006).  
\(^{22}\)Mattingly (2007) and Revell (2009).  
\(^{23}\)Mattingly (2007), 485.
focuses too much on power struggles which may have been exemplified in portrayals of syncretism throughout the province, instead of considering the individual situations of particular sites or areas. Although it is impossible for such a large synthetic work to pay close attention to contextual data, Mattingly’s study serves as an example showing that more contextually-sensitive scholarship is needed to draw wider conclusions of the evidence.

Revell on the other hand focuses on the religious landscape of a few key urban sites, thus ensuring that the evidence and the contexts of each site are analysed in detail. What makes this study unique is its focus on religious space and social practice.\(^{24}\) Revell’s study highlights how the layout of a site helped determine a site’s function in antiquity. Examples of this include exploring the possibility of processional walkways, and looking into whether movement within a site appears to have been controlled.\(^{25}\)

Lastly, over the past decade there has been a rise in the number of studies utilising the finds evidence, particularly in other fields of research though also for studies on Romano-British religion. Bird, for example, does this in her innovative study of the religious landscape within Surrey; and Rudling similarly for Sussex.\(^{26}\) Furthermore, both of these studies not only analyse the finds evidence within temple assemblages, but they contextualise the evidence within their local and wider landscapes. This is something routinely conducted by specialist reports within each site’s excavation report; however, since the nature of excavation reports is to focus on one particular site, the scope for wider analyses is limited. Studies about the finds evidence on temple sites are usually quite short in length and consequently focus on small areas within the province. Therefore, there has yet to be a comprehensive study focusing on finds evidence and religion in Roman Britain. Current studies are either short in length, or are incorporated into larger works. Therefore, there is a lot of potential for the finds evidence to be further incorporated into the picture, and to develop our understanding of Romano-British religion.

\(^{24}\)For a similar study which also focuses on sacred space and religion see Smith (2001).
\(^{25}\)Evidence for processional routes are also discussed in Creighton (2006) 127-128 on Verulamium, and in Kamash et al. (2010) on Frilford.
This leads us to the current situation of scholarship in the field of Romano-British studies. With the archaeological finds now being commonly incorporated, previous studies usually either focused on wider comparisons or were very narrowly focused. There has been research in the past which incorporated both of these approaches, but not on a larger scale. Therefore, this study first conducts detailed analyses of specific context-rich sites, and then contextualises this information and data into the bigger picture, alongside other temple sites.

2.2 Overview of the treatment of religion in the study area

Although there are not many studies which focus on religion in the south-east and east of England, the temple assemblages within this area have the potential to add significantly to our current understanding of Romano-British religion. There exists a plethora of good quality data available, and those sites which lack such data are able to be contextualised in their wider landscape using the information provided by other sites. Furthermore, these sites are scattered throughout the chosen study area, allowing for a larger scale interpretation than if such sites were more confined spatially. Lastly, this part of England was the main point of contact for those coming from the Continent, and since this thesis focuses mainly on the 1st 2 centuries CE, this enables a closer observation of how practices changed according to the varying political landscape (e.g. contact with various communities from the Continent (including Italy). Therefore, focusing on this area of England is particularly beneficial in answering this study’s research questions while at the same time commenting on how the religious situation changed during such a period of transition for the province.

Aside from the specialist finds sections of excavation reports, there have been several studies addressing the religious situation in the province.27 They are usually in the form of articles.28

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27 They are usually in the form of articles.
28 Albeit a large quantity of these either focus on the south-west or north of England,
Currently, the largest volume about religion for the south-east of England is a series of articles compiled by Rudling.²⁹ This book contains a number of relevant papers analysing either different religious themes relevant to the area, specific temple sites, or certain regions. Bagnall Smith for example tackles the complicated topic of identifying votive offerings and attempts to answer what meaning these objects held and how these offerings were used for rituals.³⁰ King and Soffe, on the other hand, present the most up-to-date interpretations concerning a particular temple site.³¹ The authors briefly discuss the LIA origins of the temple at Hayling Island, and how the site changed with the building of the classical-styled temple likely in the late 1st century. Similar to this thesis, many of these articles take a more regional approach and not only address the environmental conditions of the area, but also incorporate the finds evidence into the discussion.³² Furthermore, these studies also focused on gaining an understanding of the types of social practices in the area. Therefore, in addition to the excavation reports, there is still a wide range of scholarship that can be used to develop our understanding of the finds, as well as confirm the effectiveness of the techniques used throughout this thesis.

Even though the focus of studies on the study area were usually concentrated on other types of settlements, the topic of religion was often included. One example is Perring and Pitts’ recent study on the relationship between town and country.³³ This study presents an in-depth analysis of a great variety of finds evidence within Roman East Anglia, and pays both of which areas were generally more active towards the end of or after this study’s time period.

²⁹Rudling (2008a).
³⁰Bagnall Smith (2008).
³¹King and Soffe (2008).
³²E.g. Bird (2008) and Rudling (2008b). There are two notable studies which do this for religion in the south-west. Adams (2009) looks at how the transfer of power influenced the religious landscape. However, Adams does take a contentious approach by relying more on how Romanised the situation appears versus considering the context in which his evidence comes from. Still, he presents a fairly comprehensive study of religion in the south-west. Yeates (2006) takes a more thematic approach and looks at the relationship between the environment and religion in the south-west. However, both of these studies do not fully scrutinise the archaeological evidence.
³³Perring and Pitts (2013).
attention to how patterns provide information on the notions of town and country. Since temple sites were not explicitly explored, the complexity of these assemblages are brushed over. However, Perring and Pitts’ study still contains a lot of useful data since it provides contextual information about both the south-east of England and the finds evidence within a variety of assemblages. Other important examples of works touching on the topic of religion include Millett’s recent commentary on Kent, and Bird’s in-depth study of Surrey. These studies concentrated on analysing a particular region. However, even though the topic of religion is discussed, they are particularly useful in helping contextualise the economical and geographical conditions of the regions they address. Lastly, there are a number of studies which focus on the individual types of finds evidence within Roman Britain. Some of these even focus on temple assemblages, though this was usually not the case. In a comprehensive study on items of personal adornment in Roman East Anglia, Carr, for example, analyses the meaning and distribution patterns for items of personal adornment within this thesis’ study area. Carr occasionally included an examination of these items on temple sites, but since there is a larger quantity of items of personal adornment on settlement sites, the significance of their appearance within temple assemblages was understandably sidelined. Another example is Creighton’s in-depth study of the evolution, imagery, and political implications of LIA coins. It was not uncommon for LIA coins to be found within temple assemblages. However, since such a detailed analysis of coins on temples sites did not fall under Creighton’s research objectives, theories along these lines were brushed over.

As illustrated above, the problem is not the availability of data, but that a comprehensive inspection of the small finds and faunal remains within temple assemblages has yet to be performed. Furthermore, there are a

34 Millett (2007) and Bird (1987). Other overviews include Cunliffe (1973), Detsicas (1983), and Drewett et al. (1988).
37 Creighton (2000).
sufficient number of works, including the excavation reports, that can be used to answer the research aims of this study. Saying this, this study does not merely rely on the current interpretations of these works. It also incorporates newer data from more recent excavations while at the same time including the data from sites whose religious implications have yet to be fully contextualised.

### 2.3 The political situation

Although this study focuses on temple assemblages, better understanding the political dynamic of the study area allows the evidence to be viewed in context. Indeed, political factors affected the lifestyle and religion of the people. Since the relationship between a temple’s local political geography and the practices taking place on temples is unclear, this research looks to provide some answers concerning the extent to which the political landscape influenced practices on temple sites. Moreover, the extent to which different polities encouraged or obstructed connectivity is similarly unclear. The aim of this section, therefore, is to elaborate on the different polities within the study area so that these questions may be answered later on. First the situation of the tribal boundaries is summarised. This is followed by discussions related to the LIA kingdoms and how these interpretations are useful for research centred on social practice.

The LIA has often been analysed in terms of tribal boundaries (see Figure 2.1). When these boundaries existed is unclear, but is seems like these distinctions were mostly relevant for the political situation after the conquests. This is because the tribal names came from post-conquest civitas capitals. Therefore, there is an assumed correlation between Roman civitas capitals and the formation of each tribe. If this is correct, this would in turn influence the administration and functioning of the province. It would be a mistake to downplay the effect that the Claudian conquest had on the administrative system of the province; however, recent studies have

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38 For a discussion of the LIA political situation see Millett (1990), 9-39. See also Millett (2007), 138.
Figure 2.1: Political landscape and map of LIA tribes. Jones and Mattingly (1990), Map 5.11, p.154.
shown that this impact is often exaggerated and that the working government from the LIA would have largely been an indigenous creation.\textsuperscript{39} This falls in line with Millett’s model of cultural change, which states that local elites probably undertook direct administration of the province.\textsuperscript{40} Either way, scholars, particularly for studies of the north or south-west of England, continue to use these tribal affiliations. There also appears to be correlations in the material evidence suggesting these tribal distinctions were indeed relevant at some point.\textsuperscript{41}

Alongside the tribes, further distinctions within the study area have been made regarding the existence of two LIA kingdoms. The relationship between the tribes and the kingdoms is difficult to pinpoint, but it appears to be generally accepted that the LIA kingdoms were formed from a combination of the tribes. The Eastern kingdom was formed by the Catuvellauni and Trinovantes, and the Southern kingdom was formed by the Atrebates, Belgae, and Regni.

The theory that there were two separate dynasties was first developed by Nash, who made this connection by observing the frequency and distribution of coins made in Britain which were minted to certain leaders.\textsuperscript{42} From this, two different kingdoms consisting of a succession of leaders were formulated (see Figure 2.2). Even though this theory was created due to a connection being found in the numismatic evidence, more recent studies have continued to show a correlation between these kingdoms and other types of material evidence.\textsuperscript{43} Therefore these kingdoms could have some implications for other patterns in the material culture, including on the kinds of practices at temple sites. Furthermore, since it is unclear whether Kent belonged to the Southern or Eastern kingdom, it is possible

\textsuperscript{39}See Hill (2001); also Creighton (2000), Creighton (2006), and Perring and Pitts (2013).
\textsuperscript{40}Millett (1990), 68ff.
\textsuperscript{41}The works discussing such correlations is vast. One example about the numismatic evidence is de Jersey (2001).
\textsuperscript{42}Nash (1987). See also Creighton (2000) and Creighton (2006), who continued to (effectively) analyse the relationship between LIA coins and the kingdoms.
\textsuperscript{43}Particularly the ceramic evidence. See Pitts (2010b); Perring and Pitts (2013), esp. 23-25. See also Pitts (2014) and Fulford (2008).
Figure 2.2: Timeline of LIA kingdoms. Creighton (2006), Fig 3.7, p.76.

that further exploration of this topic may shed light on the political affiliation of the area.

The political landscape of the LIA was fluid and therefore lacked concrete boundaries. However, Figure 2.3 roughly illustrates the extent to which these kingdoms could have extended. It is important to note that it is unlikely that the power these leaders would have possessed within their “domain” was as structured or concrete as it may at first sound. There is a lack of evidence suggesting these kings held absolute power.\(^{44}\) Nevertheless, since the existence of these kingdoms appears to be supported by the material evidence, these possible divisions are important to acknowledge.

Acknowledging the existence of the LIA kingdoms opens up the possibility that similarities between assemblages within the same kingdom

\(^{44}\)Hill (2007) further suggests that these kingdoms may have been unstable, and therefore the communities within each kingdom may not have been a united group. See esp pp.30-31.
might provide evidence for shared social practices. The identification of shared practices between different areas leads us to question how the practices became so widespread, and in turn the origins of the practice. For example, if two similar (but different) practices were located in adjacent areas, it is possible that they had common origins; this is especially considering that the local contexts of each site varied, and so sites (and their practices) changed accordingly. This is important to consider since it helps expose a wide range of factors influencing the functioning and character of temples sites. Having said this, the extent in which these divisions influenced the communities living in the study area is unclear. As such, the influence of the pre-Roman political geography forms an important theme for further investigation in this study.\textsuperscript{45} It is also worth noting that, in general, much of the material evidence on temple sites are dated later than the early Roman period.

\textsuperscript{45}See the Conclusions chapter for final thoughts on these divisions.
Whatever the case, the tribal divisions and kingdoms were probably not dissolved after the Claudian conquest, but were instead adapted to fit the required administration regulations set in Rome. The majority of Britain remained rural, though after this time the region steadily became more heavily urbanised. This is apparent by the establishment of civitas capitals (which were often previous LIA centres), the increased population density in the countryside (via villas and minor settlements), and the expansion of the road network. The development of urbanised centres created denser networks for communication, and this increase in connectivity changed the dynamic of the region. The religious landscape therefore adapted accordingly. Since the position of a temple in bigger networks is likely to have a significant bearing on the kinds of people who used it and therefore also influenced the nature of its assemblage, this is an important point to consider. The remainder of this chapter therefore concerns this last point; the following sections present discussions of the geology and networks of connectivity of the study area, as well as a discussion of the religious landscape.

2.4 Regional topographies, connectivity, and temples sites

The geography surrounding a temple site influenced how it was used and how well connected the site was to nearby settlements and other temple sites. In order to more methodically analyse the material, the study area is split into zones (as displayed in Figure 2.4). The separation of the area into these zones is mostly influenced by the physical geography of the landscape. Specifically: Zone 1 is split from Zone 2 by the chalk hills; Zones 2 and 5 are split from Zone 3 by the Thames; Zone 3 is split from Zones 4 and 5 by the Weald; and Zone 4 is split from Zone 5 by the Downs.

Zone 1 roughly corresponds to the Iceni, or Norfolk; Zone 2 the Catuvellauni and Trinovantes, the Eastern kingdom, or Essex and Hertfordshire; Zone 3 the Cantiaci, or Kent; Zone 4 the Belgae, and southern
Regni, part of the Southern kingdom, or Hampshire and Sussex; and Zone 5 the Atrebates and northern Regni, the edge of the Southern kingdom, or Surrey.

The following sections present a topographical analysis of each respective zone. This is then followed by a discussion of how well connected the zone was both within its own area and to those outside of it. Avenues of connectivity considered for this study include pathways via land (roads) and waterways (rivers and the sea). Following this is an introduction to the temples within each zone and how they would have been affected by both the area’s geography and level of connectivity. The overall aim of this section is to provide an adequate examination of the region so that assemblages and sites analysed later in this study can be more accurately viewed within their wider context.

2.4.1 Zone 1: the Iceni/modern Norfolk

The land was mostly arable, with settlements often either located near a river or the sea. Recent work on the historical situation in the Iceni area

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46 N.b. the analysis of an ancient landscape is not without its problems. Especially since very few sources tackle the topic. It is also difficult to accurately date roads and prove the navigability of waterways during ancient times.

47 Albeit, this is based off data from the twentieth century. See Map I:10 in Jones and Mattingly (1990), 7.
is conducted by Hutcheson, who shows that the archaeological remains prove that during the LIA the area was perhaps more densely populated than once thought.\textsuperscript{48} However, there is still not a lot of evidence to show that this was the case later in the early Roman period. The lack of urbanisation during the early Roman period in this area may be regarded as a consequence of the suppression of the Boudican revolt.\textsuperscript{49} Therefore it seems likely that most of the Roman roads in Figure 2.5 were laid and in use by the middle and later Roman periods, and not during the early Roman period. However, it remains possible that some of the roads were originally ancient pathways in use before the Claudian conquest. There are a couple of interpretations of the road network in this area; however, Figure 2.5 appears to be the least contentious version.\textsuperscript{50}

Following Figure 2.5, the two major roads which cross into this area ended near Caistor St. Edmund, which is where one of the two main temple sites within this zone was located. The square temple there was built on the highest elevated position within the temenos (though not aligned to the monumental gateway/entrance), and is predicted to have been built and in use in the later 2nd century. Even though the large gateway at the entrance shows that the site was significant in the mid Roman period, the assemblage at this site is relatively very small. This is interesting considering there were two other temples located fairly close by within the neighbouring settlement of Caistor-by-Norfolk (Venta Icenorum).

The other sampled temple site, Hockwold cum Wilton, was located between the Fens and the uplands, and was not near a road. This suggests that participation in the ceremonies conducted at the site were likely intended for the local population. However, it is still possible that the practices on the temple site gained enough popularity so that people from fur-

\textsuperscript{48}Hutcheson (2007).
\textsuperscript{49}See for example Mattingly (2007)’s theories about landscapes of resistance.
\textsuperscript{50}Jones and Mattingly (1990) additionally presents a number of useful (though more general) distribution maps. The other interpretation of the road network is presented in Bagnall Smith (1999). Bagnall Smith instead shows a different situation, with a number of roads passing both north to south, and east to west. It therefore seems likely that Bagnall Smith’s map is instead illustrating the Roman road network by the end of the Roman period.
Figure 2.5: Map of Roman roads in Britain. Jones and Mattingly (1990), Map 5.23, p.166.
ther distances travelled to the site. Most of the finds within the assemblage date to the 2nd and 3rd centuries, and indeed the construction of the temple is dated to the late 2nd or early 3rd century. Despite the later date of the site’s assemblage overall, the temple assemblage does contain a number of relevant finds, which are discussed later within this thesis. There are some general complications with this site other than most of the finds being found in disturbed and unstratified conditions. The first is that it is unclear whether the temple lay within a settlement since the site is only partly excavated. The second is that it is possible that the site was not actually a temple site.\(^5^1\)

Other than these two sites, there are a few other known temple sites within this zone. One of them lies just 3 miles to the east of Hockwold cum Wilton at Sawbench. If indeed Hockwold cum Wilton was a temple site, then the close vicinity of these two sites may represent an important religious dynamic within the region.\(^5^2\)

There is also another temple site fairly close to Caistor St. Edmund just downstream of the River Tas to the west at Crownthorpe. Crownthorpe is another urban site, so the location of a temple there is unsurprising. The temples near Caistor, and those at Crownthorpe were both located off a main road and were located close to each other. So, the character of these sites may have been influenced by each other.

There were also a couple of religious sites off the northern coast of this zone. A temple has been confirmed at Brancaster, and it is possible that there was a temple site to the east of Brancaster at Walsingham since a significant amount of religious objects have been found there.\(^5^3\)

Since the quality of the archaeological data within this zone is often low, compared to the other zones within this study modern scholarship tends to not concentrate on this area, making any sort of confident analysis on

\(^{5^1}\)The excavators postulate the assumed temple structure may have been an auxiliary building (a favissa) instead. Gurney (1986a), 91.

\(^{5^2}\)Unfortunately, however, there is a dearth of information about the site at Sawbench, and Hockwold cum Wilton has so many contextual problems that any meaningful comparative discussions would be limited.

\(^{5^3}\)Bagnall Smith (1999).
the religious situation within Zone 1 difficult. Furthermore, the temple sites were of a later date (starting in the mid and late Roman periods). For these reasons, these sites are mainly used for supplementary analysis. Indeed a consideration of the sites within this zone, as well as the levels of connectivity, supports the theories that the Boudican revolt affected the development of the landscape. Finally, although roads appear to have run through this zone, the location of these temples are quite far from those in Zone 2. This makes it unlikely that officiates from temples in Zone 2, even those from the northernmost temple at Great Chesterford, had regular communication with temples within this zone.

2.4.2 Zone 2: the Catuvellauni and Trinovantes/LIA Eastern kingdom/modern Essex and Hertfordshire

The majority of this zone is covered by arable land, with the main economic output resulting from farming and livestock. As shown by Figures 2.6 and 2.7, the topography of the region would have disrupted accessibility to some sites, especially those not located off a road. As this zone was an area that underwent major urbanisation and contained a number of influential urban sites (e.g. Colchester, and Verulamium), it is unsurprising that this zone had a high density of roads. Figure 2.8 shows the extent of the Roman road network and its resulting settlement patterns.\(^{54}\) The major roads passing through this zone lead to London, with minor roads linking smaller settlements to each other.\(^{55}\)

Roads were not the only factor in determining the siting of a temple. Temples were often concentrated within urban centres. Geography was also a major factor. The eastern part of this zone had a relatively high quantity of temples located within it compared to the western part. This is because the eastern areas within this zone were lowlands, whereas many western areas were lined with hills (see Figure 2.6). Indeed Chelmsford

\(^{54}\)The key sites on Figure 2.8 are highlighted in pink. These include: Colchester, London, and Verulamium.

\(^{55}\)N.b. the establishment of these roads most likely took place after mid 1st century CE.
Figure 2.6: Map of Roman East Anglia. Medlycott (2011), Fig. 1.3, p.3.
Essex County Council and Heybridge, both influential settlement and temple sites, were located within this eastern section. That being said, temples were also located to the west of the lowlands, particularly at minor settlements along the road leading to Colchester. Examples include the influential temple sites at Harlow in the middle of this zone and Great Chesterford in the north. The location of these temples means they would have been less accessible to those who did not live nearby, but, as will become more apparent later, this did not stop people from visiting these sites; Harlow and Great Chesterford received some of the highest levels of activity from the sampled temple sites within this study.

Numerous temples were found within the colonia at Colchester and the municipium at Verulamium. Five temples were identified at Colch-

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56 For Chelmsford see Wickenden (1992), and for Heybridge see Atkinson and Preston (1998).
57 For Great Chesterford see Medlycott (2011), and for Harlow see France and Gobel (1985).
58 N.b. it can be particularly complicated in distinguishing ritual from everyday practice.
Verulamium, with at least two within the settlement (a square-shaped and active particularly in the LIA and early Roman period, whereas two others, Alaimo, K. 46

For Folly Lane see Niblett (1999).

Figure 2.8: Map showing settlement patterns within Roman East Anglia. Perrings and Pitts (2013), Fig 3.5, p.30.

ester. Although it is unclear how many were simultaneously active, there are some likely combinations; two of them, Sheepen and Gosbecks, were active particularly in the LIA and early Roman period, whereas two others, at Butt Road and the Royal Grammar School, were in use sometime during the 2nd century. 59 Similarly, there were numerous temples located at Verulamium, with at least two within the settlement (a square-shaped and a triangular-shaped one) and one to the north at Folly Lane. 60 Folly Lane is an unusual case since it may have also served as a mausoleum from the mid 1st century; during this time artefacts were usually deposited south of the temple site, whereas during the LIA they were deposited within the temple area itself. However, since a Roman temple was laid over the LIA one sometime in late 1st century during the Flavian period, there is still a

at urban centres. When making such distinctions, it is important to be familiar with the context of the settlement as a whole.

59 For the temples at Colchester in general see Rodwell (1980).
60 For Folly Lane see Niblett (1999).
high chance that this site functioned as a religious centre.

In the northern area of this zone, Great Chesterford was a settlement site active from the late 1st century,\textsuperscript{61} it was accompanied by a square temple, which lay on the hillside east of the settlement. Like the settlement, evidence at the temple site begins from the late 1st century, and thrives until the later 4th centuries. This is important to note because it shows that the temple and the settlement were interconnected. Indeed the density and size of the settlement at Great Chesterford greatly increased from the mid Roman period, and this apparent increase in affluence could explain the continual depositions throughout the temple’s lifetime. Great Chesterford was an economic hub within its local landscape; this is mostly evidenced by the fact that it had four minor roads running through it, and was located in a strategic position between the chalk hills, serving as a main entrance to the east from the west, and vice versa. Furthermore, the River Cam, which cut through the hills and the middle of the settlement, may have been navigable.\textsuperscript{62} If this was the case, then Great Chesterford and its temple would have also been accessible to sites located along the River Cam, such as Cambridge. This and the four roads coming out of the settlement, show that this site was easily accessible, even though the site itself did not lie near any major urban settlements.

The temple site at Harlow, on the other hand, was not nearly as accessible.\textsuperscript{63} Figure 2.7 shows that the topographic landscape surrounding the site was not ideal, and Figure 2.8 shows that only one minor road ran nearby. Despite this, the site was extremely active in the LIA and early Roman periods. Harlow has often been described as a LIA centre, and this is probably one of the reasons why the site continued to be used well after the Claudian conquest. The square temple was located on the peak of a hill, and the areas at the bottom of the hill may have been prone to flooding. The nearest settlement to Harlow was Holbrooks, which may have acted as a place to house temple officiates and visitors, and to make

\textsuperscript{61} See the most recent excavation report by Medlycott (2011).
\textsuperscript{62} Medlycott (2011), 105.
\textsuperscript{63} See the excavation report by France and Gobel (1985).
votives for the temple.

Chelmsford, another settlement with a temple accompanying it, appears to have been in use by the time immediately after the Claudian conquest.\textsuperscript{64} Unlike Harlow, the temple, which was octagonally-shaped, was very close to its associated settlement, lying directly outside of it. Chelmsford was located off the main London to Colchester road. This road must have been particularly useful since the topography around the site was quite hilly, as displayed in Figure 2.7. A minor road also connected Chelmsford to the coast, near Heybridge. This appears to have been an important link since the route follows a similar path to the River Chelmer, which is believed to have been navigable.\textsuperscript{65} The River Chelmer continued from Chelmsford and ran towards the sea. It eventually connects with the River Blackwater, which was also navigable. The River Blackwater runs up north past Witham, through Kelvedon and then to Coggeshal and Braintree.\textsuperscript{66} This thus shows that the temples at Witham and Kelvedon, although also near a road, may have been accessible by boat.

This network of rivers was essential for the economic development for the settlement at Heybridge, which also had a temple within it. Heybridge, active from the LIA, served as a port and an area for maritime trade. The River Blackwater which runs next to it from the River Chelmer opens up into a wide channel connecting to the sea. Since Heybridge was on the coast and was connected by a minor road and by rivers, a variety of people are expected to have had access to the site and the accompanying temple. Similar to Chelmsford and Harlow, the site of Heybridge was also active from the LIA. However, evidence located at the temple area began from the mid 1st century. Similar to the situation for temples located within major urban centres, Heybridge’s assemblage contained a diversity of materials. Since the temple is located within the settlement, this also makes it relatively more difficult to distinguish everyday mundane practice from ritual practice.

\textsuperscript{64}For general information about the Chelmsford site see Wickenden (1992).
\textsuperscript{65}Wickenden (1992), 1.
\textsuperscript{66}Rodwell (1988), 133 states the river was unnavigable from 1086 after an extensive instalment of watermills.
Unlike the previous zone, Zone 2 has a lot of evidence showing that the area was well-connected and urbanised. This zone can be characterised as having a high density of roads, navigable rivers, and major and minor settlements scattered throughout the area. Indeed all of the temples were accompanied by settlements either directly (located within a settlement) or indirectly (located next to or near a settlement). There was a concentration of temples to the east, and this can be attributed to the geography of the area. However, influential temples were also located in other areas of the zone.

2.4.3 Zone 3: the Cantiaci/modern Kent

The majority of settlement sites were located along the northern coast of Kent. This is because the soil and density of wildlife within the Weald to the south made it relatively uninhabitable. The Weald would have also been more densely wooded than it already is now. However, the Weald did serve as a major area for the export of iron. The majority of traffic, \[67\] Detsicas (1983), 8-9, 171-177.
as suggested by the pattern of the roads in Figure 2.9, was from east to west rather than north to south. The major road within this zone is called Walting Street; this road most likely started in Richborough, ran through London, and continued up north.\textsuperscript{68} It is predicted to have been laid around 50 CE, most likely in response to the Claudian conquest.\textsuperscript{69} Similar to the other zones within this study, temples and settlements were mostly located alongside roads.

The main contact for trading purposes probably came from the Continent. There is a high presence of Gallic imports and LIA activity in this area. This area was also one of the initial points of invasion during the Roman conquests.\textsuperscript{70} This means this zone would have received a constant flow of products and ideologies from the mainland. Although the coast has risen since Roman times, the distance between the eastern tip of Kent to the Continent was still close enough to warrant constant trade between these areas. Millett suggests that one of the main contacts for the exchange of goods and ideologies between Britain and the Continent was between Richborough and Boulogne.\textsuperscript{71} Therefore, when analysing sites within this zone, it is important to keep in mind and to question the extent to which these practices were influenced by cultures from the Continent.

The sanctuary at Springhead is, according to current modern scholarship, the largest religious complex known from the Romano-British period.\textsuperscript{72} The religious centre there can be split into two sections. The first section, termed the Sanctuary site, was active from before the Roman period, and concentrated around a large spring. The other section is just south of the sanctuary site, and was active from the early Roman period; this area has been termed the Temple Complex.\textsuperscript{73} This is because the

\textsuperscript{68}Detsicas (1983), 33-35; Millett (2007), 142.
\textsuperscript{69}In general, dating roads can be quite difficult. Therefore it cannot be assumed that other roads in this area were also in use by the mid 1st century. For the dating of the Walting Street road see Biddulph (2011b), 244-245 and Millett (2007), 148.
\textsuperscript{70}Millett (2007), 141 for a discussion about what area was the initial landing point.
\textsuperscript{71}Millett (2007), see esp. Figs 5.6-5.8.
\textsuperscript{72}There are a few in-depth excavation reports published by Oxford Wessex Archaeology, but see esp. Andrews (2011), and Grimm (2011a).
\textsuperscript{73}For the temple complex at Springhead see Penn (1957, 1958, 1959, 1961, 1962,
Temple Complex houses at least 5, though possibly 6, temples. As a whole Springhead is by far the largest temple assemblage within this study.

The roadside settlement at Springhead, and the large sanctuary area there, at the very least served as a convenient stopping off point for travellers. This is because if someone was travelling from eastern Kent to London along the Watling Street road, the last stop for an urban settlement would either have been Crayford or Rochester. The distance between these two settlements was about 27 miles, with Springhead in the middle about 18 miles from Crayford and 9 from Rochester. In his study on travel times and roads in Roman Italy, Laurence mentions that towns off the Via Appia and Via Traiana were mostly spaced about 20 miles apart, and that therefore this can be seen as an expected daily maximum distance to travel in any one day.\(^74\) Burnham and Wacher, on the other hand, suggest about 6 miles a day for those on foot, 12 miles a day for those using pack animals and carts, and 18 miles a day for those riding horses.\(^75\) Therefore, staying at Springhead may have been necessary for long distance travel; this would help explain why the temple complex and sanctuary were so large and why the archaeological assemblage was so substantial in size.

Other than Springhead, there were temples at the urban centres of Richborough, Canterbury, and Rochester, within the villa at Lullingstone, and at Worth.\(^76\) The distribution of these temples is fairly spread out, so the chances of any of them conjunctively working together (by syncing rituals throughout the year, etc.) appears slim. The material evidence also does not suggest whether or not the sites were in regular contact with each other. Lullingstone, likely due to its location within a villa, was built in the later Roman period.\(^77\) However, the practices which took place there may have had parallels with practices which took place at Springhead, since

\(^{1964, 1965, 1968a,c,b,}\)

\(^{74}\)Laurence (1999), m.pag.

\(^{75}\)Burnham and Wacher (1990).

\(^{76}\)For temples in the Cantiaci region in general see Detsicas (1983), 144-147. For Canterbury see Blockley (1995).

\(^{77}\)For Lullingstone see Meates (1979).
the religious situations of both sites focused around water. It is unfortunate that the rural temple at Worth, just south of Richborough, has not been fully excavated. This lack of substantial material evidence at temple sites other than Springhead makes it difficult to identify any sort of regional practice.

This zone, therefore, is likely to have received a lot of outside influence from the Continent versus from other parts of Britain. This is because the Weald made it difficult to travel west or south without first travelling north towards the Thames. However, this is not strictly true since urban centres within the area, such as Canterbury and Richborough, would have received trade not just from the Continent, but also from London and perhaps Colchester and Verulamium as well. In any case, pertaining to the religious landscape, Springhead is this zone’s only temple site within the study sample. This likely means the data are skewed to create an unclear picture of regional practices within this zone; however, since the site has such a wealth of finds, the assemblage at Springhead is at least beneficial in distinguishing other regional practices, as well as creating a picture of what took place at such an enormous Romano-British religious site.

2.4.4 Zone 4: the Belgae and southern Regni/part of the Southern kingdom/modern Sussex and Hampshire

Since the eastern part of this zone is connected to the Weald, which dominates a large portion of Zone 3, it is unsurprising that the eastern area was less connected and more scarcely populated than the western part of this zone. Similarly, however, the northern areas of this zone lay within the South Downs; the chalky nature of the South Downs makes building solid foundations more difficult, and thus the bulk of settlements in Zone 4 were located towards the coast.78

The iron production in the Weald would have likely played an economic role within this zone. However, stone mining was also another important commodity, and this mining was concentrated along the boundary between the South Downs and the South Coast Plains. Salt production also played

78See Cunliffe (1973), 1-19 for an in-depth discussion on the area’s geography.
a significant economic role, though this was mostly done in the western part of this zone (Hampshire).\textsuperscript{79}

The South Downs is covered in plains, but the densely wooded Low Weald to the north (in Surrey) may be the reason why only one major road passed through this area, starting in Southwark and ending in Chichester. Chichester, the civitas capital of this area, was located along the coast and was the final destination of two major Roman roads: the one mentioned above, and another connecting the site to Winchester. Another influential centre, Fishbourne, functioned as a major port, facilitating trade between Britain and the Continent. Similar to the situation in Zone 3, the common appearance of pre-Roman artefacts hints at the high levels of trade that occurred with the Continent within this zone. Therefore, the impact this would have had on the social life and practices of those living within this zone should not be underestimated.

\textsuperscript{79}Cunliffe (1973), 110ff, esp. 121-125. See also Davenport (2003), esp. Fig 8.4, p. 107.
As Figure 2.10 shows, a road also ran from Chichester to the west, connecting other settlements to the capital. Minor roads continued to stem from this, crossing through the South Downs from the coast. Furthermore, the four major rivers in this zone were navigable by barges and small boats. This would have made it easy to transport materials from the Downs and the Weald to places closer to the coast, especially to Chichester.

There are a large number of temples, possible temples, and ritual activity which happened in this area. Evidence for special depositions were found throughout this zone, though minor temples tended to appear near Chichester. The temple at Lancing Down to the east was an exception; however, since numerous burials were found there, it is possible that the site actually functioned as a mausoleum. Lancing Down also lay curiously close to one of the two major temple sites in this zone, Chanctonbury Ring.

Chanctonbury Ring was located near a minor road, although it is still in a rural location. Using the travel parameters set out by Laurence, a round trip from the temple to one of the nearby minor settlements is possible; however using Burnham and Wacher’s parameters, this trip would be restricted to only those travelling by cart or horses, and not by those travelling by foot. The site has a polygonal-shaped and square-shaped temple within the precinct. The square temple, which was accompanied by an oven next to it, was located on the precinct’s highest point on the hill. It is therefore likely that this area was regularly used for ritual practices on the site.

The other major temple site within this zone is Hayling Island. Even though it is geographically closer to Chichester, as the name of the site suggests the temple is located on an island. This temple has clear pre-

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80 Cunliffe (1973), 46.
82 N.b. Even though the Lancing Down temple appears to be fairly inaccessible in Figure 2.10, not only does it lay alongside the River Adur, but it was also located in a cluster of minor Roman sites.
83 See Section 2.4.3.
Roman origins, was square in shape, and it is sometimes suggested that it was a centre for LIA leader cults (starting with Commius, then Verica, and finally Cogidubnus).\textsuperscript{84} Even though this last point is contentious, it is clear that the temple acted as a LIA centre, and that this influence was large enough to enable the site to be regularly used even after the construction of the Roman temple.

This zone is characterised by a large number of rural temples, with even more possible religious sites within the area. Although many of the temples are in remote areas, temples within this zone would have been in contact with other parts of England. Still, the geography of this zone and its location along the coast suggest that the area probably received more influence from the Continent (at least in the LIA and most likely during the early Roman period too).

2.4.5 Zone 5: the Atrebates and northern Regni/edge of the Southern kingdom/modern Surrey

Zone 5 is located immediately north of Zone 4, and west of Zone 3, roughly corresponding to modern day Surrey. The High Weald occupies some of the westerly areas, but for the most part this zone is located within the Low Weald, though some parts are within the Wealden Greensand. Areas within the Low Weald were densely populated by woodlands, especially before major deforestation occurred from the Roman period; the area is even still scarcely populated today.

At least one major road ran through the middle of this zone to connect Southwark (Southern London) to Chichester. However, as illustrated by Figure 2.11, a few other north to south roads have been speculated. There are curiously no roads appearing to have crossed through this zone from the east to the west. However, sites would have still been accessible to each other; a look at Figures 2.5 and 2.9 show that a trackway starting off the Kentish coast passed through this zone and continued into western

\textsuperscript{84}King and Soffe (2008) also mentions that the closest parallels for this temple are in Gaul.
England. Inspection of Figure 2.5 shows that this trackway, though it is not illustrated in Figure 2.11, ran immediately south of Titsey, and continued horizontally, passing just south of Wanborough. Even though most of the known temple sites within this zone were located in rural areas, this means that all of them were connected to nearby settlements either via road or trackway.\(^{85}\)

Similar to previously mentioned zones, evidence for religious activity was scattered throughout (see Figure 2.11). Ewell, a speculated market centre in the area, may have been a religious centre as well. However, evidence at the moment is unable to fully support this interpretation.\(^{86}\) Another noteworthy site is that of Frensham, which may be a good example of a religious centre that lacked a temple-like structure.\(^{87}\) Special deposits were scattered near a tree stump. Deposits included sceptre bindings, miniature pots (of which over 60 were found), and coins from the 1st and

\(^{85}\) It is not clear whether the River Wey or the River Mole were navigable.

\(^{86}\) See Bird (2008) for the latest information.

\(^{87}\) See Graham (2000, 2001).
2nd centuries CE. The location of this site near a hill top also supports the view that it was of religious importance. 88

Zone 5 currently has 3 confirmed temple sites within it. These temples are located in remote locations not close to any major urban centres. One of these, Wanborough, is very well excavated and the quality of the finds are good enough to warrant it to be one of the main case studies for this thesis (see Chapter 6). 89 Another excavated temple site at Farley Heath was located only a short distance from Wanborough. 90 The last temple site in this area, Titsey, however, does not have a lot of details concerning its assemblage since it has yet to be fully excavated. 91

Wanborough is located just west of the Rivey Wey, and can be found alongside the path of the trackway which ran through this zone. There are two temples located within the precinct. The circular temple was probably constructed in the mid 1st century, and the square temple in the mid to late 2nd century. It is unclear whether the temples were in use at the same time. Wanborough is also, unfortunately, one of the best examples of destructive treasure hunting (for coins) in the country. In general, the assemblage there has a striking amount of similarities with the assemblage at Farley Heath, just south-east of it.

Located just off the main Southwark to Chichester road, Farley Heath appears to have been more accessible than the previously discussed temple site at Wanborough. However, the condition of a lot of the archaeology within the site’s assemblage, as well as the contexts in which the artefacts were found, were usually not in good condition. For this reason we lack the necessary contextual details to fully analyse the site. The square temple was constructed and in use by the end of the 1st century, so the temple would have been active at the same time as the one at Wanborough. Even though the finds within these assemblages have many similarities, the extent to which these temples cooperated with each other is unclear.

Further to the east towards the High Weald is the temple site at Titsey.

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89 See also O’Connell and Bird (1994) and O’Connell (2000), and Williams (2007).
90 See Poulton (2007).
91 See Bird (2008); Graham (1936).
The dating of the temple at Titsey is only speculated through the dating of the nearest adjoining road, which has been dated to around the late 1st or early 2nd century. Since only the square temple itself has been excavated, and since the site suffered from later intrusive medieval activity, not much can be said regarding the site's assemblage.\textsuperscript{92} This is particularly unfortunate since the location of this site would enable it to serve as a good intermediary between the temples within Zone 5, and Springhead in Zone 3. This is especially relevant since Titsey is the closest known rural temple site to Springhead. Having more information on the assemblage at Titsey, therefore, would allow more to be said on regional practice and how practices changed between these areas.

Even though there were not many roads which passed through this zone and the area was not densely populated, it is difficult to say that this negatively affected the extent to which sites within this zone communicated with each other. The temples were indeed located in very rural positions, but they and other settlements in the area were accessible by road or trackway. Still, it is surprising that there does not appear to have been a single transportation method (meaning either via road, or river) that directly linked Wanborough and Farley Heath;\textsuperscript{93} the sites are only about 10 miles away from each other, but other than the similarity in their assemblages there is no clear evidence showing a regular flow of people or goods between these sites.

\section*{2.5 Chapter summary}

This chapter provided a brief review of relevant literary works and of the study area. It has discussed how this research is situated within the field of Romano-British religion more generally, and within scholarship of the study area. It then laid out the complicated situation of the political geography of the south-east and east of England. Afterwards, the chapter focused

\textsuperscript{92}Bird (2008), 67; Graham (1936).

\textsuperscript{93}Assuming the River Wey was navigable, the journey from Farley Heath to Wanborough could be made first by boat, and then along the trackway.
on the physical geography, and provided an introduction to the religious landscape of each zone. Special comment was made concerning how well connected sites were to each other, particularly the extent to which the geography affected methods of communication. This chapter, therefore, acts as an examination of the political and physical geographies of the study area. The next chapter focuses on the methodology used to analyse the data. It also includes a history of how the relevant finds evidence have been analysed, and a discussion on how the finds can be used to identify social practices.
3 | General and find-specific methods and discussion

This chapter has two objectives. The first is to present the methods used to collect and analyse the data (Section 3.1). The second is to introduce and discuss the evidence used for this study (Section 3.2). Other than explaining how the selected finds evidence have been studied so far, this discussion also considers the fundamental factors influential in interpreting each of the individual find types. Following this is a methodology of how each find type is systematically analysed in the chapters to follow. This chapter therefore serves as the basis for the later case studies and comparative studies, and explores how the data can be used to decipher social practices.

3.1 Core methodology

This section outlines the methodological approach to this research. The processes can be itemised as follows:

1. Survey of the sites
2. Compiling the data
3. Selection of the finds evidence
4. General finds inquiries
5. Case studies
6. Comparative analysis
3.1.1 Survey of the sites

The main purpose of this process was to select sites which have sufficient data-sets within the study area. After this, the sites were categorised in terms of the quality and quantity of their assemblages. Temples of various levels of detail were included in order to supplement the analyses provided by more complex assemblages within the different geographical zones in this study.\(^1\)

Table 3.1: List of the studied sites and their categories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Modern County</th>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chanctonbury Ring</td>
<td>West Sussex</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caistor St. Edmund</td>
<td>Norfolk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tertiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chelmsford</td>
<td>Essex</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farley Heath</td>
<td>Surrey</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folly Lane</td>
<td>Hertfordshire</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Chesterford</td>
<td>Essex</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harlow</td>
<td>Essex</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Primary/Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayling Island</td>
<td>Hampshire</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heybridge</td>
<td>Essex</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hockwold cum Wilton</td>
<td>Norfolk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tertiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelvedon</td>
<td>Essex</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tertiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lancing Down</td>
<td>West Sussex</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tertiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lullingstone</td>
<td>Kent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tertiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springhead</td>
<td>Kent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Titsey</td>
<td>Surrey</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tertiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanborough</td>
<td>Surrey</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Primary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1 tabulates the sampled sites and which categories they fall under.\(^2\) Primary sites have the highest quality and quantity of finds data, and thus the finds within these assemblages have the greatest potential to detail the kinds of practices taking place. The three primary sites - Great Chesterford, Wanborough, and Springhead - drive this discussion and also serve to enhance synthetic discussions of the finds on a wider scale.

Secondary sites include temple sites that have assemblages which enable useful comparisons between other assemblages, but which do not have enough data to warrant an in-depth intra-site analysis.

\(^1\)A summary of each studied site is available in Appendix A.
\(^2\)This method was adapted from the categories used by Smith (2001).
Tertiary sites, therefore, are those whose assemblages contain evidence for social practices at temples in a very general manner, but do not have enough contextual details or finds to convincingly suggest specific social practices on their own. The extent of any individual site’s analyses is generalised in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: General intra-site analyses possible at each site type.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Analysis type</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Tertiary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phasing and chronological comparisons of the finds</td>
<td>Always</td>
<td>Often</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location and spatial analyses of the finds</td>
<td>Always</td>
<td>Often</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparing the quantities of the finds</td>
<td>Always</td>
<td>Often</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site context and feature comparisons</td>
<td>Always</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Rarely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sufficient sample sizes</td>
<td>Always</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Rarely</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Levels of detail vary from site to site.

The placement of a site into its category was additionally influenced by: 1) the excavation procedures and archaeological conditions of the site, 2) the quality of the data, and 3) the availability of sufficient sample sizes.

In order for the archaeological evidence to have any meaning, on a certain level it needs to be assumed that the documented finds are fairly representative of what had taken place on the site. Having said this, the history of a site’s excavation and how well the site was excavated determined what data survived and how it was recorded. There was a strong tendency for excavations to concentrate around the temple itself or its immediate surroundings. This, of course, varies greatly from site to site, with recent reports being more prone to conducting more expansive excavations. However, this tendency means that other important areas for a temple site, such as the temenos, other auxiliary buildings, and perhaps other areas of deposition, may have not yet been located. Furthermore, the available data was in turn influenced by the archaeological conditions of the site. A site’s condition changed either due to its natural environment or post-depositional disturbances, such as the robbing of or damaging of the archaeological evidence, or even attempts to farm the area. For exam-
ple, where a site is located nowadays (such as within a city, under a rail line, etc.) affects where trenches are able to be dug.

It is important to bear in mind that older reports often neglected providing details for small or damaged artefacts. This resulted in bigger and more durable items being over-emphasised even more so within these assemblages. Sometimes, reports merely state that a great many of a find was found.³ This problem is dealt with accordingly by using the primary (versus secondary and tertiary) sites as the foundation for analyses.

The reliability of the data is further determined by the availability of sufficient sample sizes. Determining what is a reliable sample size varies according to each find type, and is an important question that does not have a straightforward answer. In fact, most studies barely discuss the issue.⁴ The evidence was tested to determine what constitutes a statistically sufficient sample size.⁵ It then became clear what numbers skewed the data and were unhelpful in comparative analyses. The samples sizes for this study have been determined as follows: animal remains = (NISP) 100, brooches = 25, coins = 20, hairpins = 25.

Lastly, even though there is a discernible tendency for items of personal adornment to be deposited on the sampled sites, there is no explicit discussions about why these objects were suitable for religious activities (other than their inherent personal value).⁶ Inscribed brooches have been found in sanctuaries in Gaul, and, since to my knowledge there are no such examples of this in Britain, this helps support the theory that these types of objects were suitable as votive objects within the western Roman

³E.g. Gurney (1986b) on Hockwold cum Wilton just says 9kg of animal bones were found.
⁴The animal remains are more of an exception to this. Ayton (2013) uses a (NISP) minimum sample size of 100; c.f. Hambleton (1999) who uses a (NISP) minimum sample size of 300.
⁵Sandelowski (1995) mentions subjective judgement is the determining factor in deciding sample sizes for qualitative studies. Even though this study is not just qualitatively based, the principle behind how to decide on a number is still the same. Furthermore, Hambleton (1999), mentioned in footnote 4, came to her decided sample size via her own subjective judgement by testing the evidence at various sample sizes.
⁶Even though it is almost 20 years old and focuses on Gaul, Woolf (2015) explicitly states Derks (1998) as the most up-to-date analysis for the nature of votive deposits within the western (Roman) provinces.
provinces.\textsuperscript{7} Indeed, “[In] every society clear ideas exist on the nature of goods and services considered ‘fit’ to be offered to the deity.”.\textsuperscript{8} Since the offering of an item to the gods could be seen as a display of wealth and power to both the gods and to those watching the item being deposited, it is no wonder that such care was put into making these objects.\textsuperscript{9} As such, it is important to consider a detailed analysis of sub-types within the selected finds evidence, and what implications their proportions may have for the kinds of social practices taking place. Focusing on this may shed some light on why the selected finds evidence were routinely deposited on temple sites, and this is something which is tested throughout the thesis.

3.1.2 Compiling the data

The data from the primary sites were compiled into spreadsheets. These databases itemised the finds evidence and separated them in terms of chronology, type, material, location, and other miscellaneous details.\textsuperscript{10} This allowed for the artefacts to be re-described according to different categories.

Phase database entries

The phase of an item, or its time period, was further detailed in four other columns. The first two columns concerned the report phase of the item, and the report phase of the context it was found within. These columns were then translated into actual time in two more columns: the date of the item, and the date of the context it was within. This allowed for the various time periods used within the excavation reports to also be considered alongside the determined time periods used for this study.

\textsuperscript{7}Derks (1998), 235; Rey-Vodoz (1991), 217.
\textsuperscript{8}Derks (1998), 216.
\textsuperscript{9}See for example Woolf (2015) on the social prestige of depositing objects.
\textsuperscript{10}They were first and foremost organised by their unique finds number so that they could be cross-referenced when necessary.
Item type database entries

The details of the finds were similarly further detailed in multiple columns. The first column was a general description, the second a more specific description, and the third and fourth columns provided extra details if relevant. A Nauheim derivative brooch for example was separated as follows: 1) item of personal adornment, 2) brooch, 3) Nauheim 4) derivative. Splitting the details in this way facilitates the evidence to be approached at varying levels of detail.

Location database entries

The same method was used for the location of the items. Items were separated in terms of their general location within the site, specific context number, and layer within that context. For example, a brooch may have been found in 1) temple precinct, 2) context 1, 3) layer 2.\textsuperscript{11}

Miscellaneous database entries

Finally, any extra details which may alter the interpretation of an item were included. This includes information on an artefact’s condition (e.g. burnt, bent, or broken) and comments on any imagery present. For example, a brooch may have a pin missing or an item may have been folded multiple times.

3.1.3 Selection of the finds evidence

The creation of these databases allowed for the most common finds within temple assemblages that have the potential to inform us of social practice to be pinpointed. Additional criteria for the selection of the finds evidence for this study included: 1) the primary date of distribution to be within the first two centuries CE, 2) sufficient sample sizes within most of the assemblages, and 3) the availability of descriptions and typologies.

\textsuperscript{11}This example is taken from the Great Chesterford database, and is the location of a copper alloy votive leaf (SF 19).
that can be used to later compare the data. Using this criteria, the following find types were chosen to be the focus of this study: the animal remains, brooches, coins, and hairpins.\textsuperscript{12} It is important to note that two of the find types (brooches and hairpins) fall under the category of items of personal adornment. Other items of personal adornment were not chosen for the reasons mentioned above. For example, bracelets were not chosen since they were commonly distributed and found on temple sites after the time period for this study, and rings were not chosen since they are relatively uncommon within the assemblages of the selected sites (and thus did not have sufficient sample sizes). Finally, this study concentrates only on a few find types, versus many, so as to avoid making generalisations about the data. Given the time restrictions for this research, this was deemed necessary so that a contextual based study could be efficiently carried out. This is not to discredit studies which focus on a great variety of find types, but is merely a different way to approach the data.

\subsection*{3.1.4 General finds inquiries}

How do the quantities and proportions of the different finds characterise social practices? In order to sufficiently provide an answer to this question we need to consider the fundamental factors of time and space together. Mapping both temporal and spatial changes helps characterise major changes and continuities on a site.\textsuperscript{13} This is because it further reveals how a temple, or parts of it, functioned throughout different periods of time. This also makes it easier to identify practices that are sensitive to

\textsuperscript{12}There were other finds that could have been chosen. However, they often lacked in at least one of the criteria above. Building materials for example are usually not well documented, and the toilet articles almost always did not have a sufficient sample size. Furthermore, bracelets, finger rings, and intaglios were primarily distributed and used in later Roman periods. Lastly, pottery was ultimately not chosen because it would have increased the sample size exponentially to an unwieldy size, which would limit a varied scope of the finds analysis. Indeed it would have made it impossible to focus on so many find types.

\textsuperscript{13}Pitts (2010a), 125: "...to be most effective, approaches to social practice using artefactual evidence require appropriate methodologies that pay close attention to relationships between artefacts and their spatial, temporal and stratigraphic contexts."
context. Additionally, there are a few other factors which shaped the analyses within this research: the residual or intrusive nature of an artefact, the reason why the artefact was deposited, and the condition of the artefact itself.

When the date of an artefact is different to the date of its context, this means the artefact is either residual or intrusive. When an artefact can be characterised in this way, it changes how we interpret it. For example, when a 1st century brooch is located in a 4th century context, there are a few ways to describe why this is the case: 1) the brooch retained its value in some way since it was being used well outside of its production and circulation date range; 2) the location of the brooch moved from its original location due to geographical reasons, or natural transformations in the landscape, for example via a landslide, rise in water table, etc.;\(^{14}\) or 3) the location of the brooch moved due to intentional or accidental human agency (e.g. robbing of stone, farming of the surface, etc.). The residual and intrusive natures of an artefact can only be dealt with by paying close attention to the individual contexts of the artefacts and the site as a whole whenever possible.

The intention of an artefact’s depositor is difficult to determine by the archaeological evidence, though when finds are analysed collectively it is possible to shed some light on why they may have been deposited. If an item was stratified, then figuring out why the object was placed there is helpful in determining social practice.\(^{15}\) It is also useful to consider whether the artefact was the result of intentional deposition, or casual loss. This distinction between everyday practices and religious practice is addressed in Section 1.2.3 and is considered when analysing the data in future chapters, especially in the three cases studies (Chapters 4-6). Although answering this question is very complex, it is more viable to develop an answer when the artefact is viewed within its context. For example, it

\(^{14}\)See Schiffer (1987) for further information on archaeological formation processes.

\(^{15}\)A find which is stratified is one which is archaeologically traceable in terms of its particular location. Ideally all items would be stratified since that would mean the location in which an item is found is likely their original location. Stratified items therefore enable more reliable interpretations of the data.
is more likely that a group of hairpins deposited in the same location were intentionally deposited; on the other hand, if the hairpins were scattered throughout a large area there is a higher chance they were unintentionally lost.  

Finally, the condition of an item is able to comment on how the item was used. One of the complications in determining this, however, is deciding whether or not the condition resulted from intentional or accidental damage. Artefacts that have been intentionally damaged may be a reflection of “ritual killing”. Ritual killing involves the item being rendered impractical for human use, and consequently becoming a gift for the gods. This theory is archaeologically problematic since it is very difficult to distinguish. Although mentioning this ritual is important for analysing religious practice in general, there are only a couple cases of ritual killing within the study area. When these few artefacts are discussed later in the thesis, the possibility of ritual killing is considered. However, at the outset it was apparent that, considering the evidence that is available, there was likely not a wide-spread ritual-killing practice on the studied temple sites. On the other hand, the absence of wear, in other words an item in pristine condition, can also be informative. For example, bones deposited as full or partial skeletons in good condition are likely the result of ritual (versus everyday) practice.

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16Section drawings of the relevant contexts, when available, also make this question easier to answer.


18Items need to be viewed collectively with other damaged items. If there is a consistency in patterns related to damage then the possibility of ritual killing can be seriously considered.


3.1.5 Primary site case studies

In order to explore the finds evidence in great detail, the data and analyses of the primary sites for this study are first discussed. These case studies allow us to characterise social practices at the temple sites in more detail before attempting to contextualise the less-detailed data from other (secondary and tertiary) sites within the sample. In other words, the intra-site analyses following this chapter (Chapters 4, 5, and 6) serve as the foundation for the inter-site analyses in Chapters 7 and 8. The purpose of these case studies is not just to act as a point for comparison. Rather, they show the effectiveness of closely analysing the data and performing a study sensitive to the context of the finds and the site in general.

3.1.6 Comparative analyses

After the detailed case studies, whenever possible the finds from the secondary and tertiary sites can be brought in to expose the range of possible practices that may have been occurring. Chapters 7 and 8, therefore, test the extent to which this methodology is able to effectively comment on the bigger picture in a detailed way. It explores how the finds can reveal both major and minor practices on temple sites.

Table 3.3 demonstrates the extent to which the finds evidence may be compared on a wider level for each of the sampled temple sites. It also shows which sites will benefit from comparisons with which find types. Sites which do not have any finds check-marked are included since they are helpful in the interpretation of the religious landscape more generally.

Correspondence Analysis (CA) was not used for a couple reasons. In the first place, CA is not routinely used by most specialists studying small finds or faunal remains, in part due to the time required to master the technique. Secondly, it is not possible to directly compare multiple find classes that use different methods of quantification. In particular, this adds unnecessary complications when analysing the animal remains (arguably the most integral find type for this study) to the other selected find types. This is because bones are usually quantified in NISP (see Section 3.2.1), which
Table 3.3: Possible comparative analyses for the finds evidence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site†</th>
<th>Animal remains</th>
<th>Brooches</th>
<th>Coinage</th>
<th>Hairpins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chanctonbury</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ring (S)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caistor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Edmund (T)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chelmsford (S)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farley Heath (S)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folly Lane (S)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chesterford (P)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harlow (P/S)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayling Island (S)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heybridge (S)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hockwold cum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilton (T)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelvedon (T)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lancing Down (T)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lullingstone (T)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springhead (P)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Titsey (T)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanborough (P)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* (P)=Primary site; (S)=Secondary site; (T)=Tertiary site.

is a method of counting fragments. On the other hand, the brooches, coins, and hairpins are often quantified as a whole, thus making a direct comparison between the animal bones and the other finds evidence problematic.\textsuperscript{21} CA can be an effective way to compare pottery and glass assemblages,\textsuperscript{22} but not for comparing the selected find types under scrutiny in this study. As such, more standard methods of visualising patterns in data are considered more effective for the purposes of this research.

Additionally, Figure 7.6 in Chapter 7 illustrates one of the finds evidence

\textsuperscript{21}Pitts (2010a), 128: “As NISP effectively records the number of individual animal bone fragments, bone assemblages quantified by NISP are not suitable for direct comparison with other finds assemblages quantified by measures of whole artefacts.”. See also Perring and Pitts (2013), 20.

\textsuperscript{22}For pottery see for example Perring and Pitts (2013), and Pitts (2010a, 2014). For glass see esp Cool and Baxter (1999), but also Cool (2009), 223ff.
- the brooches - as a heat-map. This heat-map highlights the percentages of brooches at each of the selected sites, with brooch types roughly arranged by chronology listed along the x-axis, and sites along the y-axis. To obtain these percentages, the quantity of each brooch type was divided against the total quantity of brooches at the sites. The dramatic colour range from blue (low percentage) to red (high percentage) was chosen so that patterns can be clearly identified.

### 3.2 The selected finds evidence

This section has two aims. The first is to discuss the key factors related to the interpretation of each of the selected finds. A couple of examples include how to quantify the animal remains, and understanding the function of LIA coins. The second aim is to establish the methodology used to analyse the evidence in the chapters to follow.

#### 3.2.1 Animal remains

**Animal remains in Romano-British temple assemblages**

Traditionally the animal remains located at temple sites have been used mainly to help indicate potential deities worshipped on the site. For example, the presence of chicken bones is often taken as evidence that Mercury was worshipped there. The problem with this kind of interpretation is that it cannot be confidently verified and therefore may be overstated. For this research there are more fruitful ways to analyse the evidence. More generally, studies of the animal remains on a site often concentrate on answering the question of what diet was the norm for users of a site, or how animals developed through their domestication. However, this study

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24 See the individual excavation reports, but also others incl. Ayton (2013), Ingrem (2012), and King (2005) and (1999). See also Hesse (2011) who, in response to King’s general approaches [esp. King and Soffe (2001)], exemplifies the importance of employing more interdisciplinary approaches to the evidence which are sensitive to local geogra-
circumvents the issue of identifying deities and instead utilises the animal bone evidence in a way which focuses on deciphering social practice.

The first published study (outside of the excavation reports) collectively analysing the animal remains on temple sites was conducted by King.\textsuperscript{25} In this study, King compares the faunal evidence at temples across Roman Britain in order to investigate why they were deposited, and whether this held any social meanings (pertaining to one's identity) for the community who used the site. Although he includes a brief contextual discussion of the sites within his sample, King mostly relies on the varying proportion of the bones within each assemblage to uncover similarities in the patterns exemplified by this. He concludes that there are four types of sites. Group A sites have a high quantity of animal bones from domesticated animals deposited on the site; Group B sites have fewer animal bones deposited but often the bones which were deposited were articulated limbs or part/whole skeletons; Group C sites were those with a high amount of horse bones; Group D sites were those where the animal bones do not seem to have played a major part for the practices on the site; and lastly Group E sites were those whose “individual deposits are the main characteristic”.\textsuperscript{26} King's overarching conclusions are not incorrect but they do generalise the evidence. There are also inherent problems in typifying the sites in such a way, since often sites qualify for more than one group. For example, a site can have both a high quantity of domestic animal bones and a high quantity of whole and partly articulated skeletons. Still, King's study serves as a good starting point in comparing animal bones across a variety of temple sites.

The bulk of analyses on religion and animal bones, however, is conducted by the specialist reports within the excavation reports.\textsuperscript{27} Hence, further studies would be of great interest.

\textsuperscript{25}King (2005).
\textsuperscript{26}King (2005), 357-364.
\textsuperscript{27}Another related study about animal remains and ritual practice was conducted by Morris (2011). Morris concentrated on documented articulated/associated bone groups (ABGs) and looked at what the implications were for this practice. However, the study
there remains significant potential for the animal remains to provide new insight of practices on temple sites if using contextually sensitive approaches to analyse the evidence. The animal remains are vital for characterising the social practices of temple sites not only because the evidence has not yet been fully scrutinised but also since the animal remains are usually one of the most common find types within an assemblage. The types of social practices which can be inferred include the fundamental acts of feasting, sacrifice, and offering of votives, as well as a number of subtle practices (such as specific ways to kill or process an animal).

**Factors to consider**

*Method of Quantification*

The way in which the animal remains are quantified changes not only how the data are presented, but also how they are interpreted. This is because the quantity of the bones changes according to which method is used. There are two main methods: MNI (minimum number of individuals) and NISP (number of identified specimens).\(^{28}\) The debate over which method to use is frequently discussed in zooarchaeology.\(^{29}\) Although these arguments will not be discussed in detail, the main difference between using NISP and MNI is as follows: MNI has a tendency to under-represent the assemblage (though over-represent the under-represented species), whereas NISP often overestimates the assemblage. So, MNI can be seen as the minimum number of individuals and NISP as the maximum. In reality the number would be somewhere in between these quantities.\(^{30}\) The MNI is actually an analytical estimate, whereas NISP is a more

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\(^{28}\) Another notable method is MNE (minimum number of elements) (see Hambleton (1999), 35-27). However, since this is a relatively new method and is therefore not normally used in the excavation reports, it cannot be utilised here. Reitz and Wing (2008), 226-229 also notes discrepancy in how MNE is defined and used.

\(^{29}\) Lyman (2005), 845.

straightforward quantification, which makes NISP a more attractive method to use.\textsuperscript{31} If the data permit, both methods are used together; however, for the reasons mentioned above, usually only NISP quantities are provided in reports.

\textit{Method of Ageing}

Assessing the ages of the sheep bones plays an important role in understanding practices on temple sites, whereas this was not usually the case for the cattle and pig bones on most sites.\textsuperscript{32} No significant patterns arose from analysing the cattle and pig bones, hence why only the sheep bones will be detailed: the most common way to age a sheep bone is to observe the changes in the milk molars present during the first years of a sheep's lifetime; the epiphyseal fusion data can also be used alongside this. As is usually conducted by specialist reports for the animal remains, the absolute ages presented by Payne are used for this study.\textsuperscript{33} Even though this method relies on comparisons with modern day sheep, this is currently widely accepted as the most reliable method to age sheep bones.\textsuperscript{34}

\textit{How were the animals used?}

\textsuperscript{31}Hesse (2011) claims NISP is the best method to understand the relative percentage of species; Reitz and Wing (2008), 206; O’Connor (2012) and Plug and Plug (1990) are also against using MNI; c.f. Hambleton (1999).


\textsuperscript{33}Payne (1973). Another method was developed by Grant (1975) and involves dating the mandibles. Occasionally the Grant’s method is used in an excavation report, but this can be considered unusual. For a conversion of both Grant’s and Payne’s method into absolute years see Greenfield and Arnold (2008), Table 1.

\textsuperscript{34}Payne (1987) shows that using modern day data are closer to the eruption patterns displayed by the archaeological data when compared to the data collected from when they were beginning to be documented in the 18th and 19th centuries. This may be due to the scientific techniques of the time, but since the current state of research accepts this as the most conventional way to date the bones, it is used for this study. Ryder (1983) even says the breed of sheep in Britain appears to have remained fairly consistent since well before Roman times. See also the discussion in Greenfield and Arnold (2008).
Since the studied animal bones were found on temple sites, it may be tempting to dismiss this question and merely assume that their purpose was to be sacrificed. However, it must be remembered that even though ritual practices would have been taking place on temple sites, that other more domestic activities related to the functioning and maintenance of the temple and its officiates would have been happening alongside this; therefore, this is still an important question to consider. There are a few points worth bearing in mind that address how the question may be answered.

The first point is that sometimes (though not usually) the bones show evidence for trauma or disease. This is sometimes helpful in distinguishing whether or not animals were used for hard labour, suffered from malnutrition, or were well-bred. Indeed the physical condition of an animal before the ritual affects how the practice can be characterised. For example, if malnutritioned lambs were used instead of well-bred ones, this can suggest excess livestock were used for the ritual as a means to decrease the size of a herd.\textsuperscript{35}

Another point that it is important to try to identify is whether the animals were mainly used for meat production or for their secondary products. Out of the main taxa within this study, which are cattle, sheep, and pig, cattle produce the highest meat yield by far.\textsuperscript{36} So, even if other taxa outnumbered the amount of cattle, they were likely still the main source of meat for regular (non-ritual) consumption.\textsuperscript{37} However, animals were also utilised for their secondary products. For example, cattle were often used for farming and general labour. Sheep were also used for wool and dairy production. Pigs are the only main species which did not have a secondary function, and were raised just for consumption.\textsuperscript{38} Other than looking for the presence of trauma on the bones, the main way to identify whether cattle and/or sheep were used for secondary resources is through examining the ages

\textsuperscript{35}See also Méniel (2015), 157, 163-164 on choosing the animal to be sacrificed.
\textsuperscript{37}Luff (1992), Table 12, p. 117, for example, shows that beef was the main meat for consumption at Chelmsford even though there were more sheep bones within the assemblage.
\textsuperscript{38}Cool (2006), 80ff.
of the bones. This is simply because older animals, who were stronger and larger, would have been used continually throughout their lifetimes, e.g. for labour or diary production.\(^\text{39}\)

The last point to bear in mind is sometimes there is some uncertainty in assigning bones to a specific taxon. Other than when the bones are not in good condition, there is a well-known complication in distinguishing sheep bones from goat bones.\(^\text{40}\) The only way to archaeologically distinguish them is to identify a goat specific bone. For this reason, whenever there is uncertainty in the data, for example if some (even if not many) goat bones were found within the assemblage, the term “sheep/goat” is used.\(^\text{41}\)

*How did the animal die and was processed after death?*

Similar to the previous section, there are also some important aspects of the animal remains worth considering that pertain to how the animal died and how the remains were treated after death.\(^\text{42}\) This question on how the animals died essentially boils down to whether or not the death was the result of ritual practice, or economic and domestic practice.\(^\text{43}\)

Discovering how an animal was killed can only be determined after a contextually sensitive study is produced. However, there are a range of characteristics which, if identified, provide further evidence for ritual practice. The first is that the presence of unusually large quantities of bones from a single taxon is often one of the first indications of ritual practice. Another indication is if the bones were concentrated in certain areas or were

\(^{39}\)This theory is widely accepted. See Grimm (2011b)'s discussions about the correlation between an animal's secondary uses and their age.

\(^{40}\)Boessneck (1969); Halstead (2002); Loreille et al. (1997); Prummel (1986); Payne (1985). Also Cool (2006), 87 and Reitz and Wing (2008), 166.

\(^{41}\)Other discrepancies in the identification of bones are addressed when relevant.

\(^{42}\)N.b. the exact method used to kill the animal is often too difficult to discern. See Méniel (2015), 160-161.

\(^{43}\)“Economic” here refers to the need to selectively kill off an animal in order to preserve the rest of the herd. For example, a surplus of lambs may be unmaintainable, and this caused some to be butchered. “Domestic” here refers to the death of an animal as a result of everyday consumption practices. For the complications of archaeologically distinguishing the two see Hill (1996) and Morris (2011), 155-159.
deposited in watery contexts. Depositions within wells in particular are often seen as an indication of ritual practice. If possible it is also important to look at what kinds of taxa, what types of bones, and what other items were deposited with each other. Even though it is difficult to distinguish whether a deposit was intentionally made and was the result of a ritual or everyday practice, if the items within an archaeological layer (or deposit as a whole) appear to be have intentionally positioned or deposited together, this could be an indication of a structured deposition. Having said this, caution should be exercised when prescribing this term to any deposit that looks out of the ordinary; instead, all the options should be considered to uncover why a deposition was made. When there’s a deep ditch or shaft that appears to be a ritual character either because there are structured depositions within it or whole or partial skeletons within it, the ditch/shaft is often labelled as a “ritual shaft”. Ritual shafts usually were repeatedly reused over a span of time, and are useful in identifying long-term practices. Another indication of ritual practice is if there is an unusually high amount of bones of a certain age (e.g. very young). Additionally, patterns in the type of butchery marks present on the bones, or if certain parts of the skeleton are over or under represented within the whole bone assemblage (or within different parts of the site), can be further indications that they were the result of a ritual. Many of these indications furthermore may

44 Specifically a Belgic British practice. See Ross (1968), esp. 277-279. For the importance of depositions in watery contexts more generally see Puttock (2002), 75-76. C.f. Webster (1997b).

45 Grant (1984); Morris (2011); Wait (1985), esp. 141-151. N.b. a deposition that appears to be structured is different from an ABG. ABGs are when bones are found as an articulated whole (or partially whole). See footnote 20.

46 See Garrow (2012) for a discussion on how to critically think about structured depositions, and why we should not readily call every deposition that seems to be out of the ordinary as representing a ritual. See also Hill (1995), 95-100.

47 The ritual shaft (2856) at Springhead is a good example of this. See Andrews (2011), 80-83, esp. Figure 2.55, and Chapter 5.

48 The type of butchery mark especially further distinguishes ritual versus economic/domestic practice. As elaborated on by Maltby (2007), certain butchery marks are indicative of processing or cooking or the meat.

49 After factoring in skeletal survival rates of course. For example, mandibles have a higher survival rate than most bones. Also bones from larger animals, such as cattle, are more likely to survive than those from smaller animals. See Grimm (2011b).
provide information about how the animals were consumed, for example in a feasting setting.

Rituals do not end at the killing of the animal. Post-mortem parts of the rituals likely followed afterwards. Feasting is a major post-mortem ritual. However, even though the condition and skeletal representation of the bones can provide evidence that this practice took place, the animal remains are usually considered alongside the ceramic evidence (if available) to more confidently identify and analyse feasting practices.\textsuperscript{50} Regardless of whether or not feasting occurred, the bones were eventually deposited.\textsuperscript{51} If a relatively high proportion of these bones had gnaw marks on them, this would be evidence to suspect either that the bones were not deposited straight away, or that pets or stray animals were able to roam freely around the site.

It is impossible to gain a complete picture of a specific ritual. However, when the above factors are taken into consideration, the animal bone evidence is able to expose a wide range of aspects concerning a practice. Furthermore, when this evidence is viewed within that entire site’s assemblage, within its local religious landscape, and alongside the assemblages of other temples, we are able to develop an even more complex and diverse picture of the religious landscape of the study area.

**Methodology for analysis**

*Bone quantification*

- Do the quantities of the bones within the assemblage portray any discernible patterns over time? For example, is the assemblage dominated by a single or small number of taxa?

*Taxa and location*

\textsuperscript{50}See Pitts (2010a) and Ralph (2007).

\textsuperscript{51}N.b. where an animal was killed does not necessarily correlate with where the bones were deposited.
• Are the bones located within a certain area of the site, or within certain archaeological features?

• Are there any indications for structured deposits?

• Are the bones found with other archaeological finds, and does this provide more information on the nature of the deposition?

**Status of the bones**

• Where possible, have an adequate number of bones been sexed, and how does this information provide more information on how the animals were being used on the site?

• Are there any patterns related to the ages of the taxa, and do these ages display a more ritual or domestic nature?

**Condition of the bones**

• What kind of butchery marks are present on the bones, and what does this tell us about the practices on the site?

• Are there any significant pathological conditions on the bones present that contribute to the complex picture of the animal remains already drawn up?

**Skeletal representation**

• Are any parts of the skeleton (of the main taxa of the site) under or over represented within the assemblage?

• Are there any patterns related to parts of the skeleton being deposited in certain areas of the site?
3.2.2 Brooches

Brooches in Romano-British temple assemblages

Brooches are one of the most well-documented small finds. Their nature as an object embodying both practical purposes (e.g., everyday wear) and social purposes (e.g., to be displayed) make them ideal for studies attempting to decipher the character of an individual or the community who used the item.\(^{52}\) Using Crummy’s functional categories, brooches are classified as (personal) objects of personal adornment or dress.\(^{53}\) Approaching the brooches with this in mind is not only useful when considering the purpose of these objects, but also when analysing the brooches with a variety of other evidence.\(^{54}\)

However, even though there are many studies on the implications of the brooch evidence, there is currently not a study dedicated to their occurrence within temple assemblages.\(^{55}\) Since brooches are commonly located at temple sites, there is a lot of potential for this find type to describe the more subtle characteristics and social practices within a temple site, and also to be compared on a wider level.

Factors to consider

Colour and metal composition

\(^{52}\)Items of personal adornment in general were also commonly used for apotropaic purposes. See Swift (2011), 216-218; Puttock (2002), 89-113.
\(^{53}\)Crummy (1983); Perring and Pitts (2013), 189.
\(^{54}\)E.g. Cool (2004). C.f.Allison (2013), 42-44, who notes the dangers of classifying objects in this way since objects could have been misidentified or used for multiple purposes. Also note that reports which employ these functional categories normally do not focus on assemblages on temple sites.
\(^{55}\)For example see Croom (2004), 296, and Swift (2011), 216-218. Carr (2006), Johns (1996), and Puttock (2002) integrate temple assemblages throughout their study; however n.b. these latter three studies address items of personal adornment in general. Smith (2001) also integrates the brooch evidence on his study on sacred space on temple sites.
Brooches were made from a careful composition of metals, usually copper alloy, and were made by craftsmen from the Late Iron Age onwards. These craftsmen sometimes used moulds to mass produce brooches of the same shape, though undoubtedly they would have often been manually wrought by hand. Therefore, each brooch was specially and intentionally composed. The shape of the brooch, its colour (determined by its composition of metals and decorations), and the quality of the brooch (as some were made crudely), were unique and involved an element of personalisation.

Bayley and Butcher published an in depth study on the large quantity of brooches at Richborough. This analysis includes a detailed consideration of the metal composition, design, and distribution patterns of brooch types in the south of England. In short, brooches were made of copper alloy. Copper alloy is a combination of primarily copper, but with a certain percentage of other metals. The different percentage of these additional metals, being zinc, lead, and tin, determined the kind of copper alloy that was produced. So, for example, a brooch with 70% copper, 10% zinc, 10% lead, and 10% tin has a total of 30% additions; after the proportion of the additions is taken (10/30 = 33.3% of each addition in this case), it is mapped out on a ternary diagram. With the help of Figures 3.1a and 3.1b,

56 N.b. Very few iron brooches were found within the studied assemblages. However, Mackreth (2011), 4 explains how these brooches did not survive into the present since they are easily degradable and could be melted down for other use. Moreover, Mackreth believes the number of iron brooches was actually a lot higher than our current archaeological sample implies.

57 This is further evidenced by the occurrence of irregularly shaped brooches. For example, some were miniaturised, made to not be functional (e.g. missing spring), or were crudely made. These could have been made solely for a purpose, such as for buying and depositing at temple sites. These occurrences are dealt with on an individual basis, but the most notable example is that some of the brooches at Great Chesterford fit this description. See Section 4.5.2 on the brooches at Great Chesterford. N.b. there are not enough brooches with these characteristics in the study area to draw any patterns about the evidence or to warrant further developing theories about the purpose of these brooches in general. Lastly, many of these brooches, when they are within an assemblage, don't possess sufficient contextual details to make a large scale examination of these kinds of brooches fruitful.

58 Bayley and Butcher (2004).
Table 3.4: Brooch information using data from Bayley and Butcher (2004), Carr (2006), and Mackreth (2011).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brooch Type*</th>
<th>Date Range (CE)</th>
<th>Metal Alloy</th>
<th>Decorated</th>
<th>Place of Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>La Tène</td>
<td>pre-conquest</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
<td>Plain</td>
<td>Continent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langton Down</td>
<td>10 to 60</td>
<td>Brass</td>
<td>Often decorated</td>
<td>Britain, and the continent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosette &amp; Thistle</td>
<td>pre-conquest to 50</td>
<td>Brass</td>
<td>Often decorated</td>
<td>Continent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hod Hill</td>
<td>conquest? to 60/65</td>
<td>Brass</td>
<td>Often plain</td>
<td>Britain (post-conquest), and the continent (military assoc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aucissa</td>
<td>pre-conquest? to 60/65</td>
<td>Brass</td>
<td>Often decorated</td>
<td>Britain, and the continent (military assoc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colchester derivative</td>
<td>10/20 to 55/60</td>
<td>Brass</td>
<td>Usually plain</td>
<td>Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nauheim derivative</td>
<td>pre-conquest?/50 to 80/85</td>
<td>Brass/bronze</td>
<td>Plain</td>
<td>Britain, and the continent (military assoc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colchester derivative</td>
<td>50 to 80/85</td>
<td>Leaded bronze</td>
<td>Often decorated</td>
<td>Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet headed</td>
<td>1st to 2nd</td>
<td>Varied</td>
<td>Sometimes decorated</td>
<td>Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>1st to 2nd</td>
<td>Varied</td>
<td>Decorated</td>
<td>Britain, and the continent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Selected brooch types have a sample size of 20 or more each within the entire sampled assemblage

we see that sort of combination would produce leaded gunmetal.\(^{59}\) Earlier brooches had a tendency to use a lot of zinc,\(^{60}\) which produces brass; whereas later 1st and 2nd century brooches used much more varied metal compositions, though often lead and tin were used in combination (this produces a leaded bronze metal). Therefore, using the brooches in Figures 3.1c and 3.1d as a comparison, Colchester brooches were usually

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\(^{59}\)This example is not normal. Especially in the early Roman period, the percentage of additions usually favoured one or two types of metals, versus all three evenly.

\(^{60}\)N.b. bronze being used for La Tène brooches was a “pre-Roman tradition of metalworking”. Bayley and Butcher (2004), 145. Also Carr (2006), 46 and Dungworth (1997).
brass, and Colchester derivative brooches a leaded bronze.

It is difficult to determine the social implications of this metallurgical make up since it is plausible that the reason why the brooches were composed in these ways was purely an economical (versus a cultural) consequence. Along these lines, Bayley and Butcher believe metal compositions were affected by current technological and economic needs. This is because in the later 1st century there was a reduced availability of brass, whereas tin and lead were increasing in availability. Indeed, as suggested in Table 3.4, mixed metal combinations became more popular as time pro-
gressed after the Claudian conquest.\textsuperscript{61}

However, the other way to view the difference in metal compositions is that the resulting colour from these brooches was intentionally produced. When viewed this way, the metal alloy differences in Table 3.4 can be viewed as a cultural consequence. This is because brass brooches, which would have been gold in colour, were popular during the LIA; whereas later brooches would have been within a range of colours from grey (gunmetal) to brown (bronze).

Creighton suggests that the colour gold held cultural prestige during the LIA; he further says that this value attached to gold originates from the Continent.\textsuperscript{62} Indeed the practice of exploiting zinc was introduced to the Britons by the Gauls.\textsuperscript{63} Therefore, the colour of these gold brooches may have been a display of one’s identification with the practices of Gaul.

As indicated on Table 3.4, most brooch types were decorated in some way. The most common ways to decorate a brooch were either by enamelling or tinning the surface.\textsuperscript{64} Enamelling was conducted by fusing the selected pieces of glass to the metal base of the brooch;\textsuperscript{65} and tinning was conducted by dipping the object in a pot of molten tin.\textsuperscript{66} Tinning appears to have been more common in the 1st century, whereas later 1st and 2nd century brooches were more likely to be enamelled.\textsuperscript{67}

Since decayed copper alloys become a dark green-brown colour, and this is how the brooches appear to us now, it may be easy to forget how vibrant the brooches would have looked. Additional to some being a brass

\textsuperscript{61} See Bayley and Butcher (2004)’s quartile graphs on pp.209-210.
\textsuperscript{62} Even though Creighton (2000) mainly refers to coins, he conducts a more general analysis on pp 28-31, 40-43 concerning gold torcs and the (trance) imagery that gold is used to portray.
\textsuperscript{63} Carr (2006), 46; Craddock et al. (2004).
\textsuperscript{64} Bayley and Butcher (2004), 40-51. N.b. Johns (1996), 149: “...[I]t is interesting that gilding, silver-plating and tin-plating were more commonly applied to brooches than to most other metal personal ornaments.”
\textsuperscript{66} Bayley and Butcher (2004), 43.
\textsuperscript{67} This of course varies according to brooch type. Bayley and Butcher (2004), 211-213; Mackreth (2011), 6: “Although it is generally safe to consider enamelling as a second-century phenomenon, it is sufficiently common in the last quarter of the first century for it to be a mistake to assign all enamelling to the later period.”
gold in colour, a large range of colours were used in the decoration process. Figure 3.2 illustrates a good example of this. Bayley and Butcher’s metallurgical study further shows that the most common colours on decorated (enamelled) brooches were (in order) red, blue, and then turquoise.\(^{68}\) Tinning on the other hand would have added a silver, metallic-like finish. Either way, the decorations enabled brooches to go beyond an utilitarian item, by becoming not only a fashion statement but also quite possibly a power statement.

**Typology and cultural implications**

The type of brooches that are within an assemblage may also be able to inform us about the types of people who used them. There is no one to one correlation between a brooch type and a certain community. However, some patterns have been identified which show strong correlations between certain brooch types and certain communities.\(^{69}\)

Recent studies by Pitts and Plouviez have shown there was a tendency for Colchester, Langton Down, and Rosette/Thistle brooches to be located in the area of the LIA Eastern kingdom; similarly, in her study on the small finds within Silchester’s assemblage, Crummy showed a correlation between sites of the LIA Southern kingdom (and Kent) to have a

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\(^{68}\) Bayley and Butcher (2004), 26-51 for the manufacture and decoration of brooches.

\(^{69}\) Carr (2006), 2; Jones (1997).
high amount of Nauheim derivative brooches within their assemblages.\textsuperscript{70} This highlights the material distinctiveness of the areas correlating with the LIA kingdoms. However, it is unclear if these patterns were a conscious cultural statement or instead represented access to certain productions.

The situation, however, is further complicated by what is found within assemblages in urban centres and those sites with a military origin. Urban centres of course would have had a greater variety of brooches within their assemblages, but there appears to be a stronger inclination to deposit Colchester derivative brooches, Hod Hills, and Aucissa brooches at sites that have urban and military origins.\textsuperscript{71} For example, Plouviez has shown that the majority of the brooches deposited in London were either Colchester derivatives or Hod Hill brooches.\textsuperscript{72} It is probable that this pattern is chronological, since brooches which were not favoured on urban sites tended to stop being produced 10-20 years after cities (within the study area) were established. Consequently, since London had a high amount of Colchester derivative and Hod Hill brooches produced, this may have controlled the types of brooches being supplied to surrounding areas.

Hod Hill and Aucissa brooches have been traditionally associated with the military. This is because they are believed to have been introduced to Britain through the army.\textsuperscript{73} Considering the possibility that London may actually have military origins, the high percentage of Hod Hill brooches in London’s assemblage may be a reflection of this.\textsuperscript{74} Furthermore, these two brooches may have originally held a military association before their association was eventually adapted into something else by the local population;\textsuperscript{75} and therefore this could provide supporting evidence for sites that have a high amount of these brooches within their assemblages, like London, to have military origins.

\textsuperscript{70}Pitts (2014); Plouviez (2008); Crummy (2012).
\textsuperscript{71}Penannular brooches are dismissed here because they do not usually appear with temple assemblages in sufficient quantities. Pitts (2014).
\textsuperscript{72}Plouviez (2008).
\textsuperscript{73}Bayley and Butcher (2004), 151-153; Carr (2006), 37-39.
\textsuperscript{74}Perring (2011), 250-251; Pitts (2014), 134.
\textsuperscript{75}For a discussion of Aucissa brooches see Eckardt (2005), 150-154. Also Pitts (2014), 152-153.
The last brooch worth noting is the plate brooch. Plate brooches were distributed from the 1st century, though the majority of them appear from the early 2nd century. This brooch is hard to define since this type can be characterised as embodying a large variety of sub-types. Additionally, since this brooch was always decorated, there may have been some kind of element of individualism in owning it. Perhaps it is for this reason that they commonly appear within temple assemblages. In comparison, they do not appear in such high proportions within the assemblages of other settlement types. Since there is so much variety in the types of plate brooches, they will need to be analysed individually whenever relevant. These brooches, therefore, are particularly integral to this study since they appear to have held special connotations for religious sites, and, when compared to other brooch types, seem to have been highly personalised.

**Methodology for analysis**

Analyses pertaining to the location of the brooches and their condition are discussed before the following sections:

**Quantification**

- Do the quantities of the different brooch types provide more information on when the site was used, or how the site was used more generally? For example, if there was an absence of early brooches on a site, does this in turn suggest that the practice to deposit brooches during this time was uncommon?

**Typological patterns**

- What are the social implications for the predominance of certain types of brooches within the assemblage?

- To what extent does a typological study of the brooches suggest the occurrence of social practices on the site?

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3.2.3 Coins

Coins in Romano-British temple assemblages

Coins are normally used to provide supporting evidence of the province’s historical situation. Furthermore, due to their function within the modern and Roman worlds as currency, they have also been used mostly within the field of economics. However, particularly with the LIA coins, there have been a large number of contextually sensitive studies examining the pre-Roman coins in Britain. These studies also often comment on the meaning and implication of LIA coins being located within temple sites. However, there is a dearth of studies which specifically examine the purpose of coins within temple assemblages.

Therefore, since coins are commonly found on temple sites and it is already generally accepted that they played roles related to ritual practice, the numismatic evidence should clearly be addressed alongside the other finds evidence. The coins also have the potential to further characterise the area’s political environment - in other words, we may be able to determine the political alignment of those who used the site, in addition to shedding more light on the social practices which took place.

Factors to consider

There are a couple of minor factors to consider before analysing the numismatic evidence. The first is that the imagery on a coin can influence how that coin should be interpreted. Although this may seem like a vital point for discussion, there is limited scope to fully consider this issue. This is because the coins within the sample were 1) not regularly recorded in

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77 Ireland (2008); Reece (2002). For the historical placement of pre-Roman coins see Nash (1987).
78 E.g. Reece (2012).
79 Van Arsdell (1989); Creighton (2000); Curteis (2005); Haselgrove (1993) and (1987); Holman (2005a) and (2005b). Also Curteis (2013) and Smith (2001).
80 Haselgrove (2005). This work includes a few case studies on the function and importance of coins at the temples of Hayling Island, Harlow, and Wanborough.
81 See Creighton (2000) for an in-depth analysis of the evolving imagery on coins.
detail, and 2) often too corroded or damaged. Therefore this study will not focus on the special imagery of the coins. The other point is related to the discussion of metallurgy in Section 3.2.2. Indeed whether a coin was made of gold, silver, or copper alloy can change our interpretation of its deposition. Since a discussion of the significance of gold has already been done, it will not be repeated here.

Political interpretations

Creighton, using the pre-Roman coin evidence, provides an excellent discussion on how the coins were used by the different LIA kingdoms for political ends. Consequently, the presence of a large amount of pre-Roman coins minted under certain leaders may reflect the political alignment or connections of those who used the site, and provide more information on the boundaries of these kingdoms. Whereas the numismatic evidence can subsequently enable discussions about the political situation of the LIA, this is harder to determine for the early Roman period because there was a dearth of coins within the sampled sites that dated to that time. Indeed when Roman coins were deposited, most were dated to the 3rd and 4th centuries. Although not unusual, this does limit what can be said about the Roman coins for this research.

What was their function?

The way in which the function of these coins is perceived changes how they are interpreted. As mentioned before, they were used for monetary purposes during the Roman period. However, such a custom was not necessarily in effect in the LIA.


83 There are a number of reasons to explain why coins on temple sites are usually of a 3rd or 4th century date: 1) inflation and devaluation of currency demanded the circulation of new coins, 2) initial slow economic growth at nearby urban centres, 3) delays in supplying and using coins to more rural areas, 4) early coins had a longer circulation life. See Curteis (2013).
Haselgrove puts forward the theory that IA coins were not primarily used as currency.\textsuperscript{84} They were instead used for multiple purposes relating to displaying and transferring power. Although this has been since questioned by Van Arsdell, whose counter-argument rested on the statement that the “Celts” possessed a stronger than often expected “money economy”,\textsuperscript{85} other scholars have supported Haselgrove’s theory.\textsuperscript{86} Therefore, the purpose of pre-Roman coins was likely not restricted to just being distributed and circulated for currency reasons. That being said, both of the theories put forward by Haselgrove and Van Arsdell appear plausible. The complex nature of the evidence means we should acknowledge both theories so that we do not approach the evidence within prescribed biases.

\textit{Purpose of deposition}

There are a wide range of questions to be considered when trying to establish why coins were deposited on temple sites. For example, does there appear to be any consistency in the location of the coins over a large span of time? If so, this may suggest a continuity in LIA practices and that certain LIA characteristics of the site thrived into the Roman period. The location of the coins can also suggest the presence of specific social practices. For instance, if coins were concentrated in selective parts of the site, this may be a reflection of a practice to control the movement of visitors during their time at the site.\textsuperscript{87} Lastly, although rarely found within the study sample coin hoards need to be treated separately to establish their purpose.

The condition of the coins may also hint as to why they were deposited.

\textsuperscript{84}Haselgrove (1987).
\textsuperscript{85}Van Arsdell (1989), 31-32. C.f. Crawford (1970) who discusses that coins were not the only means of monetary exchange in the Roman world.
\textsuperscript{86}Creighton (2000), 31; Fitzpatrick (1985); Roymans (2004), 12, 20. For the coins serving as temple money see next section. C.f. Smith (2001) who additionally proposed that depositing IA coins may have been an attempt to get rid of an outdated currency, or to make an antique valued deposit.
\textsuperscript{87}This is strongly evidenced by the practices at the temple site at Frilford. See Kamash et al. (2010).
If they were in mint condition, this suggests a short circulation period and that in turn they could have been bought for the purpose of that practice. On the other hand, if the coins were consistently significantly damaged, this provides evidence that “ritual killing” took place (see Section 3.1.4).

Finally, the high quantity of coins within temple assemblages has caused some scholars to question whether these coins had any commercial value outside of temple sites. The coins may have not had any purpose outside of religious areas, and were given monetary value that could only be used on temple sites. This means they could have been used as a sort of “temple money”. However, not only is what is implied by stating these coins were “temple money” unclear, but this theory is based on scanty evidence. Along these lines there is a possibility that temples may have acted as banks during times of duress. However, this theory does not have any archaeological grounding. Although it is possible that coins could have been used as temple money, or that temples acted as banks, these interpretations should only be applied with great caution.

**Methodology for analysis**

*Quantification*

- What does the ratio of pre-Roman:Roman coins tell us about the nature of the site?
- If present in sufficient quantities, do the pre-Roman coins reveal anything about the community who used the site?
- Are there any gold or silver coins on the site, and do they appear to have been treated or used in a different way?

*Purpose of deposition*

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89 C.f. Kiernan (2009), 153-164 for coin substitutes. Also this appears to have been more relevant for the later Roman period. See Boon (1965), 235 and Smith (2001), 28.
90 This is based on literary sources usually concerning other provinces. See Cheesman (1994), 33-34 for a full discussion.
• Is there any evidence to suggest that the coins were used for a particular practice or purpose on the site?

3.2.4 Hairpins

Hairpins in Romano-British temple assemblages

The presence of hairpins within an assemblage can be a reflection of the fashion preferences of those who used the site; they furthermore develop our image of who used the site, and perhaps show how ostentatious ritual practices may have been.\textsuperscript{91} The hairpin evidence works particularly well together with that of the brooches, since the mentality relating to their deposition was likely similar to the practice of depositing other items of personal adornment. Studies about hairpins, including analyses of their appearance on temple sites, unsurprisingly are mentioned alongside other items of personal adornment.\textsuperscript{92} Therefore, just like the brooches, hairpins can be useful in characterising the identity of and the practices of those who used temple sites.\textsuperscript{93}

Factors to consider

Identification of a hairpin

Occasionally it is difficult to identify a hairpin from other similarly shaped objects, especially if some of the hairpin is missing. Hairpin-like objects could easily be misidentified from objects such as styli, spindles, staves for spinning, and general fasteners.\textsuperscript{94} Although careful examination of an

\textsuperscript{91}Hairpins were primarily used to pin the hair, though they may have also been used as clothing fasteners and jewellery. Allison (2013), 77; Johns (1996), 137.


\textsuperscript{93}Additionally, though not present within the studied sample sites to the best of this author’s knowledge, Carr (2006), 59 mentions some bone hairpins were stained or painted to look like glass or metal. If true, this further exemplifies the influence hairpins had over social standards and its implications.

\textsuperscript{94}Allison (2013).
object decreases the possibility for making such mistakes,\textsuperscript{95} this factor of the unknown should be kept in mind.

\textit{Metal versus bone}

The proportion between metal:bone hairpins varies according to settlement type. Whether this is due to bones being a cheaper alternative or its wider availability, an examination of major urban assemblages has made it clear that urban sites have higher quantities and proportions of bone hairpins.\textsuperscript{96} Other scholars, such as Wardle and Carr, have found that metal hairpins were also more common on temple sites; however, they are unable to explain why this seems to be the case.\textsuperscript{97} The colour of the hairpin, which was affected by the material in which it was made, may have been an influencing factor. It is possible that, as discussed in Section 3.2.2 concerning the brooches, what the hairpin looked like was taken into consideration. Further research on the metallurgy of hairpins may shed light on this. It may be that metal hairpins were selectively chosen for ritual practices, and this is something that will be later tested. This study therefore continues to explore this tendency for metal hairpins to appear within temple assemblages.

\textit{Typology and shape}

There are two different hairpin typologies depending on whether the hairpin was made of bone or metal.\textsuperscript{98} Cool (1990) for the metal hairpins, and Crummy (1992) for the bone hairpins. These typologies are fairly successful in categorising and distinguishing when the different types of hairpins were distributed; however, one of the main problems is that

\textsuperscript{95}E.g. spinning staves were much longer, and styli had a flattened shoulder. Allison (2013), 77, 88-89, 92-93.

\textsuperscript{96}Furthermore, Wardle (2013), 204-205 notes that metal hairpins were more common on high status rural sites, whereas the opposite is true for low status rural sites.

\textsuperscript{97}Wardle (2013); Carr (2006).

\textsuperscript{98}Other types of hairpins, such as those made of glass, jet, or ivory, gained popularity in the later Roman periods.
these dates are very broad. Still, the general pattern can be established that hairpins which were long and thin were distributed in earlier periods, whereas shorter and bulkier hairpins progressively became more common as time went on. Since there are not any hairpins with decorated heads within any of the sampled temple assemblages, this limits the interpretive scope of the evidence. However, the presence of short and thin hairpins suggests that visitors wore their hairstyles in a tall, Flavian fashion, whereas the presence of later short and bulky hairpins suggests hairstyles were worn closely to one's head.

Methodology for analysis

Analysis pertaining to the general location of the hairpins are discussed before the following sections:

Quantification

- What is the proportion of metal:bone hairpins, and does this tell us anything about the nature or social practices of the site?
- Does the proportion of brooch:hairpin items reveal any notable patterns related to the deposition of items of personal adornment?

Typological patterns

- What kind of style(s) are evidenced by the different types of hairpins?
- Does there appear to be a preference to deposit certain types of hairpins in certain locations?

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99 Hairpins are the most problematic out of selected finds to be accurately dated, as it was difficult to determine which types to include and which to exclude. Therefore, metal and bone hairpin types were included in this thesis. For the dangers of this see Wardle (2013), 204.

100 Hairpins with decorated heads are often the focus of analyses. Examples include Eckardt (2014), 158-161 and Swift (2011), 198-200.

3.3 Chapter summary

This chapter has established the methods used for this study. Additionally it has explored the different finds evidence, and addressed some of the main issues related to interpreting the finds. It has also established the sequence of methodological questions used to analyse the evidence. These questions help the analysis stay focused and enable the data to be more easily interpreted later on.
Great Chesterford

4.1 Introduction

Located along the River Cam between the chalk hills, Great Chesterford was situated within a strategic area for both military and economic purposes. A (short-lived) fort once occupied the area, but this was swiftly replaced by a civilian town in the late 1st century which had a temple accompanying it, located on one of the hills to the north-east. Initially identified in 1719 by the antiquarian William Stukeley, the site was published in great detail by Medlycott. The high quality and quantity of the finds within its temple's assemblage are the main grounds for it being one of the primary sites for this study. This case study is also an ideal one to begin with since, as it will become clear, the social practices evidenced by the finds evidence here are very pronounced.

The finds evidence from the temple assemblage at Great Chesterford provide a great deal of evidence that a diversity of social practices took place on the site. The aim of this chapter is to explore how the selected finds do indeed demonstrate this. In order to understand the intricacies of the temple assemblage, however, it is necessary to first examine the settlement, which would have affected the treatment and usage of the temple site (Section 4.2). Essential historical information pertaining to the development of the temple site are also considered (Section 4.3), before

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1Stukeley (1776).
2Medlycott (2011).
3Sometimes, these practices can even be distinguished from those taking place on sites within the local landscape.
the data are introduced (Section 4.4). The finds are then analysed (Section 4.5), and this is followed by a discussion of the social practices at the temple site.

4.2 The sites at Great Chesterford

Table 4.1: Simplified chronology reference.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>Temple</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LIA to mid 1st CE</td>
<td>Fort</td>
<td>LIA or early Roman temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1st to early 2nd CE</td>
<td>Civilian settlement</td>
<td>Masonry temple and precinct ditch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid to late 2nd CE</td>
<td>Development of extra-mural sites</td>
<td>Continued development and precinct palisade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early to mid 3rd CE</td>
<td>Second Walled Enclosure?</td>
<td>Continued development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 3rd to early 4th CE</td>
<td>Masonry wall</td>
<td>Repair and refurbishment. Half-temple within precinct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th to 6th CE</td>
<td>Continued development</td>
<td>Probable decline</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The settlement at Great Chesterford was the major economic hub in the northern area of Zone 2, containing the largest fort and second largest settlement in Essex.\(^4\) It is thus to be expected that the settlement, and consequently the temple 1km to the east, would have received a lot of activity, and that it is unsurprising that there were multiple (possible) temples located within the settlement. It is also possible that the excavated temple was not actually the primarily used temple of Great Chesterford.\(^5\) The four temples are summarised below:

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\(^4\)Colchester’s fortress was 20 ha. Great Chesterford’s fort stood at 13.4 ha, and the next largest was Gosbecks at 1.6 ha. The later settlement was about a third the size of Colchester (15 ha versus 52 ha). Although the archaeological evidence does not tell us when the fort was constructed, many scholars favour the theory that it was constructed in response to the Boudiccan revolt. See Johnson (1983), Medlycott (2011), and Wickenden (1996).

\(^5\)As shown in Table 4.1, even though the settlement continued to flourish, the temple site began to decline from the late 3rd century. It is therefore unclear whether these temples were in use during the excavated temple’s lifetime, or if they acted as its replacement.
• The nearest temple to the excavated one is located just south-east of its precinct. Occupation started from the mid 2nd century and the proportion of finds are comparable to those of the excavated (temple) assemblage.

• Geophysical surveying confirms an octagonal temple north of the marketplace.

• A beehive shrine was located south-west of the marketplace. Comparison with its only parallel in Britain, the Arthur O’on in Scotland, suggests a mid to late 2nd century construction date.

• A later apsidal temple is located just south-west of the town on the opposite side of the River Cam.

Further excavation of these other temples should reveal the relationship between them, and if any shared practices can be found by comparing their assemblages. For the time being their existence can only be acknowledged.

An examination of the sequence of events between the settlement and the temple in Table 4.1 shows there may have been a correlation between the fort and the LIA shrine. If indeed the scanty evidence for the existence of a LIA shrine can be taken, this means that a pre-Roman religious site was likely functioning alongside the early Roman fort. This furthermore raises questions about the interaction between the two communities. Those soldiers residing at the fort may have used this shrine or interacted with the indigenous peoples who did. It may also just indicate that the site instead served a local, more indigenous, community. Making this connection, however, is not without its problems. What is referred to as the LIA shrine may not have been pre-Roman in origin, but instead an early

\(^6\)Labelled as Site B in the excavation report.

\(^7\)A nearby hoard of 198 coins, which may be related to this temple, was found in a neighbouring insula.

\(^8\)Medlycott (2011) refers to the complex as a “shrine” and not a temple. This is retained here.
temporary temple established by the incoming soldiers. If this was the case, then drawing on theories based on the continuation of LIA practices or that it served a different community becomes more problematic. This theory that the previous structure was a temporary one is furthermore supported by the odd circumstance that there is a dearth of material evidence found on the site before the late 1st century. Unfortunately, however, the lack of evidence in general means the answer to this problem can only be speculated for the time being.

4.3 Context information from the temple site

Occupation of the site is assumed to have begun sometime in the Iron Age. The main evidence for this is a 3-sided structure opening up slope

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8 John Peterson, a researcher at the University of East Anglia who works on the land management of the Romans in the UK: “...[The] phase 1 temple and fort are part of the same pattern - same materials, same orientation, both related to the limitatio in an apparently significant way.” (pers. comm., April 2014)

10 However, Medlycott (2011), 133 notes that Collin’s excavation in 1978 believed that it originated in the LIA. However, datable evidence has yet to be recorded.
to the north.\textsuperscript{11} However, this shrine may have been located within a sacred grove.\textsuperscript{12} Furthermore, though not directly neighbouring the shrine, there was a nearby water source towards the bottom of the valley; and this may have served as an important area for activities of the site.\textsuperscript{13}

A masonry square temple was constructed over the previous structure probably in the late 1st century.\textsuperscript{14} This was accompanied by a rhombus shaped precinct, which, assuming the previous 3-sided assumption is correct, re-aligned the entrance to face eastwards.\textsuperscript{15} The sacred grove (if it existed) would have also been removed; if this was the case, this could have resulted in a more formalised religious character.

Since the finds from the assemblages at the eastern entrance and south-west corner of the site were those which were typical to find in the early Roman period, this suggests they were also in use by this time. The eastern entrance contains the majority of the trenches for this site. However the majority of the material finds were actually located at the south-west corner.\textsuperscript{16} The wide spatial separation between the eastern entrance, the temple itself, and the south-west corner (see Figure 4.2) is the first hint that these areas experienced different types of social practices; and indeed the finds evidence, which will be discussed in due course, support

\textsuperscript{11}This opening faced the Bramble Shot Field burial site 1.2km uphill. However, the 3-sided interpretation is not necessarily correct. On the questionable nature of this structure see the previous section (Section 4.2).

\textsuperscript{12}The assumption of a sacred grove is usually quite contentious. See Medlycott (2011), 75, 133-134, who cites irregular depressions and flints surrounding the shrine as evidence for this.

\textsuperscript{13}N.b. the current course of the River Slade, which runs just south-west of the shrine (cutting through later Roman features), is the result of an early 19th century realignment. Aerial photography has identified that the original river meandered along the bottom of the valley. Medlycott (2011), 81; Miller (1995), 36-37.

\textsuperscript{14}The location of the masonry structure over the previous one may also indicate the continuation of LIA practice. C.f footnote 9 and discussion of a previous temporary temple. Furthermore, it is possible that the late 1st CE start of the site was an implication of the Bouddican revolt. See Millett (1990), 74-101 who states that the presence of the military affected both the speed of growth of urban and rural communities. See also Mattingly (2007), who, along the lines of Millett, says that societies which experienced military occupation were slow to recuperate and develop.

\textsuperscript{15}There is currently no convincing explanation for this unusual precinct shape.

\textsuperscript{16}As it will become apparent later, this is almost entirely due to the extremely large quantity of sheep bones located there.
this theory.

The temple site continued to develop in the 2nd century. With a porch, a shingled path between the temple and the eastern entrance, and other such features being added. Along these lines, a precinct palisade replaced the previous precinct ditch.\textsuperscript{17} However, the majority of the finds evidence were actually deposited before the mid 2nd century; and by the mid 3rd century, quantities have significantly deceased.

4.4 Data quality and quantity

The temple site was discovered by a farmer attempting to plough the area in 1847.\textsuperscript{18} This resulted in the first excavations taking place later that year. After which time the temple walls and the late Roman mosaic floor were dismantled by the landowner so that the land could be farmed. The temple and its immediate surroundings were excavated again in 1978 by the Great Chesterford Archaeological Group (GCAR), and the precinct was later ex-

\textsuperscript{17}Perhaps only in function. The precinct ditch, even after a palisade was constructed in the later 2nd century, would not be filled until the late 3rd/early 4th century. Therefore it may have been visible until that time.

\textsuperscript{18}For a full description of early excavations see Medlycott (2011), 130ff.
cavated between 1983-1988. Unlike the settlement to the south-west, in which most of the stone was robbed, the temple site luckily remained relatively undisturbed.\textsuperscript{19} Furthermore, the finds and their contexts appear to be very well preserved.\textsuperscript{20}

Figure 4.2 shows a plan of the temple site and the extent of the excavations. Even though the precinct excavations in the 1980s did conduct trial trenches at different areas of the wall, there are still quite a lot of areas which have yet to be explored. Current interpretations on how the site functioned are limited to how the three different areas - the south-west corner, temple area, and eastern entrance - interacted with each other.

Table 4.2: Quantities of the finds evidence at the Great Chesterford temple site.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Small find</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animal remains</td>
<td>26,755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooches</td>
<td>51+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coins</td>
<td>900+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hairpins</td>
<td>52+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The temple assemblage contains a substantial quantity of material evidence. Table 4.2 shows that the sample sizes within the assemblage are sufficient; this allows for the individual assemblages of each of the different areas to be compared so that we can distinguish between their practices. Therefore, the extensive excavations and the wealth of finds within the assemblage have the potential to make the site an ideal case study to showcase how the finds evidence may illuminate a variety of social practices.

\textsuperscript{19}Stone robbing at the settlement led to rescue excavations in 1948 and 1953. The area is now managed by the GCAR, which was formed in 1977.

\textsuperscript{20}Legge et al. (2000) refer specifically to the animal remains, especially those located at the south-west corner.
Table 4.3: Overview of the animal remains (NISP) at Great Chesterford. Data from Baxter (2011), Table 17.45.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taxon</th>
<th>Late 1st to early 2nd century</th>
<th>Mid 2nd to 3rd century</th>
<th>Late 3rd to early 4th century</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>7 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>9 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>19 (9%)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>19,741 (99%)</td>
<td>6,087 (92%)</td>
<td>144 (71%)</td>
<td>25,972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pig</td>
<td>33 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>52 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>21 (10%)</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>2 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>3 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>4 (2%)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>7 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>381 (6%)</td>
<td>2 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic fowl</td>
<td>167 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>49 (1%)</td>
<td>10 (5%)</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>11 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>3 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>3 (1%)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19,968</td>
<td>6,584</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>26,755</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Number includes partial skeletons

4.5 Analyses of the finds evidence

4.5.1 Animal remains

The total countable animal remains make up 78% of the temple’s assemblage. It is likely that the practices involving these deposited remains may have significantly characterised the practices that would have taken place at the site. The animal bones were found from the late 1st century onwards at both the eastern entrance and the south-west corner (see Table 4.4).

Bone quantification

Table 4.3 provides a clear list of the taxa by different time periods. This table is helpful in showing how practices changed throughout time. It also identifies the social practices likely to be evidenced by the animal remains on a broader level. As a very general summary, the majority of the remains are dated to the late 1st to early 2nd century, and are sheep bones.\(^{21}\)

\(^{21}\)99% of the entire faunal assemblage are sheep bones. N.b. since no bones specific to goat were found, we can confidently say these bones came from sheep, and the category sheep/goat does not need to be used.
Before analysing the remains by different time periods, it is worth briefly taking note of the absence of remains (and indeed depositions in general) before the late 1st century. The appearance of animal remains in the late 1st century coincides with the building of the masonry temple. Even though this fits in with the general pattern on the site to not deposit archaeological finds before the 1st century, as mentioned in Section 4.3 the site was likely occupied and in use before this time. Since the animal remains take up such a substantial part of the assemblage, it seems odd that nothing appears to have been deposited before this time. If this is not the result of the excavation conditions and techniques, this could be showing a dramatic change in character of the temple site, perhaps related to the conversion of the Roman fort into a civilian settlement. Furthermore, this could suggest a change in focus from a more militarily utilised temple to a more civilian one (and thus a change from a military practice to a civilian one), the solidification of a LIA practice, or the introduction of a new practice which came alongside the creation and development of the settlement. Additionally, the possibility cannot be dismissed that the main areas of deposition before the late 1st century could have been located elsewhere.

**Late 1st to early 2nd century**
This time period contains the highest quantity of animal bones by a large margin.\(^22\) Especially since the animal remains comprise the majority of the temple’s assemblage (see Section 4.5.1), this suggests the temple was most active during this time. The quantity of animal remains during the late 1st to early 2nd century outnumbers even the total quantities of animal remains within the other sampled temple sites.

Sheep remains take up 99% of the bones found for this time period.\(^23\) Even before other aspects of the remains are analysed (such as the location, condition, etc), it is already apparent that sheep were a fundamental

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\(^{22}\)75% of the animal remains were deposited from the late 1st to early 2nd century.

\(^{23}\)However, even if the sheep remains were taken out of Table 4.3, most of the remains were also deposited during this time period; n=227 for late 1st/early 2nd century; n=152 for mid 2nd/mid 3rd century; n=59 for late 3rd/early 4th.
ingredient for the practice(s) taking place.

Although the quantity of domestic fowl remains is less than 1% of the bones found for this time period, the raw numbers illustrated on Table 4.3 show that the quantity of bones for this taxon is high when compared to the bones of other taxa. Especially since domestic fowl remains were not commonly found at the settlement or within the local area beyond the settlement, it is possible that these remains represent ritual practice.

**Mid 2nd to mid 3rd century**

Other than the fact that clearly the sheep bones remained the most dominant taxon during the mid 2nd to mid 3rd century, dog bones also took up a relatively high proportion of the assemblage. Since the quantity of dog bones was only high during this time period, this suggests that there was a short lived ritual introduced in the 2nd century which caused these depositions. The low amount of gnaw marks on bones throughout the site implies dogs did not roam around freely, and so it is highly unlikely they were pets or strays. Therefore, these animals could have been brought to the site for this practice.

**Late 3rd to early 4th century**

Although the amount of animal bones was already declining before this time, by the late 3rd century this becomes even more apparent. The animal bone assemblage during this time period can be characterised as containing a larger variety of animal bones, though probably the rituals associated with sheep, dog, and maybe even the domestic fowl, would have no longer been taking place.

**Taxa and location**

Table 4.4 separates the different taxa in terms of where their bones were located within each time period. Since the bones were found in good archaeological conditions, we can use the evidence to create a picture distinguishing where animals were being deposited. For example, the eastern

\[24\text{See footnote 20.}\]
Table 4.4: Taxon and location at Great Chesterford. Data from Baxter (2011), Tables 17.40-44

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taxon</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Late 1st to 2nd century</th>
<th>Mid to mid 3rd century</th>
<th>Late 3rd to early 4th century</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>EE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>EE</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>19,691</td>
<td>5,905</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25,596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pig</td>
<td>EE</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>EE</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>EE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>381*</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>EE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fowl</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>EE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Number includes partial skeletons
† EE=eastern entrance; SW=south-west corner

entrance seems to have hardly received any depositions between the late 1st to early 2nd century. In fact, most taxa were located at the south-western corner.\(^{25}\)

The main pattern to be taken from Table 4.4 is that the main rituals which caused the sheep, domestic fowl, and dog remains to be deposited were likely taking place at the south-west corner. Even though many bones were deposited at the eastern entrance, about 99% of the bones were located at the south-western corner. Therefore, the south-western corner can be seen as a place where ritual activities took place, whereas the eastern entrance appears to have been used for more general purposes. Furthermore, animal bones were not found at the temple itself.

Table 4.5 is a simplified version of Table 4.4 and emphasises the diver-

\(^{25}\)Even though outside of this study’s time period, it is notable that this corner becomes inactive in the 3rd century. This provides more evidence that the main rituals from the 1st and 2nd centuries were no longer in practice.
Table 4.5: Non-ovricaprid taxa and location at Great Chesterford.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taxon</th>
<th>Eastern entrance</th>
<th>SW corner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>21 (60%)</td>
<td>14 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pig</td>
<td>74 (69%)</td>
<td>33 (31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>12 (92%)</td>
<td>1 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>2 (1%)</td>
<td>381 (99%)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic fowl</td>
<td>16 (7%)</td>
<td>210 (93%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5 (29%)</td>
<td>12 (71%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Number includes several partial skeletons.

...sity of taxa at both locations. Even though the main practice of the temple site involved sheep, a wide range of animals have also been found at the site. Both the eastern entrance and the south-west corner housed a good variety of animals other than sheep. Cattle, pig, and horse bones had a tendency to be located at the eastern entrance, whereas dog, domestic fowl, and bones from the “other” category tended to be at the south-western corner. A look at the “other” species shows that non-ovicaprid animals were found at both locations: the eastern entrance had traces of cat, duck, amphibian, and geese bones; whereas the south-west corner had traces of cat, hare, crow, red deer, and geese. Therefore, even though the south-west corner was used for more specific rituals, this is not to say that other animals were restricted from being deposited there, nor does it to eliminate the possibility that more peculiar practices took place.

**Status of the bones**

A discussion about the ages of the sheep which were probably sacrificed further develops what can be said about the practice of depositing sheep bones on the site. The majority of the sheep remains have been aged as juvenile or younger, with the sheep dying before they were 10 months

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26 C.f. Baxter (2011), 322. Despite the generalisation made by Baxter that non-ovicaprid species mostly were found at the eastern entrance, non-ovicaprid species were found in quite even proportions at both locations.
Table 4.6: Sheep slaughter periods at Great Chesterford

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Time of Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Late 1st to early 2nd century</td>
<td>newborn</td>
<td>April</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 mo.</td>
<td>May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2-3 mo.</td>
<td>June-July</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-11 mo.</td>
<td></td>
<td>January-March</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid 2nd to mid 3rd century</td>
<td>~ 3 mo.</td>
<td>July</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, the situation is more complex than this. At first it was thought that there were only two distinct killing seasons that happened throughout the year. However, slaughter periods appear to have varied depending on the period of time they were deposited. Table 4.6 summarises this information. Essentially, there appear to have been four different slaughter periods from the late 1st to early 2nd century. This changes from the mid 2nd to mid 3rd century to a single killing season during the year. The change from multiple killing seasons to a single one implies that 1) a summer festival or event was introduced, and 2) the reason why lambs were sacrificed may have changed. Although it is unclear whether the lamb ritual of the late 1st to early 2nd century was related to the later mid 2nd to mid 3rd century rituals, it seems likely that the ritual was adapted into something new.

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27 More specifically, they were killed before they reached Payne’s mandible stage D. Payne (1973) classifies this stage as between 10-27 months old.
28 During the 1980s excavations, Payne (1973, 1987) identified two distinct killing seasons.
30 See Chapter 3 for the discussions on spring being the peak birth season for sheep in Britain. Therefore, if the sheep were killed when they were around 3 months old, this would occur sometime in the summer.
The ages of the domestic fowl are also worth noting.\textsuperscript{31} They can be split into two groups (maybe the result of two slaughter periods). 74\% of the remains were aged as adults and 26\% were aged as juveniles.\textsuperscript{32} Therefore, the domestic fowl may have similarly been intentionally killed at specific ages or times of the year.

The introduction of a festival or event in the summer may lead one to think the temple was inactive during other parts of the year. Although this is possible, it is unlikely since other practices, most likely unrelated to this ritual, were also taking place. Other than the dog remains, the domestic fowl remains provide the firmest evidence showing the site was active during multiple times of the year. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the domestic fowl seem to have been killed at multiple times throughout the year.\textsuperscript{33} Therefore, the temple was probably not active for just a single event.

**Condition of the bones**

Keeping in mind that the animal remains, particularly those located at the south-western corner, were in well preserved archaeological contexts, the varying conditions of the bones are probably not coincidental.\textsuperscript{34} This section first explores the chop and cut marks within the assemblage, and then moves on to the burnt bones.\textsuperscript{35}

Since the sample size for the butchery marks at the eastern entrance is too small (n=4), Table 4.7 only lists the marks on the bones from the

\textsuperscript{31}Other taxa were also detailed, but no significant patterns arose from this. For example, according to Baxter (2011), 339, the pig remains were likely an accidental inclusion since the ages are so varied.

\textsuperscript{32}Baxter (2011), 341ff. This is an average from all of the phases. The late 1st to early 2nd century had 77\% adult and 23\% juvenile, and the mid 2nd to mid 3rd century had 61\% adult and 39\% juvenile.

\textsuperscript{33}For the ages of the domestic fowl remains providing evidence for multiple killing seasons from the late 1st to mid 3rd century see Baxter (2011), 342.

\textsuperscript{34}In general, the bones in the south-west corner were fairly complete or intact, whereas the bones from the eastern entrance were more fragmented. Baxter (2011), 321.

\textsuperscript{35}Raw data are not given for the gnaw marks within the assemblage. It is merely stated that they were present in less quantities at the south-western corner. There were also a few instances of osteomyelitis and one of penning elbow (with the sheep bones).
Table 4.7: Chop and cut marks at the south-west corner at Great Chesterford.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taxon</th>
<th>Chop mark(s)</th>
<th>Cut mark(s)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic fowl</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
<td><strong>92</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

south-west corner. As displayed on this table, most of the marks were on sheep bones. Moreover, most were cut marks, likely from a knife.

There are two reasons that can explain this tendency to use a knife (versus an axe or a cleaver) in this situation. The first is that the fragility of the bones may have called for the careful precision that a knife offers. Sheep bones, especially compared to cattle bones (which were normally chopped), were thinner and smaller. So it may have been seen as excessive to use an axe. The second reason is that chop marks tended to appear in Britain after the Claudian conquest.\(^{36}\) This suggests that either techniques which became popular well after the Claudian conquest had yet to become popular at Great Chesterford,\(^{37}\) or it was a deliberate decision to avoid butchering techniques that were popular with the new influx of people as a result of the Claudian conquest. If the latter is correct, this suggests that the site was catering to those who lived in the town or perhaps to those who lived in the surrounding areas. Whatever the reason, this sheep sacrifice ritual (at least usually) involved the use of a knife, versus an axe.\(^{38}\)

A summary of where cut marks appeared on the sheep bones in the south-west corner is provided in Table 4.8.\(^{39}\) Since cuts were found on the


\(^{37}\)Indeed the bones (within this assemblage) that had chop marks on them were usually dated to later periods. However, the sample size is far too low to say this was the reason.

\(^{38}\)N.b. there does not appear to be any evidence of the bones being processed for commercial purposes. For a discussion of butchery evidence that is indicative of animal processing see Maltby (2007).

\(^{39}\)N.b. that the high quantity of metapodial bones is not unusual since they are durable and thus have a higher survival rate compared to other bones.
Table 4.8: Ovicaprid cut marks at the south-west corner at Great Chesterford.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bone type</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Skull*</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower limbs†</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper limb (femur)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metapodial‡</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (scapula)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>88</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Includes hyoids and a mandible.
† Includes radii and a tibia.
‡ Includes astragali, calcanei, centrotarsales, metacarpals, metatarsals, and a phalanx.

skull, limb, and metapodial areas, this suggests that animals were being skinned. Furthermore, the number of traversely cut bones (n=37) implies the animals were consumed afterwards. This is because marrow can be extracted from the bone when cut traversely. Therefore, the cut marks not only show that the animals were skinned, but it is also the first hint that the ritual was accompanied by a feast.

Table 4.9: Burnt bones at Great Chesterford.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>EE</th>
<th>SW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Late 1st to early 2nd century</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid 1st to mid 3rd century</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid 2nd to mid 3rd century</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>254</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 4.9 shows, there was a fairly high quantity of burnt bones at the south-west corner, especially compared to the eastern entrance. Unsurprisingly most of these were from sheep. The presence of these burn marks also further suggests the practice of feasting on the site. This

40 Morris (2011), 21; Reitz and Wing (2008), 126-127.
41 Marrow was and is still a commonly used ingredient in cooking. However, marrow was not only used for culinary purposes, and could also be used in cosmetics, medicine, etc. See Dobney (2001), 40 and Maltby (2007) for further discussion.
is because it may be showing the bones were cooked in a communal area. Along these lines, if there was a practice for stewing bones, for example, it is possible that many of the burnt bones did not survive.\(^{42}\)

**Skeletal representation**

The skeletal proportions of the main taxon of the site, that of sheep, continues to show that the sheep were being butchered, skinned, and consumed. However, the evidence additionally questions whether the animals were consumed on the site itself, or were brought elsewhere.

Most of the sheep bones were either cranial or foot bones.\(^{43}\) The two age groups compared in this figure have a similar proportion of bone types, though metacarpals/tarsals aged between 0-2 months old were more frequent. There was also a tendency for bones of the right side to be found over the left side.\(^{44}\) Furthermore, even though the most common bones (mandibles, maxillae, metacarpals/tarsals) have similar left to right proportions, this was not the case for the rest of the bone types. Therefore, there seems to be a preference to deposit a greater variety of bones from the sheep's right side.\(^{45}\)

The overwhelming quantity of mandibles, metacarpals, and metatarsals compared to other bones is also informative. These three bone types do not bear a lot of meat.\(^{46}\) Although they are quite durable and have a higher chance of survival compared to other bones, the low amount of meat-bearing bones warrants questions on why this is the case. Therefore, perhaps the non-meat bearing bones were deposited near where they were

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\(^{42}\)Highly calcined bones become brittle and easily dissolve. Reitz and Wing (2008), 130-131.

\(^{43}\)Legge et al. (2000), Fig 16.1, p. 155. clearly shows this.

\(^{44}\)Legge et al. (2000), Fig 16.2, p. 155. Legge's method to make this deduction was influenced by the methods used by Brain (1967), which can be summarised as follows: the number of actual bones is divided by the theoretical maximum, which is calculated by multiplying the maximum number of one side of a bone (left or right) by two. Legge uses the sheep remains evidence from both the south-west corner and eastern entrance in this calculation.

\(^{45}\)For the right side bones being preferred for rituals see: Baxter (2011), 343, Davis (2008), Jamesson (1988), 93, and Legge et al. (2000), 156.

\(^{46}\)However, the accompanying limb and shoulder bones would have.
sacrificed, and the other meat bearing bones were brought elsewhere for cooking and consumption.\textsuperscript{47}

Lastly, the quantity of metacarpals/tarsals when compared to the quantity of phalanges further suggests the animals were being skinned. The expected quantity of phalanges is calculated as follows: since there were over 2,000 metacarpals/tarsals and 1,000 mandibles found at the site this implies at least 522 sheep were killed at the temple.\textsuperscript{48}. However, the site should have yielded over 6,000 phalanges,\textsuperscript{49} even though both of the specialist reports on the animal remains do not cite that many.\textsuperscript{50} This implies that the phalanges were likely removed along with their skins.\textsuperscript{51}

**Social practices**

The animal bones themselves evidence a variety of social practices. There are four practices that can be drawn from the evidence, which in no particular order are as follows:

1. Young sheep were slaughtered during specific time(s) of the year. The ritual involving the slaughter of young sheep took place primarily from the late 1st to the early 2nd century, but continued until the 3rd century. They were killed at multiple times throughout the year between the late 1st to early 2nd century, but this narrows down to a single killing season from around the mid 2nd century. This practice appears to be ritual in nature.\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{47}Legge et al. (2000), 156.
\textsuperscript{48}Legge et al. (2000), 154 says there were 1,011 sheep mandibles located at the site: 522 from the right side and 489 from the left side: this equals a 522 MNI.
\textsuperscript{49}Each sheep has 24 phalanges.
\textsuperscript{50}There is of course the possibility they did indeed exist and are now lost. According to Legge et al. (2000) there were: 227 1st phalanges, 24 2nd phalanges, and 34 3rd phalanges. According to Baxter (2011) there were approx. 4,600 phalanges NISP, and 643 MNI.
\textsuperscript{51}This is not an uncommon practice. Legge et al. (2000), 156-157; Ryder (1981). C.f. Reitz and Wing (2008), 127.
\textsuperscript{52}Baxter (2011) mentions the possibility of economic reasons. Mainly that surplus lambs would be killed off so the herd would be more manageable. However, this theory has a few problems: 1) sheep were not the main taxa in the surrounding area and when they appeared they were usually aged older. Lambs therefore could have been
2. A practice resulting in the deposition of dog bones was being performed from the mid 2nd to mid 3rd century. Partial and nearly complete skeletons of dog, which were in good condition, were found which date to this time.

3. The main rituals discussed thus far occurred at the south-west corner. The majority of the animal remains were deposited there from the late 1st to mid 3rd century. Even though the assemblages at the eastern entrance and south-west corner both contained animal remains, the majority - including the sheep, domestic fowl, and dog remains - were located at the south-west corner. Both locations contained a variety of animals, though the bones in the south-west corner were in better condition than those from the eastern entrance.

4. Animals were butchered and skinned at the south-west corner, though they may have been consumed elsewhere. The practice of skinning is evidenced by bones that have butchery marks on them, as well as the under-representation of phalanges on the site. The presence of a high number of non-meat bearing bones suggests the meat bearing bones were taken elsewhere and may have been consumed. This alongside the transversely cut bones and burn marks suggest feasting may have taken place at the end of the ritual.

sent from elsewhere. 2) if sheep were being raised at the temple for economic purposes, unless they were being farmed for their wool, we would expect more cattle bones since cattle are more useful when it comes to labour and agricultural practices. 3) sheep farming was not practical for the local environment. The Domesday Book says the banks of the River Cam were susceptible to flooding [Hesse (2011), 231-23; Medlycott (2011)], and 4) the sheer quantity of sheep remains, which is the largest within all of the sampled temple sites for this study, makes this sort of behaviour for such a small site illogical.

53The main trench in the south-west corner was found to have a 3.5% iron content. This is not high enough to indicate iron working but is too high for a usual background level [see Medlycott (2011), 146]. Therefore, it is likely the animals were being butchered there.
4.5.2 Brooches

Although the site’s brooch assemblage is not particularly exceptional, examining the brooches reveals some more minor practices at the site. This information further helps to characterise the three main areas of the site and confirms they were used for different purposes.

The brooches, unlike most of the animal remains, were mostly deposited at the eastern entrance. Though some were found near the temple itself (n=8/43), none were located at the south-west corner. This shows that the practices which involved sacrificing animals at the south-west corner were likely not directly related to the deposition of the brooches. It also further contributes to the theory that the temple continued to be active throughout the year.

We can only speculate as to why the brooches were deposited in the first place. Many located along the precinct were found in small groups, but those near the temple itself were scattered around. It is therefore difficult to say whether or not they were the result of casual loss or intentional deposition. However, since some of the brooches were either not functional, miniaturised, or crudely made, this raises the possibility that the brooches found in groups along the precinct were 1) made for depositional purposes, and 2) sold at the temple.\textsuperscript{54} Therefore, brooches may have been deposited in groups at the precinct (either by the vendors or visitors), but were the result of casual loss at/around the temple.

Quantification

Table 4.10 shows that the Colchester derivative and Nauheim derivative types clearly take up most of the brooch assemblage. Indeed 39 out of the 51 brooches were of these types. Although there is a possibility that there

\textsuperscript{54}Major (2011), 28 states that the prominence of two types of brooches (see Table 4.10) further evidences that there were vendors on site selling brooches to visitors. That there were vendors on the site is also suggested by the chronological change within the assemblage to contain popular items of the time (brooches $\to$ hairpins $\to$ bracelets). For further discussion on how this relates to a change in religious character see Medlycott (2011), 84; c.f. Puttock (2002), 74-75.
Table 4.10: List of brooches at Great Chesterford.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colchester derivative</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nauheim derivative</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knee</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polden hill</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penannular</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other/Unclear type</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>51</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

were more types of brooches deposited elsewhere within the un-excavated sections of the site, the current evidence strongly shows a preference to deposit (or indeed to sell on site) these two types of brooches.

It is also telling that there is a lack of brooches commonly associated with the military (such as Hod Hills, and Aucissas), or earlier types (such as Colchesters, Rosettes, and Langton Downs). This is surprising since not only is there evidence that the temple site was being used before the building of the masonry temple in the late 1st century, but also since the nearby settlement used to be a fort in the mid 1st century. Furthermore, Colchester, Rosette, and Langton Down brooches have a strong association with the Eastern kingdom, whereas Nauheim derivatives have a strong association with the Southern kingdom.\(^{55}\) However, there is no other evidence to support the theory that this is hinting at the participants’ political alignments.

**Typological patterns**

Since the quantification of the brooches has shown that there is a high tendency to deposit either Nauheim derivatives or Colchester derivatives on the site, the next point of call is to look into whether there was a reason why someone would use one over the other. Both of these brooches were commonly distributed in the mid and late 1st century, so it is entirely possi-

\(^{55}\)Crummy (2012); Pitts (2014).
ble the answer is merely a matter of chronology. However, they also have distinct characteristics from each other (see Table 4.11), and so there may have been a choice (related to the identity of the depositor?) to select one brooch over the other.

Table 4.11: Nauheim derivatives vs. Colchester derivatives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nauheim derivative</th>
<th>Colchester derivative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One piece brooch</td>
<td>Two piece brooch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~43-85 CE</td>
<td>~50-85 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecorated</td>
<td>Decorated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass/bronze</td>
<td>Leaded bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On continent and Britain</td>
<td>On Britain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even though the Nauheim derivative and Colchester derivative brooches were roughly distributed at the same time, they would have looked distinct from each other. The Nauheim derivative had a simpler design, and was a different colour (especially when made from brass). Moreover, it can be significant that the Nauheim derivative has its origins on the Continent and was sometimes found there; whereas, even though the Colchester derivative brooch ultimately derives from the Simple Gallic brooch on the Continent, it was a British invention. Indeed it is possible that brass, which the Nauheim derivative was many times made of, was a “native ancestral metal”; if this was the case, the choice to deposit a brass nauheim derivative brooch, which was gold in colour, may have been a reflection of aspects of a pre-Roman identity.

56 Most of the brooches were found in later contexts, so it also cannot be ruled out that 1) they were deposited later, or 2) they were re-used multiple times.
57 Furthermore, about a 1/3 of both of the types were found in the same context and layer as the other type.
58 It is not clear whether one or the other has an earlier floruit period. See Carr (2006), 34-39 and Bayley and Butcher (2004), 147, 155-157, 188-190, 206-207.
59 Carr (2006), esp. 46-47. Carr is specifically talking about the distinction between the Colchester and Colchester derivative brooch. C.f. Bayley and Butcher (2004) who believe metal composition was based on current technology and economic needs. For the prestige attached to gold objects such as coins and torcs see Creighton (2000), 28-31, 40-43; however, Creighton does mention the eventual replacement of brass with leaded bronze due to its depleting supply. See Chapter 3 on methodology for further discussion.
Social practices

Interpretation of the brooch evidence is complex, but there are a few outcomes that become clear by this analysis:

1. Brooches were mostly deposited at the precinct, though also at the temple. They may have been sold at the temple’s entrance.

2. Most of the brooches were Nauheim derivatives and Colchester derivatives. Likely, this was either due to chronological reasons since they were the most common types circulating at the time, or because visitors wanted to emphasise a part of their identity.

3. The absence of military and earlier types within the assemblage may be an indication of the people who used the site (though, they may have been deposited at other unexcavated areas of the site). However, since the town of Great Chesterford was an economic hub in the late 1st century, this may explain why brooches which were commonly distributed during that time are prevalent within the temple assemblage.

4.5.3 Coinage

Though many coins were found on the site, almost all either fall outside of the main study period for this research, or were found out of context. However, the evidence still illustrates at least one practice which will be useful for later comparative chapters.

Quantification

Table 7.11 shows that most of the coins at Great Chesterford were Roman. However, the majority were deposited in the late Roman period.\(^6\) This is similar to the situation at the settlement, where most there (total n= 1,500) were dated from the late 2nd century onwards. Therefore, the settlement

\(^6\) Less than 7% of the Roman coins pre-date the mid 3rd century. See Hobbs (2011), Table 17.6, p.260.
Table 4.12: Pre-Roman:Roman coin quantities at Great Chesterford.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-Roman</th>
<th>Roman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>220*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Most of the coins are from the 3rd and 4th centuries.

and the temple site appear to have had similar practices related to the deposition of coin.

Although not much can be said about the Roman coins, the pre-Roman coins are important to note. Table 4.13 lists the types of pre-Roman coins found near or at the settlement.\(^{61}\) These coins were metal detected, and so it is unfortunate that no contextual or locational information is available. Most were made from copper alloy (n=39), but there were some made of silver (n=8) and gold (n=3).

Table 4.13: Pre-Roman coins at Great Chesterford. Data taken from Hobbs (2011), Tables 17.8-17.9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin date range</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mid-late 2nd century BCE</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Gaulish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 2nd century BCE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>‘Norfolk wolf’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early 1st century BCE</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>British potin 1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~80-60 BCE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>British ‘Thurrock’ potin*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~50-20 BCE</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Early uninscribed (13); British potin 2 (6); Durotrigan (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~20 BCE-10 CE</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Tasciovanus (12); Andoco (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~10-45 CE</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Cunobelin (7); Iceni (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*It is unclear whether the Thurrock potin is included in the early 1st century BCE category, or in turn the British potin 1 is the one from ~80-60 BCE.

The only pattern that can be extracted by looking at the types of pre-

\(^{61}\)N.b. it is unclear where most of the pre-Roman coins were found (at the settlement, at the temple site, etc); but the Roman coins were indeed located on the temple site. This makes direct comparisons of the pre-Roman evidence contentious. However, at least a couple were recorded to have been from the temple area.
Roman coins deposited is its strong tendency to include only those coins associated with the LIA Eastern kingdom. This is evidenced by the significant quantity of Tasciovanus and Cunobelin coins. Alongside this high quantity of Eastern kingdom coins, the absence of coins associated with the Southern kingdom, as well as the presence of coins associated with other regions (e.g. Iceni and Durotrigan coins), attest that the depositors of these coins were likely from the political orbit of the Eastern kingdom.\footnote{However, such a 1-1 correlation is merely simplifying the situation.}

**Purpose of deposition**

Most of the coins were dated between 50 BCE to 10 CE, though many were also dated later between 10-45 CE. Since pre-Roman coins could have been used for various non-monetary purposes,\footnote{Haselgrove (1987); c.f. Van Arsdell (1987). See also Chapter 3.} had a longer circulation time, and because the location of these coins is uncertain, a purpose for their deposition cannot be pinpointed for the time being.

**Social practices**

The lack of contextual information related to the pre-Roman coins, and the lack of Roman coin depositions before the late Roman period, cause only one point to be identified, albeit it is not so much a practice as it is a political affiliation.

1. There was a high inclination towards using Eastern kingdom coins on the site.

**4.5.4 Hairpins**

The hairpins within the assemblage further illustrate the nature of the people who used the site, how the areas of the site were used differently, and help attest to the religious connotation of copper alloy (versus bone) hairpins. The hairpins continue to develop the picture of the temple site drawn out by the other finds evidence discussed thus far.
Table 4.14: Hairpins at the Great Chesterford temple site. Data taken from Major (2011), Table 17.14.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Bone</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Temple</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-west corner</td>
<td>10 (100%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern entrance</td>
<td>23 (59%)</td>
<td>15 (41%)</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1 (33%)</td>
<td>2 (66%)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>35 (68%)</td>
<td>17 (32%)</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Iron hairpin

Most of the hairpins (about 73%) were found at the eastern entrance, and were within 2nd century contexts. The difference between the types of hairpins found at the south-west corner versus the eastern entrance is apparent in Table 4.14. Metal, specifically copper alloy, hairpins were only found at the south-west corner, whereas a variety were located at the eastern entrance. This is another indication that a diverse amount of people used the eastern entrance versus the south-west corner. Only a specific community or those people participating in specific religious practices appear to have used the south-west corner. Since in general there was a tendency for bone hairpins to be more commonly found on urban sites, this pattern supports the theory that metal hairpins held more ritual value.64

Quantification

There were 52 hairpins total found on at the temple site, with another possible 15 hairpin shafts also found.65 Most were made of metal, though bone hairpins were also located at the eastern entrance. One of the unstratified metal hairpins was made of iron, which is rare to find. However,

64 Metal hairpins were also common on grave sites. Carr (2006), 65-71. C.f. Wardle (2013) 204-205 who acknowledges the tendency for metal hairpins to appear on religious sites and for bone ones to appear on other settlement sites. However she also says metal hairpins also tend to appear on low-status rural sites. For further discussion see Chapter 3 on methodology, and Chapter 7 for comparative studies.

65 The bone:metal proportion of the hairpin shafts is unclear.
since the dating and social implications of iron hairpins are unclear, nothing more can be said about it.\textsuperscript{66}

**Typological patterns**

Similar to the brooch types, of which the majority of the assemblage contained either one of two types, over half of the metal hairpins were either Cool type 3A or 10A.\textsuperscript{67} These two types were in use during the 1st and 2nd centuries,\textsuperscript{68} and were both long in length. This suggests women who visited the site styled their hair in a tall fashion; since this type of hairstyle was popular during the Flavian period, this is not unusual.

The bone hairpins, on the other hand, had a wider range of (Crummy) types represented within the assemblage.\textsuperscript{69} Therefore, a distinction that should be made between the hairpin assemblage at the eastern entrance and the assemblage at the south-west corner is not just the variety or shape of the hairpin itself, but one also related to chronology: as there was a variety of hairpin types at the eastern corner, the assemblage also included short bulkier ones dated from the mid 2nd century onwards. Alongside the animal remains evidence (see Table 4.4), it is clear that the south-west corner (which only had long, thin metal types) became inactive faster than the rest of the temple.\textsuperscript{70}

**Social practices**

There are two practices evidenced by this hairpin assemblage:

\textsuperscript{66}Major (2011), 270.
\textsuperscript{67}Medlycott (2011), 280-282 says this is further evidence that items were being sold on the site. See footnote 54.
\textsuperscript{68}Type 3A was in use from the mid 1st to mid 2nd century, and Type 10A in use by 125 CE. See Cool (1990)'s descriptions on pp 154, 160.
\textsuperscript{69}Crummy types 1-5 are represented in similar quantities. All the small finds, including the hairpins, are listed and illustrated by Miller (1995). One of the bone hairpins is shaped like an axe-head. Axe-head hairpins were primarily located on temple sites in the late Roman period. This type of hairpin, as Green (1981) explains, can indicate what type of deity was being worshipped.
\textsuperscript{70}Probably by the late 3rd century. The temple site continued to develop after this time, but the south-west corner, as well as the rituals associated with it, were soon abandoned.
1. Most likely a greater diversity of people used the eastern entrance versus the south-west corner. This is also supported by the animal remains and brooch evidence discussed previously.

2. The location of the hairpins within the site supports the theory that copper alloy hairpins held more inherent ritual value than bone hairpins. This in turn implies that the eastern entrance was used for more general purposes, whereas the south-west corner and temple were used for more specific situations.

### 4.6 Site synthesis

This chapter has shown that the finds evidence within Great Chesterford’s temple assemblage provide evidence for a variety of social practices taking place on the site. It has also explored the religious character of the site, and further elucidates how the site functioned. Table 4.15 and Figure 4.3 summarise the main practices discussed throughout this chapter.

Before providing a short narrative of the site, there are a few points from Sections 4.2 and 4.4, worth keeping in mind. The presence of multiple temples on and near the settlement implies it was highly likely that there was a choice of which temple to visit. Although the temples discussed in Section 4.2 have not been fully excavated, the sheer quantity of archaeological finds shows that this temple held unique practices worth travelling for (it was indeed 1km east of the town on one of the chalk hills). Along this note, further excavations of other areas of the temple site will continue to develop the already complex picture of the remains and the social practices it evidences.

The temple site appears to have been active before the late 1st century masonry temple was constructed. However, there is not a lot of material evidence dated to this period. The lack of military and early brooches is particularly surprising considering the nearby settlement had a fort (albeit short-lived) active during the mid 1st century. However, there was a sub-
(a) Late Iron Age to mid 1st century
(b) Late 1st to early 2nd century
(c) Mid 2nd to mid 3rd century

Figure 4.3: Illustration of social practices at the Great Chesterford temple site.
Table 4.15: Summary of practices and events at the Great Chesterford temple site.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Practice/event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LIA</td>
<td>• LIA or early Roman temple.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Lack of military, early pre-Roman, or Eastern kingdom brooches.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Pre-Roman coins associated with the Eastern kingdom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1st to early 2nd</td>
<td>• Building of masonry temple and precinct ditch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Faunal deposits begin. Most happen in this time period (at SW).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Lambs slaughtered throughout the year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Domestic fowl slaughtered at two different ages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Colchester derivative and Nauheim derivative brooches (at T and EE).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Long, thin metal (at EE and SW) and bone (at EE) hairpins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid 2nd to mid 3rd</td>
<td>• Continued development of the temple areas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Lambs slaughtered in early summer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• High quantity of dog remains deposited in very good condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Roman coin depositions begin to increase.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Metal hairpins (at EE and SW) and small, bulky bone hairpins (at EE).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A substantial amount of pre-Roman coins located throughout Great Chesterford that have an association with the Eastern kingdom.

The temple site was most active between the late 1st to early 2nd century. Lambs were being slaughtered throughout the entire year, and the seemingly distinctive age groups of the domestic fowl bones may also indicate a regular ritual involving that taxon. The animals were butchered at the south-west corner, skinned, and likely carried off to be consumed (perhaps in the form of a feast) elsewhere. Brooches and hairpins were also dated to this period, with most of them being deposited at the eastern entrance instead of at the south-west corner; however, copper-alloy hairpins were occasionally located at the latter location. Ultimately, what is shown by the brooch and hairpin evidence, regardless of whether or not a conscious choice was made to either deposit a Nauheim derivative brooch over a Colchester derivative one, was that the eastern entrance
was probably used for a variety of purposes and by a variety of people. The south-west corner, on the other hand, could have been utilised for more specific reasons/rituals, and thus used by fewer people. Lastly, the dearth of remains at the temple itself suggests that the temple was not an appropriate area to make depositions, but was instead used for other reasons not apparent in the archaeological record, such as prayer.

Despite continuous developments to the temple and its precinct, the quantity of archaeological remains significantly decreased between the mid 2nd to mid 3rd century. However, it is still clear that the practices of the late 1st to early 2nd century had changed. Lambs, for example, began to be slaughtered at one point in the year. This is likely due to the introduction of an event or festival that adapted the previous practices already taking place. Dogs were also slaughtered and deposited, sometimes as nearly complete skeletons; although not much information was able to be extracted from the dog remains at Great Chesterford, their depositions are particularly important to remember for comparisons in later chapters within this thesis.

In conclusion, the finds evidence provides more contextual information on how the temple at Great Chesterford was used, and what sort of practices the visitors of the temple were participating in. Additional excavations of the temple will provide further clarification about this, and excavating the other temples at Great Chesterford would provide a better indication of the relationship between all of the temples at Great Chesterford, as well as offer a clearer picture of the types of practices at each respective site.

The next couple of chapters are case studies of the temple sites of Springhead in Kent and Wanborough in Surrey. These case studies similarly analyse the material evidence as was done in this chapter. The finds evidence will then be brought together after these case studies.

\footnote{The diversity of materials located there, including those related to building and furniture, further supports this.}
5 | Springhead

5.1 Introduction

Springhead is situated alongside the main Walting Street road running from Richborough to London, and is one of the largest religious centres in Roman Britain. Indeed, the number of temples being used simultaneously at Springhead still remains unparalleled in Britain. Springhead is also quite importantly alongside the River Ebbsfleet, and is near the River Thames.¹ The springs, which were at the head of the River Ebbsfleet, are thought to have been the centre of the rituals taking place there. The site consists of a temple complex, what has been labelled as a sanctuary site, and a roadside settlement. The first organised excavations took place in the 1950s and 1960s by William Penn, and additional excavations were undertaken in the 1990s and 2000s in response to the HS1 (High Speed 1) engineering works.² Furthermore, Springhead is the most widely excavated site within this study’s sampled sites. This case study, therefore, has a lot of potential to examine the relationship between temple assemblages and social practices in-depth.

The aim of this chapter is to examine the extent to which the selected finds evidence shed light on the types of social practices taking place primarily at the sanctuary site, though also those at the temple complex

¹The River Ebbsfleet diverges from the River Thames. The river dried in the 1930s when the water was re-channelled. This led to a significant decrease in the water table. The exact number of springs at the site likely changed throughout time. See Andrews (2011), 29ff.
whenever relevant (see Section 5.4 for further complications).

5.2 The sites at Springhead

Table 5.1: Simplified chronology reference for the sites at Springhead.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>Temple Complex</th>
<th>Sanctuary Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early to mid 1st CE</td>
<td>Fort at the head of</td>
<td>No sig. activity</td>
<td>Sig. activity along eastern side of the springs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>springs?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1st to early 2nd CE</td>
<td>Major development</td>
<td>Temple 1</td>
<td>Sig. activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid to late 2nd CE</td>
<td>Cont. development, and temple</td>
<td>Temples 1, 3, 4, 6</td>
<td>Sanctuary building appears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 2nd to early 3rd CE</td>
<td>Cont. development</td>
<td>Temples 1, 2, 3, 4, 6</td>
<td>Sig. activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early to mid 3rd CE</td>
<td>No sig. new activity</td>
<td>Temples 1, 2, 4, 6</td>
<td>No sig. new activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 3rd to early 4th CE</td>
<td>Probable decline, temple likely demolished</td>
<td>Temples 1, 2, 4, 5, 6</td>
<td>Probable decline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th CE</td>
<td>Probable decline</td>
<td>Temples 1, 2, 5</td>
<td>Decline</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is worth briefly noting the possibility of a fort on the site. Figure 5.1 illustrates a large rectangular enclosure just south of the sanctuary site. Since the shape of the enclosure looks like that of a fort, and since it has been dated to the mid 1st century, there is speculation that this enclosure was a (albeit likely short-lived) fort.\(^3\) Additional to the lack of archaeological evidence to support this theory, Millet does not believe the evidence for forts throughout Kent (which would incl. Springhead) is convincing. He argues that establishing such forts would not be in line with how the Claudian generals exercised their influence in this part of the country.\(^4\) This is an important issue since the possible presence of a fort has a substantial influence on interpretations of the evidence.

\(^3\)Andrews (2011), 8, 34 and (2008), 47; Biddulph (2006), 2; Booth and Andrews (2011), 8; Harker (1969): Penn (1965), 116. N.b. the Walting Street road was most probably not yet constructed at that time.

\(^4\)Millett (2007), 150. This also fits in with Millett’s theory of the non-intervention methods used by the military. See Millett (1990), 63-101.
Figure 5.1: Simplified map of Springhead

The (civilian) settlement at Springhead, which was located on the west side of the springs along the Watling Street road, was only about 100m from the Sanctuary site. Almost all of the areas within this settlement were active from the late 1st century CE, though some were active from the 2nd century. The settlement likely acted as a major transportation node for those travelling between London and Richborough, which already implies that a diversity of people would have used the site.

There was at least one temple located within the settlement. This temp-

5Looking at Figure 5.1, it may appear significant that Roman features are located on the west side of the local geography. The west side is flatter and was a more direct route for the road.

ple was constructed in the late 2nd century, towards the end of this study’s time period. Only a few finds were located there, including a large amount of bone hairpins and coins, and a couple of seal boxes. Additionally, a Fortuna figurine and miniature shield, which may be a part of the temple’s assemblage, were located nearby. Quite importantly, an urned burial and “several burials of dogs and three human neonates” were also found; the significance of these finds will become apparent in due course.

Lastly, there were a couple of other sites in the wider area which likely influenced the character of Springhead. The cemetery at Pepper Hill was located only 1/3 of a mile to the south-east. This site was primarily active from around 50 to 150 CE. The number of graves located there, most of which were inhumations and did not have a wealth of burial goods accompanying them, totals to 558. It appears that these burials were mostly those of low-status, and are of different kinds of people, including those from the continent and from the military. The high number of inhumation burials is additionally an indication of possible continuity in LIA practice. Other than the Pepper Hill cemetery, a villa was situated at Northfleet just over a mile away from Springhead to the north. However, this site was mostly active from the mid 2nd to 3rd century.

5.3  **Context information from the sanctuary and temple complex**

Substantial evidence for activity begins in the Late Iron Age. Two parallel ditches located on the eastern side of the Ebbsfleet have been interpreted as a processional way, meaning it would have been used as a pathway for ceremonial purposes. This is accompanied by a viewing platform at the southern end of the pathway. On the other side of the pathway from

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11 Biddulph (2011a).
the viewing platform was a large enclosure (see Figure 5.1); however, the purpose of this structure is unknown. It is possible that the processional way extended past the head of the springs, since two more parallel ditches have been found that appear to be a part of the same feature.\textsuperscript{12}

There are a large number of features which appear from the late 1st century. This includes some possible viewing platforms, and a new trackway coming from the east leading to the head of the springs. It is during this time that consecutive overlapping circular features, located in the same place as the later sanctuary, appear accompanied by a number of ovens and a very short lived road leading to the springs.\textsuperscript{13} Furthermore, the first temple (Temple 1) at the temple complex to the south of the sanctuary area was also constructed (see Figure 5.2). This temple had a drain-

\textsuperscript{12} Andrews and Smith (2011), 190-192.

\textsuperscript{13} Andrews and Smith (2011), 196-197. The road is predicted to have been dismantled by the 2nd century. The use of bread for rituals is well attested in Roman religion. Andrews and Smith (2011), 198 and Penn (1964), 174 suggest the bread may have been shaped.
ing feature in the right corner by the entrance; this feature is speculated to have been used for libations made upon entering the temple.\textsuperscript{14} Therefore, both the sanctuary area and the temple complex likely had rituals involving the use of water even by this time.

Most of the religious structures appear from the mid to late 2nd century.\textsuperscript{15} The sanctuary was constructed at the head of the springs (See Figure 5.3c).\textsuperscript{16} Directly south-east of the sanctuary is a water tank, which may have been used for washing and cleansing. A portico structure to the north of the sanctuary with a tree hole inside may have also been a religious building. Lastly regarding the sanctuary site, there appears to have been multiple entrances to access it; so, even though during the LIA movement across a long distance appears to have been controlled via the processional way, this was no longer necessarily the case.

Although most of the relevant finds come from the sanctuary site, the other areas of Springhead were used for religious activities. At the temple complex to the south, Temples 3, 4, and 6 were constructed. The focus of the practices which happened at Temple 3 appears to have been a sacred pool.\textsuperscript{17} The main purpose of Temple 4 is more difficult to pinpoint; additional to an oven and chimney being located inside, there were four infant burials located in different corners of the building.\textsuperscript{18} These infant burials, which appear to be the result of two separate rituals were likely foundation deposits; the purpose of the many infant burials throughout Springhead will be discussed later. Temple 6, conveniently referred to as a temple because of its surroundings, may have actually been constructed as a gateway to serve as an entrance into the complex.\textsuperscript{19} Lastly, a temple within the settlement was also constructed during this time.

All of the temples mentioned previously continued to be used in the late

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\textsuperscript{14}Penn (1959), 15.
\textsuperscript{15}However, archaeological finds were found which dated to contexts before this time. E.g. most of the pottery. See Smith et al. (2011).
\textsuperscript{16}It was previously thought a timber building preceded the masonry structure, but this no longer appears to be the case. Andrews (2011), 61; c.f. Andrews (2008), 51-52.
\textsuperscript{17}Penn (1961),116-117.
\textsuperscript{18}Penn (1961), 120-123.
\textsuperscript{19}Penn (1968d).
(a) Early to mid 1st century.  
(b) Late 1st to early 2nd century.  
(c) Mid 2nd to mid 3rd century of sanctuary site.

Figure 5.3: Illustration of features at/near the sanctuary at Springhead.
Table 5.2: Quantities of the finds evidence at the sanctuary and temple complex at Springhead.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Small find</th>
<th>Temple Complex</th>
<th>Sanctuary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animal remains</td>
<td>24+</td>
<td>39,357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooches</td>
<td>12+</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coins</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hairpins</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2nd to early 3rd century. However, during this time there were a couple more notable features that became active. The first is the construction of Temple 2, which strongly parallels the design of and appears to have been physically connected to Temple 1.20 The second is a deep shaft situated to the east of the sanctuary site along the large trackway leading to it (see Figure 5.1). This shaft may have been the eastern entrance to the site.21 This ritual shaft in particular contained a wide range of animal remains, which will be discussed in due course.

5.4 Data quality and quantity

Major excavations first took place in the 1960s under the supervision of William Penn. These excavations covered the areas of and around the temple complex to the south of the sanctuary site. Later excavations were conducted in the 1990s and 2000s in response to the construction works on the High Speed 1 (HS1). These latter excavations were extremely extensive, with most taking place near the head of the springs. Areas on the east side of the spring in particular were not thoroughly excavated; and indeed the excavation of these areas, which is where much of the LIA evidence lies, would undoubtedly influence our interpretation of the LIA practices taking place.

As exemplified by Table 5.2, Springhead has the largest assemblage within the sampled temple sites for this study. The finds, therefore, are

20 Via a “curtain wall”. Penn (1962), esp. 111.
able to illustrate a large range of both subtle and distinctive practices that would have taken place. The assemblage, however, is not without its problems. One of these was that many of the items were either not analysed (due to time constraints of the excavators or the condition of the items) or were not recorded in detail. A further problem is the lack of finds at the temple complex. Table 5.2 shows that the quantities of animal remains and brooches within the temple complex’s assemblage are insufficient for this study. This may be due to a number of reasons: 1) the excavation conditions at the time 2) the main practice(s) at the temple complex did not utilise these finds, 3) the temple complex was not the final destination for the objects that were used there. The most notable depositions at the temple complex (within this study’s time period) are the high quantity of neonatal and infant burials there. Therefore, due to the quantity of the finds located at the sanctuary site, this area will be the focus of this case study, with the temple complex assemblage being brought in whenever relevant.

5.5 Analyses of the finds evidence

5.5.1 Animal remains

39,357 animal bone fragments were found at the sanctuary site (see Table 5.2), but as Table 5.3 shows, only 6,632 are able to be analysed. Bones were dated from the early 1st century onwards, and distributed across many areas of the site.

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22 For the sanctuary site: only 54% of the animal remains were analysed. Details for 115 of the brooches were not recorded. 678 of the coins were not in good condition. For the temple complex, the brooches in particular were a problem since there are conflicting reports on how many were located there and what types they were.

23 N.b. even though there has yet to be found a definite link between the two sites, we should still not assume there was not a connection between the activities taking place at both the temple complex and the sanctuary.

24 The remains from both the sanctuary complex itself and the ritual shaft are included in the “mid 2nd to mid 3rd century” time period.
Table 5.3: Overview of animal remains (NISP) at Springhead.* Data from Grimm (2011a), Table 10, pp. 16-17.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taxon</th>
<th>Early to mid 1st century</th>
<th>Mid 1st to early 2nd century</th>
<th>Mid 2nd to mid 3rd century†</th>
<th>Late 3rd to (late) 4th century</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>943 (38%)</td>
<td>382 (42%)</td>
<td>933 (34%)</td>
<td>134 (29%)</td>
<td>2,392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>900 (36%)</td>
<td>402 (44%)</td>
<td>1,028 (37%)</td>
<td>128 (28%)</td>
<td>2,459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pig</td>
<td>602 (24%)</td>
<td>83 (9%)</td>
<td>261 (9%)</td>
<td>29 (6%)</td>
<td>975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>15 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>32 (4%)</td>
<td>64 (2%)</td>
<td>11 (2%)</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>10 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>11 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>85 (3%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frogs &amp; toads</td>
<td>2 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>413 (15%)</td>
<td>163 (35%)</td>
<td>578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,472</td>
<td>910</td>
<td>2,784</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>6,632</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Does not include indeterminate mammals (total n=4,001), species under 100 NISP (even though there are over 30 identified species), or the very little (and undated) remains from the temple complex.
† Includes the ritual shaft.

Bone quantification

Table 5.3 shows that depositions occurred mainly from the early to mid 1st century and from the mid 2nd to mid 3rd century. The spike of activity in the mid Roman period is undoubtedly influenced by the construction and use of the sanctuary. It was also during this time that most of the temples within the temple complex were active. Although no one particular taxon stands out from the bone quantities, the majority of the bones have been identified as either cattle or sheep.25 Sheep also seem to have been the main livestock kept on the site.26

Early to mid 1st century

The assemblage during this time period mostly consists of cattle, sheep, and pig bones. Although the quantity of cattle and sheep bones is a lot

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25 Only 2 goat specific bones were found (versus 196 sheep specific bones). It is therefore highly likely these bones were mostly sheep.
26 Barnett et al. (2011), Tables 11-14. However, cattle likely remained the main animal for consumption. See Grimm (2011a).
higher, the pig bones are especially notable since they significantly decrease after this time. High quantities of pig bones in the LIA is potentially indicative of high status consumption likely influenced by Gallic consumption practices. These bones, therefore, may be attesting to the importance of this site even before many of the temples were constructed. On the other hand, since a diet based on pork consumption has been linked to the Roman military, if there was a fort on the site (see Section 5.2), this may instead reflect a military community there.

Late 1st to early 2nd century

The quantity of animal remains drops more than half from the late 1st to early 2nd century. Other than the pig bones, which drop dramatically in number, the proportion of most taxa remained about the same. This decrease can be explained by looking at the situation of the settlement. Not only is this time period characterised by the dramatic development of almost all areas of the settlement site, but 6,764 bones were also located in contexts there. Although there was a higher proportion of sheep bones and a lower proportion of cattle bones, roughly the proportion of taxa was similar to the assemblage of the sanctuary site. This therefore could be showing a temporary shift in influence to the town.

Mid 2nd to early 3rd century

Corresponding to the time that the sanctuary was constructed, the quantity of animal remains triples during this time. Although the percentage of pig bones stays about the same in this time period, those of cattle and sheep dropped seemingly at the expense of other species. Horse

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27 Ayton (2013), 186; Grimm (2011a); Potter and Trow (1988).
28 King (1991); King (1999); Luff (1982).
29 Worley (2011), Table 23, p. 32.
30 N.b. not many birds were located on the site. The 129 bones came from 16 different species. However, most did come from two species: the domestic fowl and the raven. There were 32 domestic fowl bones and 40 raven bones. In general the domestic fowl were located within mid Roman/sanctuary deposits, and the raven in early Roman
and dog remains are slightly higher, and there is a sudden rise in the quantity of frogs and toads. The high quantities of amphibian bones were likely either intrusive (via bioturbation) or background fauna since they were located in later contexts closer to the surface, and because of the wet environment of the area.\textsuperscript{31} However, it is still odd that barely any amphibian bones were found that dated before this time. The springs could have been enlarged, or, although unlikely, there could have been a short-lived ritual surrounding the sacrifice of amphibians.

**Taxa and location**

The specialist report, and discussions of the animal bones, do not provide details on their exact location.\textsuperscript{32} The kind of preferred specific spatial analysis, therefore, is not fully possible. As summarised in Table 5.4, studies of the location of the animal remains instead focused on their general distribution across the site.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early to mid 1st CE</td>
<td>LIA enclosure, series of pits, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1st to early 2nd CE</td>
<td>Features assoc. with early road, box burials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid to late 2nd CE</td>
<td>Sanctuary ditches, viewing platforms, pit alignment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 2nd to early 3rd CE</td>
<td>Ritual shaft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early to mid 3rd CE</td>
<td>Four pits (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The animal bones from the early to mid 1st CE are reported to appear in pits from various areas of the site;\textsuperscript{33} these pits are more than likely the groups of pits surrounding the processional way. A couple of these pits were recorded to have been structured deposits since the proportion of species, and the ages and skeletal elements of these species roughly

\textsuperscript{31}Grimm (2011a), 23-25. Apparently frogs are still common on the site: “Indeed, many frogs were rescued by the excavation staff upon falling into excavated features.” (p. 23)

\textsuperscript{32}See e.g. Andrews (2008), Grimm (2011b), Smith (2006), and Smith (2001).

\textsuperscript{33}Grimm (2011a): “The animal bone come from pits or groups of pits located in several different parts of the excavated area.” (p. 15)
coincided with each other; also, dog skeletons were placed in the highest layers, indicating that these bones may have been deposited as a part of some kind of closing ritual.\footnote{Grimm (2011a). However, the position of the bones is unclear.} Lastly, bones were also found in the large LIA enclosure (see Figure 5.1).

The bones from the late 1st to early 2nd century concentrated around the head of the springs, especially around the early Roman road (see Figure 5.4a). Other than in the pits within this area, there is another place of deposition worth noting. A young domestic fowl skeleton appears to have been placed on top of a puppy in one of the box burials. These four box burials were filled with the remains of human infants. This therefore represents a fairly clear example of a structured deposition; it also provides evidence for the ritual connection between bird and dog remains to that of the remains of human infants.

After the construction of the sanctuary in the mid 2nd century, the animal remains were located in multiple areas of the site. Figure 5.4b illustrates that this included not only the area mentioned above, but also a pit alignment and the two earlier viewing platforms to the north. Although many of the pits within the pit alignment are speculated to have been ritual shafts,\footnote{Ritual shafts containing animal remains and pottery were common throughout Kent. See Wait (1985), 322-344, and Webster (1997b), 141-142. Also Philp (1999), 21 for dogs within ritual shafts at Keston, Kent, and Smith (2006) for dog structured depositions in general.} there are two particular structured depositions worth noting, the locations of which are indicated in Figure 5.5.\footnote{For a brief discussion of the religious nature of the pit alignment see Andrews and Smith (2011), 199.}

One of the pits, Pit X, dated to the mid 2nd century and contained ten dog skeletons. These skeletons were accompanied by a complete fish skeleton, bones from the three major domesticates, and amphibian bones. Although the presence of bones from so many taxa suggests this pit may have been used for normal waste disposal, the deposition of so many dog skeletons challenges this interpretation.

Pit Y, dated to the late 2nd century, also contained a variety of species. Similarly, six dog skeletons were also located within this pit. Furthermore,
Figure 5.4: Locations of the animal remains (shaded) at Springhead.
though in a different layer from the dog skeletons, a nearly complete skeleton of a dove was also found in the same pit.

For both Pits X and Y, the partial and complete skeletons were deposited first and then appear to have been covered by normal waste. Although there is little evidence to suggest that the dogs were butchered, it is possible that these pits represent different feasting occasions.\(^{37}\)

Regardless of whether or not the pits within the pit alignment can be labelled as ritual shafts, there is little doubt that the late 2nd century shaft to the east of the sanctuary site can be classified as a ritual shaft and that it held significant religious value (see Figure 5.1 for its location). This context, illustrated in Figure 5.6, contained a large number of complete and nearly complete skeletons, most of which were of dogs. Twenty dog skeletons were found in good condition in seven out of the fourteen layers within the shaft. The dog in the highest layer also had a chain around its neck.\(^{38}\) Although many interpretations can be made regarding this, the practice of burying dogs with their chains can be seen as an attempt to

\(^{37}\)Grimm (2011a), 24.
\(^{38}\)It is possible more of the dogs were originally buried with their chains. However, this cannot be verified.
Figure 5.6: Layout of the ritual shaft at Springhead, labelling major bone deposits.
control nature and display man’s power to tame the wild.\textsuperscript{39}

A couple of dog skeletons were also found alongside a human skull in one of the middle layers. This combination of dog and human may be related to the cthonic symbolism often attached to dogs.\textsuperscript{40} Dogs were associated with not only death and the underworld, but also the return to life.\textsuperscript{41} This and the location of the dog within the box burial mentioned earlier show that this association probably influenced the practices at Springhead.

There is one other deposit with an articulated skeleton within it that is worth pointing out; this is a nearly complete gull skeleton located against one of the walls of Temple 4 within the temple complex. This gull was only missing its skull, and was deposited along with thyme.\textsuperscript{42} The gull appears to have been a foundation deposit for the temple, and was thus likely deposited around the mid 2nd century.

\textbf{Status of the bones}

Table 5.5 shows that cattle in the LIA were killed when they were older, and were therefore likely kept for their secondary resources. There is a shift, however, from the late 1st century when cattle began to be slaughtered at a younger age. From the late 1st to early 2nd century, this change took place while maintaining the need for older cattle on the site. 18-30 months

\textsuperscript{39}Smith (2006), 20. Other examples have been found at Greyhound Yard in Dorchester, and Cambridge. Lydney temple in Gloucestershire, the temple at Bath, and the temple at Nettleton in Wiltshire also have reliefs and/or copper alloy finds along these lines. N.b. these last two temple sites have evidence that there was a cult of Diana there. See Toynbee (1982), 136-137, Wheeler (1932), 88-89, and Cunliffe (2000), 70. For the social status of dogs being on par with humans see Hill (1995). Strabo, \textit{Geographica}, IV.5.2. also mentions that dogs were exported from England since they were good hunters. Therefore, this could suggest that merchants passed through the site with these dogs on their way to the Continent.

\textsuperscript{40}C.f. Clark (2006). The presence of whole or partially articulated dog and human skeletons together does not necessarily provide evidence for a ritual. Furthermore, since dogs and humans were usually not consumed, this may explain why it is not uncommon to find the skeletons in partial or full.

\textsuperscript{41}Mazzorin and Minniti (2002). Although this association applies specifically to the rituals in Italy, numerous Indo-European cultures also made this link. See Jetkins (1957) for discussions on different deities and their relation/symbolism to dogs. Also Smith (2006).

\textsuperscript{42}Penn (1964), 77; Smith (2001),103-105.
Table 5.5: Summary of the ages of the main domesticates at Springhead.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Pig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early to mid</td>
<td>Adult &amp; old adult</td>
<td>10-20 mo &amp; 3-5 yrs</td>
<td>Sub-adult &amp; adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st CE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1st to early 2nd CE</td>
<td>18-30 mo &amp; old adult/senile</td>
<td>3-20 mo &amp; 3-5 yrs</td>
<td>Sub-adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid 2nd to mid 3rd CE</td>
<td>8-30 mo</td>
<td>3-20 mo &amp; 3-5 yrs</td>
<td>neonatal &amp; Subadult/adult</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

can be considered as the prime time to slaughter cattle for meat consumption, so this change shows that there was a shift in emphasis - culinary, religious, or a combination of both - that caused this pattern.\(^{43}\) After the construction of the sanctuary in the mid 2nd century, this shift in emphasis changes completely from using cattle for secondary resources to being used for consumption purposes. The killing of young cattle additionally suggests the demand for veal became increasingly higher.

The ages of the sheep were fairly consistent throughout time. This consistency at the very least hints at a continuity in practice throughout the temple’s lifetime. Since the ages of the sheep remains are not outstanding, this suggests that, unlike Great Chesterford, there was not a large scale (and peculiar) practice that centred around the sacrifice of lambs.

Pig, on the other hand, were slaughtered at an older age up until the building of the sanctuary. After which time they were continued to be killed at older ages, but also began to be slaughtered very young. Most of these young pigs were either slaughtered in the first 12 months of their life, or when they were between 24-30 months old.\(^{44}\) Although there are discrepancies regarding at what age pig produced prime meat,\(^{45}\) this dramatic change does coincide with the preference in the middle Roman period at Springhead to consume younger animals (see Table 5.5).

It is worth noting that the ages of the sheep displayed in Table 5.5 reflect the practices of the sanctuary site, and not the settlement. The ages of all three taxa at the settlement were more varied from the late

\(^{43}\) Cool (2006), 85 states 18-24 months old cattle produce prime beef.

\(^{44}\) Grimm (2011a), 23.

\(^{45}\) Cool (2006), 88-89 says 12-18 months old. Grimm (2011a), 23 says 6-8 months.
Table 5.6: Ages of the dog remains at Springhead.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Pit X</th>
<th>Pit Y</th>
<th>Ritual shaft</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foetal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neonate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-6 weeks</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5 months</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subadult</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td><strong>36</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1st to early 2nd century, whereas the ages at the sanctuary site were more clearly killed at particular ages. With the exception of the pigs on the site, which continued to be killed at various stages of their lives at the settlement, from the mid 2nd to mid 3rd century the cattle and sheep bones were generally aged as older. This thus shows that cattle and sheep were also used for their secondary resources at the settlement. This presents a contrast from the bone assemblage at the sanctuary site. Therefore, although the reason why these animals tended to be killed at particular ages cannot be pinpointed, the contrast in the ages between the bones within the settlement’s assemblage and the sanctuary site’s assemblage suggests that - especially from the mid 2nd to mid 3rd century - the bones found at the sanctuary site may have been the result of ritual practice.

The earliest datable dog bones on the site come from the early Roman box burial mentioned in the previous section. A puppy was found with a young domestic fowl skeleton placed on top of it. Other than this deposition, however, the dog skeletons came from Pits X and Y (see Figure 5.5), and the ritual shaft. Table 5.6 summaries the ages of the dogs within these contexts.

Ten dogs were found within Pit X. Other than the two skeletons dated as adults, the rest of the animals died very young. The two foetal pups are predicted to have been the pups from one of the adult dogs within this context. Even if this was the case and one of the adult dogs died in pup, however, a coincidental death does not seem likely. Especially since

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46See the measurements from Barnett et al. (2011), Table 19; Grimm (2011a), 24.
all of these skeletons were found within the same archaeological layer, it appears that they were buried shortly after each other.

Six dogs were located within Pit Y. The dogs in Pit Y have similar ages to that of Pit X. The adult dog within this pit, however, was identified as male, which is perhaps why there were not any foetal pups within Pit Y. This pit is dated later than Pit X, and so these depositions took place at different times. The similarity between these pits does raise the possibility they are the result of the same ritual.

The ritual shaft is the other context that contained a large amount of dog skeletons. As indicated in Table 5.6, twenty skeletons were found, and were of a larger variety of ages compared to those from Pits X and Y. However, a different reading of Figure 5.6 suggests that the same ritual was likely not being performed throughout this shaft’s lifetime (which was from the late 2nd to early 3rd century). Indeed the ages of the dogs from the bottom two layers have parallels from those of Pits X and Y; whereas the rest of the higher layers contained the skeletons of older dogs. This means that the ritual that caused Pits X and Y could have also created this shaft. Furthermore, likely by the beginning of the 3rd century the emphasis on why to deposit dog bones shifted away from using puppies.

**Condition of the bones**

All of the domesticated animals had bones with butchery marks on them; this implies the carcasses were disarticulated and processed on site. However, since these marks are relatively absent on the pig remains dating to before the late 1st century, there may have been a practice in which pigs were roasted over a fire before consumption.\(^{47}\) Other than this, most of the butchery marks, especially on cattle and pig bones (dated from the late 1st century) were made with an axe.\(^{48}\) Bones located within the box burials and at the viewing platforms often had burn marks on them. Other than

\(^{47}\) Grimm (2011a), 20.

\(^{48}\) The proportion of cut:chop butchery marks on sheep were more even: 42% were made with an axe, and 58% with a knife. The slightly higher tendency for cut marks within the assemblage is not unusual because many sheep bones are fragile.
these areas, however, burn marks were not present. The quantity of gnaw marks was also low.

The dog remains within the box burial and Pits X and Y were in very good condition. This contrasts to the condition of those located within the ritual shaft. All of the skulls - except one - were fragmented. Although it is possible that many of the bones may have broken due to the weight of layers higher up in the shaft, this leads us to question whether regularly damaging the skulls was an intentional practice. If so, this would also distinguish the practices of the ritual shaft from those of Pits X and Y (and the box burial).

**Skeletal representation**

All skeletal parts of the main taxa were well represented. The slight dearth of phalanges from cattle, sheep, and pig suggest they were skinned, and the availability of most parts of the skeleton implies that these animals were processed on or near the site. There is really only one peculiarity that stands out which is related to the topic of which parts of an animal were represented: there appears to be a number of unusual practices on the site regarding skulls.

Other than the damaged dog skulls in the ritual shaft, and the human skull in one of the layers (see Figure 5.6), there were other distinctive depositions related to the head. At the temple complex, a headless gull skeleton was found in the foundation levels of Temple 6, and horse and cattle skulls were also located within some of the temenos postholes. Furthermore, alongside the eighteen (human) infant burials at the temple complex, there were four infant burials inside Temple 4 placed at different corners inside the temple; two of these infants were decapitated. Therefore the importance of the head, either through its absence, damaging, or placement, appears to be a subtle characteristic of the religious nature of the sacrifices.

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49 Penn (1964), 177.
50 Harker (1980), 286-287.
51 Penn (1961), 121-122; Penn (1964).
at Springhead, and extended through both the human and animal realms there.

Social practices

There is a great variety of practices that can be extracted from examining the animal remains. However, the most prominent are the following:

1. The high quantity of pig remains before the late 1st century possibly shows that high status Gallic consumption practices took place at the site. The dearth of butchery marks on the pigs during that time further suggests there was a practice to roast pigs before consumption.

2. Cattle, sheep, and pig were generally killed at specific ages at the sanctuary site compared to the settlement. Since all ages were relatively well represented at the settlement, this shows that there was some selection in the kinds of animals to be consumed at the sanctuary.

3. There were many structured depositions of dog and puppy skeletons throughout the site. The early box burial of a puppy skeleton, Pits X and Y, and the lower layers of the ritual shaft attest to the importance that puppies had on the religious nature of the site. Springhead’s association with water/springs, and the extremely large number of infant burials at the sanctuary site, temple complex, and the settlement, further show that Springhead acted as a centre for healing. Puppies were also believed to have healing properties.\(^{52}\) Since most of these puppy depositions and infant burials were dated to the mid 2nd century, these depositions could have been a response to some kind of disaster. Some scholars have suspected that they were made

\(^{52}\)Pliny *Nat. Hist.*, XXX, 42, 64 and Plutarch *Quaest. Romanae* 68 mention the purification and healing properties of puppies. Rubbing oneself with a puppy to be cured of a disease was also practised in Gaul. See Jetkins (1957), Mazzorin and Minniti (2002) and Toynbee (1973). For images of healing and puppies see Aldhouse-Green (1999), 11-13 and Green (1995), 107-111.
in response to either the Antonine plague, or some kind of other outbreak.\textsuperscript{53}

4. There are a number of structured depositions at both the sanctuary site and the temple complex that either had their skulls missing or damaged, or consisted of just a skull. This sort of irregular practice attests to the importance the head had for rituals at Springhead. The cult of the head was more prominent in Gaul, and so such an emphasis suggests practices originating from the Continent may have had an influence on local practices.\textsuperscript{54}

5.5.2 Brooches

315 brooches were found mostly at the sanctuary site, and a dozen more were found at the temple complex. Even though the contextual information for 115 of those at the sanctuary site remains unclear, the brooch evidence still enables us to further describe how the site was used as well as who used it.

The brooches were mostly located within or near the head of the springs. Although occasionally some were also found at other areas of the site, for example within the LIA enclosure to the north. The surprising amount of brooches within the springs themselves is telling, as this shows there was likely a practice which entailed visitors to put or throw brooches in the springs. Since there are no apparent differences in where the differ-

\textsuperscript{53}Penn (1968a) explores the possibility of temple 4's four infant burials providing evidence that the plague struck the area. This is because the burials were located at the corners of the temple. Half of the burials were deposited at one time (during the first wave of the disease), and the other two at a later date (during the second wave). From these two separate acts of deposition, both acts contained a decapitated infant at opposite corners. Therefore, those who buried the infants at a later date were aware of the previous burials. A prominent example of puppies and infants buried alongside each other is at the Lugnano cemetery in Italy. For a discussion of this cemetery and how it shows a connection between disease prevention/elimination see Soren and Soren (1999), 43-48, 547-550, 619-631, and Smith (2006), 32-33.

\textsuperscript{54}For the existence of the cult of the head in both the LIA and Roman period see Henig (1984), 2-3, 46, 57-58, 158. For its prominence in Gaul see Woodward (1992), 54-57.
Table 5.7: List of brooches at Springhead.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple Gallic</td>
<td>5 (3%)</td>
<td>Hod Hill</td>
<td>23 (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosette &amp; Thistle</td>
<td>7 (4%)</td>
<td>Knee</td>
<td>2 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langton Down</td>
<td>13 (7%)</td>
<td>Fantail</td>
<td>2 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nauheim derivative</td>
<td>12 (6%)</td>
<td>Trumpet headed</td>
<td>6 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colchester</td>
<td>13 (7%)</td>
<td>Penannular</td>
<td>5 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colchester derivative</td>
<td>70 (35%)</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>22 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polden Hill</td>
<td>2 (1%)</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8 (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aucissa†</td>
<td>10 (5%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>200</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Temple complex brooches excluded because of complications with the data. Also does not include brooch fragments.
† Including a Bagendon brooch.

ent brooch types were being deposited, this likely shows that this practice pertained to brooches in general (versus to specific types).

**Quantification**

Table 5.7 shows that there is a large variety of brooches present within the assemblage. About a third of these were identified as Colchester derivatives. This is likely due to chronological reasons, since Springhead was undergoing major development (esp. at the settlement) in the late 1st century, which was when this brooch was widely distributed. This does make the relatively low numbers of Nauheim derivatives unusual, especially since so many were deposited at Canterbury, an urban centre near Springhead. Furthermore, the brooch assemblages of the sanctuary and its nearby settlement are comparable - suggesting similar communities used both of these sites. In general, there was a wide span of early brooches from the continent (Simple Gallic, Rosette & Thistle, Langton Down, and Aucissa), possible military brooches (Hod Hill, though also Aucissa), and 2nd century brooches (trumpet headed and plate). The complexity of the data is an indication that a diverse range of people used Springhead.
Typological patterns

The high proportion of early brooches on the site suggests the site had connections with Gaul. This includes not only the Simple Gallic, Rosette (and Thistle), and Langton Down types, but also a good number of 1st century plate brooches. These plate brooches, although some were British inventions, usually had parallels with sites from Gaul. Since Kent was a major entry point from the continent, it is not unexpected that this region of Britain would have had regular cultural exchanges with peoples from the continent. Indeed the relatively high quantity of Colchester brooches further supports the view that those who used the site had both a strong local identity (since Colchester brooches were a British invention) but may have been influenced by this regular influx of ideas (since this brooch type was derived from the Simple Gallic Brooch).

Hod Hill brooches were another common type at the site. Although a straightforward connection cannot be made, Hod Hill brooches are often associated with the military. Regardless of whether or not there was actually a fort present at Springhead during the mid 1st century (see discussion in Section 5.2), this may be showing that military personnel also used the site. Aucissa brooches also were associated with the military; Aucissa brooches were located at civilian contexts within Britain, but on the continent they travelled with the army. Since Springhead appears to have had connections with the continent, the possibility cannot be dismissed that the Aucissa brooch retained its military association at this site. Indeed the military site at Richborough to the east also had a high amount of Hod Hills (n=59) and Aucissas (n=21). Therefore, there may have been a regular military or veteran community using the site.

That a diversity of people visited the site is evidenced not only by the variety of brooch types within the assemblage, but also by presence of many plate brooches. Plate brooches were decorated and would have displayed an element of personalisation by wearing and/or depositing them. Indeed though the imagery of the plate brooches located at the settlement

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were quite unique (e.g. toilet set brooch, shoe sole brooch), there were double the amount of plate brooches at the sanctuary. Notable brooches include an enamelled star-shaped tutulus brooch, a tinned/silvered four-spoked wheel brooch, and an enamelled hare shaped brooch. Furthermore, a couple of plate brooches were also found near the temple complex: an enamelled sitting duck shaped brooch, and one shaped like a stag. Since plate brooches were so common on the site, and since they embody a sense of individuality, their appearance symbolises the special nature of these depositions.

Social practices

The brooches do reveal a social practice, but can mainly be used to elucidate who used the site.

1. There was a practice to deposit brooches in the springs. Almost all of the brooch types had a high proportion located within the springs.

2. Springhead was an influential LIA centre, and this is evidenced by the high quantity of early brooches.

3. The variety of brooches suggests that a diverse amount of people visited the site. This includes military personnel and veterans.

5.5.3 Coinage

A total of 1,111 pre-Roman and Roman coins were found at Springhead, with another 160 illegible coins also within the assemblage. Most of those within the study time period were made of copper alloy, though a couple gold and silver coins were also within the assemblage. Most of the coins at Springhead came from the later Roman period; however, the numismatic evidence serves to complement the evidence for some of the social practices and identities of the participants.

56 Schuster (2011), 222-231 for the full available list of plate brooches.
57 Penn (1957), 81, 97; Penn (1968b), 184-185.
58 On the diverse imagery of plate brooches and what symbolism they may have held see Johns (1995).
Quantification

Table 5.8: Pre-Roman:Roman coin quantities at Springhead.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Temple Complex</th>
<th>Sanctuary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Roman</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman</td>
<td>622†</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Most of the coins are from the 3rd and 4th centuries.
† 447 from a late (Roman) hoard.

Table 5.8 shows that there were no pre-Roman coins found within the temple complex assemblage. A high quantity of Roman coins was found there, albeit most of them were from the late Roman period. The lack of pre-Roman coins located at the temple complex is partly due to chronological reasons; however, it also provides further evidence that LIA activity was concentrated around the head of the springs and the processional way, which is where most of the pre-Roman coins were located.

Table 5.9: Pre-Roman coin types at Springhead.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kentish Flat Linear I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>North Thames</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentish Flat Linear II</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Addedomaros</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentish Uninscribed</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Tasciovanus</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubnovellaunos</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Andoco</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vosenos</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Cunobelin</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Corieltauvi</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sol</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gallic imports</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eppillus</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Siculo-Punic</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amminus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The quantity of pre-Roman coins is split by type in Table 5.9. This table first and foremost shows that a variety of coins were found within the

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59C.f. Holman (2011a). There were 6 pre-Roman coins located at the settlement, which also developed from the late 1st century.
60C.f. Cooke (2011), esp. 172 who questions the extent to which the coin evidence shows where practices were taking place in the pre-Roman period or early Roman period.
assemblage, with the earliest coin type (the Kentish Flat Linear I) dating to around the mid 1st century BCE. Besides this variety, however, the assemblage is fairly typical.\textsuperscript{61} Over half are coins commonly distributed throughout Kent; for example, Kentish, Dubnovellaunos and Vosenos coins take up 64\% of the assemblage.\textsuperscript{62} Furthermore, Siculo-Punic and Gallic imports are also characteristic of coin assemblages throughout Kent.\textsuperscript{63}

\textbf{Purpose of deposition}

The location of the coins are able to provide some details on why the coins were deposited and what kinds of practices they may be evidencing. Most of the coins at the sanctuary site were either found in the springs, or in the vicinity around the head of the springs. Therefore, not only does this further show the importance of the springs to the rituals at the site, but also that these rituals commonly entailed the deposition of coins. Both pre-Roman and Roman coins were located outside of these areas; however, the quantities are significantly lower in comparison.\textsuperscript{64}

Some of the coins within the temple complex were also grouped in certain areas. Many were found scattered across the site, but there were concentrations of coins at the pedestal outside of Temple 1, and at the ditches next to Temple 4.\textsuperscript{65} The pedestal has been dated to around the late 1st century, and was in use likely shortly after Temple 1 was constructed.\textsuperscript{66} Coins in the ditch area date to the mid 2nd century, which is around the same time that the infant burials on the site were conducted; so, their deposition may be related to those burials. It cannot be said that the amount of coin depositions within these areas show these areas were

\textsuperscript{61}Holman (2011b) and (2005b).
\textsuperscript{62}For Dubnovellaunos and Vosenos’ probable rule over Kent see Creighton (2000), 78, 216. SA/SAM coins may have also been a Kentish type. Holman (2005b).
\textsuperscript{63}See coin histograms of sites in eastern Kent by Holman (2005b).
\textsuperscript{64}See Cooke (2011), Table 42 in the supplementary report.
\textsuperscript{65}There are more coins groupings at the temple complex. But all other ones appear to have been deposited alongside a substantial amount of late coinage, which implies they were deposited at a later date. For a clear illustration of all these coin groups see Smith (2001), Map 5.11, 102.
\textsuperscript{66}Penn (1958), 85; Smith (2001),101.
regularly used for ritual practices, but it at least shows that the pedestal area was an important stop for visitors of the site, and it may also provide further dating evidence for the infant burials within the ditches nearby.

**Social practices**

1. The coin evidence in general shows that the springs and the area around the springs was the focus of activity at Springhead throughout the site's lifetime.

2. Although there was a variety of pre-Roman coin types on the site, the assemblage is fairly typical for sites in the area. Even though a diversity of people used the site, practices related to coin stayed relatively consistent with the nature the rest of the region.

3. Most of the coins were intentionally deposited, versus accidentally lost, at the springs and at other areas of the site.

**5.5.4 Hairpins**

As displayed in Table 5.10, a substantial quantity of hairpins, at least 89 in total, were found at the temple complex and sanctuary site, and their metal:bone percentages are similar. It should be noted that the hairpins from the temple complex are excluded from the remaining analyses. This is because the typologies for the hairpins had not been established when the temple complex was excavated and the reports were published; furthermore, since illustrations were many times not provided, there are too many complications in including these data.

Similar to the other analysed finds at the sanctuary, the majority of the hairpins were deposited at the head of the springs. Compared to the brooches and the coins, however, only a few were deposited actually within the springs. Furthermore, metal hairpins were also located at both of the viewing platforms and near the early Roman circular structures (and the
Table 5.10: Metal and bone hairpin quantities at Springhead.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Temple Complex</th>
<th>Sanctuary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>10+ (42%)</td>
<td>25 (38%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bone</td>
<td>14 (58%)</td>
<td>40 (62%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24 (100%)</td>
<td>65+ (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Includes one silver hairpin.

trackway just south of these structures). The location of the hairpins is thus subtly different from those of the brooches and coins.\(^{67}\)

**Quantification**

35 metal hairpins and 54 bone hairpins were found at the temple complex and the sanctuary site. Quite unusually, bone hairpins outnumber those of metal by 3:2. For a temple site, this is unusual. The proportion of bone to metal hairpins at the settlement is actually very similar at about 2:1.\(^{68}\) This provides more evidence that the community using the settlement also used both the temple complex and the sanctuary site. It also coincides with the theory that the settlement acted as an intermediate waypoint for those travelling to/from eastern Kent.

**Typological patterns**

Looking at the categorised hairpins in Table 5.11, there are two patterns which stand out. The first is that most of the hairpins are dated to the early Roman period, when women used to style their hair in tall and elaborate hairstyles. The second pattern is that since there are a large variety of hairpins within the assemblage, this - like the other finds previously discussed - further evidences the diversity of people using the site.

Although the quantity of categorised hairpins is spread out amongst many different types, the metal and bone hairpins were fairly similar in

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\(^{67}\)The exact locations of the bone hairpins remains to be verified. N.b. hairpins within the temple complex were distributed throughout the site with no apparent pattern(s).

\(^{68}\)70 bone and 32 metal hairpins were located at the settlement.
Table 5.11: Metal and bone hairpin types at the sanctuary site at Springhead.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metal type</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Bone type</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group 1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>25</td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

design. The most abundant type for the metal hairpins at the sanctuary site (and at the settlement) was (Cool) Group 24. Whereas the most abundant (Crummy) type for the bone hairpins is Type 2.\(^{69}\) Both of these hairpins were simple and long in design, and therefore this simplicity could show an intentional fashion from those who used the site. For example, perhaps more emphasis was placed on the hairstyle itself versus the design of the hairpin.

Lastly, the only distinction between types of hairpins and location is that more ornate hairpins were found at the temple complex. No decorated hairpins were found at the sanctuary site, but there was one decorated copper alloy hairpin as well as one silver hairpin deposited within the ditches at the temple complex. However, there are not enough decorated or non copper-alloy/bone hairpins on the site to say this can be used as an indication of the social status or practices of the temple complex.

**Social practices**

1. The location of the hairpins concentrated around the springs (instead of within it) and around the viewing platforms. Therefore, the practice to deposit items within the springs, which was evidenced by the

\(^{69}\)N.b. the quantity of “unknown” hairpins could change this.
brooches and the coins, may not have necessarily included the hairpins.

2. The metal:bone proportion at the temple complex and sanctuary site are similar to that of the settlement. This suggests that the same community used these areas. This proportion, however, is unusual for a temple site since bone hairpins clearly outnumber metal ones. Since it seems like it was common for metal (versus bone) hairpins to be deposited on temple sites, this fits in with the idea that a diversity of people used Springhead. Furthermore, it helps create a distinction between the religious character of Springhead to other sites in the east and south-east of England.

3. Hairpins were mostly simple and long in design. The simple design detracts attention away from the pin itself, placing more emphasis on the hairstyle.

5.6 Site synthesis

This chapter attempted to decipher the complexity of the assemblages at Springhead. Clearer documentation of the finds evidence would allow for the finds to be more easily analysed, but this study has nevertheless shown that the available finds evidence provides a picture of the kinds of social practices on the site. Table 5.12 summarises what was taking place at the site at different periods of time.

Even though it is unclear whether there was activity at the temple complex before the late 1st century, there is evidence for a lot of LIA activity at the sanctuary site. Rituals either utilised the area around the head of the springs, or the area around the processional way, which appears to have run through the site. The high quantity of pig bones, early brooches, and pre-Roman coins shows that Springhead was a high status LIA site. Furthermore, the dearth of butchery marks on the pig remains leaves open

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Table 5.12: Summary of practices and events at the temple complex and sanctuary site at Springhead.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Practice/event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early to mid 1st</td>
<td>• Activity around the processional way and the head of the springs. Depositions also within the springs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• High quantity of pig remains mostly without butchery marks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• High quantity of early and military brooches.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Pre-Roman coins typical for the area, but still a diversity of types within the assemblage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1st to early 2nd</td>
<td>• Activity at the head of the springs, viewing platforms, and Temple 1. Depositions also within the springs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Decrease in animal bone depositions at the sanctuary (vs. major increase at the settlement).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Large variety of brooches, with high quantities of Colchester derivatives and plate brooches.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Hairpins deposited around (but not within) springs and at viewing platforms. Designs were usually simple and long.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid 2nd to mid 3rd</td>
<td>• Activity at the sanctuary, viewing platforms, and Temples 1, 2, 3, 4, 6. Depositions also within the springs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Cattle, sheep, and pig slaughtered at earlier ages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Increase in puppy and dog structured depositions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Increase in structured depositions involving skulls. Skulls were either missing, damaged, or found by themselves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Sudden appearance of a high quantity of neonatal bones and burials across the site.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the possibility that there was a practice of roasting pigs during this time. Indeed this has often been associated with LIA feasting practices on high status sites.\textsuperscript{71} Many of the brooches and coins were deposited within the springs, and this attests to importance of the springs to the religious nature of the site. Lastly, the presence of possible military brooches might support the evidence for the existence of a short-lived fort at Springhead; however, since there is not a lot of other evidence to show any kind of military occupation, it must merely be marked as a possibility that there may have been a military community using the site.

Alongside the construction and development of the settlement, from the late 1st to early 2nd century there appears a number of structural features at the head of the springs, as well as Temple 1 at the temple complex. Although there was still a lot of activity throughout the temple complex and sanctuary site areas, most depositions were found at the settlement during this time. The similarity of the evidence at the settlement and the religious areas at Springhead suggests that the same communities used both of these sites. This interpretation coincides with the theory that the settlement developed as a stop-off point off the main London to Richborough road.\textsuperscript{72} Indeed that there was a variety of brooches and hairpins on the site attests that a diversity of social groups, perhaps including those from Gaul and the military, used the site alongside the local community.

Although there was a variety of brooches within the assemblage, there were especially high quantities of Colchester derivative brooches and plate brooches. The Colchester derivative brooches are likely a chronological consequence, but the plate brooches exemplify the value of personalised depositions on the site. This is because plate brooches were decorated and often had unique designs and shapes compared to other brooches.

Hairpins within Springhead's assemblage were usually simple in de-

\textsuperscript{71}At Welwyn-type graves north of the Thames. Cool (2006), 52; Niblett (2004), esp. 31 and (1999), 150; Stead (1967). No firedogs were found on the site. For firedogs and their use see Saunders (1978), 19-20.

\textsuperscript{72}It is also possible that the shoe sole plate brooch on the site could have been deposited by travellers who were praying for safe passage, perhaps to Mercury. This sort of symbolism would have been appealing for those passing through Springhead. For more information on shoe plate brooches see Eckardt (2013).
sign, and were long and thin in shape; this suggests that visitors did not place emphasis on the look of the hairpin itself, but on the hairstyle instead. Unlike the brooches and the coins, which were usually located within the springs, the locations of the hairpins were mostly at the head of the springs. Hairpins were also commonly located at the viewing platforms, thus implying that other areas of the site were also of religious importance. Since a lot of animal remains and pottery have also been found at these viewing platforms, they have been interpreted as possible feasting platforms.\footnote{Andrews (2011), 52-57 and (2008), 55-56. Many of the bones at these platforms also had burn marks on them. See the condition of the bones in Section 5.5.1.}

The religious nature of Springhead really begins to materialise from the mid 2nd to mid 3rd century. Not only was the sanctuary constructed, but so were Temples 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6. Coins, and perhaps some brooches and hairpins, continued to be deposited within the springs itself, but the focus during this time on the site was really the animal remains. Cattle, sheep, and pig began to be slaughtered at noticeably younger ages compared to the animals located at the settlement, and there is a sudden increase in structured depositions. There are a number of pits (discussed in Section 5.5.1), which contained puppy and dog skeletons that appear to have been intentionally placed. In general these canine bones were in good condition, with the exception of the skulls from the ritual shaft. These skulls appear to have been intentionally smashed. Skulls seem to have held some importance with the rituals at Springhead. There were a few instances of animal skulls (from different taxa) deposited throughout the site, and one instance of a headless bird placed near one of the temples within the temple complex.

The evidence for the seeming importance of the head goes beyond the animal bones. Alongside these structured animal bone depositions were infant burials scattered throughout the site. Eighteen were located within the northern ditch at the temple complex, at least nine were located at the sanctuary near the head of the springs, and five at the southernmost viewing platform, amongst many others. However, there is one particular
occasion worth noting. Four infants were deposited near the headless bird at different corners within Temple 4. And two of these infants were decapitated.

Moreover, the sudden appearance of infant burials and dog/puppy depositions does not seem coincidental.\textsuperscript{74} The dog’s association with life and death, and the puppy’s with purification can be plausibly interpreted as an attempt to ward off some kind of disease or plague. But regardless of whether or not the rituals of Springhead focussed on eliminating the outbreak of a disease or preventing it from spreading further, there is strong evidence to suggest that Springhead acted as a place of healing. Other than the many examples showing that dogs embodied healing powers,\textsuperscript{75} a substantial amount of votive body parts and toilet articles were also found.\textsuperscript{76} The finds’ location next to a large body of water, which has been shown to have been the focus of many of the depositions, also further evidences this. Lastly, since Springhead had a large early cemetery nearby, the fact that these infant burials were located there further emphasises the relevance of these bones to the religious nature of the site.

It is difficult to concisely sum up the finds evidence at Springhead in a way that fully shows the implications it would have had on the religious landscape of the area. However, the finds evidence illuminate the situation by bringing out a number of both more obvious but also subtle practices taking place at Springhead. Being one of the largest known religious sites within Roman Britain, it is without a doubt that we can look forward to continued/future excavations which will further develop and indeed complicate this picture. The next chapter is a case study of the temple site at Wanborough; the finds evidence at this site draw out quite different practices than what has been discussed in the case studies of Great Chesterford and Springhead.

\textsuperscript{74}N.b. as noted in Section 5.2, infant burials and dog bones were also found at the temple within the settlement.
\textsuperscript{76}For votive body parts and healing see Bagnall Smith (2008), 164-165, and Rives (2007), 96. For toilet articles see Jackson (1988), 149, and Morrison (2013).
6 | Wanborough

6.1 Introduction

Wanborough was a rural temple site located in the area of the LIA Southern kingdom. It was accessible via a trackway running from eastern Kent to Ilchester (in Somerset), although the area was densely wooded and scarcely populated. The site was first identified in the 1960s by C.J. Sage;\(^1\) this led to excavations in 1979-80, 1985-86, and 1999. Many parts of the site were damaged by large scale treasure hunting, but the assemblage is still able to illuminate the complex picture of what kinds of social practices took place on temple sites in Roman Britain. As the only primary site within the boundaries of the LIA Southern kingdom, this case study also serves as an important representation of social practices at temple sites within that area. The aim of this chapter, similar to the previous two case studies, is to explore the ways in which the (selected) finds evidence provide evidence for social practices, using the same methodologies outlined in Chapter 3.

6.2 The sites at Wanborough

Unlike the other case studies within this thesis, Wanborough did not have a settlement or fort associated with it. The closest urban centres were Silchester, which was about 23 miles north-west, and Ewell, which was

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\(^1\) O'Connell (1985), 185.
about 18 miles to the north-east.\textsuperscript{2} However, Wanborough was fairly close to at least three villa sites: Compton, and Broad Street villas are about 3 miles away, and Farnham villa is about 5 miles away. Furthermore, all of these sites were active at the same time as Wanborough, with the villas at Farnham and Broad Street being active from the late 1st century, and Compton villa being active from at least the mid 2nd century.\textsuperscript{3} The location of Wanborough being close to villa sites already hints at the high status nature of the site, since the presence of villas (especially those of an early date) potentially indicates a high status community. The temple site at Farley Heath is the closest temple site to Wanborough, being only 8 miles to the south-east. Even though there are many similarities between the assemblages of Wanborough and Farley Heath, there is no physical evidence available to show a direct link (e.g. a road or trackway) between them.

### 6.3 Context information from the temple site

Table 6.1: Simplified chronology reference for the site at Wanborough.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Settlement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mid 1st CE</td>
<td>Some activity south/south-west of later temples, including deposition of hoard (\sim 50-60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1st to early 2nd CE</td>
<td>Continued activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid to late 2nd CE</td>
<td>Circular temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 2nd to early 3rd CE</td>
<td>Square temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid 3rd to late 3rd CE</td>
<td>Last use of site before demolition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the temple site was located in such a rural area, the scale of activity at the site would not have been as big as those temples next to bigger settlements. The area around Wanborough was densely populated

\textsuperscript{2}These are geographical estimates. The actual distance by road was longer; about 32 miles to Silchester and about 22 miles to Ewell.

\textsuperscript{3}For Farnham see Lowther (1955); for Broad Street see Poulton (2005); and for Compton see Bird (1987).
by trees,⁴ and there was a high ridge directly south of the site. Even though a minor road/trackway ran past the site to the north, as demonstrated in Chapter 2 this zone was probably scarcely populated. Except for people from the surrounding areas and the villa sites nearby (see previous section), visitors would have had to travel a considerable distance to participate in the rituals taking place there. Regardless, the site still yielded a substantial amount of finds within its assemblage.

As Table 6.1 shows, activity before the late 1st century was concentrated south and south-west of the later temples (see Figure 6.1). However, there was still some activity in the temple area before the circular temple was constructed. Other than pottery depositions, a couple of trees were found possibly indicating a sacred grove, and there were also a few pre-Roman coins in the area.

Although it is possible that the circular temple was constructed as early as the late 1st century,⁵ dating evidence suggests that the temple was built during the mid 2nd century. The temple, however, appears to have had structural problems; it is not clear whether the building eventually collapsed or was dismantled, but a prominent degree of lean in the foundation of the structure indicates the temple’s foundations were unstable.⁶ Either way, the temple was removed by the end of the 2nd century.

A dedicatory deposit dated to ~160-170 was likely a foundation deposit for the square temple, which was constructed perhaps in response to the removal of the circular temple in the late 2nd century.⁷ This concentric square temple continued to be used until around the late 3rd century.

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⁴Corke (1994); Williams (2008), 87.
⁵Williams (2007), 179.
⁶Williams (2007), 181. Williams predicts that the temple had a short lifetime (50 years at most) because of this.
⁷The difference in construction techniques between the circular and square temples suggests the square temple was built later than the circular temple, and therefore they may not have been in use at the same time. Williams (2007), 259. The square temple was mortared, tessellated, and plastered, whereas the circular temple had wooden foundations.
Figure 6.1: Simplified map of Wanborough. Adapted from Williams (2007), Fig 2, p.155.
Table 6.2: Quantities of the finds evidence at Wanborough.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Small find</th>
<th>Circle temple</th>
<th>Square temple</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animal remains</td>
<td>1,460</td>
<td>880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooches</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coins</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>1,044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hairpins</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4 Data quality and quantity

After the site was identified in the 1960s by C.J. Sage, excavations were first conducted from 1979-80. Rescue excavations were then conducted in 1985-86 and 1999. These latter two excavations resulted in the publications of two substantial reports: the 1994 report documented the finds from the square temple, and the 2007 report the finds from the circular temple.\(^8\)

As illustrated by Figure 6.1, though the extent of the excavations almost completely covered the temple areas and some trenches were opened in other areas of the site, there is still potential for future excavations to focus on areas other than where the temples were located. This is especially the case considering that a temenos, which is typical for a temple site, has yet to be found.

Wanborough is perhaps best known for having suffered from the most substantial and visible damage of illegal treasure hunting in Roman Britain. As O’Connell and Bird put it: “No-one who claims an interest in the past could possibly view the destruction at Wanborough with anything but horror”.\(^9\) These illegal activities were the reason why the latter two excavations were conducted, and even caused the laws regarding treasure hunting to be re-evaluated.

Since most of the robbing was conducted by metal-detectorists, it does not come as a surprise that the greatest loss from Wanborough’s finds assemblage was its coin collection. For the most part, these coins remain

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\(^8\) The 2007 report attempted to integrate the data from the 1994 report, but the reports still document and detail different archaeological finds.

unaccounted for, and are likely scattered across Britain and other parts of the world. Estimates of how many coins were originally in the assemblage before the robbing took place range from 1,500 to 30,000 coins.\textsuperscript{10} Regardless, a look at Table 6.2 shows that a substantial amount of coins were still recovered. Indeed the currently known coins at Wanborough make up most of the known Atrebatric coin assemblage in Britain.\textsuperscript{11}

Table 6.2 shows that Wanborough possesses a sufficient sample size for all of the relevant finds except the hairpins.\textsuperscript{12} The absence of hairpins may reflect a regional preference. Either way, its low quantity is not sufficient for intra-site analyses, and so they are thus not discussed in detail here. Other than this, the quantity of finds is sufficient to enable fruitful discussions of how the different finds elucidate the social practices of the site and also the types of communities using the site.

6.5 Analyses of the finds evidence

6.5.1 Animal remains

2,340 animal bones were located at Wanborough. As shown by Tables 6.3 and 6.4, not all of these are able to be fully scrutinised for this study. Depositions began in the mid 1st century, with most of the bones being located around the circular temple.
Table 6.3: Overview of animal remains (NISP) at Wanborough.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taxon</th>
<th>Mid 1st</th>
<th>Late 1st to early 2nd</th>
<th>Mid to late 2nd</th>
<th>Late 2nd to late 3rd</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>5 (14%)</td>
<td>6 (3%)</td>
<td>37 (11%)</td>
<td>24 (14%)</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep/goat</td>
<td>24 (66%)</td>
<td>193 (82%)</td>
<td>168 (51%)</td>
<td>119 (70%)</td>
<td>504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pig</td>
<td>5 (14%)</td>
<td>17 (7%)</td>
<td>123 (37%)</td>
<td>16 (9%)</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td>3 (1%)</td>
<td>1 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>17 (7%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fowl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other†</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>11 (7%)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>772</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* “Unphased” bones from the circular temple not included.
† 1 deer and 11 hare bones. Found in layers of demolition rubble - likely background fauna.

Table 6.4: Overview of indeterminate animal remains (NISP) at Wanborough.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taxon</th>
<th>Mid 1st</th>
<th>Late 1st to early 2nd</th>
<th>Mid to late 2nd</th>
<th>Late 2nd to late 3rd</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep-sized</td>
<td>113 (97%)</td>
<td>95 (89%)</td>
<td>355 (83%)</td>
<td>56 (51%)</td>
<td>619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle-sized</td>
<td>4 (3%)</td>
<td>12 (11%)</td>
<td>42 (10%)</td>
<td>26 (23%)</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentifiable</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (%)</td>
<td>30 (7%)</td>
<td>29 (26%)</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>117</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>762</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Could not include indeterminate mammals (n= 326) and unidentifiable bones (n=348) from the square temple.
Bone quantification

Mid 1st century
Since the quantity of identified animal bones is quite small, not much can be said about the bones themselves. However it seems that smaller animals, such as sheep/goats, were deposited, as indicated by Table 6.4. However, the dearth of bones and the fact that none were found in contexts dating to before the mid 1st century is telling. This suggests either that the concentration for depositions occurred elsewhere on the site (perhaps in the south or south-west) or that rituals involving animals were not a priority on the site.

Late 1st to early 2nd century
The bones within this time period mostly reaffirm the general pattern of the bones in the previous phase. Sheep were clearly the most dominant taxon, though other animals were also involved to some extent in the rituals of the site. Most notable are the chicken bones, most of which were a part of a skeleton deposited in a gully (to be discussed later).

Mid 2nd to late 2nd century
Tables 6.3 and 6.4 show that most of the animal remains were deposited during this time period, which was when the circular temple was in use. Sheep continued as the most common taxon used on the site, though there was a sudden rise in the quantity of pig remains. This rise in pig

10Bean (2000), 275 estimates around 3,000-4,000 coins were stolen; JPC Kent in Haselgrove (1987), 2-3 estimates 1,500; 5,000-7,000 by Philip de Jersey in Hobbs (2003), 142-4; 20,000-30,00 was at first reported by Van Arsdell (1987), 455, who later in 1994 says a number around 10,000 is more likely.
11Bean (2000); Cheesman (2007), 234.
12N.b. There were some issues quantifying the animal remains, particularly concerning Williams (2007)’s Tab. 13, which details the animal remains. When Tab. 13 was compared with Tab. 1, which provides further information about the contexts within the site, often the phase in which the contexts occurred were different. In these cases, the context:phase information from Tab.13 was taken. Also, sometimes phases of the bones in Tab. 13 were not labelled. When this was the case, the context:phase information was taken from Tab. 1. Lastly, quantification was done manually; any numerical errors remain my own.
13Hereby referred to as sheep since no goat specific bones were found.
Table 6.5: Animal bones at the circular temple at Wanborough.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taxon</th>
<th>Mid 1st</th>
<th>Late 1st to early 2nd</th>
<th>Mid to late 2nd</th>
<th>Late 2nd to late 3rd</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>5 (14%)</td>
<td>6 (2%)</td>
<td>18 (8%)</td>
<td>20 (45%)</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep/goat</td>
<td>24 (66%)</td>
<td>193 (83%)</td>
<td>107 (49%)</td>
<td>19 (44%)</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pig</td>
<td>5 (14%)</td>
<td>17 (7%)</td>
<td>91 (42%)</td>
<td>5 (11%)</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>3 (1%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>17 (7%)</td>
<td>2 (1%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fowl</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>535</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* One brown hare.

bones, especially since it coincides with the building of the temple, possibly depicts a change in the nature of the site. Since there is not a lot of evidence for a military presence in the area, these pig bones may be a reflection of the high status nature of the site. This interpretation seems likely given the villa settlements located nearby. If more of the indeterminate bones could be identified, this would shed more light on the topic. This is because, as listed in Table 6.4, there are a large amount of sheep-sized bones; sheep and pig bones were roughly around the same size, so many of these bones could have been from pigs.

**Late 2nd to late 3rd century**

There was a larger variety of bones during this time period, but other than this the proportion of bones is roughly the same as the assemblage from the previous time period. The practices of the site continued to utilise sheep more so than other taxa.

**Taxa and location**

The majority of the animal bone depositions were located at the circular temple (see Tables 6.5 and 6.6). Since depositions started near the ciru-

\[14\] Bird (1987), 165.

\[15\] King and Soffe (2001) on pig being a high status Roman consumption practice.
Table 6.6: Animal bones at the square temple at Wanborough.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taxon</th>
<th>Mid to late 2nd</th>
<th>Late 2nd to late 3rd</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>19 (17%)</td>
<td>4 (10%)</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep/goat</td>
<td>61 (54%)</td>
<td>12 (31%)</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pig</td>
<td>32 (28%)</td>
<td>11 (28%)</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
<td>0 (%)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fowl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other†</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>11 (28%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>113</strong></td>
<td><strong>39</strong></td>
<td><strong>152</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* One red deer and 10 hares.

lar temple from the mid 1st century, about a century before it is believed to have been built, this suggests the area held some kind of religious value well before the temple was constructed.

Animal bone depositions at the square temple, on the other hand, did not begin until the mid 2nd century. This therefore suggests that the religious practices established at the site took place at the circular, and not the square, temple; this fits with the theory that the square temple was built in response to the collapse of the circular temple.

The animal bone assemblages of the circular and square temples are not too dissimilar. The only noticeable difference between the two is that most of the pig remains were found at the circular temple. Since pig remains were also found at the square temple, and the temples were located next to one another, it does not seem likely that this is indicating that a particular practice concentrated around a certain temple. Instead, since the pig bones were found in contexts dating from the mid to late 2nd century, it instead suggests that the ritual that sacrificed pigs was fairly short-lived.

In general the bones were scattered across the excavated areas of the site, but there were a few contexts that had a high quantity of depositions; these contexts and the dates in which they were active are listed in Table 6.7.

Contexts A and B were both located in the north-eastern corner of the
Table 6.7: Discussed Wanborough contexts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Context A</td>
<td>Late 1st to mid 2nd century</td>
<td>Gully</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Context B</td>
<td>Late 1st to mid 2nd century</td>
<td>Gully</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Context C</td>
<td>Mid 2nd century</td>
<td>Dedicatory/foundation deposit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Context D</td>
<td>Mid to late 2nd century</td>
<td>Rubble</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.2: Locations of the discussed Wanborough contexts.

circular temple within the same large gully. An examination of Table 6.8 also shows that they have similar proportions of taxa. This therefore hints that these contexts were the result of the same practice. They could have been the result of a single event, or show that a ritual regularly happened throughout a period of time. The only real difference in quantification is that Context A had an almost complete adult domestic fowl skeleton found within it.

The other pinpointed context at the circular temple is that of Context D. Figure 6.2 has a question mark next to its label because it is unclear whether it was located directly outside of the circular temple or within it. Either way, though the quantities within Table 6.8 may not seem that significant, this context is important to take note of and will be further discussed in the next couple of sections.

According to the excavation reports the only context related to the
Table 6.8: Animal remains within discussed contexts (NISP) at Wanbor-ough.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taxon</th>
<th>Context A</th>
<th>Context B</th>
<th>Context D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>1 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep/goat</td>
<td>115 (80%)</td>
<td>56 (88%)</td>
<td>33 (34%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pig</td>
<td>4 (3%)</td>
<td>5 (8%)</td>
<td>2 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic fowl</td>
<td>17 (12%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep-sized</td>
<td>7 (5%)</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>59 (61%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle-sized</td>
<td>0 (%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>3 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentifiable</td>
<td>0 (%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>144</strong></td>
<td><strong>63</strong></td>
<td><strong>97</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

square temple to have any notable significance is the dedicatory deposit (160-170 CE) in the south-west corner proceeding the temple. Additional to priestly regalia, pottery, and other items, the deposit contained 104 identified and 420 unidentified animal bone fragments.\(^{16}\) Although this context is not detailed in the report, a glance at Table 6.6 shows that the total number of identified bones from Context C is roughly the same quantity as the total number of bones from the mid to late 2nd century at the square temple. This similarity makes it safe to assume that the proportion of animal bones within Table 6.6 are comparable to the assemblage of Context C.

**Status of the bones**

Table 6.9: Ages of sheep bones in Contexts A, B, and D at Wanborough.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-6 months</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-12 months</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 years</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-6 years</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-8 years</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whereas the sheep bones from the square temple were aged between 18 months to 2 1/2 years old, Table 6.9 shows that this was not the case.

\(^{16}\)Nicolaysen (1994), 163.
for those deposited at the circular temple.\textsuperscript{17} Almost all of the aged sheep bones within Contexts A, B, and D were under 12 months old, with the majority between 0-6 months old. Since other sheep bones on the site were usually dated as older (1-8 years old), this indicates that the practice that caused the deposition of these bones was highly selective of the animals involved.

Table 6.9 also includes the aged sheep bones from Context D. Although not nearly as many bones are available to analyse (most could not be identified to a taxon), the ages of the sheep bones still parallel those within Contexts A and B. Therefore, this could suggest the occurrence of the same ritual. Since Context D was dated later than Contexts A and B (see Table 6.7), this suggests a continuity in ritual practice. The nature of this ritual, however, may have changed; this is because Contexts A and B were deposited in the north-east corner of the circular temple, whereas Context D was in the southern area of the temple.\textsuperscript{18}

Additionally, Contexts A and B both had young pig bones deposited with these lamb bones. Context B had 1 neonate, 2 infant, and 2 juvenile pig bones. Even though only a single infant pig bone was found within Context A, the similarity of the two assemblages supports the idea that the unaged pig bones from Context A may have also been of a young age. This would contrast against the ages of the rest of the pig bones at both the circular and square temples, which typically ranged from young adults to adults.\textsuperscript{19}

**Condition of the bones**

Butchery marks were present on all of the main domesticated species. Most of these were chop (versus cut) marks. Chop marks were not usually found until the later Roman period on rural temple sites. This likely shows

\textsuperscript{17}Generalised ages classes ("infant", "juvenile", etc.) adapted into absolute ages using Payne (1973).

\textsuperscript{18}However, it is difficult to firmly state this was the case since the types of contexts were so different. Contexts A and B were gullies, and Context D was a rubble pile.

\textsuperscript{19}Nicolaysen (1994), 163 says the dates of the pig bones located at the square temple were between 15 months to 2 1/2 years old. For the circular temple see Pipe (2007), 244.
that the site had access to specialists who used these techniques. Since Wanborough was most likely serving a local high status community, this is an indication and indeed a display of wealth.

Many of the chop marks were also made transversely through the bone.\(^{20}\) This suggests the animals were eaten after they were killed. This was not the case, however, for the lamb bones (aged 0-6 months) within Contexts A, B, and E. Although some of the sheep and other taxa within these contexts had butchery marks on them, the lack of marks on the lamb bones may have been intentional. This could be showing that these bones were carefully dismembered as a part of the ritual.\(^{21}\)

Table 6.10: Burnt bones at Wanborough.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mid 1st CE</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1st to early 2nd CE</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid to late 2nd CE</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid 2nd to late 3rd CE*</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 2nd to late 3rd CE</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Bones are from the square temple.

There was, however, a fairly large quantity of burnt bones within the assemblage (see Table 6.10). Burnt bones were more common after the circular temple was constructed in the mid 2nd century. Most of these were identified as sheep-sized bones. However, as mentioned before the presence of sheep-sized bones does not necessarily mean the bones came from sheep.\(^{22}\) Whatever animal they were, the colour of the bones suggests they were burnt at extremely high temperatures. So for example they may have been burnt on a pyre for a fairly long period of time.\(^{23}\) The butchery and burn marks on many of the bones provides sufficient evidence that the animals were sacrificed, cooked, and then consumed.

\(^{20}\) Nicolaysen (1994), 162. Also Williams (2007), supplementary Table 13.

\(^{21}\) Alternatively, as Reitz and Wing (2008), 130-131 state, if the bones were boiled they become brittle and thus may not survive in the archaeological record.

\(^{22}\) C.f. Pipe (2007), 245.

Lastly, gnaw marks were found on 23% of the identified bones at the square temple, whereas none were found at the circular temple.\textsuperscript{24} It is unclear if the bones with marks on them were concentrated in particular contexts. From the little information available, the gnaw marks may be showing a subtle difference in the practice of burying animal remains at either the circular versus square temple.\textsuperscript{25}

**Skeletal representation**

All major parts of the skeleton from the three main domesticates (cattle, sheep, and pig) were well represented. The presence of meat bearing bones in particular implies the whole carcass was dismembered and probably consumed on the site.

**Social practices**

Although the animal bone assemblage is not as large compared to those of the other case studies within this thesis, there are still a few practices apparent from the evidence:

1. From the late 1st to late 2nd century there was a practice to slaughter lambs aged between 0-12 months old. This ritual likely also involved the slaughter of a young pig as well.

2. The rise of pig bones from the mid to late 2nd century may be indicative of the high status nature of the site. It could also reflect the introduction of a short-lived practice to sacrifice pigs during that time.

3. The chop marks probably indicate urban styles of consumption and/or that the site catered to wealthy villa inhabitants. The evidence fits in with the idea that the site possessed high status throughout its lifetime.

\textsuperscript{24}Nicolaysen (1994), 162.

\textsuperscript{25}E.g. Animal bone depositions at the square temple were made in haste, were not covered properly, or were left open for a while before they were covered.
Table 6.11: List of brooches at Wanborough.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thistle</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td>Bow</td>
<td>2 (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nauheim derivative</td>
<td>5 (17%)</td>
<td>Hod Hill</td>
<td>4 (14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colchester</td>
<td>2 (7%)</td>
<td>Trumpet headed</td>
<td>2 (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colchester derivative</td>
<td>7 (24%)</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>6 (21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>29</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Does not include the brooch pin found by itself and an intaglio from a brooch.

4. Sacrificed animals were likely cooked and then consumed - perhaps in a feasting setting. This is strongly evidenced by meat bearing bones being well represented within the assemblage, and the significant amount of calcined and transversely chopped and cut bones.

6.5.2 Brooches

20 brooches were located at the circular temple, and a further 9 at the square temple. Almost half of total number of brooches were either unstratified or in post-Roman contexts. Other than three exceptions, almost all of the other brooches were found in contexts dating from the mid 2nd to late 3rd century.

As discussed in Section 6.4, the area of the square temple - which most of the disturbed brooches were associated with - was severely looted within the last century. The less than ideal condition of the contexts the brooches were within is probably a result of this. It is also highly possible that many brooches were also stolen during these treasure hunting activities. Analysing the brooch assemblage should therefore be approached with these factors in mind. Nevertheless, though the quantity of brooches are low compared to the other case studies within this thesis, the proportion of brooch types is still distinctive.
Quantification

Table 6.11 shows that the brooches were of a variety of types but were mostly of the following four: the Nauheim derivative, Colchester derivative, Hod Hill, and plate brooches. Given the element of uncertainty with the assemblage discussed previously, and that the quantities between these four brooch types are quite similar, it would be problematic to draw any patterns about the prevalence of one of these types over another.

Typological patterns

The significance of the Nauheim derivative brooch is more apparent when taking a brief step back from the assemblage. Since these brooches were also common at the urban centres of Silchester and Chichester, their relatively high quantity at Wanborough may suggest that Wanborough’s assemblage paralleled a typical brooch assemblage for places within the Southern kingdom.  

Although it is difficult to conclude that this shows that the site was specifically of an Atrebatic character since the quantity of this brooch type is not that high, the possibility should be considered.

There were both British and Continental imported types of plate brooches within the assemblage. For the most part the date of these brooches fell between the mid 2nd to 3rd century, which coincides with the time in which the site was most active. Three of these brooches were lozenge-shaped, likely originating from the Continent, and appear to have been made from the same craftsman. The design and shape of two of the other brooches, on the other hand, can be classified as British brooches. The remaining plate brooch was an axe-shaped one. These brooches are rare and this one is indeed the only one of its kind within this study. The symbolic value

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26 For a discussion of the brooches and the LIA kingdoms see Pitts (2014); for summary of quantities see Appendix 3.
27 The fragmentation makes one of them difficult to compare. See O’Connell and Bird (1994), 122-123.
28 Determined using the classifications and examples from Mackreth (2011), 156 (2.b), 159 (3.a1), 237, also plates 105 and 106.
of the axe is well attested within studies on religion;\textsuperscript{29} for Wanborough, the importance of the axe for the practices taking place there is further complemented by the finding of at least two (with a possible four more) miniature axe pendants.\textsuperscript{30}

### Social practices

There are a few practices that can be drawn from Wanborough’s brooch assemblage:

1. Brooches, even those with an earlier date of distribution, were mainly found in contexts dating from the mid 2nd to later 3rd century. Since this timespan coincides with the majority of the activity on the temple site, these residual brooches are likely not all due to modern intrusions. This opens up the possibility that the brooches which were not trumpet headed or plate types (since these were distributed in the 2nd century) were either redeposited later on or were kept in use for a long period of time.

2. Although the Nauheim derivative brooch is not the most commonly found brooch type within the assemblage, the fairly high proportion of this brooch could suggest that this assemblage has parallels with a typical Southern kingdom brooch assemblage. Silchester, which is the nearest major urban centre to Wanborough, for example also has high percentages of Nauheim derivative and Hod Hill brooches. This could imply the site was primarily used by local communities.

3. The fairly rare finding of an axe plate brooch, along with the miniature axe pendants, suggest there was a practice to wear this sort of imagery to the site. This may reflect the nature of the ritual involved. There is a lot of evidence arguing that miniature axes (including those


\textsuperscript{30}O’Connell and Bird (1994), 123 cites this as a personal theory from J. Collis and M. Henig.
used as jewellery) acted as a symbol of a sun or sky deity.\textsuperscript{31} The large amount of priestly regalia found on the site which had wheel motifs as the centre of its headpieces also supports this theory. The symbol of the wheel and its connection with the sun has long been attested in Roman and Celtic mythology.\textsuperscript{32} Green (1984). For representations of Jupiter and the wheel throughout the continent see esp. pp. 122-124. Also Green (1989), 116-123, 164-167. N.b. even though the term “Celtic” is controversial, it is used here to refer to the character of religious thought in Gaul and Britain particularly before the integration of gods from the Roman pantheon. Therefore, there is supporting evidence for the theory that rituals were conducted on the site for some kind of sky or sun deity. Alternatively, if seen alongside the practice to use specialist butchery practices on the site (see Section 6.5.1), the imagery of the axe could be seen as a display of the high-status nature of the site.

6.5.3 Coinage

The current confirmed coin assemblage stands at 1,249 coins. As discussed in Section 6.4 the estimated coin assemblage is likely ten times this amount. Even when only considering the available assemblage, Wanborough by far yielded the highest quantity of pre-Roman coinage within the sampled temple sites for this study. Also, unlike most other temple sites, there were a substantial amount of Roman republican and early empire coins. Furthermore, the majority of the pre-Roman coins were made of either gold or silver. The numismatic evidence, therefore, is particularly important in characterising the site.

Quantification

Table 6.12 clearly shows that the majority of the coins were located at the square temple and were pre-Roman types. These coins can be further

\textsuperscript{31} See references in footnote 29.
\textsuperscript{32}
Table 6.12: Quantity of coins at Wanborough.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Circular Temple</th>
<th>Square Temple</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Roman</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>174</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,075</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.13: Pre-Roman coins at Wanborough.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Circular Temple</th>
<th>Square Temple</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early British</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commius</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tincommius</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eppillus</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verica</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epaticcus</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caratacus</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunobelin</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentish</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iceni</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dobunnic</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durotrigan</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

broken down by type, as displayed in Tables 6.13 and 6.15.

As demonstrated by Table 6.13, the pre-Roman assemblage at Wanborough contained a large variety of British types. No Gallic coins were found within the assemblage, though it is possible they were one of the many coins which were stolen. The British types included early types, those of the Southern and Eastern kingdoms, and imports from other regions. There were also a number of forgeries within the assemblage. Quite notably, all of the Dobunnic and Kentish coins were forgeries. This may show an intent to represent a certain non-local community during the time of deposition.\textsuperscript{33} Indeed most of the forged coins were non-local issues.\textsuperscript{34}

\textsuperscript{33}Cheesman (1994), 55 does suggest: “Whether this indicates that the forgers operated in Atrebatic territory, perhaps immune from prosecution, is an open question.”

\textsuperscript{34}Haselgrove (2005), 405. See also the listed quantities of imitation/forged coins in Cheesman (2007), Tab 10, pp. 227-228, and Cheesman (1994), Tab. 11, 35-36.
Table 6.14: Simplified pre-Roman coinage at Wanborough, excluding unidentified coins.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early British</td>
<td>17 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern kingdom</td>
<td>575 (60%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern kingdom</td>
<td>294 (31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other regions</td>
<td>64 (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>950</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.15: The Roman coins at Wanborough.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Circular Temple</th>
<th>Square Temple</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Roman republican</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Roman empire</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Roman empire</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As expected, more than half of the pre-Roman coins were associated with the Southern kingdom (see Table 6.14). An overwhelming amount of these coins were made of silver (n=502), and/or were Verica coins (n=315). There was not a dearth of coins from the Eastern kingdom since, as Table 6.14 shows, they comprised 31% of the identified pre-Roman coins.

A closer inspection of Table 6.13 reveals that almost all of the Eastern kingdom coins were those of Epaticcus, whereas many from the Southern kingdom were Verica coins. This means that over half of the identified pre-Roman coins were of either Epaticcus or Verica. These two leaders are predicted to have ruled around the same time sometime between 30-40 CE.35 Since most of Epaticcus’ issues are in the Southern kingdom around Silchester, this fits Creighton’s pattern of where the LIA leaders held power, and also helps us situate Wanborough within its complex political context being located in the northern area of the Southern kingdom.36

If the proportion of Roman coins can be taken as representative of

35Creighton (2006), Fig 1.2, p.23.
the original assemblage, they may also be further exemplifying the significance of early coins for the religious nature of the site. Republican coins are rare to find within temple assemblages in Britain,\textsuperscript{37} and for the most part the quantity of coins rose with the lowering denomination of coins.\textsuperscript{38} In other words, since coins were more commonly deposited on temple sites in the 3rd and 4th centuries, the predominance of early pre-Roman and Roman coins suggests the site may have held the deposition of early coins as more appropriate to be used on the site.

**Purpose of deposition**

Almost all of the coins were either found in disturbed or post-Roman contexts, or in contexts dating from the mid 2nd century. Although the highly residual nature of the coins may be due to modern intrusions to the soil during the mass treasure hunting that happened, that only six coins were found in contexts dating before the mid 2nd century raises questions regarding why they were originally deposited.\textsuperscript{39} It is possible that the coins merely show that the site was active in the LIA and early Roman periods, but the lack of archaeological features and finds places doubt on this interpretation.\textsuperscript{40} Therefore, there should be serious consideration of the possibility that these coins were deposited in the 2nd century.

Although there are a number of potential reasons as to why these coins were deposited,\textsuperscript{41} given that they were located on a religious site it seems most probable that they acted as offerings. Since the coins were usually found in groups, this implies they were offered in selected locations. These selected locations may have been where they were eventually deposited,

\textsuperscript{37}General observation, though also noted by King and Soffe (2001) on the coin assemblage at Hayling Island.

\textsuperscript{38}Fulford and Rippon (1994), 176 on the temple assemblage at Lowbury Hill. See also Davies (1986), 60 for how the assemblage at Hockwold cum Wilton fits the general pattern of coin loss for temples.

\textsuperscript{39}N.b. It is not too uncommon for pre-Roman coins to be located in late 1st century contexts. Those within later contexts are often merely explained as being residual.

\textsuperscript{40}Indeed even the majority of the pottery sherds (including samian ware) date to the 2nd and 3rd centuries. See Bird (1994) and (2007), Lyne (2007).

\textsuperscript{41}For a most up to date discussion see Cheesman (2007), 235-238.
Table 6.16: Metallurgy of the pre-Roman coinage at Wanborough.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>54 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>879 (86%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bronze</td>
<td>89 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,022</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

though it cannot be ruled out that they were moved to the temple area from elsewhere.

If the coins were used as a kind of ritual payment to the gods, then this still leaves open the question as to why these coins were found in contexts much later than their distribution date. The coins could represent the re-deposition of coins over a span of time. The image of LIA coins, then a memory of the ancestral past, being sold near the temple as a sort of temple money is conjured up by this explanation.\textsuperscript{42} Alternatively since by this time pre-Roman coins would not have been acceptable to use as currency, they could have been heirlooms as a way to preserve social memory.\textsuperscript{43}

There may be an explanation for why most of these coins were made of silver (see Table 6.16). Creighton (2005) notes that silver coin hoards became increasingly more common from the end of the LIA, and by the later half of the 1st century CE practically replaced the practice to deposit gold coin hoards.\textsuperscript{44} Therefore, if the pre-Roman coins were deposited in the 2nd century, the deposition of silver coin hoards falls in line with the practices of the time. Furthermore, even though the meaning of depositing silver coins is less defined than that of gold coins,\textsuperscript{45} its common association with gold coins suggests silver coins likely had a similar (albeit less

\textsuperscript{42}Fitzpatrick (1985), 63 on Harlow's coin assemblage states that specifically pre-Roman coins may have been seen as the only coins acceptable to deposit for certain practices. See also Chapter 3 on methodology for problems with this interpretation.

\textsuperscript{43}See for example Forcey (1997), 92-93.

\textsuperscript{44}Creighton (2005), see esp. Fig 1, p. 70.

\textsuperscript{45}The meaning of silver is not usually addressed. It appears to quite ambiguously fall between the uses of gold and bronze. Gold held more symbolic purposes, whereas bronze more monetary purposes. Indeed, since bronze is found more in urban centres this emphasises their value in the market.
pronounced) meaning as an important symbol of authority and medium for socio-political exchange.\textsuperscript{46} Therefore, the high amount of silver (as well as gold) coins within the assemblage attests to the high status nature of the site.

**Social practices**

The extremely large quantity of coins makes it possible to draw out a number of social practices and theories on who used the temple site:

1. The majority of the pre-Roman coins were associated with the Southern kingdom, though many Eppaticus coins were also present within the assemblage. This combination is unsurprising since most Eppaticus coins were deposited around Silchester, and the site lay well within the boundaries of the Southern kingdom. This provides further evidence that those who used the site were from the surrounding area.

2. Coins of the Southern kingdom, Eastern kingdom, and other regions were found within the assemblage. Since most of the forgeries were either those from other regions or of the Eastern kingdom, this could reflect an intent to represent non-local coins during rituals.

3. Mostly pre-Roman coins were deposited in selected areas of the site. These areas did not necessarily have to be their final place of deposition.

4. Coins may have been available to purchase near the temple(s) as an accessible way to participate in the rituals of the site. Alternatively they may have also been brought in as personal possessions. Either way, this suggests a continuity in social memory and perhaps also in practice of the LIA.

\textsuperscript{46}See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the symbolism of gold. For the importance of silver see Creighton (2006), 37-43. C.f. the possibility that silver coins were used for more monetary purposes. See Creighton (2005), 76 and Haselgrove (1987), 217.
5. The high amount of gold and silver coins provide further evidence that the site was of a high status character.

### 6.6 Site synthesis

This chapter has shown that despite there being a range of complications regarding the integrity of the site’s archaeological contexts, the wealth of finds within Wanborough’s assemblage is still worth investigating. These finds are able to provide evidence for a range of practices taking place during the temples’ lifetimes. Table 6.17 attempts to list the main points of what is evidenced by the selected finds evidence.

Activity on the site begins in the mid 1st century mainly in the areas south and south-west of the circular and square temples. High quantities of gold and silver coins, and also brooches, may have been deposited during this time - though they appear to have probably been deposited at a later date. Even if the coins were deposited at a later date, the evidence still shows that during the LIA and early Roman periods most of those in the local area associated with the Southern kingdom. These people seem to have been fairly wealthy, since a number of early villa sites also crop up in the early Roman period. Furthermore, this site appears to have been catering to local elites.

Although the circular temple appears to not have been built yet, the area around the temples was being used from the late 1st century. Lambs, perhaps along with young pigs, were being slaughtered. They appear to have been carefully dismembered, roasted, and then consumed afterwards, perhaps as a feast. Again brooches and coins may have been deposited during this time, though the extent to which this happened is unclear.

The circular temple was constructed in the mid 2nd century and may have collapsed in the later 2nd century. The practice to sacrifice lambs may have continued into this period. In addition to this, there was a short-lived ritual which involved the sacrifice of pig(s). Similar to the practice involving lambs, these pigs were likely cooked and then eaten. It is during
Table 6.17: Summary of practices and events at the Wanborough temple site.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Practice/event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mid 1st</td>
<td>• Activity south/south-west of later temples.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Possible brooch and coin depositions indicate alignment with the Southern kingdom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Pre-Roman coins included those from inside and outside the local area may suggest the presence of residents from outside of the Southern kingdom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1st to early 2nd</td>
<td>• Activity at temple areas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Lambs and likely young pigs were slaughtered. Both were cooked and consumed afterwards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Nauheim derivative, Colchester derivative, and Hod Hill brooches may have been deposited.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid 2nd to late 2nd</td>
<td>• Construction of the circular temple and laying of the dedicatory deposit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Short-lived ritual involving the slaughter of pig. They were cooked and consumed afterwards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• A range of brooches, including plate brooches, were deposited. An axe plate brooch may indicate the worship of a sky/sun deity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Coins (including pre-Roman) may have been purchased as a sort of temple money and then deposited in selected areas of the site.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Pig remains, and the gold and silver coins evidence the high status nature of the site.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• High amounts of priestly regalia (within and outside of the dedicatory deposit) were found.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 2nd to late 3rd</td>
<td>• Construction of the square temple.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Lack of late Roman coins. Earlier coins could have still have been used for practices.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* N.b. many are unstratified or in unphased contexts.

this time that most of the brooches and the coins were likely deposited. One of the plate brooches on the site was shaped like an axe. This brooch, as well as the presence of miniature axe pendants and the large amount of priestly regalia, support the theory that a sun or sky god may have been worshipped on the site. They may have also been a way for the participants of the ritual to display their wealth, particularly if specialist butchers were present on the site.

Pre-Roman and Roman coins, most of which were silver, may have
been purchased near the temples. Since LIA coinage would not have been an acceptable currency by this time, they were bought or brought specifically to be used on the site. The coins appear in groups, so there could have been particular areas within the temple site where coins were meant to be offered. Either way, the presence of such a large amount of precious metal coins, alongside the consumption of pig and the finding of priestly regalia, indicate that Wanborough was a high status temple site.

After the collapse of the circular temple activity appears to have significantly decreased. A square temple was constructed either near the end of the circular temple’s lifetime or soon after it. The extent to which this temple was used is unclear. A lot of pottery has been dated between the late 2nd to late 3rd century, but the dearth of late Roman coinage in particular is surprising. Unfortunately only a major effort to collect the stolen coins of Wanborough could provide a better answer to this issue.

The finds evidence within Wanborough’s assemblage, therefore, still provide a lot of information on how the site was used. It also serves as a good point of comparison for sites within the Southern kingdom in the following chapter, which brings together the assemblages of the sampled temple sites. The next chapter concentrates on uncovering the social practices evidenced by the selected types of finds on a wider level.
7 | Finds Analysis

7.1 Introduction

Chapters 4-6 discerned the various social practices taking place at the primary sites in this study. These case studies addressed the complexity of the different assemblages and highlighted how the finds evidence reflect how the sites were used and who used them. This chapter brings in the assemblages of the secondary and tertiary sites and attempts to fit them into a bigger picture whenever possible. As discussed in Chapter 3, secondary sites are those which had insufficient contextual information to warrant an intra-site analysis within this study, but still have a plethora of data to be scrutinised alongside the primary sites. Tertiary sites are those substantially lacking contextual details and have insufficient sample sizes.

The aim of this chapter is to examine the extent to which the selected finds evidence within the sampled temple sites are able to inform us about social practices. The results from the previous chapters are used to contextualise the information from the secondary and tertiary sites. This allows the social practices to be drawn out on an individual, regional, and broader level.
7.2 Animal remains

7.2.1 Bone quantification

Although the practices of a temple site did not necessarily involve the sacrifice of an animal, the total fragments of the animal bones on almost all of the sampled temple sites far outnumber the quantity of the other selected finds evidence. Table 7.1 and Figure 7.1 present a summary of the bones within this study. The data show that, except for Farley Heath, all of the included sites have reliable sample sizes. However, the data are slightly skewed by the large quantity of unidentified animal remains; the inclusion of Great Chesterford’s assemblage also makes the total quantity of sheep remains seem especially high. Nevertheless, the sheer quantity of this type of find demonstrates its potential for this study.

For many of the sites, sheep/goat bones were the most commonly found bones. Although the three sites with the largest proportion of sheep bones came from around the same area (Zone 2/Eastern kingdom/modern day Essex and Hertfordshire), sheep bones were also found in significant numbers within the areas of Kent and the Southern kingdom. As demonstrated by the case studies of Great Chesterford and Wanborough, the sacrifice of sheep was an apparent practice, even if the scale of this practice between these two sites varied considerably. Therefore, in contrast to urban assemblages which mainly featured the consumption of cattle, many of the temple assemblages within this study included sheep in their rituals.

Another taxon, which although it was found in relatively lower quantities, is important in characterising the nature of our sites is pig. The proportion of pig bones was only prominent at two of the sites in the south - Chanctonbury Ring and Hayling Island; however, the case studies of Springhead and Wanborough have testified to their importance in characterising practices at these sites. Notably, sites where the sacrifice of pig

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1Quantities of bone quantities were taken from King (2005), Tab 4, p. 337. King states 1,407 bones were dated to the Late Iron Age, and 2,717 bones to the Roman period.
Table 7.1: Overview of animal remains (NISP).*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Sheep/Goat</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Pig</th>
<th>Horse</th>
<th>Dog</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Unid.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great Chesterford</td>
<td>25,972 (97%)</td>
<td>35 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>106 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>9 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>390 (2%)</td>
<td>243 (1%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>26,755 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harlow</td>
<td>3,015 (83%)</td>
<td>145 (4%)</td>
<td>361 (10%)</td>
<td>22 (1%)</td>
<td>32 (1%)</td>
<td>51 (1%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>3,626 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chelmsford</td>
<td>1,399 (61%)</td>
<td>600 (26%)</td>
<td>184 (8%)</td>
<td>42 (2%)</td>
<td>31 (1%)</td>
<td>31 (1%)</td>
<td>16 (1%)</td>
<td>2,303 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayling Island</td>
<td>4,124 (55%)</td>
<td>103 (1%)</td>
<td>3,156 (42%)</td>
<td>54 (1%)</td>
<td>13 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>7,451 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springhead</td>
<td>2,459 (23%)</td>
<td>2,392 (23%)</td>
<td>975 (9%)</td>
<td>122 (1%)</td>
<td>106 (1%)</td>
<td>578 (5%)</td>
<td>4,001 (38%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heybridge</td>
<td>252 (21%)</td>
<td>717 (62%)</td>
<td>107 (9%)</td>
<td>6 (1%)</td>
<td>6 (1%)</td>
<td>73 (6%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1,151 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanborough</td>
<td>416 (19%)</td>
<td>72 (3%)</td>
<td>162 (7%)</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
<td>5 (1%)</td>
<td>32 (1%)</td>
<td>1,562 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farley Heath†</td>
<td>24 (12%)</td>
<td>21 (11%)</td>
<td>30 (15%)</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>36 (18%)</td>
<td>86 (43%)</td>
<td>198 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chanctonbury Ring†</td>
<td>248 (5%)</td>
<td>332 (6%)</td>
<td>4,883 (89%)</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>11 (18%)</td>
<td>0 (43%)</td>
<td>5,475 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folly Lane</td>
<td>637 (4%)</td>
<td>2,941 (21%)</td>
<td>221 (1%)</td>
<td>285 (2%)</td>
<td>264 (2%)</td>
<td>253 (2%)</td>
<td>9,721 (68%)</td>
<td>14,322 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>38,884 (51%)</td>
<td>7,482 (10%)</td>
<td>10,290 (13%)</td>
<td>549 (1%)</td>
<td>838 (1%)</td>
<td>1,322 (2%)</td>
<td>16,379 (22%)</td>
<td>75,761 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Only includes sites where analysis of the animal remains is possible.
† Data not separated by time periods. Site is excluded from time specific tables.

appears to have been a defining characteristic for the nature of the site were located in the south. If the remains were dated to the LIA or early Roman periods, then this may be an indication of pre-existing Gallic influences and high status consumption practices. However, as the previous chapter has shown, when pigs were sacrificed later on (in the mid Roman period) this is more likely to attest to the high status nature of the site in general.

The last taxon which is particularly useful for this research is that of dog. The dog remains at Springhead (see Chapter 5) proved to be informative. Although the proportion of dog bones compared to other taxa on all of the sampled sites is not high and many times the bones were not
Figure 7.1: Percentages of total animal remains.

recorded in detail within the reports, dog skeletons have also been deposited on a number of both religious and non-religious sites within the study area.\footnote{See Smith (2006), esp. 15-35 and Table 2 on pp. 26-27.} At the temple of Muntham Court near Chanctonbury Ring, for example, were ‘a large number’ of dog skeletons within a well.\footnote{Bedwin et al. (1980), 192-193; Smith (2001), 250.} Another example is the farmstead at Keston in Kent. One of the ritual shafts on the site contained 34 animal skeletons, 17 of which were dog skeletons; some of these skeletons were arranged head to toe in a circle.\footnote{Locker (1999a), 148; Smith (2006), 23-24. For a discussion of the many dog skeleton depositions in Kent see Black (1983), 20-22.} Therefore, for the sites that have dog skeletons within their assemblages, there
Table 7.2: Overview of animal remains from the early to mid 1st century CE (NISP).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Sheep/Goat</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Pig</th>
<th>Horse</th>
<th>Dog</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Unid.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harlow</td>
<td>1,777</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2,022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(88%)</td>
<td>(2%)</td>
<td>(8%)</td>
<td>(&gt;1%)</td>
<td>(1%)</td>
<td>(1%)</td>
<td>(0%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayling Island</td>
<td>1,407</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>988</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2,502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(56%)</td>
<td>(2%)</td>
<td>(40%)</td>
<td>(2%)</td>
<td>(&gt;1%)</td>
<td>(&gt;1%)</td>
<td>(0%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanborough</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(33%)</td>
<td>(7%)</td>
<td>(7%)</td>
<td>(1%)</td>
<td>(1%)</td>
<td>(0%)</td>
<td>(50%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springhead</td>
<td>901</td>
<td>943</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1,649</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(22%)</td>
<td>(23%)</td>
<td>(15%)</td>
<td>(&gt;1%)</td>
<td>(&gt;1%)</td>
<td>(&gt;1%)</td>
<td>(40%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folly Lane</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(12%)</td>
<td>(7%)</td>
<td>(4%)</td>
<td>(0%)</td>
<td>(1%)</td>
<td>(1%)</td>
<td>(4%)</td>
<td>(73%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heybridge+</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4,143</td>
<td>1,072</td>
<td>1,762</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>9,013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(46%)</td>
<td>(12%)</td>
<td>(20%)</td>
<td>(1%)</td>
<td>(&gt;1%)</td>
<td>(&gt;1%)</td>
<td>(21%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Quantities are discussed but are only identifiable to a wider time period.

are a wide range of comparisons that can be used to contextualise the evidence, and to help delineate the purpose dogs had within the wider religious landscape.

**Early to mid 1st century**

The data for this time period are only available for five of the sampled temple sites (see Table 7.2 and Figure 7.2). Other than Wanborough, which as discussed in the previous chapter depositions did not begin until after the Claudian conquest, these sites were LIA centres.

Sheep was a staple in the LIA diet, so the high proportions of sheep/goat bones represented within the assemblage may not at first appear to be that significant. However, the sheep bones take up a significant proportion of many of the studied assemblages, and should be carefully examined before making such a conclusion (see Figure 7.1). As Table 7.2 shows, the quantities of sheep bones located at Harlow and Hayling Island are especially numerous.
Figure 7.2: Percentages of animal remains from the early to mid 1st century.

Pig bones were also fairly common. A high quantity of pig bones during this time period may be indicative of high status Gallic consumption practices. The high amount of pig remains on a site thus suggests these sites were of a high-status nature in the LIA, and that those using the sites were likely participating in practices influenced by those which took place in Gaul. From the studied temple sites, Harlow, Hayling Island, Springhead, and Heybridge all have a notable quantity of pig bones within their assemblages. Furthermore, it is likely not a coincidence that all of these sites were located near other important LIA centres.

5Ayton (2013), 186; Pitts (2010a) argues that pre-conquest high status sites tended to have more pig bones within their assemblages. C.f. King (2005) says this reflects a military diet.

6For the pig remains at Skeleton Green, Fishbourne, Silchester, and Sheepen see Pitts (2010a). For Canterbury see King (1982). King Harry Lane, an IA cemetery, also had a large proportion of pig bones within its assemblage. For KHL see Davis (1989).
Table 7.3: Overview of animal remains from the late 1st to early 2nd century CE (NISP).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Sheep/Goat</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Pig</th>
<th>Horse</th>
<th>Dog</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Unid.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great Chesterford</td>
<td>19,741 (99%)</td>
<td>7 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>33 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>2 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>7 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>178 (1%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>19,968 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harlow</td>
<td>563 (82%)</td>
<td>24 (4%)</td>
<td>81 (12%)</td>
<td>3 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>8 (1%)</td>
<td>6 (1%)</td>
<td>6 (0%)</td>
<td>685 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chelmsford</td>
<td>686 (70%)</td>
<td>209 (22%)</td>
<td>38 (4%)</td>
<td>24 (2%)</td>
<td>7 (1%)</td>
<td>11 (1%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>975 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanborough</td>
<td>193 (56%)</td>
<td>6 (2%)</td>
<td>17 (5%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>3 (1%)</td>
<td>17 (5%)</td>
<td>107 (31%)</td>
<td>343 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springhead</td>
<td>402 (30%)</td>
<td>382 (29%)</td>
<td>83 (6%)</td>
<td>32 (2%)</td>
<td>11 (1%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>424 (32%)</td>
<td>1334 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folly Lane</td>
<td>87 (9%)</td>
<td>73 (8%)</td>
<td>10 (2%)</td>
<td>53 (5%)</td>
<td>11 (1%)</td>
<td>84 (9%)</td>
<td>631 (66%)</td>
<td>949 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayling Island</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heybridge*</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21,672 (89%)</td>
<td>701 (3%)</td>
<td>268 (1%)</td>
<td>114 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>47 (1%)</td>
<td>296 (1%)</td>
<td>1,162 (5%)</td>
<td>24,260 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Quantities are discussed but are only identifiable to a wider time period.

Late 1st to early 2nd century

With the exception of Harlow and Springhead, the assemblages of all the sites active during this time increased in size (see Table 7.3 and Figure 7.3). The reason for the decrease in Springhead’s assemblage was addressed in Chapter 5; but the decrease in Harlow’s assemblage appears to be due to the declining usage of the site as a result of its fading importance in the religious landscape. That the level of activity increased overall during this time is unsurprising considering the late 1st century has been characterised by an exponential rise in urbanisation due to the success of the Claudian and subsequent conquests, which began from the mid 1st century.

For quantities at Hayling Island, which could only be narrowed down to between the 1st to 3rd century, see King (2005), 338. There is some conflicting information in King’s report. Tab. 4 states Phase 4 is from the late 1st to 3rd century, whereas Fig 9 states Phase 4 is from the 1st to 2nd century.
century.\(^8\)

Sheep/goat was still the most abundant taxon during this time.\(^9\) Although this number is skewed by the quantity of sheep bones located at Great Chesterford, Figure 7.3 illustrates that this general pattern for sheep bones to comprise most of the assemblage is still very much apparent. Great Chesterford and Chelmsford, the sites with the highest proportion of sheep bones other than Harlow, emerged during this time. This may explain the dramatic decline in bone quantities at Harlow. These two other centres could have alleviated the pressure from Harlow as a regional focal point for practices involving the sacrifice of sheep. Sheep remains were also recorded to have been high during this time at Heybridge,\(^10\) which was fairly close to Harlow.

Harlow has a relatively high quantity of pig bones within its assemblage, as seen in Table 7.3. The quantity of pig bones at Hayling Island is also more than double that from the early to mid 1st century. Therefore, there appears to be a decline in Gallic styles of consumption because most sites had lower quantities of pig remains compared to the early to mid 1st century. Since the consumption of pig could have been a symbol of high status consumption in the Roman period, the decreased quantities in this time period may be showing a change in what defines a high status site - in particular, the rising importance of urban areas for communal consumption and high status display.

**Mid 2nd to mid/late 3rd century**

Table 7.4 and Figure 7.4 show that sheep bones still comprised the majority of the total animal bone assemblage for this time period. There were, however, a greater diversity of taxa being deposited. Pig remains were

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\(^{8}\)Particularly in the Flavian period. See discussions in Millett (1990) and Mattingly (2007).

\(^{9}\)This can be contrasted to the animal bone assemblages of many urban sites. The assemblages of Verulamium, Colchester, and London, for example, had a higher percentage of cattle bones within their assemblages. For Verulamium see Frere (1984). For Colchester see Luff (1993). For London see Ainsley (2002).

\(^{10}\)Johnstone and Albarella (2002), 43.
found in higher quantities at Chelmsford and Wanborough. Cattle were found more at Folly Lane and Heybridge. And there is a noticeable increase in dog remains at Great Chesterford, Springhead, and again at Folly Lane.

Practices involving the sacrifice of sheep continued to be prominent at Great Chesterford, Harlow, and Chelmsford. Springhead and Wanborough also had high quantities of sheep/goat bones within their assemblages. However, not only were the proportions of the bones at Springhead and Wanborough much lower than the former three sites (see Figure 7.4), but their case studies presented within this thesis have shown that there were no apparent specialist practices on those sites involving the sacrifice of sheep.

The total quantity of cattle bones is highest during this time period. This can be mainly attributed to two sites. As explained in its case study, the development of the settlement at Springhead probably negatively affected
Table 7.4: Overview of animal remains from the mid 2nd to mid/late 3rd century CE (NISP).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Sheep/ Goat Total</th>
<th>Cattle Total</th>
<th>Pig Total</th>
<th>Horse Total</th>
<th>Dog Total</th>
<th>Other Total</th>
<th>Unid Total</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great Chesterford</td>
<td>6,087 (92%)</td>
<td>9 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>52 (1%)</td>
<td>3 (1%)</td>
<td>381 (6%)</td>
<td>52 (1%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>6,584 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harlow</td>
<td>171 (81%)</td>
<td>7 (3%)</td>
<td>28 (13%)</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
<td>3 (1%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>211 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chelmsford</td>
<td>602 (65%)</td>
<td>175 (21%)</td>
<td>108 (6%)</td>
<td>4 (1%)</td>
<td>17 (2%)</td>
<td>19 (2%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>925 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springhead</td>
<td>1,028 (23%)</td>
<td>933 (21%)</td>
<td>261 (6%)</td>
<td>64 (1%)</td>
<td>85 (2%)</td>
<td>413 (9%)</td>
<td>1,716 (38%)</td>
<td>4,500 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanborough</td>
<td>287 (17%)</td>
<td>61 (3%)</td>
<td>139 (8%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
<td>12 (1%)</td>
<td>1,212 (71%)</td>
<td>1,712 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folly Lane</td>
<td>4 (1%)</td>
<td>746 (83%)</td>
<td>10 (1%)</td>
<td>3 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>88 (10%)</td>
<td>20 (2%)</td>
<td>29 (3%)</td>
<td>900 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heybridge</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayling Island</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8,179 (55%)</td>
<td>1,931 (13%)</td>
<td>598 (4%)</td>
<td>75 (1%)</td>
<td>573 (4%)</td>
<td>519 (3%)</td>
<td>2,960 (20%)</td>
<td>14,835 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Quantities are discussed but are only identifiable to a wider time period.

the deposition of animal bones at the sanctuary site in the previous phase; so, that the quantity of cattle bones in this time period is comparable to that of the early to mid 1st century phase just shows a continuation of practices on the site (see Table 7.2 and Table 7.4). However, the exponential increase of cattle bones at Folly Lane is more unusual. Therefore, just from this quantity it seems likely that an event or practice involving the slaughter of cattle had taken place.

There are noticeable rises in the quantity of pig bones at Chelmsford and Wanborough. As discussed in the previous chapter, at Wanborough these bones (alongside the other finds evidence) support the theory that the site was of a high status. Therefore, although the animal remains assemblage at Chelmsford was dominated by sheep bones, the relatively high amount of pig bones may suggest a similar situation.

Lastly, the amount of dog bones dating to this time period is incred-
Figure 7.4: Percentages of animal remains from the mid 2nd to mid/late 3rd century.

ibly high. The symbolic potential and significance of finding dog bones was discussed throughout the case study of Springhead (see Chapter 5). However, even though there is strong evidence for dog remains being deposited before this time at other types of settlements, it appears that rituals involving the sacrifice of dog did not become widespread on temple sites until around the mid 2nd century. Other than at Springhead, dog remains were found at Great Chesterford, Folly Lane, Chelmsford, and Heybridge.

12Dog bones were found that dated to before this time period on some of the sampled temple sites, though not in large quantities. For example, see the puppy skeleton found in a box burial at Springhead in Chapter 5.
13N.b. A relatively high number of horse bones were also found at Folly Lane. King (2005), 360 relates this to the site’s dual function as a mausoleum. This further confirms the association that dogs (and even horses) have to symbolise a cthonic character.
7.2.2 Taxa and location

The case studies within this thesis have shown that bones were usually concentrated in particular areas within a site. This information develops a more complex picture of how the site was being used, and sometimes provides evidence that certain areas of the site were used differently. In the case study of Great Chesterford (see Chapter 4), for example, there was strong evidence that animal sacrifices were concentrated in a particular corner within the precinct. For Springhead (see Chapter 5), on the other hand, the locations of the bones were spread more widely throughout the site; however, particularly exceptional depositions showed the sacrifice of dogs characterised the practices at Springhead. Other than the case studies, there are a few more sites whose location of the bones within their assemblages are able to comment on the practices of the site.

The site displaying the best evidence for the zonation of animal bones is that of Chanctonbury Ring. As discussed in Section 7.2.1, the majority of the bone assemblage (about 89%) consisted of pig bones (see also Figure 7.1). Most of these pig bones were found inside the polygonal temple south of the square temple. In contrast, the cattle and sheep/goat bones were located at the entrance of the temenos ditch, and a large group of oysters were in a concentrated area to the west of the square temple. The highly selective nature of these different groupings suggests the square temple (which the pig bones were found within) may actually have been a “sacred repository”.

Although there is no way to verify this theory, it certainly seems like the different temple-like structure within the temenos, as well as the temenos entrance, were used for different reasons.

Another site that has peculiar animal bone deposition patterns is Heybridge. A large number of complete or nearly complete skeletons were found in a well to the south-east of the temple site, and also in pits to the north. A variety of taxa were present, including cattle, pigs, and horses; but the majority of these bones came from dogs. Although these contexts

15See Johnstone and Albarella (2002), Table 4, p.61.
dated across the entire lifetime of the site, most of the bones were located in the well just mentioned, which was dated between the mid 2nd to mid 4th century. This notably falls between the time period that most of the dog skeletons at Springhead and the single dog skeleton at Great Chesterford were deposited within. However, unlike these two sites, around half of the dog skeletons at Heybridge were deposited in a watery context. This is somewhat similar to Springhead since depositions many times concentrated around the springs, even though the dog remains were typically located further inland.

Lastly, from the mid 2nd century at Folly Lane a number of pits and ritual shafts began to be used to the south of the temple. These shafts, as well as the main temple enclosure, had puppy and dog bones within them. What is most notable about these contexts is that one of the shafts (dated to the mid 2nd to late 3rd century) contained a high amount (n=1,561 + potentially 3,043 more) of butchered cattle bones.\textsuperscript{16} Since these bones were spread across two fills, they likely represent multiple events. At the bottom of this shaft was a human skull with cut marks on it; and above the main cattle bone fills were puppy and young dog bones. Even though it has been suggested that these bones may merely reflect gradual waste disposal, this seems unlikely. The shafts at Folly Lane probably provide evidence that a number of rituals took place over a span of time.

\section*{7.2.3 Status of the bones}

Although a variety of taxa were present within the bone assemblages of the sampled temple sites, there are two taxa which enable comparisons helpful for contextualising the bone assemblage and elucidating the kinds of practices on different sites: sheep, and dog.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{16}Locker (1999b), Tab. 47, p.330.
\textsuperscript{17}N.b. some other taxa were able to be analysed and can be summarised as follows: Cattle were typically slaughtered as adults. Whereas pigs were progressively killed at a younger age as time went on.
Sheep

Table 7.5: Sheep ages (early 1st to mid 3rd CE) using Payne's ageing categories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Months</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-2</td>
<td>2-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chelmsford</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Chesterford</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harlow</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folly Lane</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayling Island</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.5 shows that temple sites in the East Anglian area (Zone 2) had a strong tendency to slaughter their sheep younger than sites to the south. Sites which particularly fit this pattern are Chelmsford, Great Chesterford, and Harlow. Furthermore, an examination of the ages of the sheep remains on sites from other zones provides a contrast to those in Zone 2. For example, as discussed in their individual case studies, sheep were killed at various ages at Springhead (Zone 3) and Wanborough (Zone 5).

However, the situation was not as linear as it may at first seem. As stated in Chapter 6, many of the sheep bones at Wanborough were also aged young (under 12 months). Most of the sheep bones dated between the late 1st to the mid 2nd century were aged as 12 months old or younger, which decreases the likelihood that the practices at Wanborough were related to those in Zone 2. Furthermore, the sheep bones located at the settlement and temple site at Heybridge, which is within Zone 2 and is geographically close to Chelmsford, were usually aged as older adults. 18 Therefore the prominence of so many sheep bones should be viewed as a variety of different rituals versus one overarching practice across the study area.

18 Johnstone and Albarella (2002), 27 also offers a potential explanation: “Perhaps the reason for this was that young animals were too precious a commodity to sacrifice and that animals past their ‘sell-by-date’ were used instead.” This seems unlikely because of the practices at other nearby temple sites described in this chapter.
Taking a chronological approach, the sites which were active in the LIA and slaughtered a relatively high quantity of sheep were Harlow, Hayling Island, and Folly Lane. During this time the sheep at Harlow were killed when they were between 6-12 months old. Sheep at the other sites, however, were usually aged older. At Springhead (see Chapter 5), sheep were being slaughtered either between 10-20 months old or 3-5 years old. And, as Table 7.5 shows, the sheep at Hayling Island and Folly Lane were mostly killed between 1-4 years. Therefore, the ages of the sheep on these sites further suggest the rituals were unrelated. The common appearance of sheep bones during the LIA is likely a reflection of LIA dietary practices. However, the consistently young ages of the sheep bones at Harlow show that quite particular rituals involving the sacrifice of lambs took place there.

The situation becomes more complex in the Roman period. The high quantity of sheep bones from the late 1st century at Great Chesterford and Chelmsford suggest the character of both the sites and the practice(s) were changing. These bones, like at Harlow, were also from sheep of young ages. Sheep bones at Great Chesterford were usually aged between 2-6 months, and many of the bones at Chelmsford were aged between 6-12 months old. As can be recalled from Table 7.3, the quantity of bone depositions at Harlow drops, whereas the majority of the bones at Great Chesterford, as well as about half of the bones at Chelmsford, were dated to this time period. Therefore, it is probable that the lamb rituals at Great Chesterford and Chelmsford became popular at the expense of those at Harlow.

It is tempting to see the lamb rituals at Great Chesterford and Chelmsford as acting as a continuation of the lamb rituals at Harlow. If this was the case, then the rituals were adapted into something more appropriate for these sites' individual religious landscapes. The lambs at Great Chesterford, for example, were slaughtered at generally young ages into the early

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19 This age has been narrowed down by the excavators to 6-9 months. Legge (1985), 127-133, esp. 131.
20 N.b. the sample size for aged sheep bones at Folly Lane is very low.
2nd century. However, from the mid 2nd century the slaughter of lambs was only conducted in the early summer period (see Chapter 4). The practices at Great Chesterford, therefore, may have followed the general template of the LIA ritual at Harlow, but adapted it into a summer festival or event later on. The temple at Chelmsford, on the other hand, developed around its associated settlement. This may explain why the sheep have a wider age span than at Harlow or Great Chesterford. Since many of the sheep had very similar ages to those at Harlow (between 6-12 months old), it is therefore possible that the same or similar rituals took place at the temple site alongside more general consumption practices.21

**Dog**

The assemblage at Springhead has by far the best analysed dog bones within the sampled sites. As a summary, a large quantity of puppy and dog skeletons were found from the mid 2nd century. Puppies appear to have been strongly associated with healing, and dogs commonly have a chthonic symbolism ascribed to them (see Chapter 5 for further discussion). Although many of the sampled assemblages did not fully analyse the dog remains, the two other sites which do have this information available, Great Chesterford and Folly Lane, had both young and older dog bones within their assemblages. The dog bones located at Folly Lane were of a wide range of ages, from puppies to “mature” dogs.22 The evidence is not as reliable at Great Chesterford, where only a single aged bone has been categorised as “very young.”23 Therefore, even though it is difficult to determine the types of rituals that happened involving the sacrifice of dogs at Great Chesterford and Folly Lane, it is notable that young animals - including puppies - were also found; and that since they appear

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21 This is supported by the pottery evidence in Perring and Pitts (2013), esp. 74, 84, and Pitts (2008). These studies show that the pottery at the settlement had more urban-style wares, whereas those at the temple were more typical of the LIA and thus the practices at the temple could have been geared towards the local population. C.f. Luff (1992) who states that lambs were also slaughtered in the post-Bouddican fort at Chelmsford.

22 Locker (1999b), esp. pp.343-344: “Dogs may be associated with votive offerings as there are some partial skeletons of both mature and immature animals.”

around the same time as those of Springhead (see Section 7.2.1), this may represent similarities in ritual.

### 7.2.4 Condition of the bones

Although there were a lot of issues regarding collecting information on the condition of the bones, in addition to the three primary sites a few secondary sites also have enough contextual details available. The scarcity and wide variety of the evidence, however, did make it difficult to draw any general conclusions. This is because the condition of the bones varied from site to site, and implied that a mixture of different techniques were used to kill the animals and process their carcasses.

The condition of the bones at Springhead, for example, displayed such a large variety of conditions that it became clear that this was due to its nature as a stop-off point alongside the main London to Richborough road. This is similar to the condition of the bones at Chelmsford and Heybridge, both of which had settlements accompanying them. Some of the bone marks on these latter two sites, for example, were cut and chopped transversely (for marrow extraction). Unlike Springhead and Chelmsford, the bone marks within Heybridge’s assemblage imply that quite specialist butchery techniques took place. However, as the location of the bones in which these marks appear is unclear, it would be problematic to assume that these specialist butchery techniques were always used during the rituals. However, the temple’s location within the settlement does complicate the matter. It is unclear whether the animal bones, most of which came from cattle, were butchered at the settlement or the temple site. Still, it is tempting to see this as evidence for the temple site being used as the

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24 Since it is often dismissed or only mentioned briefly.
25 At Chelmsford this includes horse bones, providing evidence that horse may have been consumed there. Luff (1992), 125; Wallis (1988). Nearby, the horse bones at Witham were also found with butchery marks on them. For Witham see Turner (1999).
26 Johnstone and Albarella (2002), 16-17. The butchery techniques mentioned are tongue and horncore removal, in addition to the evidence for processing animals for consumption (e.g. the hook marks). N.b. these specialist marks tended to appear after the LIA.
centre for a communal feast.

Unlike the sites discussed thus far that appear to have used a variety of butchering techniques, the sacrifice of an animal, even though not usually archaeologically apparent, commonly entailed a particular way to kill the animal. At Great Chesterford the lambs were almost always skinned and then dismembered with a knife. This contrasts to the evidence at Wanborough and Folly Lane. The bones at both of these sites usually had chop marks on them. Axes and cleavers were more often used later in the Roman period with the introduction of professional butchers. The appearance of so many chop marks on these two sites, therefore, may reflect the ability of those managing these temples to locate and pay for the services of professional butchers; if this was the case, these sites would have possessed a sufficient amount of wealth, reflecting their high status nature.

This is likely the case at Wanborough, which as Chapter 6 has shown, the finds within its assemblage probably indicate its high status nature; however, this situation can be contrasted to Farley Heath, located only 8 miles to the south-east. Although most of the bones were found in poor condition, the bones which were able to be analysed had a low incidence of butchery marks.\(^27\) The lack of butchery marks, and indeed the lack of animal bones in general, though it may be due to the excavation conditions, provides a stark contrast to Wanborough. The two sites are often compared since they both have distinctive priestly regalia within their assemblages. However, even if animals were being cooked (likely boiled) and consumed at Wanborough for a selective high status community, this practice was not necessarily reduplicated at Farley Heath.

Folly Lane was a high status LIA site, but the extent to which the butchery marks reaffirm this is unclear. 80% of the bones from the early to mid 1st century were either burnt, chopped, or cut; this implies the site was used for feasting practices during that time. Butchery marks did continue into the Roman period, but the most peculiar evidence comes from a mid 2nd to late 3rd century shaft containing a quantity of adult cattle limbs (see Section 7.2.2). Many of these bones were systematically chopped

\(^{27}\)Ayres (2007).
or smashed.\textsuperscript{28} The purpose of these bones has been explained as either reflecting the presence of a glue factory or a soup kitchen,\textsuperscript{29} but these theories are unconvincing. It is surprising that a feasting interpretation has yet to be presented. Since as mentioned before feasting appears to have happened in the LIA, it is plausible that this practice continued to hold special connotations for the site later on.

7.2.5 Skeletal representation

Many sites did not exhibit any peculiarities with the types of bones within their assemblages. Certain bones, particularly mandibles and teeth, were more durable than others; and a higher proportion of these bones is to be expected. However, the skeletal representation of the dog bones, as well as the animal bones on a few of the sites, were not typical. These abnormalities serve to further bring out the special nature of the practices, and demonstrate the diversity in character of temple sites within the study period and area.

More often than not dogs and puppies were deposited as partial or complete skeletons. This was the case for most of the sites with dog bones within their assemblages: Chelmsford, Folly Lane, Great Chesterford, Heybridge, and Springhead. As discussed in Chapter 5, dog remains were heavily associated with religious symbolism related to life and death. Other than the bones at Springhead, the religious significance of this taxon on the sampled sites is difficult to confirm; this is usually due to a lack in attention paid to noting down the contextual details of these bones. However, most of the time this taxon was found as complete or partially-complete skeletons and this suggests that dogs did serve a more pronounced purpose than it may at first seem.\textsuperscript{30} Therefore, even though the significance of the dog bones has only been fully incorporated into the specialist reports of Springhead, the dog remains also seem to be influential for the nature

\textsuperscript{28}Locker (1999b), esp. Figs 94-98 on pp.331-333.
\textsuperscript{29}Locker (1999b), 343-344; and King (2005), 347-348 following this.
\textsuperscript{30}For the ritual significance of articulated bone groups (ABGs) see Morris (2011).
and practices of other temple sites located north of Springhead.\footnote{N.b. dog skeletons have been found in other areas, but this is not reflected in the assemblages of the selected temple sites in Zones 4-5.}

Other than the dog remains, some sites appear to have only certain types of bones within their assemblages. At Heybridge, for example, even though the skeletal representation of the two most common taxa (sheep and cattle - see Figure 7.1) was paralleled at both the settlement and temple areas, this was not the case for the pig bones. Although it is not surprising that teeth took up a large proportion of the kinds of pig bones on the temple site, what is surprising is that this contrasts to the skeletal elements found outside of the temple area.\footnote{See Johnstone and Albarella (2002), Fig 62, p. 144.} Various meat bearing and non-meat bearing pig bones were well represented at the settlement surrounding the temple site. This likely shows that pigs were processed at the settlement. This further suggests that animals may have been sacrificed somewhere else in the settlement, and were later brought to the temple in a feasting setting.

Chanctonbury Ring’s animal bone assemblage not only represents an excellent example of zonation on a temple site (see Section 7.2.2), but the skeletal representation of its pig bones, which most of its assemblage consisted of, is also very unique. As mentioned before, almost all of the pig remains were located within the polygonal structure to the south of the square temple, which was on top of the hill. What is peculiar is that even though the quantity of pig bones was high ($n=4,883$), almost all were cranial bones - other parts of the skeleton are barely represented. Since there are no other known parallels to this, the purpose of this structure and the bones is difficult to pinpoint. It is unclear whether the polygonal temple was solely used as a storehouse for pig skulls and that therefore the structure did not act as a fully functioning temple,\footnote{King (2005), 343.} or whether this implies that very specialised practices were taking place within or around the polygonal temple.\footnote{C.f. Rudling (2001), 116 who believes the bones were taken elsewhere, perhaps to a nearby settlement, to be consumed.} Since boar figurines were found at sites neighbour-
(a) The Wanborough temple site.  
(b) The Chanctonbury Ring temple site.

Figure 7.5: Comparison of temples at Wanborough and Chanctonbury Ring.

ing Chanctonbury Ring, this raises the possibility that there existed a local boar cult.\textsuperscript{35} The symbolism of the boar as a versatile creature representing both fertility and the hunt was present in both Roman and Celtic religious thought.\textsuperscript{36}

The temple site of Wanborough may be able to further contextualise the pig remains at Chanctonbury Ring. The closest parallel to the shape of Chanctonbury Ring’s polygonal temple is the temple at Wanborough.\textsuperscript{37} As mentioned in Chapter 6, the pig remains at Wanborough also held a particular importance for the rituals there. Although all parts of the skeleton were well represented at Wanborough, the similarity of these sites, as well as their geographical locations in the south of England, make it possi-

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{35}Including a decorated samian piece representing a boar (at Chanctonbury Ring). Bedwin et al. (1980), 192-193, 212; Rudling (2001), 115-118. There may also be a boar or pig on one of the sceptre bindings at Farley Heath. See Poulton (2007), Fig 19, p. 50.
\item \textsuperscript{36}Green (1986b), 179-181, (1992), 218-219; Ross (1974), 390-404; Rudling (2001), 115-118 and (2008b). On a pig being a suitable sacrificial substitute for a boar see Toynbee (1973), 134. Toynbee also mentions that sows were sacrificed to Ceres. Since the pig bones could not be sexed, this is not, however, a clear connection. See 32 who the use of “Celtic” here.
\item \textsuperscript{37}Suggested by Rudling (2001), 114. Indeed both sites even have a concentric square structure accompanying it.
\end{itemize}
ble that the rituals were related. The poor soil conditions at Chanctonbury Ring means there were too many problems to date the evidence, including the animal bones.\(^{38}\) If, however, these bones were deposited around the mid 2nd century as they were at Wanborough, it may suggest that Chanctonbury Ring was also a high status site serving a local community.\(^{39}\)

The only other identified practice within the sampled temple sites that also involved skulls was Springhead (see Chapter 5). The biggest difference between the treatment of skulls between these two sites was that the practices at Springhead involved a large variety of taxa (dogs, cattle, a gull) and humans whereas Chanctonbury Ring’s skull-related rituals appear to be confined to a single taxon, pig. Like the skulls located at Springhead, it has even been suggested that some of the pig skulls at Chanctonbury Ring may have been smashed deliberately before deposition.\(^{40}\) Both of these sites were located in areas which would have received regular contact with Continental people. Therefore, even though the rituals were likely not directly related to each other, this comparison helps to further define the extent of Continental (namely Gallic or Belgic) influence on temples sites in Britain.\(^{41}\)

The last clear example of selective skeletal representation within a site’s animal bone assemblage is that of Folly Lane. A shaft containing a large quantity of cattle limbs was located south of the temple enclosure. As discussed in Section 7.2.4, the purpose of this sequence of deposits is unclear. However the butchered condition of the bones and the significantly high quantity of bones make a feasting interpretation plausible. Furthermore, the bottom layer was marked with a human skull and this was covered by a fresh layer of soil before the limbs; a couple of complete dog skeletons were then deposited following this. So, these may be indications that the shaft was used for rituals.\(^{42}\)

\(^{38}\) See Appendix A. General dating for the site is from the mid 1st to the late 4th century.

\(^{39}\) Indeed also like Wanborough, Chanctonbury Ring was within 5 miles of at least 2-3 villas.

\(^{40}\) Rudling (2001), 115.

\(^{41}\) For the pre-Roman cult of the head see Henig (1984), 2-3 and Woodward (1992), 54-57.

\(^{42}\) C.f. Niblett (1999), 344.
7.2.6 Social practices

Table 7.6: Summary of shared practices.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Practice/event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early to mid 1st</td>
<td>• High tendency to sacrifice sheep on temple sites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Lambs ~8 mo. old slaughtered at Harlow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Pig remains prominent on sites near the southern coast (Springhead and Hayling island).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1st to early 2nd</td>
<td>• High tendency to sacrifice sheep on temple sites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Lambs ≥12 mo. old slaughtered at Great Chesterford, also at 6-12 mo. old slaughtered at Chelmsford, and continued to be slaughtered ~8 mo. old decreasingly so at Harlow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid 2nd to late 3rd</td>
<td>• High tendency to sacrifice sheep on temple sites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Lambs ~3 mo. old slaughtered at Great Chesterford, and at 6-12 mo. old slaughtered at Chelmsford, and relatively very infrequently at ~8 mo. old at Harlow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Possible cult of the boar/pig in the area of the Southern kingdom (Zones 4-5).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Bones with chop marks at Wanborough and Folly Lane - reflecting their high status nature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Dogs (often young) increasingly deposited as partial or complete skeletons (Zones 2-3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Possible reflection of LIA origins at Springhead and Chanctonbury Ring via the presence of rituals involving the use of skulls.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This analysis of the animal remains has shown that some of the practices evident on the primary sites discussed in Chapters 4-6 may have been more widespread and that the evidence on these sites are able to further contextualise the evidence from a range of secondary sites. Table 7.6 provides a chronological breakdown of the apparent shared practices across two or more sites.

During all periods of time, there appears to be a clear preference to sacrifice sheep on temple sites.\(^{43}\) This can be contrasted to most urban sites, which tended to utilise cattle for both meat consumption and secondary resources. With the exception of the Folly Lane site, which effectively neighboured the urban centre of Verulamium, this is further exempli-

\(^{43}\)This observation was also made by King (2005).
fied by revisiting the sheep:cattle quantities in Table 7.1. Sites that were more integrated with a settlement (Chelmsford, Heybridge, and Springfield) had a higher proportion of cattle remains compared to other sites. Therefore, even though sheep were considered a normal staple in LIA dietary practices, sheep tended to be sacrificed on temple sites that originated both during and after the mid 1st century. This selectively likely reflects a combination of the persistence and continuity of tradition, and that the rituals specifically required sheep to be sacrificed.

Even though there was a strong tendency for sheep bones to be present in high quantities within the sampled assemblages, temple sites to the south which were active from the early to mid 1st century also had a high quantity of pig remains within their animal bone assemblages (see Table 7.2). This most likely suggests close connections with Gaul, and that these sites were participating in high status Gallic consumption practices.

The practice to sacrifice lambs is first evident in the LIA at Harlow, where they were being slaughtered when they were around \( \sim 8 \) months old. However, from the late 1st century the ritual to slaughter lambs seems to have spread to other sites, and this likely compromised Harlow’s influence and activity on the site. A high quantity (\( n=19,741 \)) of lamb bones were found within the temple precinct at Great Chesterford. The ages of these lambs were far more varied than those sacrificed at Harlow; they were being killed at various ages under 12 months old. At Chelmsford, however, lambs were being killed around the same age as at Harlow, so it is possible that the practices at Chelmsford were the same as at Harlow. Whereas the practice at Great Chesterford, though similar, appears to have had possessed a different nature. This continues to be exemplified from the mid 2nd century, when the ages of the lamb bones at Great Chesterford narrow down to a single time period; since the bones were aged to \( \sim 3 \) months old, this implies a festival or event was introduced

\footnotesize{\cite{King2005, Hambleton1999}.}

\footnotesize{\cite{King1999}. Although King (2005), 341 does acknowledge this may represent a link with Gaul.
which took place in early summer. The lambs at both Harlow and Chelmsford continue to be slaughtered at the same age, though by this time activity at Harlow had decreased exponentially.

There are a number of shared practices that become evident from the mid 2nd century. One of these is the possibility of a cult of the boar or pig in Zones 4-5. The strongest evidence for this is the zonation of pig skulls in the polygonal temple at Chanctonbury Ring. However, a fair amount of objects with pig motifs (on figurines, plaques, samian ware, etc.) also crop up in the area. Evidence on the sampled temple sites other than Chanctonbury Ring can be summed up as follows: continued high deposition of pig bones until the 3rd century at Hayling Island; possible boar imagery on a sceptre binding at Farley Heath; relatively high deposition of pig remains in the mid Roman period and boar imagery commonly found on coinage at Wanborough.

The condition of the bones also provides information about the character of the sites. Sites attached to urban settlements, like Springhead, Chelmsford, and Heybridge, often had more general butchery marks on them. Whereas sites with stronger LIA origins, such as Great Chesterford, Harlow, and Hayling Island, had cut marks on them. Bones did not usually have chop marks on them, as this called for more specialist butchery techniques to be used. The two sites that had bones with predominately chop marks on them, Wanborough and Folly Lane, probably had the means to hire (possibly professional) butchers for the rituals being conducted there. As discussed in Chapter 6, this is likely due to the high status nature of the site. This correlation can be extended to the situation at Folly Lane. Since the site possessed a high status character in the LIA, it is highly likely this status continued into the Roman period.

Although dog remains were deposited throughout the study area before the mid 2nd century, it is around this time that dog skeletons began

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46 See footnote 35.
47 N.b. at least 85 silver Verica coins were found with boar imagery on them. This is the second most common imagery on the coins behind the 216 Epaticcus coins with imagery of an eagle. Cheesman (1994), 63, 65, 74-76, 81-85.
to be deposited at a handful of the sampled sites: Chelmsford, Folly Lane, Great Chesterford, Heybridge, and Springhead. These bones typically did not have butchery marks on them, and a few sites had bones of a young age (including puppies). The dog skeletons at Folly Lane and Springhead have clear connections with the symbolism of life and death. But partially since there is not as much contextual details available for the other sites, the extent to which rituals involving the sacrifice of dogs were prominent ultimately remains unclear; however, there is a strong possibility that dogs were involved in rituals on temple sites within Zones 2-3. Following this, there is a noticeable lack of dog skeletons on temple sites within the area of the Southern kingdom (Zones 4-5). Although they have been found in other settlements in the area, if there were any within a temple assemblage they were found in very low quantities (see Table 7.1). This therefore suggests that such practices did not spread to Zones 4-5.

Lastly, there is an apparent special treatment of skulls at Springhead and Chanctonbury Ring. Since both of these sites are located along the coast, they were located in areas highly influenced by Gallic practices. Even though these depositions did not take place until the mid 2nd century, it is possible the persistence of social memories of the LIA was a factor in the deposition of these bones. Alternatively it is also possible that they occurred due to unrelated reasons; for example, those located at Springhead could have been in response to the outbreak of a disease, and those at Chanctonbury Ring as a specific requirement to properly perform the rituals of the cult of the boar.

\[49\] E.g. Multiple complete dog skeletons were found in Silchester, and 45 partial and complete skeletons were found at Chichester. Many of the skeletons at Chichester were located in watery contexts. This is similar to the dog skeletons at Muntham Court, which was within 5 miles of Chanctonbury Ring. Smith (2006), 16-18, 26.

\[50\] N.b. Dog bones were found on religious sites further to the west. E.g. at Danebury Hillfort, and Uley, and there is strong evidence for a cult involving the imagery of dogs at Lydney. King (2005), Tab. 2, p. 333; Smith (2006), 6-8, 59-70.
Table 7.7: Quantity of brooches.

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Table 7.8: Percentage of brooches.

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Figure 7.6: Heat-map illustrating the percentages of brooches at each site. [min sample size: 20]
7.3 Brooches

Since brooches were commonly recorded within temple site assemblages, it is unsurprising that so many (n=874) were located within the sampled assemblages. The brooch evidence is able to provide information on how a site was used, as shown in the previous three case studies; when incorporated in a broader analysis, however, they have a greater potential to develop the image of who used the site.

Using the abbreviations of the most common brooch types deposited within the sampled sites in Table 7.9, Tables 7.7 and 7.8 summarise the evidence.\textsuperscript{51} In order to more easily visualise the data, the percentages were also converted into a heat-map (see Figure 7.6).\textsuperscript{52}

### 7.3.1 Quantification

The most common brooch type was the Colchester derivative, followed by the plate, Nauheim derivative, and Hod Hill types. These brooches looked distinctively different from each other in form and colour (see Figure 7.7).

\textsuperscript{51}N.b. the quantities of Heybridge include all brooches from the site as a whole - and not just on the temple site. This may be the reason as to why the assemblage there is so high.

\textsuperscript{52}Folly Lane was excluded from Figure 7.6 due to its insufficient sample size.
and Chapter 3 on methodology). Furthermore, many of their distribution dates roughly align. Although the Nauheim derivative and Colchester derivative brooches were very commonly distributed in the later 1st century, Hod Hill brooches could have also been distributed during this time. Early 1st century plate brooches were also found, though the majority of the plate brooches were dated to the 2nd century. Assuming the brooches were not residual, this suggests there was some element of choice to deposit one or the other. Careful treatment of the different assemblages should hint at the extent to which chronology or selectively was the reason.

Table 7.7 makes it apparent that most of the brooches were deposited at either Harlow or Springhead. The top three sites with the highest quantity of brooches were located within Zones 2-3, but not all temple sites within these zones had a lot of brooch depositions. It does not seem like the practices on the temple sites of Chelmsford, Heybridge, and Folly Lane, all of which had large finds assemblage in general, emphasised the deposition of brooches. For Chelmsford and Heybridge especially, since their associated settlements had large brooch assemblages, it is perhaps surprising that relatively so little were found in the temple areas.

The large brooch assemblages at Harlow, Great Chesterford, and Springhead can be contrasted to those from other zones. Farley Heath and Wanborough, for example, had comparatively low quantities. Indeed brooch deposition also does not appear to have been prominent at Hayling Island and Chanctonbury Ring. Lastly, Hockwold cum Wilton, to the north in Zone 1, also had a relatively small brooch assemblage.

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53 N.b. The plate brooch is excluded from Figure 7.7 since there are so many varieties.
55 See Chapter 6 for an example of the brooches likely being residually deposited.
56 For Chelmsford see Wickenden (1992) and Carr (2006). The total brooch assemblage at the site as a whole was quantified to 68 brooches. Whereas 21 were found at the temple site. The distinction is even more clear at Heybridge, where 246 brooches were found in total, but only 18 were located at the temple site. For Heybridge's assemblage see Mark Atkinson et al.'s forthcoming report.
57 N.b. insufficient quantities and reporting of the brooches at Hayling Island and Chanctonbury Ring - both of which are located in Zone 4 - have been excluded from Tables 7.7 and 7.8.
7.3.2 Typological Patterns

Most assemblages did not have very early types within them. Springhead is the only apparent exception, with Simple Gallic, Rosette/Thistle, and Langton Down brooches located at the sanctuary site. Harlow and Heybridge also had a small amount of very early types within their assemblages. The brooch assemblages of these three sites furthermore have similarities with that of the influential LIA settlement, Sheepen, which was located near Colchester.

The floruit for the distribution of Nauheim derivatives and Colchester derivatives appears to have been the later 1st century. This would explain the high occurrence of these types within the sampled assemblages. For the sites within Zones 2-3, the high appearance of these types is likely a chronological coincidence. However, the noticeable differences between the two types of brooches (discussed in Chapter 4) make it possible that there was an element of choice to deposit one or the other. Indeed the basic design of the Nauheim derivative brooches could suggest that they were a cheaper alternative to Colchester derivative brooches. For the

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58 N.b. the two “Other” brooches within Heybridge’s assemblage were LIA Nauheim brooches.
59 Sheepen was a short lived site. The major difference between the assemblages of Heybridge, Springhead, and Harlow to that of Sheepen was the presence of later brooch types.
60 Carr (2006), 34, 39 and Oliver (1988), 38 also note that it is possible that these
sites in Zone 5, however, these brooches appear to have been deposited residually.\textsuperscript{61}

Even though Harlow was a LIA centre, since many Colchester derivatives were found within its assemblage this likely shows the effect of later influence. This is further evidenced by its location near the settlement of Holbrooks, which was about 1/4 of a mile to the north-east.\textsuperscript{62} This site may have acted as a smelting area for Harlow, since a lot of metalwork interpreted as votives have been found on the site.\textsuperscript{63} The brooch assemblage at Holbrooks is comparable to that of Harlow, so the same community at Holbrooks likely participated in the rituals at Harlow.\textsuperscript{64}

The appearance of many Hod Hill brooches within an assemblage is harder to explain. This is because even though the brooch had a strong association with the military in the mid 1st century, they were not uncommonly found on civilian sites later on.\textsuperscript{65} It is probably not a coincidence that the sites that have a high proportion of this type (Chelmsford, Harlow, Springhead, and Wanborough) were either early influential centres (Harlow, and Springhead), or were associated with a fort (Chelmsford).

Hod Hill brooches would have also looked distinct from the other two common non-plate brooch types (Nauheim derivatives and Colchester derivatives) because of their colour. Hod Hill brooches were mostly composed of zinc and were tinned.\textsuperscript{66} This means the brooches would have been some brooches may have had a connection with the military on the Continent.

\textsuperscript{61}See footnote 57. For Wanborough see Chapter 6. For the dating of the temple and finds at Farley Heath see Appendix A.

\textsuperscript{62}Dating of Holbrooks is unclear. Carr (2006), 49 suggests it was in use by the later 1st century.

\textsuperscript{63}France and Gobel (1985), 135. Examples include miniature axes, and bronze and gilt leaves and letters.

\textsuperscript{64}Carr (2006), 49. However, there is a noticeably higher proportion of Colchester derivative brooches at Holbrooks versus at Harlow.

\textsuperscript{65}N.b. There is the possibility that Wanborough had a military connection. Although no solid evidence for a military presence has been found at Wanborough or the villas directly surrounding it, Black (1994) provides good evidence that many villas established at an early date probably were associated with the military.

\textsuperscript{66}See the ternary diagrams in Bayley and Butcher (2004). Hod Hill brooches were mostly composed of zinc, and were tinned. Nauheim derivatives were either made of tin or zinc, or a combination of both. Colchester derivatives were almost all leaded bronze (lead/tin combination).
combination of gold and silver in appearance. Therefore perhaps one of the reasons why this brooch was deposited over others was to display an elite social status.

What is particularly unique about the overall brooch assemblage is that plate brooches were found at almost all of the sampled sites. The presence of so many plate brooches on temple sites can be contrasted to the often low numbers found within urban assemblages. Since there were an extensive number of plate brooch types, one may expect there to be greater numbers of them at urban centres, where a variety of people would have passed through. However, the practice to wear and deposit plate brooches appears to be more characteristic for temple sites. It may have been seen as an important personal investment in some rituals.

The process to make and decorate plate brooches was a more arduous task compared to making other types, and this attests to the unique symbolism it may have held for the owner. Consequently since these brooches were more personalised, high quantities of this brooch type potentially reflects the diversity of people using the site. Although in general both early and later types were found, the complicated procedures to make these brooches meant that they became more common in the 2nd century, when they gained more popularity and there were more professional craftsmen available.

Springhead had the highest quantity of plate brooches within the selected sample. Both early and later plates were within its assemblage, as well as plates originating both within Britain and on the Continent. This thus shows a wide range of communities used the site. Unlike other assemblages within this study, a few zoomorphic types were also found. One

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67 Other early brooches were also made of zinc. However, other than the Colchester brooch, they were relatively very uncommon within the selected assemblages.

68 Perring and Pitts (2013), 245: "It is surely no coincidence that the brooch types most indicative of ‘Gallo-British’ (Langton Down, Rosette, Thistle) and Roman military (Hod Hill) communities are also the most visibly distinctive types...". For the significance of gold see Chapter 3, and Creighton (2000), 28-31, 40-43.


70 For a discussion of the variety of imagery present on plate brooches (in Roman Britain), and the personal element(s) they may have represented see Johns (1995).
was shaped like a hare, another a sitting duck, and the other a stag. The settlement at Springhead also had unique plate brooches within its assemblage. A shoe-shaped brooch may further symbolise Springhead’s symbolic connection with the underworld,\textsuperscript{71} and a toilet set brooch, regardless of whether it was used for medical or grooming purposes, likely attests to the religious function of the sanctuary and temple complex as a place for healing.\textsuperscript{72}

Most of the plate brooches at Wanborough and Farley Heath, on the other hand, were of a 2nd century date. As mentioned in Chapter 6, there were a range of brooches from both Britain and the Continent at Wanborough. An axe brooch was also found within its assemblage.\textsuperscript{73} Since miniature axes were also found within its assemblage this could be attesting to some kind of military identity, or showing that the religious symbolism of the axe was a core element for the practices on the site. The axe could have been seen as a symbol of a sun or sky deity,\textsuperscript{74} and there is further evidence on both Wanborough and Farley Heath to suggest this was the case.

Wanborough and Farley Heath were the only sites within the sampled assemblage to have strong evidence for the use and storage of priestly regalia. The priestly regalia found at both of these sites were similar, suggesting that there was a relationship between at least some of the practices of the two sites. Furthermore, the centrepiece of the headpieces appears to have been a wheel motif. The symbol of the wheel, although it could be suggestive of the worship of a war deity, also had a strong cor-

\textsuperscript{71}Bird (2011), 288; van Driel-Murray (1999).
\textsuperscript{72}Schuster (2011) notes that only one other example was found in Britain. For the connection of toilet articles with healing see Bird (2011), 288 and Morrison (2013). Although contentious, Morrison’s article is thought provoking and may act as supporting evidence for Springhead’s function as a site of healing. The article investigates the extent in which toilet articles were used as medical instruments (for healing). It goes against the normal interpretation that the purpose of toilet articles is for personal grooming.
\textsuperscript{73}As for the chronology of this axe, O’Connell and Bird (1994) say it is thought that the axe is a 3rd century import. However, more recent discussion from Kiernan (2009) suggests that the practice to use miniature axes (including axe-brooches) took place from the LiA and stopped at the end of the 2nd century.
\textsuperscript{74}See discussion in Chapter 6.
relation with Jupiter, and other sky deities.\textsuperscript{75} Lastly, one of the brooches at Farley Heath was shaped like a four spoked wheel. Therefore, the collective symbolism of the axe and the wheel together at both of these sites could show that a sun/sky deity was being worshipped; however, it cannot be completely ruled out that practices may reflect the worship of a military deity since both of these objects - the axe and the wheel - also had a connection with war.

A plate brooch type that may have had a connection with the military was found in high quantities at Hockwold cum Wilton likely sometime in the 2nd century. Ten horse and rider brooches of two different types were located at the site (see Figure 7.8). The first is a circular shaped brooch depicting a single horse and rider in a more dynamic position, alongside three soldiers and an eagle (see Figure 7.8a). The other horse and rider brooch type was moulded into the shape of a horse and looks less aggressive (see Figure 7.8b). The mould of this last type in particular made the imagery clearly identifiable as a horse and rider. Both types of horse and rider brooches were usually found on religious sites in either rural or small settlement settings, and were commonly found within Zone 1.\textsuperscript{76} Since

\textsuperscript{75}Green (1984, 1989); Kiernan (2009), 32-39.

\textsuperscript{76}Eckardt (2005), 147-149. Horse and rider figurines were also found around various parts of East Anglia. See also Gurney (1986b), 65-67, 89.
these brooches were not commonly located at military and urban settings, this decreases the likelihood that the practice to deposit these brooches was a military practice;\textsuperscript{77} indeed military objects were not often found at Hockwold cum Wilton or within its local landscape.\textsuperscript{78} Furthermore, it is possible that these brooches may have had some relationship with another brooch found on the site, which was shaped liked a bird (perhaps an eagle) biting a hare. In any case, the individual types of horse and rider brooches were so similar to each other that they would have been made by the same manufacturer using a mould.\textsuperscript{79} Although both types of brooches had similarities with those from other parts of the country, the moulds of these other brooches were not the same.\textsuperscript{80} Therefore, although the practice to deposit horse and rider brooches may have spread elsewhere, the practices that happened at Hockwold cum Wilton were unique to either the site or the local area. It is unclear what kind of association these brooches may have held within the local community, but a military relationship is not apparent through the finds from the local area.\textsuperscript{81}

### 7.3.3 Social Practices

The most common brooches found within temple sites were Nauheim derivatives, Colchester derivatives, Hod Hill, and plate brooches. The high quantity of Colchester derivative brooches can be partly explained as a sign of the times, since they were one of the most commonly deposited brooch types. Nauheim derivatives, distributed around the same time as Colchester derivatives, may have been seen as a cheaper alternative. And Hod

\textsuperscript{77}Fillery-Travis (2012) discusses the likelihood that although these brooches may have indeed been affiliated with the worship of Mars, they do not appear to have a connection with the military. See also Johns (1995).

\textsuperscript{78}N.b. there is an absence of military equipment and horse riding gear at Hockwold cum Wilton and its surrounding sites.

\textsuperscript{79}Gurney (1986b), 65-67, 89.

\textsuperscript{80}See Mackreth (2011), Plates 104 and 124. See also King and Soffe (2008), Fig 7.8, p. 143. N.b. all of the recorded horse and rider brooches in the area have not been illustrated.

\textsuperscript{81}Alternatively, there was a pre-Roman tradition for horses to be highly regarded. If this is related to the deposition of these plate brooches, it may show that those with LIA descendent or elites from the local area used the site.
Table 7.10: Summary of practices and identities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Practice/event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Early to mid 1st   | • The deposition of brooches, either early types or Continental imports, was prominent at Springhead and Harlow, and to a lesser extent at Heybridge and Chelmsford.  
|                    | • Brooches not commonly deposited in the area of the Southern kingdom.                                                                                                           |
| Late 1st to early 2nd | • High amount of Nauheim derivative, Colchester derivative, and Hod Hill brooches deposited on most sites.  
|                    | • Harlow and Holbrooks were likely being used by the same community.                                                   
|                    | • Brooches not commonly deposited in the area of the Southern kingdom.                                                                                                           |
| Mid 2nd to late 3rd | • Many 2nd century plate brooches deposited on most sites.  
|                    | • Plate brooches at Springhead further confirm its use as a centre for healing.                                       
|                    | • Plate brooches and priestly regalia at Wanborough and Farley Heath suggest either a sky/sun or military deity was worshipped. 
|                    | • Horse and rider brooches commonly found at and near Hockwold cum Wilton.                                              |

Hill brooches may have held some kind of symbolism related to high status, be it through a military connection or due to its distinguishable gold and silver colour. Plate brooches, since their imagery often differed according to type and manufacturer, may have held a more personal meaning particularly relevant when visiting a temple.

The deposition of brooches before the mid 1st century appears to align with sites that were particularly influential in the LIA. The exception here is Folly Lane; the assemblage at Folly Lane is large, so the general dearth of brooches located there may have been intentional.\(^2\) Not only were Eastern kingdom types prominent within these assemblages, but Continental brooches (including La Tène, Nauheim, and early plates) were also found.

Colchester derivatives clearly dominated the brooch assemblages from the late 1st to early 2nd century. For example, Harlow, which was influen-
tial during the LIA, had a high quantity of Colchester derivative brooches within its assemblage, and this may be due to the influence from at least one of its surrounding settlements, Holbrooks. However, Nauheim derivative and Hod Hill brooches were also frequently deposited. Lastly, it is particularly notable that sites in the area of the Southern kingdom had a dearth of brooch depositions during this time. Brooch depositions, therefore, were more peculiar for the practices taking place along the eastern coast.

From the 2nd century, plate brooches appear to have been commonly deposited on temple sites. These brooches often emphasised the types of communities or practices of the site. The presence of zoomorphic, shoe sole, and toilet set brooches at Springhead highlight the theory that the site was a sanctuary for healing. The axe and wheel brooches at Wanborough and Farley Heath, as well as the priestly regalia at both sites, suggest that some kind of sun or sky deity was being worshipped. Finally, although the purpose of the horse and rider brooches at Hockwold cum Wilton cannot be identified, these brooches were clearly significant for those who used the site.

7.4 Coins

Although dependent on the quality of the coins, there is a lot of potential for the numismatic evidence to inform us about a range of identities and social practices.\textsuperscript{83} Table 7.11 shows that the overall coin assemblage was quite substantial. Many were dated to the later Roman period, which is to be expected since the increase in coin circulation and use as currency made them more common; however, this does not necessarily hinder what can be said about the evidence for this study.

\[83\text{N.b. The frequent robtings of the temple sites of Wanborough and Farley Heath greatly hindered their assemblages. Hobbs (2007) predicts Farley Heath’s original coins assemblage was at least over 1,000 coins. For Wanborough’s assemblage see Chapter 6.}\]
Table 7.11: Pre-Roman:Roman coin quantities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Pre-Roman</th>
<th>Roman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caistor St. Edmund</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chanctonbury Ring</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chelmsford</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farley Heath</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folly Lane</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Chesterford</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harlow</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayling Island</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heybridge</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>3,000+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hockwold cum Wilton</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lancing Down</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springhead</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanborough</td>
<td>1,022</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Most of the coins are from the 3rd and 4th centuries.
† Exact quantification not available.
‡ Unclear how many were located at the temple site and/or settlement.

7.4.1 Quantification

Pre-Roman coins

Table 7.11 shows that most of the selected sites had pre-Roman coins within their assemblages. Considering that the temple at Chelmsford may have been catering to a more indigenous community, it is perhaps surprising that no pre-Roman coins were found within the temple's assemblage.\(^84\) On the other hand, this is to be expected for some sites such as Caistor St. Edmund and Hockwold cum Wilton since most activity on these sites did not begin until the mid Roman period.

Wanborough has the highest quantity of pre-Roman coinage. As elaborated on in Chapter 6, this number was a lot higher (probably about ten times higher), but the assemblage was damaged because of frequent illegal robbing of the site. These coins, however, do not appear to have

\(^84\) There were complications in quantifying the coins at Chelmsford. Curteis (2013) lists 26 coins between 43-180 CE, whereas Wickenden (1992) lists 18. The number in Table 7.11 (n=155) is made up of the total site report quantification plus the difference between this and the 2013 analysis.
been deposited until the mid 2nd century. The purpose of their deposition can potentially be explained as residual and that they are the reflection of the community’s attempt to preserve the social memory of the past. Either way, a variety of coins were found within the assemblage. Since the site is within the boundary of the Southern kingdom, that over half of the pre-Roman coins were minted under Southern kingdom rulers (particularly Verica) is to be expected. However, about 30% of the pre-Roman coins were from leaders of the Eastern kingdom (particularly Epaticcus), and 7% of the coins were British imports (from the Cantiaci, Iceni, Dobunni, and Durotriges). Especially since these coins were not deposited until later on, the presence of so many non Southern kingdom coins does not necessarily indicate that the community using the site were originally from different areas of Britain. Instead, this could suggest the presence of early exchange networks. Furthermore, the coins may be a reflection of the LIA characteristic to emphasise precious metal coins as a way to display and exchange power and wealth.

The nearest temple site to Wanborough is Farley Heath, which also had a relatively high amount of pre-Roman coinage within its assemblage. Although there are many parallels between these two assemblages, the differences are just as striking and expose the subtle ways in which these sites were distinctive from each other. Fewer coins were located at Farley Heath, and there are a couple of coin types not represented within Wanborough’s assemblages which were within Farley Heath’s. The few Greek coins and a Gallo-Belgic import are good examples of this. This is because non-British coins were not found at Wanborough. Therefore, this may suggest that Farley Heath’s assemblage was of a different character to that of Wanborough’s. Since Farley Heath was located off a road connecting to the London-Silchester road, and was closer to the southern coast, this potentially shows that Farley Heath had early continental links and was more commonly used by wider variety of people.

Hayling Island and to a lesser extent Lancing Down, both off the south-
ern coast, had a large amount of Gallic coins within their assemblages.\textsuperscript{86} The assemblage from Hayling Island in particular had coins from across Gaul (mostly Gallo-Belgic) within it. This may indicate that Gauls migrated to the southern coast. However, such a link is too contentious to make and thus the high amount of Gallic coins more likely suggests tight connections with communities from the Continent. However, unlike Hayling Island, most of the coins at Lancing Down were from the Southern kingdom. Since the context of Lancing Down is very different to Hayling Island’s, which was close to the major urban centres of Fishbourne and Chichester, the community using Lancing Down would have been different. Perhaps people with fewer overseas connections occupied the areas surrounding Lancing Down. Alternatively, since the site may have been a monumental burial ground, the coins may help indicate that the burial was more pertinent for the local community near Lancing Down.

Springhead, in Zone 3 and as discussed in Chapter 5, was located along the road running from London to Richborough, and would have been frequently used as a stop-off point between these sites. It was also an influential LIA centre, and one of the largest religious centres in Britain. Over half of the coins were Kentish types, but there were also many British and Continental types, including Gallic imports. The large variety of coins within its assemblage, therefore, evidences the diversity of communities who used the site.

The coins from the temple sites in the Eastern kingdom had less variety within their assemblages than those sites south of the Thames. At Harlow and Heybridge, for example, although many pre-Roman coins were found, the majority were issues of the Eastern kingdom (mostly Cunobelin or Tasciovanus).\textsuperscript{87} This was not wholly the case for Great Chesterford, which, assuming coins were mostly associated with the temple, had a greater variety of coin types compared to Harlow and Heybridge. This is potentially due to Great Chesterford’s position along the tribal boundary of the

Trinovantes and Catuvellauni, since it would have acted as a major point of contact for urban centres such as Cambridge and Godmanchester to cross the Fenlands.

**Roman coins**

Most of the Roman coins deposited on temple sites were from the late Roman period, which is of less relevance for this study. However, the Roman coins enable us to suggest how some temple sites in Zone 1 were being used.

The site that particularly stands out in terms of its Roman coinage is Caistor St. Edmund. This site has a small amount of archaeological evidence in general, and the quantity of coins within the assemblages there easily outnumbers other finds (including pottery). Similar to the ceramic evidence, the coins suggest that activity began sometime in the late 1st century. Furthermore it is interesting that both the coins and other religious objects were not actually found on the temple itself but instead in nearby areas. Notable objects located in nearby areas include a miniature axe, statues of phallics, an eagle, and Bacchus. Since the finds that were located within the temple building were related to the function of the building itself (e.g. glass, tiles, wall plaster, etc.) this suggests that many of the practices took place in the vicinity of, versus at, the temple.

South-west of Caistor St. Edmund is Hockwold cum Wilton. Unlike Caistor St. Edmund, where coins from the early and mid Roman periods were present, most of the coins at Hockwold cum Wilton were from the late Roman period. Further inspection of Hockwold cum Wilton’s local context reveals that this is not atypical. Sites surrounding the temple site also had a dearth of early Roman coins within their assemblages. This is not necessarily due to the lack of occupation in these areas, but rather it suggests there was a local preference to not deposit these items.²⁸ If this was the case, this practice was very local, since early Roman coins were deposited further to the east at sites such as Caistor St. Edmund.

7.4.2 Purpose of Deposition

The quality and quantity of the coin evidence at a couple of the secondary sites, Harlow and Hayling Island, are able to address the question as to why the coins were deposited. The reason for depositing the coins can also provide information on the theme of continuity in depositional activity, further emphasising the potential that analysing the coin evidence has to comment on practices on temple sites.

The location of the coins at Harlow hints as to why they were deposited. Although most of the gold and silver pre-Roman coins were deposited within the temple, this is not duplicated later on.\textsuperscript{89} The location of the deposited copper-alloy coins during the LIA parallels the location of the deposited coins in the 1st century (see Figure 7.9a). In general, the coins were deposited either in the south-easterly and south-westerly areas surrounding IA features.\textsuperscript{90} From around the 2nd century (though definitely

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{temple_plan.png}
\caption{Plan of the temple at Harlow highlighting major areas of (copper alloy) coin deposition.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{89} For the location of the pre-Roman coins see Fitzpatrick (1985), Fig. 37, p. 53. For the location of the Roman coins see Gobel (1985), Fig. 38, p.67.
\textsuperscript{90} See France and Clark (1985), Fig. 5, p. 22.
by the 3rd century), the location of deposition clearly changes (see Figure 7.9b). This change may be related to the building of the precinct, since the main areas of deposition become the porch of the temple and a particular area either just inside or outside of the precinct. Therefore the purpose of depositing coins at Harlow in turn changed from the 2nd century. Before the 2nd century, practices surrounded pre-Roman features on the site. However, after this time the place to deposit coins changes to the entrance of the precinct and in front of the temple. Therefore, with the building of the precinct it seems like visitors may have taken a specific route within the temple, perhaps suggesting that certain areas may no longer have been accessible to the public.

This sort of trafficking of visitors on a temple site is not unique to Harlow. It also appears to have been the case for a temple complex at Frilford in Oxfordshire.\textsuperscript{91} The coins at Frilford, although mostly from the late Roman period, were also concentrated at the entrance of the main temple,\textsuperscript{92} as well as along the pathway leading to the temple itself. The site was large, but coins were not frequently found in other areas. Therefore, a situation similar to Frilford seems to have happened at Harlow, just at an earlier date.

The other site that hints at the purpose of depositing the coins, and also shows a continuity in depositional practices is Hayling Island. Here, the coins seem to have been intentionally damaged.\textsuperscript{93} Both pre-Roman and early Roman coins were found cut in half, stabbed, bent, and slashed.\textsuperscript{94} This short lived practice of ritual killing (see Chapter 3 for a brief discussion) reflects the religious nature of the practice, and shows that the coins were clearly being offered to the gods. Since evidence for this practice has not been found from the mid Roman period, it likely originated in the LIA.

\textsuperscript{91}For more information on Frilford see Kamash et al. (2010).
\textsuperscript{92}Multiple temples, 4 Roman temples and 1 early Christian temple, were located at Frilford. However, only one temple had a precinct and therefore this is why it is referred to as the main temple here.
\textsuperscript{93}No other close parallels with other temples within this study has been found regarding this practice.
\textsuperscript{94}Briggs et al. (1993), 2-3.
Table 7.12: Summary of practices and identities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Practice/event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Early to mid 1st  | • Pre-Roman coins from sites north of the Thames mostly were comprised of issues from the Eastern kingdom. Coins from sites south of the Thames had a greater variety of issues.  
• Coins were concentrated around LIA features at Harlow.  
• Coins at Hayling Island were intentionally damaged. |
| Late 1st to early 2nd | • Possible local practice in south-western Norfolk to not deposit coins.  
• Location of coin deposition at Harlow changes to the entrance of the precinct and in front of the temple. This may indicate the flow of traffic from visitors was pre-directed.  
• Coins at Hayling Island were intentionally damaged. |
| Mid 2nd to late 3rd | • Perseverance of social memory about the LIA shown by Wanborough's residual deposition of LIA coins. |

7.4.3 Social Practices

Both pre-Roman and Roman coins were deposited at most of the sampled sites. Although the majority of the Roman coins were from the late Roman period, the evidence was still able to bring out a number of patterns and social practices (see Table 7.12).

Temple sites located south of the Thames tended to have a greater diversity of pre-Roman coins within their assemblages than those located north of the Thames. This is apparent by observing the assemblages of Springhead, Hayling Island, and also Lancing Down. Sites located to the north of the Thames that had pre-Roman coins within their assemblages mostly consisted of Eastern kingdom coins.

There does not appear to have been a practice to deposit pre-Roman coins in sites within Zone 1, and the area around Hockwold cum Wilton kept this tradition into the Roman period. If this is not purely due to the excavation and environmental conditions of the site, then this provides a clear contrast to sites further to the south in Zone 2.
The deposition of pre-Roman coins at Harlow was concentrated either inside the temple, or around a couple of large IA features in the south-westerly and south-easterly areas of the site. However, this changes from the 2nd century, when coins were suddenly deposited either at the temenos entrance or in front of the temple itself. This change in practice suggests a change in meaning as to why the coins were deposited. After the 2nd century the practice to deposit coins became more controlled - as it appears that the flow of visitors was in turn controlled throughout their time at the site.

Unlike Harlow, continuity in practice is seen at Hayling Island. Pre-Roman coins and early Roman coins, as well as some other copper-alloy finds, were intentionally damaged as a result of some ritual on the site. Since the practice faded with time, this likely originated in the LIA. Such practices were relatively rare in Britain overall, with Hayling Island being the only example within the selected sample.  

Lastly, as discussed in Chapter 6, LIA coins could be redeposited in the Roman period - as was likely the case at Wanborough (and possibly Farley Heath). If this was the case, this provides an interesting example of how communities preserved the social memory of their ancestral past.

### 7.5 Hairpins

Compared to the other selected finds evidence, hairpins were almost always found in smaller quantities. Furthermore contextual details were not usually provided in similar detail, and chronology is often an issue in their analysis. Still, especially since hairpins (and indeed other items of personal adornment) were commonly deposited on temple sites, observing the general evidence still has the potential to explain the nature and practices of temple sites.

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95 For examples in Britain see Kiernan (2001).
96 See hairpin discussion in Chapter 3. It is difficult to precisely date hairpins. Often the dating is within a factor of 100 years.
Table 7.13: Quantity of hairpins [min sample size 25].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Bone</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chelmsford</td>
<td>29 (100%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harlow</td>
<td>18 (72%)</td>
<td>7 (28%)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folly Lane</td>
<td>20 (71%)</td>
<td>8 (29%)</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Chesterford</td>
<td>35 (67%)</td>
<td>17 (33%)</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springhead</td>
<td>35 (39%)</td>
<td>54 (61%)</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>137 (61%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>86 (39%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>223</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7.5.1 Quantification

Table 7.13 summarises the hairpin evidence. Most assemblages consisted of a higher proportion of metal hairpins than those of bone, with the exception of Springhead. As discussed in Chapter 5, the unusually high quantity of bone hairpins could suggest a tight connection between the religious areas and the settlement, and that therefore the same communities used both areas. It could also be showing that metal hairpins were used for ritual purposes and bone hairpins were the result of casual loss. Indeed without Springhead’s quantities in Table 7.13, the metal:bone proportion would have a greater inclination towards metal hairpins.

This metal:bone ratio is not the same for other types of sites. For example, there was a clear disposition to find bone hairpins at urban settlements. This pattern can be further exemplified by observing the assemblage at Chelmsford. As Table 7.13 shows, no bone hairpins were located at the temple area there. However, bone hairpins were found in other areas of the site. Another general pattern that has been noted is that high status rural sites had more bone than metal hairpins within their assemblages; and that the opposite is true for low status rural sites. Therefore, similar to what has been suggested with the plate brooch evidence, the deposition and/or wearing of metal hairpins, may have held a special meaning when visiting temple sites.

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97 Ayton (2013), 204-205.
98 Carr (2006), 65-69 also mentions this as a possibility when comparing the assemblages of Harlow, Uley, and Lydney. She also notes the prominence of non-bone hairpins
However, this practice may not have been widespread across temples in the study area. Another look at Table 7.13 reveals that sites outside of Zones 2-3 are not listed. This is because only a couple of hairpins were found at sites in these areas. Farley Heath for example, only had three hairpins within its assemblage, and Hockwold cum Wilton only two. Indeed many sites, including those which were quite active such as Chanctonbury Ring and Hayling Island, did not have any within their assemblages. This suggests it was not common practice to deposit hairpins on temple sites in the areas of the Southern kingdom and the Iceni.

**Brooches:Hairpins**

It is worth briefly exploring the relationship between the two items of personal adornment, brooches and hairpins, within the selected sample. It appears that, with the exception of Folly Lane, sites that were active in the LIA had a tendency to deposit more brooches. Since Colchester derivative brooches, which were commonly distributed in the late 1st century when hairpin depositions were also common, were the most common type of brooch on both sites, the practice to deposit brooches seems to have persisted.

Why there appears to have been a clear inclination to deposit hairpins over brooches at Folly Lane does not have a clear answer. Folly Lane’s assemblage was rich in many other types of finds (such as pottery, and animal remains), so the low amount of brooches can be seen as an indication that practices involving brooch deposition were not pertinent there (see Section 7.3.1). Alternatively, this pattern could be implying a preference in fashion for users of the site. Also, since the site was formally a mausoleum, this means it likely would have been treated differently from other temple sites.

in cemetery/burial contexts.
Table 7.14: Brooches:hairpins within sites listed in Table 7.13.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Brooches</th>
<th>Hairpins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harlow</td>
<td>239 (91%)</td>
<td>25 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springhead</td>
<td>317 (73%)</td>
<td>120 (27%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Chesterford</td>
<td>51 (50%)</td>
<td>52 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chelmsford</td>
<td>21 (42%)</td>
<td>29 (58%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folly Lane</td>
<td>7 (20%)</td>
<td>28 (80%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.5.2 Typological Patterns

An attempt was made to look at the types of metal and bone hairpins across the sampled sites and see if any patterns emerged in terms of the length or design of the hairpins. In general, there was a preference for long thin hairpins, even though various types were represented within the whole assemblage.

7.5.3 Social Practices

Since the deposition of hairpins roughly corresponds to sometime between the mid 1st to mid 2nd century, a concluding table is not included. Instead, they can be summarised as follows:

- There was a clear tendency to deposit metal (mostly copper-alloy) hairpins on temple sites. This can be contrasted to urban and other rural settlements, where bone hairpins were more commonly found.

- The practice to deposit hairpins appears to have been fairly contained to Zones 2-3. Hairpin deposition appears to be scarce outside of these zones.

- In terms of items of personal adornment, temple sites influential in the LIA tended to have more brooch depositions instead of hairpin depositions. However, sites which were active later on had more comparable brooch:hairpin assemblages.
Although there were no types predominating the hairpin assemblage, most were long and thin in shape. This is either a chronological coincidence or it may be showing that more tall and elaborate hairstyles were worn to temple sites.

7.6 Chapter summary

This chapter has shown that careful inspection of the individual find types on temple sites within the study area is fruitful in characterising different kinds of social practices. It has also further developed what can be said concerning the communities who used these sites. Problems concerning the quality and/or quantity of the data became apparent at times, but these problems were sometimes able to be solved when using other assemblages to contextualise the evidence.

The final chapter brings together what has been discussed about social practices thus far, and discusses the wider implications of these practices. It also summarises the main findings of this research, evaluates its effectiveness, and addresses the ways in which this research is meaningful for the field.
8  |  Conclusions

This thesis has demonstrated the potential for intra-site (Chapters 4-6) and inter-site (Chapter 7) analyses to be fruitful in exploring the extent to which the finds evidence are able to shed light on the kinds of practices on temple sites. The intra-site analyses unpicked a range of major and minor practices and possible political and cultural affiliations for particular context-rich sites. The inter-site analysis, using the information of the data from the primary sites and incorporating the data from other sites, identified these aspects on a wider level. The most apparent patterns will now be developed and highlighted in this chapter.

This chapter has three main purposes: to present the main findings of this study, to explore some of the wider implications of this research, and to critically evaluate the effectiveness of the study as a whole, as well as suggest recommendations for future researchers on this topic.

8.1  The social practices

This study revealed a wide range of both shared and more site-specific practices. Table 8.1 summarises the most exceptional shared practices identified through analysing the selected evidence. This section explores these overarching patterns and discusses their complexity. The practices are furthermore contextualised within the wider landscape.

Some practices were particularly important in characterising a site - these are labelled as major practices. Others can be seen as more of a subtle practice - these minor practices still form a part of how the site func-
tioned, but in comparison to other practices are not as archaeologically apparent. The presence of major and minor shared practices within most of our zones attests to the complex picture of the Romano-British religious landscape.

8.1.1 Sacrifice of young lambs

Young lambs were slaughtered throughout Zones 2 (Essex/Hertfordshire), 3 (Kent), and 5 (Surrey); however, the ritual appears to have been most prominent at temple sites within Zone 2. As demonstrated in the finds analyses, there was a tendency to sacrifice sheep (of all ages) throughout the study area in general. However, particularly for sites within Zone 2, lambs appear to have been selected at specific ages or were killed during certain seasons. Indeed this is one of the most striking and archaeologically visible rituals for a few of the sampled sites.

The slaughter of lambs within Zone 2 first began in the LIA and continued into the mid Roman period. From the early to mid 1st century lambs
Table 8.1: Shared major (X) and minor (x) practices on sampled temple sites by zone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Practice</th>
<th>North of Thames</th>
<th>South of Thames</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Sacrifice of young lambs</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Gallic consumption practices</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>local pre-Roman coins</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Deposition of local and non-local pre-Roman coins</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Tendency to deposit metal hairpins</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Cult of the boar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Deposition of dog skeletons</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) Deposition of plate brooches</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

were commonly sacrificed at the temple site at Harlow when they were aged around 8 months old. Assuming a typical spring birth, this places the time of slaughter sometime in the autumn. The situation becomes further complicated from the late 1st century. During this time two other temple sites which also participated in this lamb ritual, Chelmsford and Great Chesterford, become active. Lambs were slaughtered when they were aged between 6-12 months old at Chelmsford, and between 1-11 months at Great Chesterford. The practices of these two sites could have been influenced by those taking place at Harlow. This is particularly relevant for Chelmsford, since the site is located closer to Harlow, and since the lambs at Chelmsford were slaughtered at similar ages to that of Harlow. Furthermore, the quantity of sheep bones at Harlow drastically drops as these sites became active. This could be showing a transfer of focus of activity from the LIA centre of Harlow to temple sites with settlements accompanying them, such as Chelmsford and Great Chesterford.

1 They were also being slaughtered at older ages. It seems likely this difference can be attributed to the temple's position being very close to the settlement. The lambs may have been used for the ritual being discussed, whereas the older sheep may have been used at the settlement for their secondary resources and then later sacrificed.

2 Whereas, smaller settlements in the surrounding area usually killed their sheep at much older ages.

3 N.b. The extent to which Harlow fell into decline after the LIA is unclear, especially since the temple site gets many new additions and renovations in the Roman period.
Even if the lamb ritual of Harlow was replicated at Chelmsford, it was adapted into something visibly different at Great Chesterford. The different character of the lamb ritual at Great Chesterford becomes particularly apparent from the mid 2nd century. From that time, instead of sacrificing lambs all year around, they were slaughtered in the early summer period when the lambs were aged ~3 mo. old. A likely explanation of this is that some kind of festival or event, which took place in early summer, was introduced. Therefore, by the mid 2nd century, lambs were being slaughtered in the early summer time at Great Chesterford, and during the autumn at Harlow (though in relatively low quantities) and at Chelmsford.

The lamb ritual of Zone 2 was exclusive to the sites just mentioned; however, as indicated by Table 8.1, lambs were also being sacrificed at temple sites in Zones 3 and 5. The smaller scale of these practices in relation to other practices on those sites suggest the practice of sacrificing lambs was likely not considered to be one of the defining rituals on these sites. At Springhead (in Zone 3) sheep were killed mainly when they were aged either between 10-20 months or 3-5 years old; this is likely related to both the culinary preferences of communities using the site, and the utilisation of this animal’s secondary resources (e.g. wool production). Wanborough, on the other hand, did have a relatively high quantity of lamb bones being deposited when they were aged between 0-6 months old. However, it does not appear that these depositions were a crucial part of the main ritual practices taking place at Wanborough.

One can only speculate on the reasons why the slaughter of lambs was a major temple ritual in Zone 2. Since in general sheep tended to be killed at an older age because it was economically more logical to continue utilising animals for their other resources, it is unusual that sites within Zone 2 had such a large quantity (and proportion) of lamb bones within their assemblages. A feasting interpretation is possible. Since lamb was generally preferred to be eaten over mutton, and sheep would have been the most prevalent animal resource to use in the area, this makes it economically and environmentally viable. Lastly about the lamb ritual, although it originated in the LIA, it continued to be practised and adapted until the end of
the mid Roman period.

8.1.2 Gallic consumption practices

Some sites within Zones 2, 3, and 4 (Sussex) had a high quantity of pig remains within their assemblages which were dated to the LIA. This correlates with the LIA pattern for pig bones to be located on oppida sites, and may therefore be an indication of participation in or the influence of (Northern) Gallic consumption practices.4

Table 7.2 revealed that there were two sites whose assemblages fit this pattern: Springhead (in Zone 3) and Hayling Island (in Zone 4). Both sites are located in the south of England and have been identified as influential LIA centres. Their location, and the presence of a high amount of often imported pre-Roman finds, reflects the strong links these sites had with communities from the Continent.

Both Springhead and Hayling Island furthermore had eminent LIA centres nearby which also had a high quantity of pig within their assemblages. As such, this pattern was not exclusively a 'temple' pattern, but also extended to other types of settlements. Canterbury, to the east of Springhead, was active in the LIA and is believed to have begun trading with the Continent from around 15 BCE.5 Sheep bones (n=412) were the most common animal bone within Canterbury’s bone assemblage, but this was followed closely by the quantity of pig bones (n=398).6 Furthermore, this high quantity of pig bones is proportionally higher than most non-oppida sites located elsewhere. Although there were some problems in quantifying the bones at Canterbury, this still shows that two sites possessing a high status in the LIA appear to have been participating in or were influenced by Gallic consumption practices.7

4 For the correlation between the finding of high amounts of pig remains and Gallo-British consumption practices see Pitts (2010a).
5 Blockley (1995), 11.
6 King (1982), 195.
7 Excavations of the animal bones for Canterbury in the LIA could not be located. The bone quantities from the mid to late 1st century CE were therefore used.
This is similarly the situation in Zone 4. The animal bone assemblage at Hayling Island contained one of the highest quantities of pig bones within the sampled assemblages (see Table 7.1). This temple site, which was extremely active in the LIA, was located only 7 1/2 miles away from the LIA centre at Fishbourne. Fishbourne similarly had a high proportion of pig remains within its assemblage from this time and well into the Roman period. The extent to which these practices were widespread is unclear. Chanctonbury Ring, also along the southern coast, was likely active from the 2nd century but also had a high quantity of pig remains within its assemblage. To the north in Zone 5, Wanborough and Silchester also had significant proportions of pig remains within their assemblages. Although it is possible that these later sites within this area upheld the tradition to commonly consume pig, it is equally likely that these bones were the result of a ritual developed later on.

The situation is less clear for Zone 2. Harlow did have a fairly high proportion of pig bones within its assemblage during the LIA and in the early Roman period, but as discussed before pigs do not appear to have been involved in most rituals conducted on the site. However, Harlow is surrounded by oppida related sites; the assemblages at Skeleton Green and King Harry Lane were mostly comprised of pig remains. In any case, the obscurity of the evidence is not enough to state that this therefore shows sites within Zone 2 were not influenced by Gallic styles of consumption.

Temple assemblages which were geographically closer to the Continent almost always have a noticeably higher proportion of pig remains compared to those located inland. This fits in with the pattern discussed in Pitts’ study of artefacts and social practice. Within this study he shows how oppida assemblages contained a higher proportion of pig as well as

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8N.b. King and Soffe (2008) believe the site may have been dedicated to one of the Southern kingdom leaders. Also Creighton (2000), 191-197.
11For Wanborough see Chapter 6. For Silchester’s assemblage see Fulford and Timby (2000).
12For Skeleton Green see Ashdown and Evans (1981). For KHL see Davis (1989).
Gallo-Belgic styles of pottery. Temple sites which followed this pattern likely had cultural connections with pre-Roman practices. The persistence of these practices continued well into the Roman period, and this suggests they may have been ingrained in the social memory of local communities after the cessation of other distinctive “Belgic” material culture and practices.

8.1.3 Deposition of local and non-local pre-Roman coins

Temple sites from Zones 2-5 had pre-Roman coins within their assemblages. There is, however, a fairly distinct pattern separating sites located north of the Thames to those south of the Thames. Sites north of the Thames typically had only local pre-Roman coins within their assemblages, whereas those to the south often included both local and non-local types.

Temple assemblages in Zone 2 (north of the Thames) mostly consisted of Eastern kingdom coins local to the area. Although a greater variety were deposited on temple sites which were connected to an urban site, Eastern kingdom coins still clearly dominated their assemblages. The pre-Roman coin assemblages at settlement sites, at Kelvedon and Skeleton Green for example, also generally followed this pattern.

This can be contrasted to assemblages to the south of the Thames, which still had a lot of variation in the proportion of different types of coins within their assemblages. In Zone 3, for example, the assemblage at Springhead can be contrasted with the oppidum/civitas capital in the area at Canterbury. The coin assemblage at Springhead can be considered a fairly typical Kentish assemblage. Over half of the coins were Kentish issues, but there were also Gallic, Eastern kingdom and other regional British coins within the assemblage. Within Canterbury’s assemblage, however, out of the 55 pre-Roman coins only 10% of them were identified

13Pitts (2010a).
14Quantities widely varied according to each site. See Table 7.11.
15For Kelvedon see Rodwell (1988). For Skeleton Green see Goodburn (1981). This is still the case even though Gallic coins are within these assemblages.
as local types.\footnote{For Canterbury's assemblage see esp. Blockley (1995).} There was also a slight tendency for Southern kingdom (versus Eastern kingdom) coins, British potins (which consist of over half of the assemblage), and Gallic and Belgic imports to be found within the assemblage. Indeed, the variations in the coin assemblages show that even though the sites were relatively close together, that the practices and communities using the sites were different.\footnote{N.b. the higher proportion of earlier types at Canterbury may be explained as a chronological effect. Canterbury seems to have earlier roots than Springhead, though the situation is too unclear to make any conclusions on the matter.}

There was also variation in Zone 4. This variation continues to show that the types of coins deposited changed according to the character and context of each site. The temple site at Hayling Island had a large variety of coins within its assemblage, many of which were from different areas of Gaul and Britain. Most of the British coins were early types, but there was also a tendency to deposit Southern kingdom and south-western (particularly Durotrigan) coins. This substantial amount of non-local pre-Roman coins likely reflects the LIA high status nature of the site, and is partly due to its close location to the Continent. Lancing Down, the other temple within the area that had pre-Roman coins within its assemblage, appears to have served a different local community. Unlike Hayling Island, the majority of the assemblage consisted of Southern kingdom coins. Since the site appears to have been active from immediately after the Claudian conquest, its assemblage probably reflects the chronology of the site's primary occupation. It may also indicate that the community was not as influenced by older Gallic traditions. Chichester, another oppidum, is fairly similar to Lancing Down in that the site was an early Roman urban centre, and its pre-Roman assemblage was comprised of British coins (albeit from both the Eastern and Southern kingdoms).\footnote{For the coin assemblage at Chichester see Down (1971). The mix of Eastern and Southern kingdom coins testifies to the urban character of the site.}

The pattern for temple sites south of the Thames to deposit both local and non-local coins continues to be exemplified by the temple sites in Zone 5. A variety of pre-Roman coins were deposited at Wanborough and Farley.
Heath. However, there is variation in the coin assemblages between these two sites. Whereas most of Wanborough’s assemblage consisted of coins from the Southern kingdom, most of the coins at Farley Heath were early British coins (n=18). Furthermore, the assemblage at Farley Heath had a high quantity of south-western coins (n=10) compared to other types. However, since Farley Heath's assemblage is much smaller than Wanborough’s, and most of the original coin assemblages at both sites have been lost due to illegal robbing activities, there are too many complications in trying to make any clear deductions as to what this difference implies.\(^\text{19}\)

Although the deposition of pre-Roman coins was a part of the rituals on temple sites throughout Zones 2-5, the types of coins represented appear to be related to both the general area in which the temples were located and the different communities within each of the zones. Temples closer to the southern coast had a much higher tendency to have Gallic coins within their assemblages. It was also fairly common for assemblages at more southern sites (in Zones 3-5) to also have Eastern kingdom coins, whereas those from north of the Thames (Zone 2) mainly had only Eastern kingdom coins. There are two possible explanations to explain the diversity south of the Thames. The first is that this demonstrates the Eastern kingdom’s larger and more prominent area of influence (see Chapter 2 introducing the political geography); a second explanation is that since sites in these areas also commonly had Gallic coins within their assemblages, it could have been more of a common practice to dedicate a variety of types at temple sites (versus specifically ones from the local area).

### 8.1.4 Tendency to deposit metal hairpins

Metal hairpins were typically deposited on temple sites in Zones 2-3 (see Table 7.13). This can be contrasted to urban hairpin assemblages in general, which mostly consist of bone hairpins. Within Canterbury’s assemblage, for example, bone hairpins outnumber metal hairpins 13:1. Veru-
lamium’s assemblage also has more bone (n=118) than metal (n=31) hairpins. The lack of hairpins found on temple sites in Zones 4-5 is noteworthy considering the major urban centres in these zones, Silchester and Chichester, have substantial numbers of hairpins within their assemblages (most of which were made of bone). It appears that hairpins continued to be used throughout the entire study area on urban sites, but that they held particular importance for the rituals conducted on temple sites within Zones 2-3.

There are a couple of patterns worth noting about the difference in the hairpin assemblages on temple sites to those on urban sites. A lot of hairpins were commonly found at urban sites, but this was not always the case for temple sites. This means that when hairpins were found it is likely that they were not the result of casual loss. Furthermore, the types of hairpins found on temple sites is different from those at urban sites - underlining the deliberate choice to select particular hairpins for participating in ritual practices. Namely, as mentioned before, metal hairpins were more commonly found on temple sites, and bone hairpins on urban sites. Bone hairpins would have been cheaper to manufacture, and were more common in general. The presence of colour-stained bone hairpins, which may have been made to resemble metal hairpins, further shows the special connotations and symbolism metal hairpins held over bone ones.20

Therefore, the selectivity of choosing a metal hairpin makes it unlikely that most of the hairpins on temple sites were the result of casual loss. Instead, these hairpins seem to have been intentionally deposited. This may suggest they were an appropriate fashion accessory for visiting temples, but also raises the possibility that they are the little evidence we have for a less archaeologically visible ritual: for example, standing in front of the place of deposition, a woman with an elaborately tall hairstyle may have then taken her metal hairpins out, releasing her hair, before casting them away. While speculative, such an ostentatious ritual, though it cannot be archaeologically proven, is not difficult to imagine from the evidence.

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20 Carr (2006), 59 on the presence of stained bone hairpins.
8.1.5 Cult of the boar

A cult of the boar may have been involved in the practices on temple sites within Zones 4-5. The dating of most of the evidence suggests that the peak of this practice was during the 2nd century CE. This is evidenced by the discernible tendency to sacrifice pig, and/or to deposit items with motifs of pigs and boars during this time.²¹

The strongest evidence for the cult of the boar lies in Zone 4. The polygonal temple at Chanctonbury Ring contained 4,883 cranial pig bones, and this comprised 89% of the total animal bone assemblage. The site also had a rare piece of decorated samian ware depicting a boar. At the possible religious site of Muntham Court about 3 miles south-west of Chanctonbury Ring there was also a plaque of a boar located there (see Figure 8.2a). Neighbouring this site, at North Farm, Washington, a boar figurine was found (see Figure 8.2b). Ten additional boar figurines were furthermore found across Sussex, especially to the south-east of Chanctonbury Ring (see for example Figure 8.2c).²² Even though most of these boar figurines were found by metal detectorists and are from unstratified contexts, it is clear that the imagery and symbolism of swine was a peculiar cultural motif especially relevant for those residing within this zone.

Although not as eminent, there is also evidence in Zone 5 which suggests practices related to a cult of the boar had spread north of Zone 4. As discussed in Chapter 6, there appears to have been a ritual involving the sacrifice of pigs from the mid 2nd century at Wanborough. Boars were also the second most common type of imagery to appear on the pre-Roman coins there (see Figure 8.2d). Lastly, it is possible that one of the animals depicted on one of the sceptre bindings at Farley Heath was a boar. There is no consensus as to what kind of animal is being represented, but the cloven hooves, raised tail, and elongated nose make the

²¹Boar figurines have been found in other areas of the province, including within the area of the Eastern kingdom. However, when they were concentrated in other areas they were usually found near or at urban centres (e.g. London and Colchester). See the map on Foster (1977), 4.
²²Rudling (2001), 117 also states that there are three other unconfirmed reports which claim boar figurines were found at Alfoldean about 16 miles to the north towards Zone 5.
interpretation that the animal is a boar possible (see Figure 8.2e).\textsuperscript{23}

Since many of these items (figurines, sceptre binding, etc.) could not be dated with certainty, this makes it more complicated to explain the reason for their appearance. The image of the boar varies. Some of them were represented in a style which was popular in pre-Roman representations of the animal (e.g. Figure 8.2c),\textsuperscript{24} but there does not seem to be a conventional way to depict the boar (or pig). Overall, however, the imagery steered away from portraying a fierce animal.\textsuperscript{25}

The importance of the boar in pre-Romano-British culture is well attested archaeologically and in the literature.\textsuperscript{26} Many times, in both pre-Roman and Roman contexts, the boar has been interpreted as a symbol

\textsuperscript{23} For its interpretation as a boar see Green (1989), 121. C.f. Poulton (2007), 47 and Ross (1974), 340 who identify the figure as a dog.

\textsuperscript{24} Foster (1977) notes that Iron Age boar imagery often had elements of the boar exaggerated.

\textsuperscript{25} Only one boar with tusks could be located. This was the imagery on the samian ware at Chanctonbury Ring.

\textsuperscript{26} See Ross (1974),308-321 for an in-depth discussion.
for war. However, the evidence does not seem to conjure up such a picture. This suggests that this local cult of the boar instead featured a less belligerent deity. Since most of the evidence is dated to the 2nd century, the nature of the ritual on temple sites involving the cult of the boar is too difficult to determine. At the very least, there appears to have been such a cult concentrated in Zone 4, and this may have spread to temple sites in Zone 5, where such practices may have been less influential in determining the character of those sites.

8.1.6 Deposition of dog skeletons

Although dog skeletons were deposited throughout most of the study area, they have only been found on temple sites within Zones 2 and 3. Many of these depositions were dated to around the mid 2nd century, did not have butchery marks on them, and were aged as young (or very young [e.g. puppies]). Unlike the boar practice discussed in Section 8.1.5, the depositions of these bones, however, should not be attributed as belonging to a cult of the dog. This is because it does not seem like the deposition of these skeletons concentrated on the worship of the dogs themselves; particularly, there is a lack of representations of dogs in other media. Instead the dogs may have symbolised the more abstract concept of the cycle of life and death.

Dog skeletons were most prominently found within Zone 3. At Springhead, they were deposited in large numbers around the same time as a high quantity of infant burials. The roadside settlement nearby also contained just under a dozen articulated dog skeletons; the dates and locations in which these skeletons were deposited varied considerably, but

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27Green (1992), esp. 87-91, 218-220; Green (1989), 105-106, 139. The boar was also the emblem of the Legio XX Valeria Victrix.

28The image or power of the boar had a wide range of symbolic interpretations not restricted to a war-like function. Ross (1974), 308-321; Rudling (2001), 117.


30See for example Folly Lane, which was a former mausoleum, and Springhead [see Chapter 5].
many were similarly either aged young or as puppies. Special dog burials were also recorded from other areas within Zone 3. At Upchurch Marshes, for example, puppies were found within seven pottery vessels which also contained charcoal and burnt twigs. Another example is at Keston, Kent, where 17 dog skeletons were located within five shafts. In one of these shafts the animals inside, including a dog, were arranged head to toe in a circle. This arrangement has been interpreted as a symbolisation of the circle of life.

In Zone 2, partial and complete dog skeletons were deposited at Chelmsford, Great Chesterford, Folly Lane, and Heybridge. Furthermore, three partial skeletons were also located at the late Roman temple site at Witham. One of the ditches at Witham, which had a horse skull and other various animal bones within it, also contained a row of dog teeth. The teeth are thought to have originally been a part of a necklace. However, reports often mentioned the dogs bones in passing. Still, when the evidence is viewed collectively and alongside that of Springhead, it is difficult to not see them as relating to some kind of ritual. Unlike Zone 3, dog skeletons were not deposited across Zone 2 on non-temple sites. It therefore appears that a practice commonly performed in Zone 3 was emulated (at least to some extent) at temple sites within Zone 2.

Since many times the bones were not fully analysed, the purpose of these depositions is admittedly laden with assumptions based on the evidence that is available. The strong evidence for the utilisation of dogs in rituals within Zone 3 adds credibility to the possibility that similar rituals were

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32See Black (1983). N.b. one of the tertiary sites, the late Roman villa and temple site at Lullingstone, also had a dog skeleton within its assemblage. Meates (1979), 117.
33Black (1983); Noel-Hume (1957); Smith (2006), 22.
35Smith (2006), 23: “One might consider that the circle that their bodies formed was intended to symbolise the cyclical nature of life, death and regeneration so important in the beliefs of pagan Europeans at this time.”
36Dog bones were present at Harlow, but the excavators do not specify whether they were a part of a partial skeleton. See Legge (1985).
37Luff (1999); Turner (1999), 47.
38Though, dog bogs were of course fairly commonly found in general.
performed in Zone 2, where dog skeletons were also found but were not sufficiently analysed. There were special dog burials deposited throughout the LIA in Britain, but it is really from Roman religious thought where the importance of dogs as a guardian (in life and in the afterlife), hunter, and possessor of healing properties can be brought out.\textsuperscript{39} Therefore, the rituals that resulted in the many depositions of dog skeletons throughout Zones 2-3, which mainly took place in the mid Roman period, likely were influenced by religious ideas from the Continent.

\section*{8.1.7 Deposition of plate brooches}

Plate brooches were commonly deposited during the 2nd century on temple sites in Zones 1 (Norfolk), 2, 3, and 5, making it the most widespread practice identified within this study.\textsuperscript{40} Although plate brooches were found on most of the sampled sites, there is no apparent connection between the types of plate brooches within certain assemblages. Instead, as demonstrated throughout this study, they contribute more to developing our understanding of individual sites. The types of plate brooches deposited thus changed according to the local religious landscape.

It is particularly significant that when compared to other types of brooches, there was a relative dearth of plate brooches found within urban assemblages. This contrast suggests that the often high proportion of plate brooches within temple sites reflects a conscious decision to bring plate brooches to temple sites. Similar to the interpretation of the metal hairpins within Zones 2-3, plate brooches appear to have had religious connotations attached to them. Those visiting temples may have felt the need to deposit them during their visit.

Naturally, not all plate brooches were available to everyone; and thus the types which were deposited reflect both the different communities of

\textsuperscript{39}For dogs in both the LIA and Roman periods see Smith (2006)’s in-depth report.
\textsuperscript{40}Some plates were deposited within Zone 4. Hayling Island, for example, at least had a couple of plate brooches within its assemblage. None were recorded at Chanctonbury Ring and Lancing Down. N.b. in general brooches were not deposited within Zone 4. See Table 8.8.
those using the site and sometimes, such as at Hockwold cum Wilton, the practices of the site. A site with a lot of continental plate brooches, for example, may have had tight connections with communities from the continent and could have been influenced by Gallic practices.\textsuperscript{41} Since plate brooches were decorated and often enamelled, colour may have also been a factor in selecting a plate brooch. The significance and sometimes magical properties of coloured items within religious settings has been attested to in both modern and ancient sources.\textsuperscript{42} However, although the colour of a brooch may have aligned with the needs of their owners, further research is needed to determine this.

The practice to deposit plate brooches on temple sites was not the defining practice of any of the studied sites (with the exception of perhaps Hockwold cum Wilton), but was nevertheless a shared practice amongst most of the study area. Most plate brooches date to the 2nd century, after more advanced and standardised techniques of brooch making became widespread.\textsuperscript{43} However, many sites also had early plate brooches within their assemblages, showing that this practice was also apparent in the 1st century CE.

8.2 The wider context

8.2.1 LIA Southern and Eastern kingdoms

Better understanding the political geography of the LIA, particularly the relationship that the LIA kingdoms had on the landscape, enables us to better interpret the archaeology of the LIA. The impact of the LIA kingdoms has particularly shown through on a political and (more generally) cultural

\textsuperscript{41}N.b. the presence of continental brooches does not necessarily show that continental peoples migrated to the Britain. See isotope studies of the later Roman period in Eckardt (2014, 2010). Eckardt’s studies show we should be cautious to see the presence of artefacts of foreign origin as an indication of migration.

\textsuperscript{42}See esp Pliny’s \textit{Historia Naturalis}. For example: the meaning of the colours of black (36.142-143), red (32.22-24), yellow (37.44-48), and white (37.162). See also sources such as Puttock (2002), 99-113 and Bonner (1950).

\textsuperscript{43}E.g see Bayley and Butcher (2004), 176 on disc and symmetrical plate brooches.
level, but the extent of their influence on ritual practice is uncertain. It is particularly questionable as to how influential they were for practices after the Roman conquest. However, this study has shown that there are distinctions in practices that may have been linked to each kingdom, and that these may have continued into the Roman period. This section thus explores the differences between the practices from temple sites within each respective kingdom, and looks to provide some answers on how Kent (an area of dispute on which kingdom it belonged to) relates to this.

**Difference in practice**

There are two striking differences between the practices on temple sites from the Eastern kingdom to those in the Southern kingdom. The first is the types of pre-Roman coins deposited (also discussed in Section 8.1.3), and the second is the 2nd century boar cult in the Southern kingdom versus the deposition of dog skeletons in the Eastern kingdom.

In terms of the pre-Roman coin assemblage, temple assemblages in the Eastern kingdom - as expected - mainly contained Eastern kingdom coins. This was, however, not necessarily the case for temple assem-

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44Creighton (2000, 2006); Pitts (2014).
blages in the Southern kingdom (Zones 4-5). Many times these assemblages had a variety of British coins, including both Eastern and Southern kingdom types, as well as Gallic types. Closer inspection of where the Eastern kingdom types were located (within the Southern kingdom), however, show that these coins were mostly located on temples in the northern part of the Southern kingdom (Zone 5); whereas, temples along the southern coast (Zone 4) had a tiny quantity of Eastern kingdom types within their assemblages. As explained in Chapter 2, there was a period when the boundary of influence from the Eastern kingdom appears to have overlapped in northern areas of the Southern kingdom (see also Figure 8.3). This helps explain the distribution of Eastern kingdom coins within these areas. Therefore, the LIA political geography had an influence on the types of pre-Roman coins which were deposited.

In the Roman period, there was also a distinction in the kinds of animal rituals happening around the same time within each former kingdom. Sections 8.1.5 and 8.1.6 explain two very different types of rituals involving the sacrifice of animals during the 2nd century. In the Southern kingdom this surrounded the cult of the boar, whereas in the Eastern kingdom this pertained to a ritual involving the sacrifice of dogs. There therefore seems to be a contrast in rituals involving different animals. The material finds have shown that the way to participate in these rituals was also quite different. Whereas the cult of the boar did not necessarily concentrate on the sacrifice of pigs or boars (except at Chanctonbury Ring), the ritual(s) in the Eastern kingdom did include the sacrifice of a dog.45

It must be noted that even though the contrast between these different rituals at first appears to be the animals used, that I have been intentionally avoiding the term “cult of the dog”. This is because, as discussed before, the ritual involved the slaughter of dogs and likely pertained to the symbolism of this animal, but it does not seem to have been concentrated around the dog itself. It is entirely possible that there was a widespread ritual related to the cycle of life and death, and that this utilised boars in

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45 Even if this was the case, it is important to bear in mind that the sacrificed dogs were likely not consumed. Clark (2006).
the south (which were portrayed in a non-belligerent way) and dogs in the east.

As to whether this distinction can be attributed to the borders of the former LIA kingdoms is uncertain. Although this is an attractive answer, the utilisation of different animals is more likely due to the geographical distance between temples that worshipped the cult of the boar and those which deposited dog skeletons. This is especially considering that the rituals' purposes could ultimately have been the same even though were performed differently.

Therefore, the LIA political geography seems to have influenced practices into the early Roman period, but this had faded by the mid Roman period. Instead, the similarities and differences within these areas from the 2nd century should be seen as a result of each sites’ geographical locations, the overlap in communities using the different sites, and the natural spread of social practices along communication networks.

The question of Kent (in Zone 3)

Whether Kent fell under the Eastern or Southern kingdom is unclear, though it appears that the area was first controlled by local rulers, was briefly conquered by Eppillus from the Southern kingdom, and was then re-conquered by either Tasciovanus or Cunobelin.46 This exchange of power is further evidenced by the types of pre-Roman coins at Springhead (which is the only temple site within Kent for this study); parallels in ritual also show Kent’s stronger connections with sites in the east of England.

The pre-Roman coins at the temple site of Springhead fall in line with the kinds of coins we would expect to be within its assemblage. Table 5.9 shows that the only Southern kingdom coins within Springhead’s assemblage were minted under Eppillus; whereas both Tasciovanus and Cunobelin coins (from the Eastern kingdom) were just as common. Therefore, though the assemblage was clearly dominated by earlier Kentish types (which was typical for sites in this area), the British coins suggest that the

46 Creighton (2000), 105.
area was indeed controlled briefly by the Southern kingdom and then by the Eastern kingdom.

Springhead's pre-Roman coin assemblage, however, was similar to coin deposits within Zones 4-5 (see Table 8.1). Like those assemblages, imported coins were commonly found on sites within Zone 3. However, this is likely merely due to Zone 3's location and relatively easy access to the Continent. Imported coins in this zone, therefore, most likely merely reflect strong connections with the Continent.

Even in the Roman period, due to Zone 3's geography, connections via roads were more easily made north-south rather than east-west (see Chapter 2). This may help explain the spread of the dog skeleton ritual to Zone 2. Furthermore, the lack of analysed dog bones in Zone 2 does not necessarily mean that the involved rituals were not major practices on temple sites there. However, since such rituals were widespread throughout Zone 3 even from before the 2nd century, it seems likely that the practice did spread to Zone 2 from Zone 3. Considering the evidence that is available, it does not seem likely that the spread of practices to areas of the former Eastern kingdom was due to the existence of the kingdom itself, but instead reflects the natural development for movement to flow between these two zones.

8.2.2 Impact of the Claudian conquest

Traditionally it has been thought that with the Claudian conquest came a sudden influx of new ideas and material culture which overtook the pre-existing culture. As discussed before, this way of thinking still influences discussions on religion (see Chapter 2); the architectural development on temple sites has been used to evidence the Romanization of temples and in turn the types of practices being performed there. Although this study has demonstrated the complexity of temple finds through the close observation of material objects and their relationship to social practice, the question still stands as to whether the Claudian conquest caused a discernible influence on temple sites. The simple answer to this is: yes, but
not to the extent as it at first appears.

When viewing the sites from an architectural standpoint, there is a very clear Roman influence. Most temples were eventually built in stone, and followed similar construction methods and templates (e.g. planned as concentric squares, etc.). However, this study has shown that, despite this structural change, there were usually not any dramatic changes in practice from the LIA into the early Roman period. Instead, such changes tended to happen in the mid Roman period (roughly the mid 2nd century), which is a couple of generations after the Claudian conquest. Therefore, the evidence suggests that these resulted not from the Roman conquest itself, but from changed attitudes within the individual communities using the site. Since these communities, usually from the local area, were naturally and constantly changing in character - the types of materials being deposited on temple sites as well as the practices taking place would have also changed. Viewing the evidence in this way acknowledges the complexity of the situation, and shows that changes in practice happened on a smaller scale. Therefore, practices developed according to the dynamic religious landscape, which varied from site to site.

This is exemplified by the finds at Hayling Island and Wanborough. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, other than the fading tradition to damage coins before their deposition, there are no obvious new practices after the conquest at Hayling Island. This is not to say new practices did not arise, but that they do not seem to have had an impact on the functioning of the site. For example, the proportions of animal bones, and coins deposited in the LIA mirrored the situation in the Roman period. Wanborough presents another example: practices appear to have been consistent from the beginning of the site’s use until the mid 2nd century. It is during this time that there is shift in the types of animal bones found, and there was a substantial quantity of coins and priestly regalia deposited; these furthermore suggest dramatic changes in practice likely starting well after the Claudian conquest.

Even though the impact of the Claudian conquest was not usually reflected in the finds found on temple sites, it seems to have resulted in a
shift in emphasis on what constitutes an influential temple site. In Zones 2-3 the rise of large scale urbanisation caused the sudden appearance of temples accompanied by minor urban settlements in the late 1st century. Examples of this include Great Chesterford, Chelmsford, and Heybridge.

The rise in the number of temples accompanied by settlements is not the only evidence for the impact urbanisation had on the religious landscape. From the late 1st to early 2nd century at Springhead, there was an unexpected decrease in activity at the sanctuary site; and this was accompanied by a rise in activity by its neighbouring settlement. Although from the mid 2nd century activity at the temple site is far more apparent than that of its settlement, the late 1st/early 2nd phenomenon just described fits this pattern. Another example is Harlow. This temple flourished in the LIA but despite the frequency of expansions and refurbishing of the architecture on the site, it appears to have fallen into decline from after the Claudian conquest. Although this may merely reflect the site’s waning LIA influence, it is notable that Harlow did not have an urban settlement directly accompanying it. These sites therefore show there was a shift in power (or influence) to urban sites, and that temples with settlements may have been viewed as more prestigious.

In conclusion, even though most temple sites had visible additions in their architecture, this does not necessarily correlate with the amount of activity on the site and the influence it held on the religious landscape of its area. Although there were some practices which originated after the Claudian conquest (e.g. the deposition of hairpins), the main practices which characterised the nature of each of the temple sites were not as affected by the Roman conquest as the architecture may imply. Significant changes instead tended to occur generations after, in the mid Roman period.
8.3 Evaluation of the study and directions for future research

This study has utilised both intra-site and inter-site analytical methods in a way which helped show the extent to which the selected finds evidence introduce or clarify types of social practices taking place on temple sites. Overall, the study was successful in exemplifying the potential of studying temple assemblages. Since the study of temple sites often focuses on overt types of evidence, such as the architecture, statues, and unusual objects within the assemblage, the outcomes of this study are also testament to the usefulness of examining the common small finds and faunal evidence not only through an in-depth analysis of any one site, but also on a wider scale.

The advantage of this sort of study is that it does not prescribe to assumptions on how the evidence can fit into a wider pattern and it does not view the evidence and social practices through a single theoretical lens. Instead, the evidence was viewed in an open way, attempting to contextualise patterns within a site or between different sites after the contexts of the finds and sites were first considered. This helps ensure that the finds are not divorced from their original contexts when they are used to describe practices. Additionally, though this study focused on a selected few types of common temple finds, other material finds were examined whenever they may have been influential in determining social practices. This is another crucial element to the analyses since it shows interpretations were not restricted to what the selected finds evidence themselves can conclude.

This kind of research features many challenges. Since archaeological sites are documented and written in very different ways, it was often difficult to extract the necessary information needed to make firmer conclusions; this was especially the case for older site reports. Details of the finds and the contexts in which they were found were frequently not given. Occasionally, different reports about the same site presented conflicting in-
formation; when such conflicts arose, it seemed sensible to address them individually and record the complications accordingly (in a footnote, etc.). Lastly, in addition to these problems related to the site reports, works which focused on inter-site analyses are often conducted on too wide a scale - thus leading to generalisations of the evidence. Therefore, it is through detailed contextual analyses on both a narrow (intra-site) and wider (inter-site) scale that the peculiarities of social practice can be addressed.

This study by no means presents a full picture of social practices on temple sites since only the selected types of finds were analysed in detail. However, it brings forward new ideas and interpretations which can be expanded upon later through the observation of other types of evidence. In this way future studies can further develop the already complex image of the religious landscape. This research can also be built upon by analysing similar finds within a different study area. Indeed, more contextual comparisons with other areas in the province has the potential to reveal even more major and minor practices both within other areas of the province and within the east and south-east of England. Wider application of the methods and approaches of this study has significant potential to transform current understandings of religion in Roman Britain, and the Roman world more generally.
Appendix A:
Gazetteer of temple sites


Caistor St. Edmund, Norfolk

Site Info
There were two structures on this site: the temple itself and a villa-like structure with rooms and a corridor. Venta Icenorum is nearby to the south.

Chronology
The dating of the principal structures and finds remain uncertain. Since the concentric temples on the site are very similar to those within Venta Icenorum and the one at Crownthorpe, the dating of the temple is tentatively 170-200.

Temple Summary
The square temple was located on the most elevated position within the temenos - not centred or aligned to the gateway. The temenos wall was large and high (2.5ha) and there was a monumental gateway.

Coinage
The ratio of the early to late coins suggests peak activity occurred before 200 CE.

Personal Adornment
A necklace; ring; ligula; and mirror fragment.

Animal Remains
Some shellfish and animal bones were recovered but the report does not indicate the quantity or quality of the finds.

Other
There are 17 possible religious items found at the Parish but none are from the temple site.

Context Summary
Tertiary. There is hardly any context for the material finds. Most of the finds were metal detected. A metal detection survey shows 136 out of the 178 finds were found in the north-east precinct quadrant.

Main Reference(s)
Gurney (1986a).
Chanctonbury Ring, West Sussex

Site Info
Neolithic and Bronze Age activity is evidenced by flint implements and Iron Age pottery. The hillfort was converted into a temenos during the Roman period.

Chronology
Dating of the temple was estimated by looking at the general dating range for the finds. The pottery and coins suggest the site was used from the mid 1st to late 4th centuries (with more activity in 1st to 2nd centuries).

Temple Summary
The polygonal temple, south of the square temple, had an eastern opening and is presumed to be located closer to the entrance. The square temple was located on highest point within the hill fort.

Coinage
9 Roman coins, with 4 before the 2nd century.

Personal Adornment
A bronze fibula; ring; and lynch-pin.

Animal Remains
4,926 bones came from the polygonal temple (almost all cranial bones, jaws, and teeth): 4,874 of these were pig bones (mostly skulls). 515 bones (305 ox, 201 sheep, and 9 pig) came from the temenos. Shellfish were found west of the temple. Specific types of shellfish are listed in Bedwin (1980).

Other
Two pieces of a broken bronze knife blade; triangular bronze (statue?) fragment; and a hollow bronze cube with externally decorated enamel (votive object or part of priestly regalia?).

Context Summary
Secondary. There is no reliable dating for the finds, and the actual temple has yet to be excavated. Many of the finds were found in the topsoil, but the context areas and layers are listed. King (2005) claims this site is best example of animal bone zonation in southern Britain.

Main Reference(s)
Chelmsford, Essex

Site Info
The site was alongside the main London to Colchester road. There was a possible 1st century fort built west of the temple. The Chelmsford settlement reached its maximum size in the early to mid 2nd century.

Chronology
The temple co-existed with the mansio and baths located southwest of the temple during the 2nd century. When the mansio precinct was completed by the end of the 2nd century, the temple lay directly outside of it.

Temple Summary
Octagonally shaped. The temple complex was located over a series of lobed hollows interpreted as tree holes.

Coinage
Coins from the 1st to mid 3rd century represent 14% of coin assemblage (21 coins). 40% are Constantinian.

Personal Adornment
All listed brooches (n=21) are 1st century types, but a substantial amount are residual. Other finds include: five toilet articles, 17 jewellery pieces, and 10 pins.

Animal Remains
2,303 bones were found on the temple site. Sheep account for 70% of the faunal assemblage and was the most common taxon in the first 2 centuries CE. The sheep were mostly killed at 12 months old or younger. There is evidence of chop and cut marks on meat bearing bones, which significantly outnumber non-meat bearing bones.

Other
There were mid to late 1st century votive bars incised with lines and crosses, and a human figure bone plaque (unstratified). The human figure may be wearing an elaborate headdress.

Context Summary
Secondary. There is conflicting information on the site. Perring and Pitts (2013) was used for the Site Info and Chronology section. Wickenden (1992) was used for the Temple Summary, Coinage, Personal Adornment and Animal Remains sections. The lack of full published reports makes analysing this site difficult.

Main Reference(s)
Chichester, West Sussex

Site Info
The site was located near the Roman palace and villa, Fishbourne. It previously was a military base used by the Legio II Augusta. The town developed into a civitas capital after Cogidubnus’ death. The potential temple lies in the middle of the settlement, north of the Forum.

Chronology
The temple was dedicated and in use by the 1st century CE.

Temple Summary
It is speculated to have been a concentric rectangular temple. However, no hard evidence survives. The temple is known through its well cut inscription: NEPTUNO ET MINERVAE TEMPLVM PRO SALVTE DOMVS DIVINAE EX AVCTORITATE TI CLAVD COGID-VBNI REG MAGN BRIT...

Other
Various Roman epigraphy were present. In particular, there was one dedicated to Jupiter, another to the goddesses of the home, and another to the genius of an individual.

Two jars were found from the 2nd century as well as two fragments of New Forest ware from the 3rd century.

Context Summary
Tertiary. The main Chichester excavation reports, which come in seven volumes, only dedicate two pages to the temple site.

Main Reference(s)
Down (1988); Down and Rule (1971).
Colchester, Essex

Site Info

Colchester was a civitas capital and major settlement with a possible 10 religious sites, this includes the temples at Sheepen and Gosbecks. There were up to five temples at Sheepen. There was also a highly Romanised temple dedicated to Claudius located in the middle of Colchester; it was probably the centre of the imperial cult before it moved to London.

Temple Summaries

The temples at Sheepen were mostly concentric in shape, either rectangular or square. It is unclear how many were in use at the same time. Two of the temples were in use during the 1st century, another by Domitian’s reign, and two others are speculated to have been built in the 3rd century. A tiny amount of coinage is our only source for dating. The majority of the recovered coins at Sheepen were from the 1st century, with a small amount from the 3rd and 4th centuries.

The temple at the Royal Grammar School playing field had an eastern entrance and was rectangular within a polygonal ditch. Datable objects included a coin of Domitian and another of Hadrian. Two bronze plaques and a small bronze stag were also found. There is a building much larger than the temple adjoining the southern part of the polygonal ditch; this building is of a rectangular shape and has a wide opening to the south. The purpose of this ancillary building is unknown.

The temple at the Gosbecks was of a concentric square shape and was close to a theatre. A large statue of Mercury was found. There was a fort about 300m north-west of the temple site. There is still much excavation at Gosbecks to be done.

There was a long rectangular apsidal building at Butt Road nearby a later cemetery; it is postulated to have been a martyrium. About 200 coins, a silver bracelet, a pot, a knife and bird bones were found from one pit. At the bottom of this pit was a human skull and a femur. The associated cemetery produced 620 inhumation burials. The martyrium and cemetery produced a tiny amount of 1st and 2nd century coinage, with the great majority dating to the 3rd and 4th centuries.

There were two temples next to a monumental arch along the Colchester to London road at Balkerne Lane. These were constructed after the Boudiccan revolt. The square building opposite of the road parallel to the temple was the 2nd (possible) temple. The temples pre-date the wall built on the monumental arch and are thus dated to the late 1st/early 2nd CE.

Coinage

The dating of the temples, other than the Balkerne Lane ones, were done according to the numismatic evidence.

Context Summary

Secondary. The temples at Colchester in general lack material evidence. However, the sites at Sheepen and Gosbecks were active during from the Late Iron Age. The Temple of Claudius as a centre of the imperial cult is also notable.

Main Reference(s)

Rodwell (1980).

\(^1\) see next page for illustrations of the Colchester temples
Farley Heath, Surrey

Site Info

The temple site laid on the border between the Atrebates and Regni. Its position means the temple would not have been visible looking in from the Atrebates’ side, but very visible from the Regni’s side. It is in a remote location, with the nearest settlement 5-6km away.

Chronology

The quantity of finds suggest the temple was constructed and in use before the end of the 1st century.

Temple Summary

Concentric Square.

Coinage

205 coins were recovered, plus another 24 from metal detectors. 101 pieces were from the Roman imperial period, but most were barbarous radiates. There were three unusual coins: IA Verica, Republican, and 2nd-1st BCE Greek. The total unpublished coinage is predicted to be greater than 1,000.

53 coins were found before the 20th century dating to or before the 2nd century CE. 45 of these are British coinage.

Personal Adornment

12 finger rings (a couple intaglios on these); 38 brooches mostly from 1st/2nd century date; 17 bracelets (mainly 3rd/4th century); 3 earrings, three hairpins; 30 glass beads.

Animal Remains

Out of the 198 animal bone fragments, only 59 pieces could be dated to the Roman period, and 51% could be identified to a taxa.

Other

2 priestly headdresses; 1 eagle figurine; 4 sceptre fittings; 2 miniature stands; 1 phalera with a Medusa’s head; 6 vessel fragments (1 flagon is cupid holding a head); 1 duck ladle handle (complete without bends); 1 owl head votive object; and a lead tablet.

Context Summary

Secondary. Most of the finds were found on or around the temenos.

Main Reference(s)

Poulton (2007).
Folly Lane, St Albans, Hertfordshire

Site Info
The site laid 0.5km north-east of St Albans. A mid 1st century CE pyre site and funerary chamber have been identified nearby. The masonry temple was built after the funerary chamber was destroyed and the pyre site was marked with a post.

Chronology
The concentric rectangular temple was laid over the Late Iron Age rectangular ditch (specifically over the former pyre and in the centre of the ceremonial enclosure) during the early Flavian period.

Temple Summary
Rectangular. It is not clear if the temple was used as a mausoleum. The entrance faced the shaft to the north-east (precinct opening south-west), and with the exception of some pottery and animal bones, there are not many material finds. There was a nearby shaft burial pit with some finds. Also, a few burials with accompanying finds were located in the enclosure ditch.

Coinage
68 coins were found from the Lower Slope areas, south-west of the ceremonial enclosure. 26 of these were deposited between the mid 1st to late 2nd centuries, but most were deposited during the 3rd century. This contrasts to the nearby King Harry Lane site, which has 91 out of the 114 coins found on that site dating to the 1st and 2nd centuries.

Personal Adornment
Some funerary finds include decorated harness brooches and bridles. The majority of the personal adornment finds, such as mirrors, pins, needles, toilet articles, finger rings and intalgios, bracelets, etc were found on the excavated areas from the Lower Slope.

Animal Remains
14,099 animal bone fragments. Total bone count for the LIA: 282. Total bone count for early Roman period: 7,874. Most bones are from the 3rd and 4th centuries (the bones which were dated between the late 2nd to mid 3rd are here counted as from the 3rd century). There were relatively high amounts of dog, horse, and chicken bones. Many of the bones from the LIA were burnt.

Context Summary
Secondary.

Main Reference(s)
Frilford, Oxfordshire

Site Info
Frilford was active from the Bronze Age onwards. 500 meters north of the site is a late Roman and Anglo-Saxon cemetery. There are up to 5 religious complexes: 1 temple, 3 shrines (2 probable), and a later church. A system of pathways connected the features inside and out of the temenos, including to the amphitheatre. There were 3 villas (Frilford, Garford, East Hanney) within 1-5km from the site, and it was fairly close to the Roman settlement at Abingdon.

Chronology
Past reports claim the main temple was constructed ~80-90 but Kamash et al. (2010) suggests it was built in the 2nd century.

Temple Summary
Originally concentric square but later ~81-117 CE an annexe was added on to make it rectangular. There was an Iron Age and early Roman rotunda to the south within the temenos, and a system of Iron Age features (and possible favissa) in the south-east corner. Postholes (and later wall) paved a clear path to the entrance. Traffic within the temple seems to have been controlled and possibly restricted. One of the shrines was accompanied by a circular structure interpreted as an amphitheatre to the north-east. The amphitheatre had restricted visual access to the north, and there is no evidence for terracing or seating (besides a box annexe) inside. There was a possible 3-sided shrine opening to the north, located south of the amphitheatre. There was a concentration of small finds at its opening. The other possible shrine was square in shape and situated between two Iron Age pits backfilled during the Roman period. This shrine was located directly east of the temenos entrance. North of the square shrine was a later church.

Coinage
The concentration of coins at the entrance of the temple pathway may indicate that area was a focus for coin deposition. However, most of the coins were from the 4th century.

Personal Adornment
There were a number of hairpins, finger-rings and bracelets (and to a lesser extent brooches and toilet articles) located at the site.

Other
Two perpendicular Bronze Age ditches remained visible for some time during the Roman period south east of the temenos.

Context Summary
The annual interim reports do not list the material finds or give any raw numbers. However, each feature is described individually.

Main Reference(s)
Great Chesterford, Essex

Site Info
The settlement and temple laid between the Catuvellauni and Trinovantes. It had the 2nd largest fort and 2nd largest town in Essex. The main temple was located on top of the hill NE of the settlement. There was an IA burial ground 1.2km NE of the temple.

Chronology
A possible 3-sided Iron Age temple pre-dated the masonry temple built in the late 1st/early 2nd CE.

Temple Summary
Square. There is evidence for the zonation of finds at the main temple, the eastern entrance and SW corner of the precinct. There were auxiliary buildings nearby, and other temples in the settlement.

Coinage
50 Iron Age coins were found (albeit lacking in contextual detail). Most were barbarous radiates.

Personal Adornment
From the 51 brooches, 66% of these were Nauheim or Colchester derivatives. There were also 52 hairpins and 15 more possible ones. The toilet articles (12 ligulae, 6 tweezers, and 2 nail cleaners) were in mid 2nd century contexts or later. The 22 bracelets and 12 finger rings were mostly 3rd and 4th century types. Most of the brooches, hairpins, bracelets and finger rings were found at the eastern entrance.

Animal Remains
There were 26,412 animal bones. 99% of these were sheep mostly aged 1 year or younger. 99% of the bones were located at the SW corner and occur in earlier periods. A sufficient amount of the bones some show evidence of butchery.

Other
A silver mask of a man (or god?) is tentatively dated to the late 2nd/mid 3rd CE. There were also 33 bronze leaf fragments, and a minimum of 10 votive leaves.

Context Summary
Primary site. There is very good context for most of the finds, including the brooches, hairpins and animal remains. The zonation of the items show that different areas of the temple were used differently.

Main Reference(s)
Medlycott (2011).
Harlow, Essex

Site Info
The nearest town was Holbrooks about 1/4 miles north-east.

Chronology
The site was originally a Bronze Age burial site. There were irregular post holes and Iron Age features near the later temple. A temple was constructed ~80 CE, and a wooden palisade surrounding the temple was added in the early 2nd century.

Temple Summary
Rectangular temple complex (with square cella).

Coinage
There were 339 pre-Roman coins from the temple site and Holbrooks. Many of the coins were dated to the early Roman period, and 123 coins pre-date the construction of the temple. There were also coins of precious metal inside the temple. The location of the Iron Age and 1st century coins overlap, whereas 2nd-4th century coin locations overlap.

Personal Adornment
90 brooches and 14 hairpins were dated to around or before the early 2nd century. There were 7 bracelets and 14 finger rings, many of them from contexts dated to around the 2nd century. Many of the brooches, hairpins, bracelets and toilet articles were located on the easterly side.

Animal Remains
There were 3,361 animal bones total. 2,022 pre-dated the temple and sheep account for 84% of the remains. These sheep were usually killed between 3-9 months.

Other
An inscribed stone "NVMINI AVG" may be a curse tablet. There was also a fish spear pre-dating the temple found in situ.

Context Summary
Primary/Secondary site. Fairly good context for the site and items, but still a good portion of the evidence were found in disturbed contexts.

Main Reference(s)
Hayling Island, Hampshire

Site Info
This Iron Age temple dates to the mid to late 1st century BCE, but was later converted into a Roman temple. The temple is speculated to have had a connection with LIA leader Commius.

Chronology
The masonry temple was constructed between 60-70 CE.

Temple Summary
Circular temple inside a square enclosure (east opening). There are no good parallels of this type of temple in Britain, but there are temples of a similar style located in Gaul.

Coinage
There were 151 Iron Age coins and 152 Roman coins found on the time. Many were dated to the mid to late 1st century BCE.

Personal Adornment
The finds are discussed but not listed. Many were located in the south-east corner.

Animal Remains
There are about 7,250 animal bones, most of which were found in the courtyard area or south-east corner. Sheep and pig bones were found in high quantities throughout the temple’s lifetime. The sheep were killed earlier (1-2 years) in the LIA and then later (3-4 years) when the masonry temple was in use. The age at death for the pig bones was slightly earlier during the Roman period (~ 7-21 months). There was a tendency for meat bearing bones (of the sheep) to be found over non-meat bearing bones.

Other
Many items, including the coins, seem to have been deliberately broken or bent.

Context Summary
Secondary.

Main Reference(s)
Heybridge, Essex

Site Info
The temple complex was within the settlement at Heybridge. The settlement was not enclosed and there are no signs to show the site had defences. The ceramic evidence implies levels of activity were highest from the 1st to mid 2nd centuries.

Chronology
The construction of the temple was completed sometime between the mid 1st to 2nd CE.

Temple Summary
Rectangular with round cella and altar inside the temple with a north-east/east entrance. A concentric square structure was built perpendicular and adjoining the temple during the 1st and 2nd centuries. The temple later changes into a round structure and the ancillary building was demolished during the 3rd century.

Coinage
There were approximately 3,000 Roman coins. According to Perring and Pitts (2013), 547 coins are from the first 2 centuries CE, with the majority of those from the late 1st to mid 2nd centuries.

Personal Adornment
18 brooches were found at the temple site.

Animal Remains
Cattle comprised about 90% of the animal bone fragments. The ages of these bones progressively got older into the later Roman period. Sheep on the other hand, when compared to the rest of the settlement, were killed older on the temple site. Only a small amount of molluscs were also found even though the town is conjectured to perhaps have been a coastal trading town.

Context Summary
Secondary. Besides Johnstone and Albarella (2002), published reports do not display the raw data and use unpublished reports. In order to obtain an accurate picture of this site, the information provided in multiple sources needed to be compared against each other.

Main Reference(s)
Hockwold cum Wilton, Norfolk

Site Info
Excavations at Hockwold, Leyland's Farm, showed that other areas of the town nearby the temple were also active. There was also another temple about 5000m east at Sawbench which contained many votives, heads of deities, crown fragments, bronze letters, bird bones, etc.

Chronology
Constructed ~ 200 CE. Most of the finds were from the 2nd and 3rd centuries.

Temple Summary
Circular? There is no evidence for a structure other than the rammed chalk floor, where many of the finds were located. The finds suggest there was a temple or at least a temple related structure; it is possible the building was a favissa.

Coinage
137 coins came from the temple area. Most were dated to the late 3rd or 4th century.

Personal Adornment
26 brooches were found on the site. The majority were found on the chalk ground and many represent men and horses.
There were 11 bracelets (most were 4th century types), 4 necklaces, 2 hairpins and 1 ring.

Animal Remains
The report is not very helpful. It merely says that 9kg of animal bones were recovered.

Other
Many of the following items were found in the ploughsoil: 3 crown fragments, plaque fragments, a thin sheet, 4 votive leaves, a model foot of a bird, a pipeclay Venus figurine, a crown, 5 diadems, and a metal detected defixio. If the speculated temple was actually a favissa it is speculated that the lead defixio's position east of the temple was where the actual temple may have been located.

Context Summary
Tertiary. The features and contexts are listed, but periods/phases for the most part were not given probably because the majority of the finds cannot be dated with certainty. The finds were dated according to their types’ general distribution dates. The Hockwold and Sawbench temple sites yielded the highest amount of finds from Norfolk.

Main Reference(s)
Gurney (1986b).
Kelveden, Essex

Site Info
Kelvedon was a settlement site on the main road between Chelmsford and Colchester. The site was occupied continuously since the Late Iron Age and was used for military purposes sometime during the 1st century CE. The temple was located in the middle of the late 2nd century defences.

Chronology
It is not clear when the temple was constructed, but it burnt down at the end of the 2nd century.

Temple Summary
Circular. The circular burnt daub wall was surrounded by a temenos opening to the east. Only a few finds were located inside the temple: a pipeclay lion head, an enamelled handle, Antonine samian, and a broken brooch.

Other
A few pits to the east about 2m deep were found near the temple site containing: red tesserae, several bronze letters, a silver necklace, an intaglio depicting Mars, part of a human skull, and a prehistoric hand-axe.

Another nearby pit to the north-west contained sheep and dog skulls and a lead defixio (invoking Mercury and Virtue) amongst other items.

Context Summary
Tertiary. There is a lot of general information about the site.

Main Reference(s)
Lancing Down, West Sussex

Site Info

The site overlooked the English channel and the Adur valley to the east. There were burials (mostly cremations) from the Bronze Age to the Roman period, and a small shrine nearby the temple.

Chronology

Using the pot sherds as dating evidence, the small rectangular shrine was dated to immediately after the conquest, apparently before the construction of the temple at Chanctonbury Ring.

Temple Summary

Concentric square. There are disputes on whether the finds proclaimed to have been originally found in the temple were actually found there. There was a small rectangular structure east of the temple (possible shrine?).

Classification of the main temple as a religious site stems from its shape and location.

Coinage

Potentially 29 pre-Roman coins, and 9 Roman coins.

Personal Adornment

Brooches, rings and combs were found but they are not listed since they were found in the 1800s. Only one 1st century brooch was found during the 1980 excavation.

Other

There was one inhumation burial accompanied by fowl bones and an enamelled brooch in form of a cockerel.

Context Summary

Tertiary. There is a good number of unstratified materials since the majority of the finds were found in the 1800s. The site may have been a monumental burial ground.

Main Reference(s)

Bedwin (1981); Rudling (2008b).
Lowbury Hill, Oxfordshire

Site Info
The site occupied one of the highest points on the Berkshire/Oxfordshire Downs.

Chronology
The construction of the temple, as suggested by the pottery evidence, was during the early 2nd century CE.

Temple Summary
Rectangular. No structures have been confirmed. Nearby timber slots and an early 3rd century enclosure wall may be associated with the temple. The irregular holes in the natural chalk, which were backfilled with dark soil, have been interpreted as tree holes.

Coinage
Only a few dozen coins are dated before the 3rd century. Over 1000 are from the 3rd/4th centuries.

Personal Adornment
1 brooch, 3 finger rings, 1 bracelet and two pins were found from the 1992 excavation. Atkinson (1919) on Lowbury Hill specifies 56 brooches, 20 finger-rings, 7 needles, 32 pins, 4 tweezers and 7 bracelets were found during those earlier excavations.

Animal Remains
The site was nicknamed "Oyster Hill" because of the quantity of shellfish found (10,514.4 g - an estimated 280 oysters total). About 269 oysters were found at the temple enclosure. There were 2,108 animal bones total. 1,587 (124 cattle, 338 sheep, 105 pig) were from the temple enclosure in the south-west corner. 377 fragments were found on a mound near a Saxon burial, and 134 fragments were from the test-pits. A lot of the recovered bone were from shallow features and were thus in poor condition. Only 39% were identifiable to a taxon. Many of the sheep/goat bones were aged young, but there were still older bones within the assemblage.

Context Summary
Secondary/Tertiary. There is a lot of information on the geographical features. Animal bone contexts and features are clearly listed, as well as parts of the body for each taxon at each main context. Oyster shells are carefully detailed, and are probably the most significant type of evidence for this site.

Main Reference(s)
Fulford and Rippon (1994), esp. accompanying microfiche.
Lullingstone, Kent

Site Info
Lullingstone was primarily a villa site, with a large house, granary, kitchens, tannery, a temple (also acting as a mausoleum) and circular shrine. The site laid less than 10 miles south-west of Springhead. The Deep Room within the house may have been used to worship water nymphs. This room has survived largely in situ.

Chronology
The first building to be constructed on the villa site was dated to ~80-90 CE. The temple was constructed much later ~300 CE. The circular shrine was constructed during the early 2nd century CE. The Deep Room was at first utilised for grain storage in the late 1st century, but later ~180 was used as a nymphaeum.

Temple Summary
Concentric square temple and circular shrine to the north. The temple opens to the south, and the circular shrine opens to the east.

Coinage
No coinage or material finds were located inside the circular shrine.

Other
Evidence of a nymphaeum comes mainly from the insertion of a small square well in the middle of the room and in front of the niche, as well as a painting of three water nymphs. The complex stair case in the Deep Room was also tiled. The interior of the niche and the walls were decorated with white plaster around the fresco (some of the plaster was decorated red, green and orange-yellow). Other painted Mediterranean decorations covered different parts of the room. There was a tomb chamber beneath the main temple's cella housing the burial of two people. This chamber contains coffins and grave goods.

Context Summary
Tertiary. The site did not yield any significant material finds.

Main Reference(s)
Meates (1979).
Springhead, Kent

**Site Info**
The site ran along the Ebbsfleet valley and its system of streams. Directly west of the valley was a settlement which included another temple. Although there is evidence for activity beforehand, Springhead was primarily active from the LIA to the late 2nd century. The Northfleet villa site laid 2km north of Springhead.

**Chronology**
The main sanctuary complex seems to have been rectangular and established in the middle of the 2nd century CE ~ 140 CE. The earliest temple at Springhead was constructed during the late 1st century.

**Temple Summaries**
The site had at least 5 religious structures in the vicinity. It is uncertain how many were in use at the same time. There also seems to have been a processional way leading into the sanctuary site.

**Coinage**
649 coins were found at the sanctuary. Most of the coins are badly damaged and can only be broadly dated. There were 100 LIA and 114 early Roman coins. Many of the coins are from the 3rd and 4th centuries.

**Personal Adornment**
200 brooches; 89 pins; 18 bracelets; 24 finger rings (with some intaglios).

**Animal Remains**
Out of the 10,633 animal bones within the assemblage, only about half were fully analysed. Sheep was the most common taxon, but the quantity of dog bones was also quite high.

**Context Summary**
Primary. The site has a lot of context complications in that there were so many temples on the site. However, since the area was very well excavated, the reports go into great depth on the features and finds. Springhead excavations are still ongoing.

**Main Reference(s)**
Titsey, Surrey

Site Info

Titsey is one of the three known temple sites from Surrey. The excavation of the temple was undertaken but little is known of the temenos and the temple's surroundings. Significant damage to the site began in the medieval era. The temple site was over 1.5km away from Titsey villa, and was therefore probably separate from it. Its situation next to a source of the Eden river has led to speculation that it was a part of a larger temple complex.

Chronology

The dating of the temple is speculated to coincide with the construction of the adjoining road ~100 CE.

Temple Summary

Square temple set within a square temenos. All finds were located between the eastern wall of the cella and the temenos.

Other

Statue bases were located on opposite ends of the eastern side of the cella. Some pottery and metal objects were found, but none were stratified.

Context Summary

Tertiary. It is worth noting this site in case of further excavation and since it is a known temple within Surrey alongside the important sites of Wanborough and Farley Heath.

Main Reference(s)

Bird (2008); Graham (1936).
Wanborough, Surrey

Site Info
The temple site was easily accessible through a paved route from the east.

Chronology
The circular temple was constructed between 60-160 CE. The square temple was constructed ~170 CE.

Temple Summary
Two temples: circular and square. The north-east side of the circular temple was misshapen and later collapsed. There is no recognisable temenos on the site. A dedicatory deposit under the rectangular temple is dated to ~160-170 CE. The rectangular temple probably replaced the circular one and thus they were likely not in use at the same time.

Coinage
There was a coin hoard deposited ~50-60 CE in the middle of the later circular temple. Estimates for the total quantity of coins on the site before the site was extensively robbed varies from 1,500-30,000. Many of the coins date to the early Roman period, with 50 from the LIA.

Personal Adornment
There were 29 brooches, most of which are 1st century bow brooches, found on the site. Additionally, 1 bracelet, 1 hairpin, 3 nail cleaners and 4 rings were also found. The brooch and bracelet designs are similar to those at Farley Heath.

Animal Remains
12,250 animal bone fragments were found. The most common taxa were sheep, ox, and then pig. Gnaw marks were present, and the ages of the sheep range from 18 mo to 2.5 years. Lambs and chicken were usually deposited as complete or semi-complete carcasses.

Other
There was a silver plaque with an embossed image of corn and with small punched holes in the metal.
There was a large amount of priestly regalia, including 9 possible headdresses, sceptre fittings, 29 sceptres, 2 seal boxes and 1 bell. Some bronze vessels which may have been used for libations were found. Most of the priestly regalia were located in the dedicatory deposit under the rectangular temple foundations.

Context Summary
Primary. The reports provide a lot of details on the features, phasing and finds.

Main Reference(s)
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