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UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

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PhD; DEPT OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The material culture of Roman colonization: anthropological approaches to archaeological interpretations

2011

SUMMARY

This thesis will explore the agentive roles of material culture in ancient colonial encounters. It takes as a case study the Roman colonization of southern Britain, from the first century BC onwards. Using ethnographic and theoretical perspectives largely drawn from social anthropology, it seeks to demonstrate that the consumption of certain types of continental material culture by some members of communities in southern Britain, pre-disposed the local population to Roman political annexation in the later part of the first century AD.

Once the Roman colonial project proper commenced, different material cultures were introduced by colonial agents to maintain domination over a subaltern population. Throughout, the entanglement of people and things represented a reciprocal continuum, in which things moved people's minds, as much as people got to grips with particular things. In addition it will be suggested that the confrontations of material culture brought about by the colonial encounters affected the colonizer as much as the colonized.

The thesis will demonstrate the impact of a variety of novel material cultures by focusing in detail on a key area of southern Britain – Chichester and its immediate environs. Material culture will be examined in four major categories: Landscapes and Buildings; Exchange, Food and Drink; Coinages; Death and Burial. Chapters dealing with these categories will be preceded by an opening chapter on the nature of Roman colonialism, followed by an introductory one on the history and archaeology of southern Britain and the study area. The Conclusion will include some thoughts on the integration of anthropological approaches to archaeological interpretation. I intend that the thesis provides a contribution to the wider debate on the role of material culture in ancient colonial projects, and an example of the increasingly productive bidirectional entanglement of archaeology and anthropology.

Statement

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature:

Date:

The material culture of Roman colonization: anthropological approaches to archaeological interpretations

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Chapter 1: An Introduction: Material culture and Ancient Colonialism

This thesis addresses the role of material culture in ancient colonialism. Broadly within the framework of practice theory (Bourdieu 1990) and the reciprocally constitutive roles of material culture and objects in structuring human behaviours and being constructed by them, I examine the significance of material culture in the ancient colonial project. In particular I draw on much anthropological writing, and especially its 'material culture turn', to suggest fresh ways of looking at archaeological data and previous archaeological interpretations. I invoke anthropological texts in two different ways. First as a source of comparative examples of the roles of material culture in other colonial contexts. Second as a provider of relevant analytical concepts, such as mimesis (e.g. Taussig 1993) that can offer more textured appreciations of ancient colonial encounters.

As a case study I take a small area of southern Britain during the time frame of c.100BC to AD200. This region witnessed episodes of Gallo-Belgic settlement and possibly colonization which presaged the imposition of direct Roman colonial rule in the AD 70s. Each of these immigrations was marked by distinctive changes in material culture and I explore the role of objects, particularly in the Roman case, in both paving the way for colonization and subsequently in the maintenance of colonial control once established. Material culture will be examined in four major categories in this thesis: Landscapes and Buildings; Exchange, Food and Drink; Coinages; Death and Burial. Chapters dealings with these categories will be preceded by an opening chapter on the nature of Roman colonialism, followed by an introductory one on relevant aspects of the history and archaeology of southern Britain and the study area. The Conclusion will include some thoughts on the integration of anthropological approaches to archaeological interpretation. It is timely to write this interpretative and synthetic account now because there is much new archaeological material recently published from the study area (e.g. Westhampnett – Fitzpatrick et al. 2008; North Bersted – Taylor and Weale 2009) and because of the increasing engagement of archaeology with anthropology (e.g. Garrow and Yarrow 2010; Sharples 2010).

The arguments developed are the product of the increasingly fruitful relationship between the disciplines of anthropology, archaeology, ancient history, the field of material culture studies and the subject of colonialism. Each has links, albeit of different ages and strengths, with the others. Perhaps the most obvious connection is between archaeology and material culture studies. Many commentators (e.g. Greene 2004) indicate that archaeology is defined by the material matters which constitute the foundations on which its interpretations of past human behaviours are based. The ties that bind anthropology to colonialism are also of considerable longevity and complexity (e.g. Arhin 1979; Comaroff 1985; Dirks 1992; Gosden 1999). Malinowski, one of the founders of the key anthropological fieldwork technique of 'participant observation' was methodologically informed at the outset of his work in the Trobriand Islands (1915-17) by *Notes and Queries on Anthropology, for the use of Travellers and Residents in Uncivilized Lands*, a British guidebook for colonial officials, missionaries and travellers. In addition, Malinowski, despite his intended aims of providing much greater insight into the daily lives of the observed, did not take enough notice of the changes that colonialism had wrought on the people he was studying (Gosden 1999, 40-42).

There are also considerable linkages between anthropology and archaeology, although these have fluctuated over the course of the 20th century (Gosden 2004, xii; Garrow and Yarrow 2010). At the end of the 19th century, in Britain and Europe, anthropology and archaeology were virtually indistinguishable. However, in the early part of the 20th century, 'strategies of institutionalization', pioneered by Malinowski and others, created a chasm between the two disciplines, which was re-enforced by archaeology's commitment to material culture and anthropology's lack of regard for it. Their respective very different signature techniques of excavation and participant observation created further barriers. Today, in Britain at least, there is something of a rapprochement, in part around the field of material culture studies.

Material culture and ancient colonialism is a newly emergent field (e.g. Gosden 2004; Dietler 2005; Hurst and Owen 2005) . Colonialism in the distant past was of a different order from its post-Columbian successor. Like its more recent counterpart, it certainly relied for its domination of subaltern peoples on the threat and occasional deployment of physical force, but it also encouraged the consumption of a variety of colonial

material goods and associated ideologies. Disseminating material culture is a more efficient and less costly form of colonial control, since objects can alter ideologies, social structures, and literally, through new roads and buildings, the way people move. Certainly Roman colonialism, not least through its extensive use of citizenship, sought to create linkages between province and metropole in a way that, for instance, the Spanish in the Americas, did not. It is instructive to attempt to demonstrate the kind of colonialism involved in any ancient colonial project – systemic, metrocentric, pericentric (Doyle 1986) middle ground, shared cultural milieu or *terra nullius* (Gosden 2004); many of these could act in combination, and vary over time within the same episode of colonization.

Ancient colonialism is central to ancient history (Given 2004; Mattingly 2006; Morley 2010, 49), and the interpretations presented here draw on information from selected classical authors. It is important to understand that the writings of classical authors are partly akin to the accounts of early European explorers. Often their information comes second hand, or from secondary sources, and often they were writing some time after the events they described took place. They frequently favoured telling a good story in a dramatic and appealing way, rather than seeking to relate a more objective account (see Manley 2002, 26-27 for a critique of the documentary evidence for the invasion of Roman Britain). The *Agricola* of Tacitus is an example, where the author clearly took some trouble to depict his father-in-law, and Governor of Roman Britain, in the best possible light. The writings of ancient authors can repeat well-worn tropes and the reader needs to be aware of this. By comparison, the works of contemporary archaeologists and anthropologists are subject to critical scrutiny.

If anthropology and archaeology have rediscovered some common ground, partly through the study of material culture (Thomas 2010, 181), what does that shared space look like, and what does each discipline give the other? Gosden (1999, 152ff) sees a Material Anthropology, where archaeology and anthropology can share perceptions of landscape, material culture, creative consumption, history – one where anthropology would shed its fiction of the ethnographic present, and archaeology would embrace anthropological frameworks of thought – leading to more nuanced and comprehensive interpretations. This thesis represents an attempt to apply those frameworks of thought to ancient colonial episodes, and, of necessity, to stretch anthropological ideas and

concepts over three centuries. Perceptions of how the two disciplines relate, or evolve together, are still being formed (Garrow and Yarrow 2010, 1). Current claims propose that while 'anthropologically informed archaeological accounts have become commonplace', (and this thesis is one of them; see also Sharples 2010 for another example), anthropological interest in archaeology has waned, such that archaeology is now viewed as a net importer of anthropological ideas, leading to disciplinary asymmetry, and an academic 'trade deficit'. One of the major motivations of Garrow and Yarrow (2010, 2) is to assemble a collection of papers and authors which demonstrated that such a deficit may be illusory and that some forms of research 'transcend any neat categorization into either discipline'.

If a lot of the 'middle ground' between anthropology and archaeology seems to be occupied by material culture studies, then it is useful to highlight the respective disciplines' approaches to objects, and the variety of ways in which material culture is now studied. Archaeology has since its inception focused on the descriptive, quantitative, chronological, spatial and functional aspects of material culture. Older traditions in archaeology described as 'culture historical' or 'processual' concentrated on catalogues of material, displayed on distribution maps, with little theoretical interpretation (Greene 2004, 235). There is much merit in these characteristics and while Gosden (2010, 110) extols the virtues of 'thick descriptions' of artefacts, sites and landscapes in archaeology, others lament positivist mainstream archaeological practice which quantifies the material record of an objective past, seeking to find a consistent relationship between the two (Filippucci 2010, 73). Anthropological treatment of material culture is, by and large, qualitative, theoretical, thematic and symbolic (e.g. Judith Farquhar's (2006) study of domestic foodstuffs in contemporary Beijing). It is the anthropological approach to material culture that has had perhaps more to say about the 'feel' of colonialism and resistances to domination (e.g. Thomas 1991; Spyer 1998; Wolski 2001; – but see also van Dommelen 2006 for an archaeological contribution on ancient colonialism).

Material culture studies are now one of the most dynamic and wide-ranging areas of contemporary scholarship. No single discipline unifies the approaches to material culture shared by archaeology, anthropology, geography, history, art history, and people working in cultural, design and technological studies (Tilley *et al.* 2006, 1). An essential

distinction to be kept in mind, however, is that between the concept of material culture as 'things', whether pots or public buildings, and material culture studies as a loose collection of approaches and methodologies applied to the articulation of people and objects. The term 'material culture' is intrinsically miscegenational, linking one concept generally associated with the presence of human culture with another usually defined by its original absence. Material culture only becomes effective through the involvement of people with things and *vice versa*. A key aspect of of recent anthropological writing on material culture emphasizes its role in the creation of social meaning, and the need for bodily, as opposed to cognitive, engagement with things. As an example, Bender (2006) has been at the forefront of highlighting the potential contested synchronic appreciations of landscape, particularly in the context of colonialism.

The trans-disciplinary quality of material culture studies means that they are conceptually slippery, defy facile summation and are periodically agglomerative. For instance, the post-processual 'turn' championed by Hodder (1992, 1-7) in which previous archaeological treatments of material culture were branded as functionalist, adaptive and scientist, argued for a contextual approach in which things symbolically generated social practice and occasionally transformed it. These views have now been critiqued as re-enforcing the distinction between an object and the concepts attached to it, giving rise to a new emphasis on the materiality *per se* of objects, and how their physical qualities determine their social and symbolic impacts (Jones and Boivin 2010, 335ff). The material culture 'turn' has been described at length by Hicks (2010). Ingold does not find the longevity of the debate altogether progressive. He suggested that the history of material culture studies read like 'an elaborate academic game...punctuated by 'Turns'...the players refer to a mysterious planet... 'the material world', which they claim to have visited at one time or another...they take care not to reveal it to uninitiated spectators, lest by doing so they would expose the game for the charade it really is' (*pers.comm*. to Hicks 2010, 79-80). My own position in this debate is that the myriad ways in which material culture structures human behaviour and is in turn structured by it has tended to produce a rich diversity of analytical approaches that currently prevent easy categorization. However, I do think that there is a fundamentally different relationship between people and, on one hand landscapes they have created and objects they have made, and on the other, the experience of the colonized with imposed landscapes, and objects they acquire in already made form.

Some major contemporary theoretical themes in the anthropological and archaeological treatment of material culture therefore argue for the need to collapse the distance between subject and object, and for a greater immersion in the physical materiality of objects (Ingold 2007; Hicks 2010, 81). The absolute ontological separation of people and things has been questioned (Yarrow 2010, 23; 31-33). Henare (2005, 257-8) wants a return to different ways of thinking, and in particular to a methodology that emphasizes 'thinking through things' rather than 'thinking about things'. There is a need to engage bodily and sensorially with objects in their own right, rather than try to examine their role in the social structure. The study of Rajasthan houses, which are constantly re-plastered, offers an example of the imbrication of people and materials (Jones and Boivin 2010, 349). A concentration on skilled applications to the formation of objects, rather than their finished form, helps highlight the bodily involvement of actors with the materiality of the objects that surround them. Such involvement can be an expression of token resistance to colonial material culture, as in the continued use of indigenous hand-made pottery in colonial cemetery of St. Pancras, Chichester – see Chapter 7. A theoretical grounding for a world, where objects and people are in a continual state of becoming, has been encapsulated by the word *meshwork* (Ingold 2006, 14).

My last point, by way of introduction, concerns the relevance of these anthropological and archaeological material culture 'turns' to the study of Roman (and immediately pre-Roman) colonial projects in southern Britain. I will argue that there were multiple ways in which material 'worlds' were integral to the experiences of both the colonizer and the colonized. The materiality of physical violence was a very real one, and, in the Roman annexation of Britain, death and enslavement could have accounted for the disappearance at least one in ten (predominantly male) of the population (see Chapter 2). The cultural landscape of rural mapping, renaming and occasional dispossession, coupled with the foundation of new settlements and building forms represented material appropriations of daily lives. The consumption of mass-produced and replicable material culture was also an effective tool of Roman colonialism. The experience of the colonized was dictated by their various reactions to, and degree of involvement with, these differing forms of colonial material culture. The unparalleled quantity of Roman material culture, from samian cups to classical towns, gave it the potentiality to generate

different social practices and sustain them (Bourdieu 1990). Yet the material 'worlds' of colonial control can often have unintended consequences. The excessive use of force by authorized and unauthorized colonial agents fosters rebellion. The edges of most Empires could be lawless and barely controlled places occupied by a variety of unsavoury characters (Derrick 1950, 45). The imposition of new cultural landscapes can provoke a variety of resistant transformations. And consumption of material goods is never simply a satisfaction of utilitarian needs, but a creative, symbolic process of cultural and identity construction (Dietler 2010). As such, the choices and processes of the entanglement of the colonized with colonial landscapes and goods can reveal much about the lives of subalterns, and differing modes of resistance. Consumption also has a bi-directional role in colonial encounters. Ancient colonialism was bound up with consumption, and the Roman variety was adept at draining resources from annexed peoples (Morley 2010, 75). In so doing the influx of unfamiliar goods, and knowledge of different lifeways, inevitably generated change amongst the colonizers. Anthropological approaches have much to offer what might have been a generation ago an essentially archaeological query – the agentive roles of material culture in the expansion of the Roman Empire.

Chapter 2: Colonial Encounters, Ancient Imperialism, and the Roman Occupation of Britain

Introduction

In this Chapter I aim to do the following. First I offer some remarks on the nature of Empire in general, Roman colonialism and imperialism in particular, focussing on the motivations for Roman territorial expansion. The distinction between colonialism and imperialism is one of metropolitan motivation: colonialism relies more on material exploitation of subordinate territories whereas imperialism involves ideological notions of superiority, destiny and rule. Then I will look at recent theoretical approaches to Roman colonial practices, especially with regard to Roman Britain and material culture. Following this I will briefly outline the limitations of current archaeological approaches. I then move on to consider the works of a selection of anthropologists, sociologists and historians who have considered colonialism in general, noting their specific insights, especially on material culture, which may have a resonance for the study of early Roman Britain. Finally, I propose an integrated approach, and suggest how an anthropologically-informed account of early Roman Britain can take us beyond the limitations of current archaeological approaches, and indeed, beyond the constraints of the archaeological data.

On Empires, Colonialism and Colonies

It is important to be clear on the key terms being used in this thesis. The word 'colony', from which we draw colonialism and colonization, has a Latin ancestry. *Colonia* came from *colonus* – a tiller or cultivator, settling and farming away from home, in a new country (Gosden 2004, 1, 5; Hart 2008, 6). There were several *coloniae* in the Roman province of *Britannia*; the first was established at *Camulodunum* (Colchester) around AD50. However, as a colonial power, Rome exercised control over much of Britain not through the foundation of new settlements, populated with newcomers or veterans, but through manipulation of local elites, and the subjugation, through them, of the mass of the population. I also want to clarify my distinction between 'indigenous' and 'predecessor'. By 'indigenous' I mean the population in southern Britain whose ancestry was mostly insular; by 'predecessor' I mean a population that settled in an area

before a certain time but within genealogical memory, who could have arrived from a neighbouring region, or the Continent. In addition I distinguish between 'immigrants/settlers' and 'colonizer'. By the latter I mean agents of a colonial power who seek to dominate a subaltern population; by the former I generally mean people who come from a neighbouring region, or the Continent, who may well displace others, by force if necessary, but do not otherwise seek to control them.

The theoretical foundations of empires were made explicit by Doyle (1986, 30). He defined an empire as demonstrating effective and asymmetric power and control, whether formally or informally, over a subordinated society. The Roman Empire was not conceived so much as territorial rule over annexed provinces, but rather domination of peoples and places over which Rome exercised power. A critical distinction was made between **formal imperialism** and **informal imperialism**. Formal control was exercised by metropolitan penetration of subordinated peoples by the military, merchants, administrators and settlers; informal imperialism was effected by the collaboration of a legally independent, but actually subordinate, government at the periphery (Doyle 1986, 37). This last is particularly important in that the area studied in this thesis was ruled by a lineage of seemingly pro-Roman Atrebatic client kings, both before and after the formal Roman annexation of most of the rest of southern Britain in AD43 (Appendix 1).

A tripartite classification for the **mechanisms of colonial expansion** was described by Doyle (1986,123ff). **Metrocentric** theories argue that we need to look within the dominant metropoles and examine the internal drivers promoting external expansion. **Systemic** theories suggest that empires are inevitable in a world of strong and weak states; they are simply an outcome of disparities of power. **Pericentric** theories, particularly pertinent to Roman Britain, focus on the peripheries rather than the metropoles (e.g. White 1991, XI); they seek to shed light on the peculiar nature of some peripheral societies at the edges of empire, suggesting that these peculiarities are instrumental in stimulating the expansive nature of the metropole. These categories are not mutually exclusive, however; rather they constitute filters through which to consider the same event. Thus the annexation of most of southern Britain in AD43 can be viewed as metrocentric, in that it was championed by the Emperor Claudius and his close advisors, systemic in that there was something about the Roman mindset that

encouraged territorial expansion, and pericentric in that the activities of some rulers in southern Britain were deemed to be antithetical to Roman long term interests. An ancient example of pericentric colonialism can be seen in the Second Macedonian War (200-196BC). The recurring instability of Greek cities led to Rome adopting a form of informal imperialism, with Rome as protector, over nominally independent Greek city states.

A second tripartite system for **different types of colonialism** has been proposed by Gosden (2004, 26, Table 3.1). **Colonialism within a shared cultural milieu** is a product of cultural norms being shared over a wide area, where participation in the shared milieu is not enforced by compulsion; in such situations distinguishing between colonial and non-colonial relations can be difficult. **Middle Ground Colonialism** describes a peripheral context in which two or more peoples create an elaborate network of economic, political, cultural and social ties, so that new modes of hybridity and difference are formed, not through unidirectional acculturative or resistant processes. Significantly agents of each people attempt to anticipate the cultural preferences of their counterparts, and through creative and expedient misunderstandings, influentially new meanings are put in place (White 1991, X). This is the kind of colonialism-through-consumption that might be proposed for Roman Gaul, or southern Britain (Morley 2010, 55; 111), but moreso in the period between say 100BC and AD43, since, by definition, this kind of colonialism occurs when the threat of force is largely absent. The last form of colonialism is that of the **Terra Nullius** variety, in which the colonizer does not regard the prior ways of life of people encountered, leading to mass dispossession, re-settlement programmes, and partial or occasionally complete extermination of the colonized.

Further analytical descriptors for types of colonialism are proposed by Sluyter (2002, 13). **Settler colonization**, associated with a landscape transformation that removes the indigenous and accumulates space for immigrants, is akin to Terra Nullius. **Extractive colonization** is associated with a landscape transformation that exploits indigenous labour or non-indigenous forced labour. This can only take place under conditions of formal imperialism sanctioned by force. The Roman colonization of Britain involved both, but much more of the latter than the former. In the arguments that follow I will situate Roman colonialism in its early stages in southern Britain as broadly congruent

with pericentric expansion, and particularly Middle Ground Colonialism. However, the Roman colonial project in Britain was not a uniform one, geographically or chronologically and involved episodes of Terra Nullius and Metrocentrism. Lengthy metrocentric colonial projects, in particular, were dominated, and varied, by the changing politics of the metropole. For instance, the election of Disraeli as British Prime Minister in 1874 led to a renewal of imperial expansion, and reversed his predecessor, Gladstone's, more conservative approach. Fiji was duly accepted as a Crown Colony later that year (Derrick 1950, 246). Political metrocentrism could also be ambivalent. Many Roman senators actually hoped that Julius Caesar would discredit himself or die during his expeditions to Britain (Stevens 1947, 3).

If some forms of colonialism – informal colonialism, pericentric, shared cultural milieu or Middle Ground - do not rely so much on compulsion and force for their introduction and maintenance, then we need to understand the mechanisms that offer support to the colonizer. There may have been many supporting but intangible links effected through clientage, patronage, gifting, and shared ideologies between colonial and subaltern elites. But tangible things can be just as important. For Gosden (2004, 3) colonialism is not so much inextricably bound up with material culture, but is material culture itself. Colonialism is a particular grip that material culture gets on the bodies and minds of people, moving them across space and attaching them to new values; power emanates from metropolitan artefacts and practices, rather than from its economic or military superiority. Doyle (1986 132ff; 362ff) provides some explanation as to how this grip is exercised. Some 'tribal' societies, on the periphery of empire, did not separate political from social roles and therefore could not repulse the informal advances, effected in part through material culture, of an imperial state. Advances from the metropole therefore tended to produce internal domestic crises, or inter-tribal hostilities. It is conceivable that some of those crises led to the emergence of more centralised governance of a patrimonial or feudal kind, under the rule of a specific leader or chief, whose power is objectified and partially separated from kinship obligations (see Doyle 1986, 198ff for his use of the word 'patrimonial'). Although socially and politically more differentiated, patrimonial societies lack the permanently strong central government required to resist imperial encroachments over the long term. In the short term patrimonial elites can collaborate with their imperial counterparts, but gradually, over time, patrimonial leaders tend to be replaced by colonial governors. It is just such a

scenario that conceivably gave rise to the Atrebatic dynasty in southern Britain, before its demise around AD75.

Colonial material culture was certainly a significant threat to undifferentiated 'tribal' societies, and potentially pivotal to the emergence of new kinds of leaders, who might have emerged in order to maintain sumptuary control over exotic imports. It is possible that a commodification of some indigenous social resources, such as land, or slaves, was encouraged by the imperial power by way of counterpart to the influx of new goods. Some resources that had been dominated by kin relationships, now moved from the qualitative (socially embedded, inalienable, sensed, ineffable) to the quantitative sphere (disembedded, divisible, dematerialized, standardized - see Gosden 2004, 37, Table 3.2). In pericentric and Middle Ground colonialisms, imperial states needed a collaborating class of landlords (like the *zamindari* of the princely states of India) in the societies on their peripheries; landlords who could be persuaded to think about land, and to value land, in the same way as the colonial power. These indigenous elites, through patterns of consumption, exchange and personal involvement, played an active part in the outcome of imperial projects, and in some longer term transformations of the colonizers themselves (Doyle 1986, 372).

But what is the nature of the particular grip that novel material culture can exercise on the bodies and minds of the elite? How is that grip exercised? And are some elements of unusual material culture more influential in bringing that grip to bear than others? If material culture can colonize the consciousness, which material items are the most active colonial agents, and how is that colonization maintained? Bourdieu offered a comprehensive theory of the interactions between individual bodies and minds and the social world, which included material culture (Bourdieu 1990); the theory addresses some, but not all of these questions. The *Habitus* is the embodied social structure internalised by the individual, a way of being in the world of immaterial and material things, that offers possibilities of choice but also constrains social actions; this embodiment of the logic of practice, the rules of behaviour, is like a 'feel for the game' and becomes second nature. *Doxa*, apparently spontaneous beliefs or opinions, represent the relationship between the individual and the social world. Since the social world largely works not at the conscious level, but at the level of incorporated mechanisms and practices, people accept, by way of *doxa*, many ideas without critical reflection.

Bourdieu's early work, such as his interpretation of the Kabyle House (Bourdieu 1979), was heavily influenced by structuralism, and demonstrated the daily articulation of material culture (represented by the structure and fittings of the house) and the social world. History was, therefore, objectified in things, and by implication things could instruct and generate behaviours and practices in unconscious ways. A critique of Bourdieu's general position is that the controlling circle of *habitus*-practice-social structures-*habitus* seems to offer little prospect of conscious escape. Bourdieu (1990, 64) argued that it was the nature of the *habitus* to confirm and reinforce, rather than transform although an individual's future direction was governed by the interaction of, on one hand, the *habitus*, and on the other, certain 'chances objectively offered him by the social world'.

Bourdieu therefore offers a coherent set of concepts for the unconscious linkage of the material world and social reproduction, and the on-going maintenance of the latter. He does not deny the individual the opportunity of conscious innovative selection and action, and it is in these 'chances' that we might presumably situate some of the British indigenous elite preferences for certain colonial goods, such as those on offer from the Roman world prior to AD43. Other external motivations for initial acceptance of imported items were probably wide-ranging, but no doubt included power differentials, emulation, mimesis, and the establishment of inter-elite alliances. Once a colonial power had become established, such as Rome in Britain, maintenance of colonial order could be unconsciously effected through behavioural patterns produced as the outcomes of engagements with more varied forms of colonial material culture, from eating and drinking, or the use of new coins, to daily lived experiences in novel settlement forms such as towns (see Revell 2009, 36ff – for an analysis of the moulding and controlling structures of urban sites in the Roman Empire; Revell follows Giddens (1984) theories of structuration and agency). If we follow Bourdieu's direction, it seems inherently likely that more than one 'social world' exists in parallel in colonial encounters. The social worlds of the colonizer and of the colonized, and their material manifestations such as cultural landscapes, to an extent, existed side by side. It would have been possible for an individual member of the indigenous elite to consciously move between these worlds, adopting the trappings and behaviours of each. In certain situations the distinctive differences of these two social worlds would have been emphasized, whereas in others degrees of hybridity emerged. This thesis, however, is not confined to elite

practices, but encompasses all social ranks and classes. Nor is it confined to Roman colonialism. My arguments will also include probable episodes of Gallo-Belgic and Atrebatic settlement and potential colonization from c.100BC onwards.

Roman colonialism and imperialism

'Agricola…..gave private encouragement and official assistance to the building of temples, public squares, and town houses…The result was instead of loathing the Latin language they became eager to speak it effectively….the toga was everywhere to be seen. And so the population was gradually led into the demoralising temptations of arcades, baths and sumptuous banquets. The unsuspecting Britons spoke of such novelties as 'civilization', when in fact they were only a feature of their enslavement'.

Tacitus, *The Agricola,* 21

'To ravage, to slaughter, to usurp under false titles, they call empire; and where they make a desert, they call it peace'.

Tacitus, *The Agricola,* 30

These two quotations above, taken from Tacitus' *Agricola*, and written at the turn of the first century AD, frame and offer contrasting interpretations of the experience of Roman colonialism in Britain. Agricola, Governor of Roman Britain, was the father-in-law of Tacitus, and was therefore described in approving terms. Much in anticipation of the discussion regarding the embodiment of material culture and its capacity to reproduce particular social practices, Tacitus provides a classical ancestry for the agentive role of language, dress, personal care, buildings and food. This quote is central to the theme of this thesis and will be especially relevant in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. Agricola seems to have recognised the power of Roman material culture and used it as a deliberate tool of domination. In the second quote, and putting words into the mouth of the Caledonian leader Calgacus, as he exhorts his people to resist Roman advances, Tacitus provides a damning condemnation of Roman conquests. Although such speeches were a common trope of Graeco-Roman histories, they do at least suggest some understanding, albeit at elite level, of how Roman domination might be perceived. Indications of active and

passive resistances to colonial rule, further down the social scale, played out through the medium of material culture, are central to the substantive chapters that follow.

Roman territorial expansion: the Republic

A glance at any historical atlas provides a visual overview of the growth of territories around the Mediterranean controlled by ancient Rome. From a cluster of wattle and daub huts and farms on the Palatine Hill arose a walled city, with temples and a paved forum in the middle centuries of the first millennium BC. By the third century BC Rome controlled all of peninsular Italy; by 60BC a string of military conquests had given the Romans extensive territories around the Mediterranean. Caesar's conquest of Gaul followed, and the subsequent invasion of Britain in AD43. The high-water mark was reached in the second century AD – from the lowlands of Scotland to the deserts of Syria indigenous communities were embroiled, to a greater or lesser degree, in the phenomenon of the Roman Empire. During the course of several centuries of Roman expansion, Roman colonialism had become Roman imperialism, most notably and traditionally marked by the rule of the first Emperor, Augustus, at the start of the first millennium AD (Crawford 1978; Scullard 1982; Scarre 1995; Mattingly 2007).

What were the reasons behind this remarkable territorial expansion? What were the processes and mechanics that brought it about? And did the nature of the colonial project change over time and space? Polybius (*The Histories*, Book VI) conceived the perfect form of power as a combination of monarchic, aristocratic and democratic forces; pressure exercised by the democratic multitude led to territorial expansion, because without it internal strife and corruption would result. Historical hindsight demonstrates that Roman control of the Italian peninsula came about through piecemeal expansion in a series of minor wars. Scarre (1995, 15) underlines the continuing debate about motivation, querying, but not answering, whether this impressive territorial expansion was part of any long-term colonial strategy, or whether it was simply the by-product of a series of conquests carried out in self-defence (North 1981; Morley 2010, 15ff;). A generation earlier Scullard (1982, 2) had commented that the Roman occupation of Italy had occurred very slowly, 'partly by accident and partly by design'. The partly accidental nature of expansion also appears to have been characteristic of some of Rome's overseas wars. The Romans declared war on Philip, king of

Macedonia, and in 196 BC defeated the Macedonian army at Cynoscephalae; they did not seek, however, a permanent presence in the Balkans, rather the intention seems to have been to neutralize a military threat. Rome at first proclaimed a policy of 'freedom for the Greeks' and withdrew her armies from Greece (Scullard 1982, 2; see also Doyle 1986, 26).

But a quarter of a century later the Romans were back in the Balkans, fighting a new Macedonian king, and by 146 BC they realised that they had no alternative but to rule Greece and Macedonia directly, as the new province of Achaea. Shortly afterwards they gained yet another overseas territory when the King of Pergamum left his kingdom to the Romans in his will. Thus, almost by accident, Rome became the ruler of a great Mediterranean empire (Scarre 1995, 17). Successive wars against the Carthaginians over the course of more than a century led eventually to the destruction of Carthage in 146 BC. Polybius (*The Rise of the Roman Empire*, 1, II) described how the Roman Senate did not approve of involvement in Sicily during the First Punic War. However, the two consuls appealed directly to the people, promising them gains from the spoils of conquest, and the expedition was approved. During their course the Romans developed a naval force, and annexed territories in North Africa and the Iberian peninsula. Millett describes the expansion of Rome as neither steady nor planned (Millett 1990, 2). He does draw our attention to an additional factor, however: the competitive nature of Roman elite society, and the importance of personal success in military terms. This often led ambitious military leaders to aggressive acts, launched under the cloak of defensive actions. A successful political career required a foundation of military adventures, which conferred honour, glory and virtue on the victor (Morley 2010, 28) and Caesar's exploits in Gaul are the outstanding example of the connection between the two.

On balance, it would appear that earlier notions of 'defensive imperialism' and 'just wars' had given way to a view of the Romans as a broadly aggressive and acquisitive people, in part motivated by competitive desire for material gain, and the need to acquire increasingly large numbers of slaves for imperial projects and industries. This transition seems to have occurred during the late Republic (Woolf 2001, 319). Pericentric causes had thus been overtaken by metrocentric momentum. By the end of

the Republic, however, the principal conquests had been achieved and the Emperors, by and large, consolidated already-conquered territories (Morley 2010, 47).

Roman territorial expansion: the Empire

By the time of the Emperor Augustus, an imperialist ideology had begun to evolve around the concept of Rome as the protector of a great empire, as the deliverer of culture and civilization to her subjects, and as a power uniquely favoured by the Gods (Woolf 2001, 315). Augustus was faced with the challenge of establishing a frontier system as economically as possible, consistent with the need to provide for the safety of those who lived within its boundaries; that meant the creation of a standing army, operating remotely from Rome but loyal to the Emperor (Scullard 1982, 251). From the time of the Emperor Tiberius to the mid-second century AD imperial propaganda emphasized the orderliness of civilized life within the frontiers, the peace and security both on land and by sea. The domination of the Emperor, above a token Senate, became ever more absolute.

The reasons for the conquest of Britain included political grandstanding by an Emperor (i.e. Claudius), in need of military prestige and a formal Triumph and perhaps, by then the centuries-old problem, the need to pacify your enemies beyond your borders. Certainly, despite what Strabo said (*Geography*, Book IV, Chapter 5) of the products of *Britannia* – grain, cattle, gold, silver, iron, slaves and hides-, it can scarcely have been acquired for the rich resources it contained, or the possibility of profitable taxable revenues. Even in Caesar's day Rome knew that Britain would not be a rich province. In July 54BC Cicero wrote (*Letters to Atticus*, IV, 16, 7) *'The outcome of the war in Britain is eagerly awaited…It has also become clear that there isn't an ounce of silver in the island, nor any prospect of booty except slaves. I don't suppose you are expecting any of them to be accomplished in literature or music'*[1]. Strabo also felt that the income gained by Roman taxation of pre-conquest trade would not be matched by more direct exploitation after military intervention (Mattingly 2007, 19). He was proved to be correct. Almost a century after the Claudian invasion the Roman historian Appian

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[1] Cicero was wrong about the silver, but possibly more accurate about the literary and musical accomplishments of the British.

(*Praefatio* to *Roman History*, 5) observed that the British province was still not paying its way.

The drivers of Roman imperial expansion were variable but included the organisation and technological superiority of the Roman army, Rome's competitive political institutions and its appeal to the elite classes in provincial societies through the offer of citizenship (Doyle 1986, 85). The discipline of the army, particularly, echoed the revolution in warfare that the British Army, for instance, brought to the Middle East in the 19th century. Mitchell (1991, 114) comments that the British control and coordination of men in Egypt made an army seem like a machine, something more than the sum of its parts. By comparison, the absence of such structures in local armies became all too obvious – they seemed like uncontrolled crowds. Just such an effect must have been produced by appearance of a cohort or legion of Roman soldiers. The vast majority of newly conquered people, however, remained only slightly touched by Roman culture, but were exploited wherever and whenever possible, as a source of labour or taxes, as auxiliary soldiers and occasionally for slaves.

An often deployed mechanism by Roman administrators was to effect rule through friendly client kings (Woolf 2001, 311). For instance, on arrival in the East, republican Rome came into direct contact with a number of states which had histories far older than Rome itself. Many of these states remained as distinct entities ruled by their own kings as clients of Rome – the so-called Friendly Kings – long after Rome had extended its empire there. Occasionally a small Roman garrison might be stationed in their state, but, by and large, they seemed to have been left to their own devices provided that internal order was maintained and taxes duly paid (Ball 2000, 30). This frequently-used Roman strategy provides precedents for the rule of Togidubnus over the Atrebates, in southern Roman Britain, after AD43.

Rome's contact with the East, more specifically much of modern-day Turkey, the eastern sea-board of the Mediterranean and Egypt, raises the issue of whether that contact was fundamentally different in nature from its colonial encounters in the West. At first sight it appears very different. Republican Rome's love affair with most things Greek ensured that Greek became the second language of the educated elite in Italy. Romans were newcomers on the Near Eastern stage, and by comparison, must have

appeared brash and awkward. And it was certainly true that portable Greek material culture, shipped in large quantities back to Italy, transformed the social and cultural worlds of the elite at home. Such was the power of the underlying local cultures that the extension of Near Eastern influences was inevitable, symbolized by the rise of Roman Emperors such as Elagabulus, who was born in Syria in AD 204 and held the rank of high priest to the sun-god Baal. As a contrast much of the West was inhabited by 'barbarians' – fierce warriors and worthy opponents of Roman legions, but people whose cultural outlook seemed entirely at odds with the civilizing mission of Rome[2]. Critically, for the colonial process, eastern peoples were steeped in history; those in the West generally lacked it (Woolf 2001, 321).

Britain in the Roman Empire: Romanization and other themes

In the last three decades concepts, themes and theories from 'theoretical archaeology', deployed originally in prehistoric contexts, have influenced some scholarship in Roman and Romano-British archaeology. The most obvious manifestation of that development has been the published series of proceedings from the Theoretical Roman Archaeology Group, the first of which appeared in 1993. It is worthwhile looking at some of the recent themes explored to gauge how theories, and what theories, have impacted on our understanding of the Roman annexation of Britain in general, and the role of Roman material culture in colonization in particular.

A good place to start is with the theme of **Romanization**, an extremely influential topic for Roman Britain, and argued most forcefully in *The Romanization of Britain* (Millett 1990). Rome governed through established local elites, who consequently identified their interests with those of Rome. The characteristics of these arrangements comprised: a system of loosely decentralized administrations, largely in the hands of local aristocracies; low material gains to Rome itself, compared with those of modern empires; an empire of individual and collective prestige, rather than one geared towards economic rewards; and finally, the Roman Empire was more like a federation of diverse peoples under Rome, rather than a monolithic and uniform centralized block (Millett 1990, 8). Drawing on the anthropologically informed work of Slofstra (1983), Millett

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[2] The 'civilizing ideology' of more recent colonial projects was central to their legitimation (Fischer-Tiné and Mann 2004).

saw the creation of the province of Roman Britain as the result of a two-way process of acculturation; it was the interaction of two cultures, such that information and traits passed between them. As such its outcomes were not simply the results of changes initiated by the Romans. Despite the author's intentions to highlight the two-way process of communication between indigenous, predecessor and Roman cultures, the theory of Romanization has been critiqued from the viewpoint of implying uniform and homogenous cultural influence from colonial power to the colonized. There may not be enough semantic space in the 'Romanization' word itself to allow for active, creative, and transforming colonized cultures. I also contend that the material culture indicators of Romanization in this account, as in some of the accounts below, are seen as the outcomes of a prior, cognitive conversion on the part of the receiving, rather than playing a fundamental role in colonial persuasion itself.

Woolf (1998) critiqued the concept of **Romanization**, as part of his study of provincial Roman culture in Gaul. He suggested that it was too easy for the study of Romanization to become an appraisal of provincial cultures, measured against the standards of a pure, Roman culture; indigenous components of provincial culture could too easily be dismissed as residual. According to Woolf (1998, 7) Romanization did not result in cultural uniformity throughout the empire. There was more than one kind of Roman and studies of provincial culture needed to account for cultural diversity. Romanization is an umbrella term which conceals a multitude of separate processes; it has no explanatory potential because it was not an active force in antiquity; it remains a convenient shorthand descriptive term of changes that did take place.

A more nuanced theory of Romanization, which saw a more proactive role for the colonized elite, emphasized the concepts of **acculturation** and **euergetism**. Woolf (1998) claimed that such concepts have already inspired a number of studies of provincial societies in the Roman Empire. Some studies have shown that new artefacts are often incorporated into existing ways of life long before new ideas or customs. Goods, it seems, can be more easily transferred than principles or beliefs. Roman amphorae found at Late Iron Age sites in Gaul provide an example of goods that were widely used, but in social settings far removed from that of wine drinking in Italian society (Poux 2004). Acculturation studies have been very useful, despite the tendency to focus on eventual cultural homogenization, rather than the creation of difference.

Woolf concurs with Millett in seeing Roman power exercised through co-operative local elites, who formed a unified ruling class. Governance depended on the delegation of authority to the local level, not only to colonial officials, who were in the minority, but also to their more numerous native collaborators (Morley 2010, 49). Roman provincial cultures, like that of Roman Gaul, comprised amalgams of elements derived from pre-Roman, as well as Roman traditions. The Gallic aristocracies enjoyed power and status derived from their position as mediators between the Romans and the mass of Gauls. They consolidated their status by acts of *euergetism* – voluntary and public acts involving contributions for the public good, often involving new public buildings or amenities, demonstrating their willing adherence to imperial ideals and their pre-eminence among their own people. A final point from Woolf (1998, 22) concerns his reservations about how the term *Resistance* has become opposed to that of *Romanization*. Grouping together the provincial elements that were clearly not classical has only succeeded in entrenching the term Romanization; more nuanced and multiple pictures of provincial reactions are required.

Mattingly (2007) gave the concept of **Romanization** in Britain short shrift, and after listing some well-rehearsed theoretical difficulties – i.e. its progressive nature, the denial of local agency, its reliance on local elite emulation and the subsequent 'trickle-down' effect, it is dispensed with. In seeking an alternative model for perceived social variability in Roman Britain, Mattingly turns to the concept of **'discrepant experience'** in post-colonial research on modern imperialism. His methodology for developing this idea, given the fact that we lack many written transcripts of accommodation and resistance to Roman rule in Britain, is to try and identify discrepant identities in the surviving material culture. For instance, work in the Maghreb (Mattingly 1996, 49-69) demonstrated that during the Roman period much seemingly classical archaeology in that region drew on Punic and African traditions, producing a discrepant cultural experience. Divergent and insular British behaviours were manifested in the low level use of civic epigraphy, and the general lack of civic euergetism (Mattingly 2007, 526). Webster (1996, 11-12) also offered a critique of Romanization. The intensive adoption of the trappings of Roman material culture did not necessarily imply the adoption of Roman meanings and values; localized values may have persisted despite the material changes. Local elites could have taken up Roman pottery just because it was available.

Some rural settlers may not have even known that the occasional bowl of samian that came their way was 'Roman' (Gosden, *pers.comm.*).

Post-colonial theory has had a major impact on the re-evaluation of Roman colonialism (Webster 1996; Terrenato 2005). Pre-modern empires have similarities (e.g. occasional use of force, demands for taxes) but also differences (e.g. less focus on the economic aspects; looser controls of colonial agents and of a subject population due to much slower communications – see Morley 2010, 68) compared with more recent, industrial examples. Roman expansion and colonialism have long served as archetypes for modern nationalism and imperialism, and this has prevented the discipline moving beyond some basic assumptions. Scholars have assumed that the ubiquitous distribution of amphorae and fine ware ceramics were indicators of a uniform economic system over large tracts of the empire, reifying this economic performance as 'proto-capitalist'. Terrenato (2005) countered with suggestions that the Greek and Roman worlds fitted much more naturally in the context of cultures based on aristocratic land-holding clans; ethnicity may not have been a major social or political determinant in the Roman Empire, and non-Roman aristocracies may have been able to play an important role in negotiating the terms of incorporation of their communities within the empire. Some Roman colonies were not so much settlements of 'Romans' in native lands, but rather territorial re-organizations of local people through a co-operative aristocracy. The picture cannot be generalized, however. In certain areas of Britain the Romans crushed rebellions, claimed lands for the state, and dispossessed and enslaved the indigenous (Mattingly 2007).

A post-colonial perspective has been applied to the Roman portrayal of the Druids in Britain (Webster 1999). Roman literature suggests that the Druids declined from an indigenous Late Iron Age status in society as teachers, philosophers, religious leaders, judges and educators to magicians and seers, detested by the Romans, after the Roman conquest. Webster claims that the Druids became leaders of a specific form of millennial (or 'end of the world') protest under Rome, and cites some anthropological work on similar cults (Stern 1987; Wallace 1956). Caesar (BG VI.13.4) informs that in Gaul the Druids were responsible for the performance of proper sacrifices, and their suppression in Britain must have led to drastic changes in the practice of religion and cult. The broadly positive reading of Roman imperialism maintained by most scholars

of the Roman world is condemned by Webster (1999). The study of resistance to Rome still does not fall within mainstream Roman studies, and as a result a caricatured view of the Druids as posturing mystics with a keen interest in mistletoe (Pliny the Elder, Book XVI) is allowed to condition our views of futile Druidic resistance. A similar benign reading of Roman history is taken to task by Webster (2005) in her attempt to recover an archaeology of slavery from Roman Britain.

Mattingly (2007) applied post-colonial theory to Roman Britain in a more nuanced way. While agreeing up to a point with Gosden (2004, 26, Table 3.1) on the idea of Middle Ground Colonialism he presents a differently balanced viewpoint, arguing that we must not overlook the violent aspects to Roman rule, or, influenced by Given (2004), forceful and compulsory taxation, and the strategies adopted to avoid it. He does not see why the Roman Empire could not be both sorts of colonizing power – i.e. in different times and places, one based on force, control and suppression (for the acquisition of material wealth and slaves), and one based on reaching an accommodation with local elites (and ruling with or through them). The violent aspects of Roman domination and the slave question are critical to understanding the impact of Roman colonization on the ground. The population of Britain in the first century AD was about 2 million. Somewhere between 100,000 and 250,000 indigenous or predecessors died during the wars of conquest between AD43 and AD83 (Mattingly 2007, 93). Caesar sold over 1 million captives into slavery during the conquest of Gaul, over a period of ten years (Morley 2010, 42). If we assume a conservative figure of 100,000 slaves from Britain, and 100,000 dead, the majority male, this still means the disappearance of 1 in 10 of the British population at the hands of the colonial power. This is a staggering statistic, not least in thinking of the logistics of moving thousands of slaves each year from northern regions of Britain to the Continent. Conceivably traders from across the Channel were prepared to ferry slaves back once they had deposited their goods in southern Britain; indeed the return cargoes may have been the most important. The slave population of the Empire is notoriously difficult to estimate but recent estimates for Italy suggest a servile percentage as high as 25%, while Britain, and indeed regions beyond the frontiers, have been mooted as sources of supply (Scheidel 2007, 13). The resulting gender imbalance, and the massive disruption of local life-ways, fuelled an intense and widespread hatred against the colonists, and their native elite collaborators.

Mattingly (2007) reminds the reader of the relatively small number of government officials, drawn from the Continent, there were likely to be in Roman Britain[3]. Assuming an overall population of some two million in the mid-second century AD, the total number of 'top-rank' Romans is unlikely to have exceeded 300 at any one time. Morley (2010, 48) provides a figure of 150 elite administrators for every 400,000 provincials. The army constituted some 55,000 soldiers at maximum, and if we allow 5000 more freedmen and merchants, we still only have a total of around 60,000 individuals, i.e. some 3% of the total population, who were colonial agents. The local governing classes, predominantly in the towns, probably numbered no more than 3,600 in total. In settlement terms the archetypal 'Roman' building in the countryside is the villa, yet these are likely to form only 3 to 4% of the total number of rural dwellings (see Chapter 4). The Roman presence in the towns of south-east Britain was probably demonstrated by the occasional appearance of a 'top-rank' official, a small group of foreign merchants and some retiring soldiers looking for local wives. In addition assize circuits would have brought the governor and his retinue to most civitas capitals once each year.

The final theme I want to comment on in the study of Roman colonialism is that of **reflexivity**, in particular owning up to, and making explicit, the non-discursive and sub-conscious influences that may structure our representations of the past. Our own recent imperialist legacy has left us with mistaken preconceptions about colonialism in the ancient world. As a result a number of fundamental, but incorrect, tenets inform our approach to the study of the Roman Empire, such as a disproportionate emphasis on the civilizing mission of Rome and the apparent religious toleration shown to the conquered. A major complicity between British imperialism and our representations of Roman Britain and the Roman Empire has been highlighted by Hingley (2000, 22). He argues that the growing discourse of imperialism in Britain, particularly after the coronation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India in 1876, drew increasingly, and in a positive way, on the image of the Roman Empire. At the apogee of Empire, therefore, British elites drew comparisons between themselves and the elite of the Roman world,

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[3] This was also true of some 19th century European colonial territories. Colonial forms in the British Empire could range from massive land-takes, displacement of the indigenous population and large-scale immigration, to colonial projects that involved very few colonial officials.

and in their turn reconstructed knowledge of the Roman Empire through the tenets of British imperialism.

In summary, the last twenty years of scholarship on the colonization of Britain by Rome have moved away from the perceived uni-directional, elite-driven, force of *Romanization* to models that give a much more influential role to the colonized, who, generally but not universally, are persuaded, rather than forced, to join in with *Romanitas*. The colonized, in these models, can also be much more selective about which items of Roman material culture they are comfortable with, and through such selections can manifest regional and status differences. However, as already remarked above, material culture is mostly viewed as an outward indication of a variable degree of prior conversion to participation in the Roman world. It is seen as the product of colonialism, rather than one of its principal conduits.

The limitations of current archaeological approaches

A limitation, and something missing from some of the accounts in the previous section, is an anthropologically-inspired treatment of material culture. By and large the treatment of material culture is one of seeing objects as secondary, inanimate, as standing for 'something' or perceived attitudes of 'some group', usually rather blunt social categories such as colonizer or indigenous, or supposed ethnic identity, or status such as military or civilian, urban-dweller or rural-dweller (slaves and material culture in Britain, whether in the Iron Age or Roman period rarely get linked in any detail). Objects are thus seen as inert, off-the-shelf markers or badges of discrepant identities, to be taken up, transformed or discarded as context or the fluid nature of identity demanded. The qualities of the objects, or indeed the buildings, of Roman Britain are not examined, for instance, in a phenomenological way in which the sensory characteristics and bodily experiences of the objects are assessed, nor are the ways in which colonial representatives and indigenous people may have experienced these feelings in different ways. Things are not examined in their own right, for their own material characteristics – rather the leap is too often made to what they might mean, or stand for.

Amongst some contemporary anthropologists, however, *things* seem as important and relevant as people, and like them they have lives, histories and the power to make, break and influence social relationships. In terms of landscape the Cartesian appreciation of distanciated landscape is rejected in favour of an embodied creation of social space; practice theorists such as Bourdieu (1990) and phenomenologists such as Tilley (1994) have been instrumental in demonstrating the mutual creation and significance of the individual and social space as lived. The physical and biological components of the landscape, and the architectural and artefactual ingredients of social space influence individuals and communities, just as those same people modify the material world around them (see Chapter 4). A powerful argument in favour of the agency of material culture, and the symbolic use of material culture by social groups, has been the critique of rational choice theory within modern economics, and the revelation of creative consumer choice informed by personal and group cultural logics in the modern world. A principal advocate of such views has been Miller (1994).

Gosden's significant claim (2004, 3) that Roman commodities had the power to 'grip the minds of people' needs to be unpacked. In order to suggest any answers it will be necessary to engage with the characteristics of the objects themselves, and to give them, if not an agentive primacy, then at least equivalent influences as humans themselves. In this context Malinowski's canoe comes into mind:

'A canoe is an item of material culture… and it can be…transported into a museum. But the ethnographic reality of the canoe would not be brought much nearer to a student at home, even by placing a perfect specimen right before him. A native canoe… is an object of cult and admiration, a living thing, possessing its own individuality' (Malinowski 1922, 105).

Another example of how to think differently about things is provided by Bill Sillar's study of material culture and agency in the Andes (Sillar 2004). In the Andes people make a variety of offerings – from a few coca leaves to large sacrifices including the lives of animals – to the dead, the mountain deities, saints and sacred objects, requesting that these knowledgeable beings intervene in the world for the benefit of the supplicant. Sillar stresses repeatedly the animism and agency of the landscape and the material world in the Andes. His plea is worth quoting in full:

'I ask you to re-populate the world with animate and sentient beings that get involved in people's daily lives, that take an interest in our activities, and that influence the outcome of our actions. Acknowledging these beings requires you to extend any commitments you may already have to your family, friends and community, to include the dead and the animate beings of your surrounding landscape' (Sillar, 2004, 154).

A further limitation, constrained by the archaeological record, is the need to treat the colonizer and colonized as large social entities. Mattingly (2007) comes closest to breaking down the Roman ingress into Britain, by dividing colonial agents into discrete groups of soldiers, administrators, traders and freedmen, in the process underlining that they formed a small percentage of the total population. They appear to be predominantly male and they stand in isolation to the indigenous and predecessor population. There seems to be little explicit consideration of how and when they would have interfaced with the locals. The indigenous masses of Roman Britain, by contrast, are usually even more indistinguishable. Despite post-colonial perspectives there is still a lingering sense that the indigenous or predecessor in Roman Britain are there to receive, reject or reflect Roman influences (albeit in discrepant ways) rather than be pro-actively distinctive in their own right. In spite of Mattingly's attempts to flesh out the multi-ethnic components of the colonizing population, the colonized, in most published works, remain largely undifferentiated. A default construct is created between heterogeneous Roman colonizer and largely homogenous colonized. We do know, from our knowledge of the archaeology of the Late Iron Age in the study area, that the resident communities on this small coastal plain of southern Britain were drawn from different backgrounds; some of the settlers, such as those buried in the cemetery at Westhampnett, or the isolated 'warrior burial' at North Bersted (see Chapter 7), had very close connections with Gaul, and may well have been born there. The British Atrebates, themselves, were quite probably a subset of the Gallic people of the same name (see Chapter 3). Easy access to the sea must have ensured that the heterogeneous communities in the study area were probably polyglot, and certainly not a homogeneous, locally born, whole.

Finally, we need to be explicit about how the colonizers were themselves colonized through dealing with, and becoming immersed in, British communities, and through acquiring knowledge of Britain itself. For instance, Morley (2010, 23ff; 33ff; 122), in considering the Empire as a whole, illustrates that there were massive changes to the

economy and society in Italy as a result of the influx of slaves and commodities. Early republican virtues such as austerity and morality were replaced by late republican elite vices of greed and dishonesty. In Britain we can imagine, with some certainty, the experiences of some foreign soldiers, traders or colonial officials. They were a long way from home, and communications from home were infrequent; they were immersed in a completely different and foreign environment, one in which the senses of differences must have been multiple and overwhelming – from the climate, the people, the language, the landscape, to the customs, the food, the smells and the buildings. No doubt they tried to keep themselves in their own groups, traders with traders, soldiers with soldiers, but their duties inevitably must have brought them into regular contact with locals (and 'indigenous' or 'predecessor' material culture), who, day by day, week by week, influenced them in one way or another. And those influences were both at the material level and also at the ideational level in terms of the worship of indigenous deities, or value-judgements about the locals and about themselves, as representatives of the Roman state. Indeed it is likely that not every immigrant from the Continent would have felt alienated by their unfamiliar environment. The newcomers may not have been as seduced as Sir David Ochterlony, the first British Resident at the Mughal court in Delhi, by his new surroundings and acquaintances, but some degree of cultural miscegenation must have occurred. It is time now to review some anthropological views on colonialism, in order to evaluate how contextual anthropological accounts can help us overcome some of these archaeological limitations.

Anthropological and archaeological views on colonialism, colonial encounters, and the associated role of material culture

A good place to start is with Stein's (2005) collection of papers on the archaeology of colonial encounters, which attempts to deconstruct the differences between recent colonialism and its ancient manifestation. Before itemizing nine research areas that need to be investigated in ancient colonialism, Stein notes that religious conversion, such as that attempted by the Spanish in the New World, seems to make the colonial impact on the indigenous much more intense. In particular Stein emphasized that European colonization of the Americas or Australasia was fundamentally different from colonizations in the ancient world because of three factors: the vast technological

difference between European colonizer and colonized; the biological vulnerability of the local populations; the vast difference in cultural ideologies.

In the same volume Dietler (2005, 37) argues that there is a need to decolonize our intellectual *habitus*, which has hitherto been so informed by the need to emulate ancient Greece and Rome. All of the recent European empires made continual symbolic and discursive references to the Roman Empire. He draws a distinction between imperialism – the expansionary domination of one society over another – and colonialism – social and cultural transformation through the interactions of societies linked in asymmetrical relations of power. Following on from Gosden (2004), Dietler comments that we need to focus more on the consumption of material culture in indigenous communities, indicating that material culture repeatedly served as the instrument of colonialism (Dietler 2005, 65). Dietler is explicit about his influences; he draws on anthropological theorists of colonial subjectivity (e.g. Comaroff and Comaroff 1997; Stoler 1992) and on practice theory as developed by Bourdieu. Demand is never an automatic response to colonial goods, and indigenous consumption '*is a process of structured improvisation that continually materializes cultural order by also dealing with alien objects and practices through either transformative appropriation and assimilation, or rejection*' (Dietler 2005, 64-65). Dietler allows objects the agency to colonize consciousness, just as European clothing assisted missionary evangelism in various parts of the world. Dietler ends by pointing out where archaeologists need to concentrate research on, in terms of understanding the role of consumption in colonial encounters: the contexts of consumption; the patterns of association of imported goods; their relative quantities; their spatial distribution and the specific properties of the objects themselves. I have cited Dietler's work at length since I believe his approach is particularly important when we consider the archaeology of early Roman southern Britain.

Ideologies of Control

Anthropologists, and other theorists, have been adept at uncovering the roles of **disciplinary powers** and knowledges in exercising control over a subject people. Mitchell (1991) in a perceptive study of the British colonial presence in 19th century Egypt, draws on Foucault (Foucault 1997; O'Farrell 2005) to illustrate how the effectiveness of disciplinary power, exercised through the re-ordering of space, and the

surveillance and control of its occupants, were inherently colonizing. Forms of disciplinary power were deployed in a number of different ways: through reforms to the army (so that the army now resembled a well-drilled fighting machine, rather than a disordered collection of armed men); through new forms of control over movement, agricultural production and consumption in the countryside; through the introduction of compulsory schooling and through the rebuilding of Cairo and other Egyptian villages to create a system of regular, open streets. Mitchell (1991, xi) argued that the political order desired by the British was not achieved by the intermittent use of coercion, but through continuous instruction, inspection and control. This disciplinary power worked from within society at the level of the individual, not by restricting individuals but by producing them. In this way the disciplinary institutions, practices and features were instrumental in producing the right kind of colonial subject – isolated, disciplined, repetitive and industrious. An obvious potential example of this form of thinking and control is that associated with Roman towns, with their grid-patterned streets. That is not to deny that such techniques of control did not exist prior to the Roman annexation of Britain; the hillforts of southern Britain, the predominantly south-east facing round-houses, and the Chichester Dykes in our study area, clearly indicate that architectural and landscape forms of control did exist (see Chapter 4). What distinguished the Roman form of control was the fact that it was replicable over a very wide area, that its orthogonal straight streets were designed to suppress the individual characteristics of location, and that its replication was backed by formidable military compulsion.

Mignolo (2003) makes some fundamental points about how the colonizer imposes their world-view on the colonized, empowering the colonizer and making the colonized powerless. One of the primary tools utilized by the Spanish in the Americas was the imposed superiority of the colonizer's alphabetic writing. People without letters were seen as people without history, (the Romans almost certainly viewed the Britons in this light – see Woolf 2001, 321), and oral narratives, which carried the indigenous wisdom of the elders, were seen as inconsistent and unreliable (Mignolo 2003, 3). Through the use of alphabetic writing the colonizers were able to capture, record, but also transform indigenous memory. They were also able to transform indigenous knowledges by imposing on the Amerindians their own European categories of knowledge. Western historiography, and associated cartography, thus became part and parcel of a larger frame of mind in which the regional could be marginalized, and taken as a yardstick

from which to measure the superiority of the metropole (Mignolo 2003, 257). The material cultures of literacy, cartography and measurement were certainly promoted by the colonial agents of Rome in Britain, although the relative paucity of urban inscriptions suggests limited local utilization (Revell 2009, 72).

The material cultures of literate scholarship and bureaucracy helped provide for the British justification for its rule in India. In the last decades of the 18th century, shaped by notions of 'Oriental despotism', motivated by a belief of India once magnificent, now fallen, the British put in place fundamental categories of analysis, such as an examination of comparative philology and the basis of Hindu and Muslim legal structures. With the onset of the Raj and the deployment of the scientific apparatus of the Victorian era, these scattered insights were to be welded into a corpus of knowledge, and ideology, that would seek to legitimate British rule over India, and explain its enduring difference and relationship to Europe (Metcalf 1995, 15). Much the same endeavours were made by classical authors, such as Tacitus, Caesar and Strabo, in bringing knowledge of Roman Britain to the governing classes in Rome, and providing some justifications and explanations for Roman rule. The British in India needed to acquire local knowledge regarding traditions and customs of the colonized; legitimation of their rule was reflected in part by a respect for such things as food observances and dress. The archaeological survey of India, and the resultant historical knowledge of the subcontinent was crucial for informing a central ruling paradigm, that the present of India was similar to the past of Britain. The history of Europe was perceived of as progressive and changing; that of the subcontinent as timeless and static. According to British academic studies of the period, the Indians possessed great ability for memorizing facts, but no faculty for reasoning (Cohn 1996, 96).

A new generation of archaeologists are now taking on board some of the re-theorising of colonialism by anthropologists and others. In an archaeological study of colonial identity in the Cape area of Southern Africa, Lucas (2004), investigating both Dutch and British colonialism, drew attention to the fact that the straight roads laid down by the British in the countryside brought in a new sense of spatiality and order, a sense that must have been replicated in Roman Britain with the network of paved roads (see Chapter 4). In similar fashion, in the Cape, the street grid system of early Dutch settlements was seen as 'taming the wild' (Lucas 2004, 32). Material culture, the stuff

of archaeological research, was at the centre of settlers' attempts to create and maintain identity differences. One of the problems in the Cape was the ubiquity of cheap porcelain; a high-status indicator in western Europe but made commonplace and useless as a status indicator by its very profusion in the Cape. The Dutch set up local potteries to produce the standard lead-glazed earthenwares and kitchen forms widely used in Europe, but the ever-present porcelain frustrated designs to mimic the porcelain:high status//earthenwares:low status correlations of western Europe.

Colonial architecture quickly evolved a local Cape tradition, divergent from the examples in Dutch homelands. Importantly, new forms of domestic architectural elements were introduced and coalesced into integrated layouts of symmetrical spaces, formally surrounded by an enclosing wall, that represented the ideology of control of the established gentry, while at the same time maintaining separation and distance from the outside. There was an intentional focus on architecture for display and welcoming. The possible parallel ways Roman villas may have operated are obvious (see Chapter 4). Finally, material culture in the form of mass-produced souvenirs, manufactured in Britain in the 19th century, brought the colonies into the consciousness of the British people. This is as good an example as any to illustrate the power of material culture to 'colonize the consciousness' of those in the metropole, as much as those in the colonies. An obvious corollary in Roman Britain concerns the decorated bronze bowls found in the Midlands and Wiltshire with the names of four forts on Hadrian's Wall around the rim; if 'souvenirs' such as this existed in Britain, then they must have travelled back in the baggage of some retiring officials and soldiers to the Continent – powerful reminders of the presence of *Britannia* and the extent of Roman rule, but also tangible memorials of the colonized.

Imposition, Resistance and Transformation

It has become axiomatic that in colonial encounters, indigenous people can selectively and knowingly accept, resist, modify or transform both new ideas and exotic material culture (see Wolski 2001 for an examination of different modes of resistance). Adas (1992), in an important contribution, flagged up the difference between avoidance protest, which can include avoidance of specific material items, and confrontation. The pre-industrial period was characterized by avoidance protest, but often colonialism

forced this form of protest to be confrontational. Cadastral surveys and greater surveillance, introduced by the Romans into newly-acquired territories, must have reduced the scope of avoidance protests. However, Adas eschews a simple binary correlation of avoidance protest in pre-colonial contexts, and more confrontational protests under colonialism. He sees continuities as just as important as changes, noting that colonial officials were usually careful to retain, where possible, local rituals and symbols. Stoler (1992) also remarked that, usually when colonial officials formed sexual unions with local women, the dominant cultural idiom was native. These last two points illustrate some of the ways in which the colonizer was changed and re-created by the colonial encounter. Finally, in returning to Adas, in a concept potentially applicable to southern Britain in the early Roman period, the author noted that it took decades after European colonization in southeast Asia before avoidance protests started to diminish.

The theme of resistance and protest against colonial domination is one also investigated by Comaroff (1985) with respect to the Tshidi of southern Africa, detailing their eventual conversion and incorporation into a white-ruled state. Comaroff makes the important point that, echoing Mitchell (1991), a separation of materiality and representation was a product of the colonial encounter. Before colonial contact the Tshidi did not think of their traditions, rituals and material culture as distinctive phenomena; they were integrated in all sensory ways with practice. However, after colonial contact these Tshidi elements were reified and objectified, in contrast to the ways of the white men. This exaggeration-by-contrast allowed individuals to move consciously between two different social worlds.

One of the main underlying themes of Comaroff's observations is that indigenous rituals can receive greater emphasis, under colonial domination, and be used to transcend paradoxes, and reclaim jurisdiction over the social order from the colonial authority. Traditional rituals help to bring back a lost world of order and control; in the case of the Tshidi they helped reintegrate people and things that had been made under capitalist methods of production. All outside material goods were ritually processed before being used by the ritual sprinkling of holy water. Some elements of Tshidi society adopted Christian Zionism, as an alternative to the mainstream orthodoxy of Protestantism and Methodism. The apparent ease with which some African peoples adopted forms of Christianity masked a trenchant resistance to forms of colonial

domination. The Tshidi were attracted to Zionist cults because they incorporated much traditional faith healing, and they emphasized the re-integration of body and spirit. Food taboos by Zionist followers proclaimed independence from the colonial state and therefore were a sign of resistance (Comaroff 1985, 218). In conclusion the author notes that the colonizer and the colonized need to sustain each other in a relationship of mutual but unequal dependence. Ritual exaggerations, and resistances expressed through material culture usages, may find a corollary in Roman Britain with the re-positioning of the Druids as leaders of a revolutionary movement and putative Millennial cult (Webster 1999), and through indigenous or predecessor food taboos at temples in Roman Britain (see Chapter 5).

The imposition of taxation is central to the generation of a variety of mechanisms of resistance. The primary impact of colonialism on the conquered is when the tax inspector or tithe collector comes around each year and demands either cash, or a part of your harvest. This is where the experience of being colonized really comes home; tribute begins at the threshing floor (Given 2004, 3). When taxes are directly given to a representative of the state it become a bodily experience, just like forced labour or political persecution. Not surprisingly the colonized often chose to work with outdated technology, at least when the tithe collectors were around, so that the extent of the harvest could be understated. For example Filipino tenants in the 20th century continued to use outmoded foot-powered means of threshing, so they could thresh in secret without their overseers hearing them (Given 2004, 16). Colonial authorities were usually eager to introduce the bureaucracy of censuses, land registrations, head-counts, stock numbers, field-usages in order to facilitate the collection of tribute and their own coin (see Chapter 6). In Roman Egypt a census was carried out every 14 years, and farmers quickly learned that if a field was fallow during the census year, then there was a chance it could be farmed and not taxed for the intervening 13 years (Given 2004,118). A direct material culture manifestation of uniform taxation was the introduction of measuring jars, containing identical quantities. The ceramic industries expanded by the Romans in southern Britain, such as the Rowlands Castle potteries, may well have played a part in this. Tax was also derived from various kinds of tolls on the movements of people and goods; roads, bridges, harbours, storage places, and control posts were the essential infrastructure that the Romans and others put in place to tap this revenue (Given 2004, 40). Many taxes in Asia Minor were collected in kind,

even in the first two centuries AD, and it seems likely that this was the case in southern Britain, where the daily use of coinage was very restricted. Tacitus (*The Agricola*, 19) provides us with an indication of the desire of some colonial agents, in this case tax collectors, to compel the British to use coinage; a compulsion bitterly resented by the locals and one which the governor, Agricola, tried to remedy.

Finally, I want to offer some comparative comments regarding the 'bow-wave' of new material culture that can precede colonization, and certainly did with respect to southern Britain prior to AD43. Thomas (1991) made the point that indigenous people were not always and everywhere beguiled by European objects. He found varying dispositions in the South Pacific, from islands where European material culture was resisted, or confined to exchanges off-shore, to other islanders who welcomed traded goods, and made sense of the imports by incorporating them as part of indigenous social exchanges (Thomas 1991, 93). Islanders in the Pacific consciously manipulated the receiving of imported goods in terms of whether they wanted enduring social relationships with the colonizer. Thomas argues that imported goods cannot be taken to be what we think they are, once they are received in a local context. Commodities, owing to their inherent symbolic promiscuity, could be re-contextualized as gifts, articles for display, valuables, or articles with a history. Native material culture could also be knowingly manipulated by the colonizer. Lord Gordon, the first British Governor of Fiji, participated in an enthusiastic and self-conscious 'Fijianization' of the British administrative elite, to such an extent that his wife felt perfectly at ease with indigenous aristocracy and recognized in them equals and a sense of cross-cultural class solidarity. Such cross-cultural links could have obtained both in pre-Roman Britain, between elites on either side of the Channel, and during the Roman occupation. Gordon was so indigenized that he was recognized as the paramount Fijian chief, receiving the symbolic first fruits (ten yams from each province) and overseeing a kava-drinking ceremony each evening in Government House on Levuka (Thomas 1991, 172). Such consciously symbolic imitations no doubt were also accompanied by myriad mimetic, and less conscious, behaviours (Taussig 1993).

Integrating anthropological insights and overcoming the limitations of archaeological approaches

Some of the themes highlighted in the above section can be woven together with pre-existing archaeological approaches to produce richer potential understandings of the colonial project in Roman Britain. In particular themes such as the importance of local agency, consumption of material culture, the pervasive disciplinary powers of the colonizer, the different phases of any one colonial project, the acquisition of knowledge of subject peoples to control them better, the use of avoidance protests, the exaggeration of traditional rituals as a form of subversion, the keenly felt instrument of taxation and the colonization of the colonizer by local values – all may have played significant roles in early Roman Britain. I demonstrate in this thesis how an imaginative integration of anthropological and archaeological perspectives can lead to a more textured appreciation of life in early Roman Britain. My integrated approaches will consider the following major themes throughout the substantive chapters of this thesis.

The first theme will be to look at material culture itself, and flesh out some of the multi-sensory qualities of the objects, and some of the bodily impacts of new buildings and landscapes. In essence a phenomenological approach to material culture which may get us closer to the idea of thinking through things, and to appreciating things as life-forms or ideas in themselves, rather than to see them always as secondary to what is being meant or signified by a particular artefact. It may also be possible to examine just what categories of things are likely to have had more agentive influence than others.

The second theme will be to use the concept of disciplinary powers, as originally developed by Foucault (1977) and practice theory (Bourdieu 1990), and apply them to an analysis of Gallo-Belgic and Roman strategies between c.100BC and c.AD200. It seems very likely that the embrace of Roman colonial daily or periodic preferences and constraints exercised considerable influences on the lives of the indigenous. Gallo-Belgic practices are much more difficult to define, given that they generally lacked the more obvious colonial markers such as grid-planned settlements (but note the exception of Silchester – see Chapter 4). The establishment of Roman towns, however, with their orthogonal street patterns, and public spaces and buildings allowed the colonizer and local elites to exercise, more easily, powers of surveillance and control, while the

habitual movements of the town's population exposed and then accustomed them to certain classical ideologies and behaviours. Colonial material cultures were essential for the exercise of control.

A third theme is the inherently likely concept that the colonizers were also transformed by their colonial encounter with the locals. Certainly, in one sense the Romans, always in a minority, were likely to have had their own views on what it meant to be Roman reinforced by the colonial encounter – and this may have been one of the first effects. However, living as a minority in an exotically different country, and depending on the compliance of local leaders to establish secure conditions for the collection of taxation revenues, relying on local interpreters, requiring local slaves for a range of services, including concubinage – all these had an impact. The daily incremental assaults on those Roman values, year on year, would have take their toll. Instead of desirable and attractive imported objects gripping the minds of the indigenous, it was predominantly local objects, values and people, supplying basic needs, or immediate political expediencies and concessions, that infiltrated the minds of the colonizers.

Chapter 3: The archaeological and historical background in southern Britain

Who the first inhabitants of Britain were,

whether natives or immigrants, remains obscure:

one must remember that we are dealing with barbarians.

Tacitus, *Agricola*, 9

…despite some notable theoretical advances in the last decade or so the study of the Roman past still remains hidebound within classificatory and descriptive categories. The result of this is that we remain far better at delineating our subject than interpreting it…

Mattingly (2007, 135)

Introduction

As most schoolchildren know, Britain was invaded, and most of it conquered, by the Romans in AD43. But knowledge is relative, and there was a time, not so long ago, when the invasion of Julius Caesar, in 55BC, was seen as much more important. Indeed, some authors (Sellar and Yeatman 1974, 9), in summarizing British History, argued for the overriding significance of just two dates – 55BC and AD1066 – nicely juxtaposing the Romans, who still enjoy a rather favourable press, and the altogether nastier Normans, who don't. Caricatures aside, Sellar and Yeatman had a point. There is a growing consensus, particularly for much of southern Britain, (including the study area of this thesis – see fig. 1 and Appendix 1), that 55 (and 54) BC were years of political transformation, at least at the elite level. Caesar probably set up client kingdoms in southern and eastern Britain; the southern exemplar may well have lasted as an 'independent' territory through the upheavals of annexation in AD43, and on into the AD60s or early 70s, when the last king of that realm, Togidubnus, who is usually associated with Fishbourne and Chichester, died. At his death this southern client

kingdom, commonly associated with a people known as the Atrebates (fig. 2), was dissolved and annexed to the Roman province of *Britannia*, by then probably some 25 years old.

So as to encompass this political narrative, the aims of this Chapter are fivefold: (1) to provide a critique of one of the main regional narratives of the Late Iron Age; (2) to summarize some of the historical and archaeological evidence, occasionally illuminated by possible ethnographic comparators, of the period c100BC to AD200 in southern Britain; (3) to comment on the nature of chiefly power and client kingdoms in Late Iron Age Britain; (4) to review our knowledge of the Atrebates and (5) to discuss in summary form some potential mechanisms for people/material culture entanglements in the past, and why four *material indices of change* have been chosen for fuller treatment in the main body of this thesis (Chapters 4 – 7).

I preface these aims with two digressions; the first a brief summary of the study area, on which this thesis is based (figs. 1 and 2). The area is on the coast in south-central Britain, and straddles the boundary between West Sussex and Hampshire, stretching from the Selsey peninsula in the south, northwards to the South Downs, and from the river Ems in the west to the Aldingbourne Rife in the east. The varying geologies run from the brickearths of the coastal plain to the chalks of the South Downs. The terrain rises from sea-level in the south to a height of over 100 metres on the Downs. The drainage pattern of the various water-courses runs, as expected, from north to south. The study area is roughly 18 kms east to west by 18 kms north to south (measured to the tip of the Selsey peninsula), an area of approximately 200 sq kms. In terms of prominent natural features most of Chichester harbour is within the area, and, for the archaeological context, the principal sections of the Late Iron Age Chichester Dykes; the Roman Palace at Fishbourne, and the Roman town of Chichester are located centrally within the study area. The Flavian Palace at Fishbourne is of pivotal importance to the arguments presented here. I will argue that the Palace proper was constructed in the AD70s to emphasize the demise of the Atrebatic client kingdom under Togidubnus, (who probably lived at Fishbourne, but before the construction of the Palace), and symbolize the imposition of direct Roman rule.
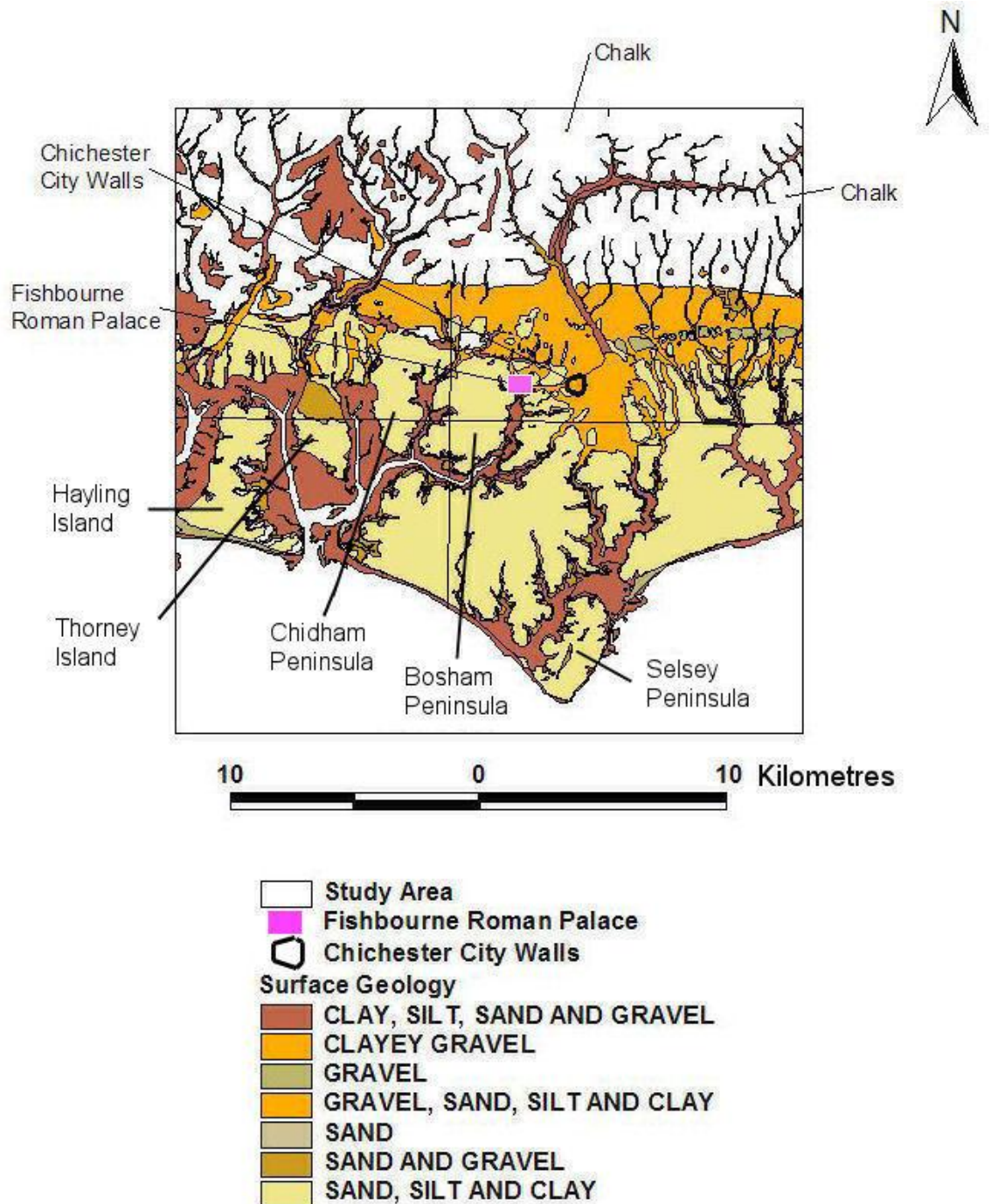
Figure 1. The study area, showing the central location of Chichester (City Walls -
⬠ - similarly marked on all study area maps in this thesis) and Fishbourne Roman
Palace, set largely against the drift geology. The several peninsulas or 'islands', at
the bottom of the land-mass, are indicated. The detached area of sand and clay at
the bottom of the map shows that Selsey was effectively a tidal offshore island
during the Late Iron Age and Roman periods. The white area at the top of the map
represents the solid chalk and the most elevated areas of the topography. To the
south lies the coastal plain. The dark brown 'clay, silt, sand and gravel' flanking the
water-courses provide some indication of the wetter areas, two thousand years ago.

Secondly, I offer some brief comments on the concepts of Late Iron Age 'tribes' and their 'territories', terms used in this thesis. The word 'tribe' has enjoyed an historic anthropological critique for the last half century. Fried (1968) flagged up the problem of trying to identify a tribe with respect to a bundle of defined and exclusive traits – such as material culture, language, territory and economic practices. He rejected the position of 'tribes' as an evolutionary stage in the development of societies. Fried (1968,15) argued that many 'tribes' seemed to be a secondary phenomenon, the product of processes stimulated by the appearance of highly organised states among less organized societies. In other words 'tribes', and the chiefs who 'rule' them could be the outcome of colonial projects (see also Cohen and Middleton 1970, 2-4; Southall 1996, 41-42; Eriksen 2002; Sharples 2010, 316). The notion of a fixed, 'tribal territory' is also problematic. Many African societies illustrate, for instance, that, for the exercise and maintenance of chiefly power, control of people was much more important than control of land (Turley 2000). It is entirely plausible that some ethnic groups and allegiances in Britain were fluid, shifting, not cohesive and not territorially based. Indeed it is possible that ethnicity may not have been of paramount organizing significance (Morley 2010, 53).

The map presented in Figure 2, therefore, which attempts to provide some geographical fixity to Late Iron Age tribes, should be viewed with caution. Classical authors, and Roman colonial officials, wanted relatively stable tribal territories, established chiefly leaders who were savage, but worthy and noble military opponents, some of whom could eventually be persuaded to appreciate the value of sharing aspects of *Romanitas*. These were the qualities of British 'tribal life' that could be grasped quickly by a Roman audience, because they met the audience's preconceptions. The colonial administrative project was not one that was easily reconciled to myriad changing identities and movements of peoples. Taxation, as an instrument of control, was much more effective if people stayed approximately in the same place, or at least passed frequently through the same location, such as a port-of-trade. In essence the classical authors distilled onto their pages the mind-set of the colonizer, and through such circulated distillations encouraged the administrators in the field to seek and find such geographical and political permanences, or, if not, attempt to create them.

Figure 8.1 The tribes of southern Britain (sources: various).

Figure 2. Map of Late Iron Age 'tribes' in southern Britain, with the study area marked by the small, bordered rectangle (from Cunliffe 2005, Fig. 8.1). The major 'tribal' names have been added to the map, but specific boundaries of those tribes wisely omitted. Note the location of Calleva (Silchester) the northern 'capital' of the Atrebates. The southern 'capital' Chichester is within the study area.

Regional narratives – c100BC to AD200

One of the current major regional narratives in the southern and eastern areas of Britain is one that correlates an increasing social differentiation, social hierarchy[4] and general complexity within and between communities in the Late Iron Age, with a greater abundance of material culture, some of it imported from the near Continent and the Roman world in general. Whether this apparently increasing social differentiation is an

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[4] Social differentiation and social hierarchy are not the same things. By the former I mean the number of different roles and lifestyles within a community; by the latter I mean the number of different ranks or statuses within a community; the term 'general complexity' is shorthand for both, but also infers a greater range of social interactions.

internally and locally-driven and emergent phenomenon, or one that is the product of a greater degree of contact with the Continent, or a specific development determined by a complex interplay of both of these factors, is a matter of debate (Cunliffe 2005; Creighton 2006, 44; Hill 2007). Central to the phenomenon is the correlation between an increasing variety of material culture and an apparent increase in social complexity. Correlation does not necessarily mean cause or effect. This particular narrative of increasing social differentiation forms a singularly important backdrop to this thesis, and in what follows, I offer a summary of the current positions, a critique of them, and indicate my own position in relation to them.

Increasing contact with the Continent, a two-way process during this period, is a common characteristic noted by many authors (Cunliffe 2005; Creighton 2006; Haselgrove and Moore 2007; Mattingly 2007). According to Cunliffe (2005, 126) the Late Iron Age was a time when the British Isles was brought once more into direct contact with the Continent through the influx of peoples: refugees, embassies and traders. People from southern Britain also travelled to the Continent, as captured slaves, fighting as allies (according to Caesar (BG III, 9, 10 and IV, 20), Britons served in the early episodes of the Gallic Wars), as *obsides* (the sons of British leaders taken under Roman protection – see Creighton 2006, 3) and, occasionally, as British leaders petitioning the Roman Emperor (e.g. Tincomarus – see *Res Gestae*[5], 32). While an increasing contact may well be demonstrable, it could be exaggerated by the sudden availability of documentary evidence, absent for earlier periods. It would thus be a mistake to be deceived by this combination of classical source material and imported archaeological finds into thinking that the first real immigrants into southern Britain occurred from the first century BC onwards, and that prior to that date most people were 'indigenous'. The archaeological evidence indicates that contacts between southern Britain and Gaul were extensive for much of later prehistory and movements of communities across the Channel probably occurred long before the onset of the Iron Age. For instance, the study area is one of the key areas noted for hoards of bronze palstaves, which contain imported examples from Upper Normandy, dating from the Middle Bronze Age (O'Connor 1980, 56-8). The reality is, therefore, that the classical

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[5] *Res Gestae Divi Augusti,* (Latin: "The Deeds of the Divine Augustus") is the funerary inscription of the first Roman emperor, Augustus, giving a first-person record of his life and accomplishments. It was copied to many parts of the Roman Empire.

sources bring a process of some longevity and antiquity into sharper historical focus for the first time. This observation underlines both the cumulative nature of the changes, and the significance of the social and political transformations at this time.

Much of this contact seems to have taken place with the Gallo-Belgic area of the Continent, approximately Gaul, north of the Seine, and the modern low countries. One of the more famous episodes of this increasing contact is the instance of the Belgae (BG V, 12), a people recorded by Caesar as originating north of the Seine, raiding southern Britain at first, and eventually farming there. This certainly suggests aggressive dispossession and settlement. The Belgae appear to have been the first historically recorded people, who migrated from the Continent to establish themselves in southern Britain. The British Atrebates, slightly later, were another example, originating from an eponymous tribe in Gaul. Cunliffe (2005, 127) suggests that the Belgic settlers probably arrived in the Solent area, with perhaps the focus of settlement being around Winchester, where the later Roman town of *Venta Belgarum*, - the market of the Belgae – developed. Mattingly (2007, 53) is more guarded, seeing some small-scale movement of peoples, who perhaps established themselves in leading positions within British communities. Whether these newcomers were settlers, but not colonizers, or settlers and colonizers (in the terms outlined at the start of Chapter 2) is difficult to determine. There is very little evidence to suggest how these Gallo-Belgic elites arrived, whether invited and welcomed by British elites, or whether they were resisted. Were some elites in southern Britain threatened internally in some way and in need of external support? Did the Gallic elites need access to more manpower or slaves? It is important to note that there were probably already elite familial ties through marriage that crossed the Channel; in which case Continental leaders and their followers may have been invited to Britain. Alternatively there could have been a relatively short episode of aristocratic warfare that forced the submission of indigenous elites. A third possibility, one that envisages piecemeal and unplanned infiltration and gradually increasing influence, is that these immigrant Gallo-Belgic elites may have been preceded by Gallo-Belgic traders, who established trading bases in southern Britain (e.g. Hengistbury Head in Dorset – Cunliffe 2005, 182) in the first half of the first century BC or earlier similar to the establishment of the trading posts of the East India Trading Company, which eventually led to British control of large parts of the Indian sub-continent. Social and political power, however ill-defined, and tenuously held and proclaimed, could have

been demonstrated through the production and distribution of highly portable Gallo-Belgic coinage, an enduring and polysemic medium capable of being used as a symbol of status and wealth, but also as a means of communication, identity and allegiance.

Interpretation of the nature of these migrations to Britain must be balanced by a consideration of the nature of indigenous society. Sharples (2010, 296) correctly suggests that warfare and raiding were endemic in the Iron Age. The numerous hillforts of the Early Iron Age, with their impressive earthwork ramparts, are seen as the result of inter-elite, and inter-group competition and warfare. Enclosing banks were constructed by mobilizing labour through a potlatch system, and offering feasts in return (Sharples 2010, 120). In the Middle Iron Age, fewer but larger hillforts, like The Trundle in the study area, monopolized more expansive territories, albeit ill-defined, presumably because their mechanisms of labour mobilization, and warrior bands were increasingly more effective. Most people would have lived outside hillforts, undifferentiated, materially at least, from those specialists, such as warriors, holders of ritual offices and craft-workers, who were granted access to them. On balance, therefore, Gallo-Belgic immigrants, were likely to be perceived as another aggressive, and warrior-like group. Indeed, they could have been invited by one indigenous community in support of their conflict against a neighbour. Through such actions Gallo-Belgic migrants could acquire slaves, conceivably exporting them to the Continent.

Caesar (BG II 4,7) also recorded that Diviciacus, King of the Suessiones of Gaul, held territories in both Gaul and Britain, and that in 57BC chiefs of the Bellovaci fled to Britain (Caesar BG II, 14). There were, therefore, at least three or four episodes of Gallo-Belgic leaders and their followers establishing themselves in southern Britain (Belgae, Suessiones Atrebates and Bellovaci). The ill-defined Regini may constitute a fifth (Rudd 2006, 160). These immigrant elites, and their kinsmen, are likely to have brought with them knowledge of Gallic customs and practices and greater familiarity with the material culture of the late Roman Republic. Some of the numismatic evidence of imported Gallo-Belgic coinages must relate to these episodes although other archaeological testimony is slight. The Atrebates endured, as did the Belgae; the Suessiones and Bellovaci, however, are not heard of again in a British context so their numbers and longevity may have been slight. It seems unlikely, however, that such a change of elite, or even an alliance of elites, at the apex of communities made much

difference to the mass of the indigenous population. Individual identity may have been securely tied to settlement and local hillfort, rather than any larger social, ethnic or political structure. Likewise, it seems unlikely that any elite leader was able to dominate a clearly defined bounded territory; rather boundaries were permeable and subject to flux; control of people may have been much more important than control of fixed territories. Elite cross-Channel alliances and connections must have increased as a result of these Gallic immigrations, and these connections probably played an important role in gathering information, and potentially influencing the subsequent actions of the Roman state. Immediately before the military annexation of AD43, a Gallic alliance may have been able to negotiate the continuing client kingdom status of the Atrebates. Whatever the nature of these earlier episodic immigrations of the Late Iron Age, their leaders, in general, did not possess widespread and formalized disciplinary powers of control, exercised through large standing armies, standardized settlement forms (the 'planned' Late Iron Age street-grid beneath Roman Silchester may be an exception), or uniform and widespread communication systems, that were characteristic of Roman colonization. They did possess, however, portable types of material culture such as new coinages and ceramics.

Material culture: imports and exports

Increasing contact also extended to the realm of material culture – with, *inter alia*, slaves and metals being exported, and Roman wine, foodstuffs, and high-status Roman and Gallo-Belgic ceramics arriving in return. Strabo, writing early in the first century AD, (The Geography, IV, 5, 2) said that Britain produced *'grain, cattle, silver, gold and iron…hides, slaves[6] and dogs'*. According to Caesar (BG II, 4) the *'Veneti (Brittany) have very many vessels and in these they are accustomed to sail to Britain'*. Diodorus Siculus (V, 22) related *'The inhabitants of Britain around the promontory called Belerium (Land's End) are particularly hospitable and civilized in their way of life as a result of their dealings with foreign merchants'*. Archaeologically, the exports from Late Iron Age Britain are hard to document, but a map of British coin and metalwork finds north of the Seine indicates that such traffic did exist (Gruel and Haselgrove 2007, 247), and, although slaves have remained archaeologically invisible in much of Roman

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[6] The trade in slaves, seen as commodities, was a key factor in encouraging European colonialism in Africa (see Fage 2001).

archaeology to date (Webster 2005; 2008), human cargo may have been a major export. Especially after the conquest of Gaul, client kingdoms in Britain may have been key suppliers of slaves to work in the Empire (Cunliffe 2005, 483; Scheidel 2007). Although Late Iron Age Britain, to adopt Turley's (2000, 62-63) distinction, may have been a 'society with slaves' rather than a 'slave society', it could have provided the ideal place from which to recruit massive numbers of slaves for the industrial and agricultural enterprises at the heart of the Empire (mostly Italy, Sicily and the mines of Spain). It could have fulfilled this role well, since it was separated from the Continent by a considerable body of water. Captured and transported slaves from Britain, therefore, would endure 'natal alienation', a complete rupture with kin and culture; distance from home and geographical barriers would have made it extremely difficult for any slave to contemplate escape and return.

Whatever the nature and quantities of British exports, the imports to Britain seem always to be imagined, quite possibly erroneously, on a larger scale. Quantification of these is difficult and it may be more realistic to realize these as an 'irregular trickle' of new commodities rather than an ever increasing flow of goods. Sealey (2009) has underlined that the import of wine-carrying amphorae seems to have declined in the decades prior to AD43 and there is evidence that imperial interest in Britain declined under the Emperor Tiberius. Indeed Creighton (2006, 12) is at pains to point out that the year AD43, at least in the south-east, may not have witnessed a sharp cultural disjuncture because of the considerable earlier influx of Continental material culture and assumed knowledge of Continental lifestyles. This area of Britain had already been in close contact with the Continent for almost a century, and the Roman military forces passed quickly through the region.

Internal evolution or external influences?

One theory that seeks to explain the apparent correlation of social and material complexity suggests that increasing social differentiation was the result of internal social processes that began in the Middle Iron Age. Another theory, and one perhaps more central to this thesis, affords primacy to imported material culture in the Late Iron Age. The variety of material culture, especially drawn from the encroaching Roman state (directly, or indirectly via Gallo-Belgic traders) after it penetrated southern Gaul in

the late second century BC, has a pivotal and indeed formative role to play in such explanations. For instance Cunliffe (2005), influenced by core-periphery models derived from World Systems Theory, imagined that the influx of exotic goods provided some far-sighted indigenous individuals with the opportunities to control these new resources. These 'Big Men' of Late Iron Age southern Britain, established themselves in the 'core', monopolized the influx of new goods, and controlled their distribution and consumption both through sumptuary practices, and by managing the flow of goods from the core to the 'peripheries'. While this theory is attractive, in that it does at least provide a specific mechanism or practice by which some individuals gained an ascendancy over others, it does assume that goods from the Continent were attractive to 'indigenous' communities in Britain, and that a rather conventional and modern consumption model prevailed, which saw communities welcoming some of the higher-status new materials. The appropriateness of this modernistic assumption to antiquity needs more explicit evaluation.

The ingrained perception of individual consumption is too often uncritically applied to the past. There is little published in the archaeological literature that examines the nature of the collective ownership of portable material culture, land or buildings, whether those collectives are lineages, families, age-sets, slaves, or people linked by status, settlement or occupation. Sharples (2010, 234) is a recent exception in discussing kin-related ownership of areas within the hillfort of Danebury. The putative communal ownership of discrete things, as opposed to individual ownership, may have had significant ramifications for the interactions between material culture and people in the past. Communal resistance to an item of material culture may have formed a much more effective barrier to acceptance than uncoordinated individual rejections. Conversely, communal acceptance may have facilitated a much more rapid take up of novelty. If consumption is central to Middle Ground Colonialism (White 1991) then the social units who do the consuming (or refuse it) need to be identified.

Hill (2007, 37), on the other hand, is one of the proponents of the 'internal evolution' model leading to greater social complexity. He notes that Roman and Gallic material culture arrived in quantities and that some of the elite adopted new burial rites which had their origin in Gallia Belgica, especially in the generation after Caesar (see also Creighton 2006, 19; Mattingly 2007, 56-57; 72). Greater quantities of Gallic material

appeared in graves in the first century BC, much of it related to more personalized and individualized dining habits, compared with the previous collective commensality, but Hill argues that this is a symptom of social and status differentiations that was mostly internally driven, rather than being provoked by outside contacts. In proposing this the author implicitly raises the question (unanswered) of how collective commensality, and potentially collective ownership of objects and behaviours, was broken down into more individualistic attitudes and tastes. A similar argument could be advanced for the increasingly varied burial traditions themselves (Hamilton 2007, 89ff; Moore 2007, 57). Although such observations are in themselves interesting (i.e. more individualized dining and mortuary habits) they do not provide explanatory insights into the processes that brought them gradually into being. The specific 'indigenous' mechanisms that, over time, ruptured the shared aspects of societies and eventually led to increased social differences in the Late Iron Age, are not made explicit. What, for instance, provokes some members of a community to experiment and then adopt more personalized dining habits? Some of the answers may lie in certain 'chances objectively offered [to the individual] by the social world' (Bourdieu 1990, 64), which allow modification of the *habitus*. But how are these 'chances' of unfamiliar foods made manifest, and what encourages their acceptance?

In the first instance, quite obviously, there has to be knowledge that different foods and food preparations, and different receptacles for eating and drinking are available and obtainable. Certainly the diet of Britons in the Late Iron Age seemed unduly restrictive. For instance, Cassius Dio (*Roman History*, LXXVI, 12, 1-5) relates that the Britons *'live on flocks, game and certain fruits, and though there are vast and limitless stocks of fish they do not eat them'.* While this might have been true, we need to be wary of the literary trope. We might make some progress, however, by thinking about which sections of a community might be prone to adopting new behaviours. It may well be, following Bloch (1977), that the adopters come from a high status group within society, but not the elite group charged with the ritual maintenance of a stable social structure. Such a high status group could be warriors or mercenaries, returning from the Continent. Or specific elites who participated in cross-Channel alliances. Alternatively they could be the sons and daughters of elite families who had been lodged with Continental families to cement elite alliances. They might have even been traders, who travelled frequently between southern Britain and the Continent, but eventually married

and settled in Britain. These are the types of people whose occasional daily experiences could not be easily contained by their natal or adopted social system. Dietler (2007, 224-5) rightly pointed out that culture is always a creative process of structured improvisation. New kinds of food and objects, once introduced, could be afforded high-status values in indigenous categorizations.

There is little doubt that the contrasts in material culture, say in the later first century BC, on either side of the Channel were much more obvious and dramatic (and more numerically apparent given the industrial-scale outputs of some classical objects, such as wine amphorae) than in previous centuries or millennia. It was the greater ubiquity and starkness of this contrast, coupled with the frequency of people-movements across the Channel, that produced a powerful combination of influences that, eventually, were destined to infiltrate indigenous values, no matter how closely guarded. A re-told story from a foreign land was a momentary occurrence, and repetition could be circumscribed, contained or even forbidden. However, a novel piece of metalwork, or an exotic pottery vessel, demanded a reaction – acceptance, transformation, resistance, destruction; its very physical presence and permanence meant that ignorance was not possible. It was something from which information was likely to leak out; it was something that had to be dealt with. The 'adopters', whoever they were, must have presented a challenge to received social norms, setting up the conditions for eventual changes in normative values.

It is possible that social complexity, the development of different statuses and roles in a community, could have evolved prior to the awareness of multiple material culture choices (Hill 2007, 37). The adoption of the latter could have been a material manifestation of differences that already existed. Social differences could have been internally caused, for example, by population growth, increased mobility (through greater use of horses?) and ensuing conflict, and an increasingly unequal access to resources. Inter and intra-community competitiveness may then have increased the likelihood of adoption by some sections of the communities of new forms of material culture. Sumptuary practices may have attempted to ensure that such objects remained characteristic of the elite, or one of the elite groups, and not the indigenous mass. Material leakages and mimetic adoption, however, may have continually challenged the effectiveness of sumptuary restrictions.

There is a danger, however, in bipolar contrasts between one model (internal evolution) with its opposite (change by external influences, i.e. in this case material culture imports). It may well be that increasing inter-community aggression and material differentiations in some way mesh and mutually amplify each other, with differing degrees of effects and outcomes, in different regions and in different groups. The potential transformative role of material agency goes to the very heart of this thesis – what weight to place on immigrant forms of material culture, and the behaviours that may or may not travel with them, on the stability or otherwise of indigenous or predecessor social norms? Gosden (2004, 5; 153) gives a much greater role for material culture and consumption in ancient colonialism, and claims that, through a process of *miraculation* (the mutual creation of people and things through the values attached to each) people are moved culturally and ideologically. If people are 'moved' it is the objects that are moving, literally and polysemically. Acts of creative misconception on the Middle Ground complicate interactions and outcomes (White 1991). Beliefs and materiality, therefore, repetitively colonize each other, in a process of imbrication, ultimately forging a modified social world, or *habitus*.

It is tempting to see these irregularly arriving continental and Roman commodities in advance of AD43 having this sort of seductive and transformative role. However, the historical situation is more complicated in that, as noted already, Gallo-Belgic settlements or colonizations, different in nature, preceded the Roman one. Which objects had the power to 'move' people more? *Miraculation* is a useful shorthand for the meshing of things and people. However, it must have a been a geographically and chronologically variegated process that was neither uniform nor uncontested, and one that had intended and unintended outcomes (White 1991).

Archaeical evidence

The archaeological evidence provides some grounding for these regional narratives. By the Late Iron Age some of those monumental earthworks, the hillforts[7], which had been raised in the Early and especially Middle Iron Age (500 – 200BC; Cunliffe 2005), had been, or would soon be, 'abandoned'. This abandonment is a curious phenomenon and the term 'abandoned', although frequently used in the archaeological literature, probably carries an unwarranted sense of sudden desertion and subsequent neglect. Complete dis-use of any occupation site is very difficult to prove, archaeologically. Certainly, it seems to be true that some hillforts did not enjoy the intensity of occupation that they had in the Middle Iron Age, with the presumption that their collective, if not centralising role in society, had diminished. For instance, a detailed study of the area around Danebury (Hampshire) hillfort (Cunliffe 2000) indicated that the two major hillforts in the region – Danebury itself and Bury Hill – were probably 'abandoned' in the decade 70 to 60BC. A number of smaller settlements defined their boundaries with banks and ditches at this time, and it is clear that occupation at some of the other settlements continued on into the post-AD43 period and beyond without interruption. Indeed, Cunliffe (2000, 196) points out that the Roman annexation of AD43 had surprisingly little discernible impact on the rural settlement pattern in some areas of southern Britain.

An emphasis away from more easily patrolled hill-top sites to lower-lying settlements, where goods might be transported and exchanged with less surveillance, might have been partly constitutive of the increasingly fluid nature of Late Iron Age communities, with new opportunities provided for social interaction and perhaps advancement. This sort of idea fits well with the narrative of increasing social differentiation in some way linked to a greater quantity of, and more variety in, material culture forms. Yet hillforts did remain significant, and it is notable that a number of Romano-British temples were established within earlier hillforts (e.g. Maiden Castle in Dorset; Chanctonbury Ring in Sussex) implying that some elements of the importance of such sites endured. The reasons for such continuing significance were probably complex; it may well be that

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[7] The term 'hillfort' is a bit of a misnomer. Not all were on hills, and many were not fortifications. In recent years there has been a tendency to downplay their protective and defensive roles, and to highlight their changing and varied functions. For a recent summary see Bradley 2007, 262 and Sharples 2010, 1-106.

passive resistance to colonial Roman authority may have been played out by some
through the medium of religious observances on indigenously important sites[8] (fig. 3).

*Figure 3. Aerial photograph, from the study area, of the hillfort known as The
Trundle, on the Downs to the north of Chichester. The outer bank and ditch belong
to the Middle Iron Age hillfort (thought to have been 'abandoned' c.100BC); the
much slighter curving inner bank belong to a much earlier Neolithic monument
known as a 'causewayed camp'. The intensive use of this location in the Middle Iron
Age demonstrates the knowing re-use of 'special sites' in the landscape, and the
persistence of some spatially-specific traditions and significances. See Chapter 4 for
discussion. (Image courtesy of English Heritage).*

Whatever the reasons behind the end of the age of major hillfort-building, a new site
type appeared in southern Britain that is diagnostic of the Late Iron Age - the so-called
oppida. These were supposed centres of exchange and craft production; they might have
constituted the epicentres of material culture excess and social differentiation. They
form a heterogeneous collection of sites, often located in peripheral, lower-lying areas,
and seemingly demarcated by illogical boundaries (Haselgrove and Moore 2007, 6).
The term 'disaggregated' is sometimes applied to them, indicating that some of the sites

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[8] See Chapter 5 where I develop this observation.

cover extensive areas, but seemingly without a concentration of activity in any one area. Structurally they can be defined usually by enclosing massive earthworks, internal buildings, and often evidence for domestic and industrial activities. Certainly, many of them are rich in material culture, some of it clearly imported or brought from the Continent. At Braughing, in Hertfordshire, for instance, the *oppidum* seems to have been most active from 10BC to AD25; large quantities of imported pottery from Gaul were recovered, along with a lot of bronze coins, viewed by some as payments to artisans. At Baldock, however, again in Hertfordshire, there was a significant number of inhumations as well as cremations, leading one contributor to conclude that the six *oppida* in Hertfordshire were sufficiently different one from the other that they could not be grouped under the one site-type (Bryant 2007, 78). Some *oppida*, like Bagendon in Gloucestershire, seem to have emerged in peripheral areas not hitherto densely occupied, and the suggestion has been made that such unusual locations allowed the adoption of innovative behaviours and perhaps exchange practices (Moore 2007, 56). Hengistbury Head in coastal Dorset is a classic example of such a liminal promontory that enjoyed extensive contacts with Armorica in the early first century BC (Cunliffe 2005, 181). For some considerable time an *oppidum* has been surmised on the marginal Selsey peninsula in the study area, effectively an offshore tidal island at the time. Arguments in favour include quantities of Late Iron Age coinage found there, and the presence of the Chichester Dykes or Entrenchments, which cut off much of the coastal plain, including the peninsula (see Chapter 4). Pitts (2010, 49) notes the association between *oppida* at Silchester and Chichester in sharing a common brooch type, some confirmation of a shared Atrebatic identity at the end of the first century BC.

Liminal locations, for what may have been emerging 'markets', can be paralleled in other areas of the world. Marginal markets were a feature of 19th Ghana among the Asante, in a region that was likewise experiencing an influx of uncommon goods, and migrant traders. Traded goods among the Asante were kept separate from the mass of the people by the establishment of general-purpose markets in peripheral locations; these markets were transitory and dominated by strangers, exclusively males, from different ethnic groups, and generally exchanges were not conducted according to market principles. The traders were seen as dangerous innovators, and the locals were suspicious of them (Arhin 1979). We might imagine, therefore, that *oppida* were not only places where quantities of exotic material culture could be seen, but also locations

where people from different places and communities, including people from the Continent, mixed and interacted. These jostling identities might explain the different burial practices at Baldock. The Asante example is an especially insightful parallel for Late Iron Age southern Britain. All of the phenomena displayed in this briefly-summarized example could have taken place in Late Iron Age *oppida*: liminal market location; strange material goods; traders-as-strangers; sumptuary practices of the indigenous elite; possible liaisons between male traders and indigenous females (for traders as sources of tension see also Turley 2000, 70); and the inevitable challenge to the extant indigenous social structure posed by the mixing of different ethnic groups in the marketplace.

In the decades after the annexation of southern Britain in AD43 the province witnessed the foundation and faltering development of towns – a type of site reminiscent of urban Mediterranean cultures, and in some ways, sites that were successors of the *oppida*. This also occurred in the Atrebatic client kingdom, not withstanding its nominal independence. Creighton (2006) offers a critique of previous top-down approaches to the study of towns. The historical reference to a policy of giving 'official assistance to the building of temples, squares and good houses' (Tacitus *Agricola* 21) had given rise to an image of imperial direction fostering Mediterranean style urban centres in the form of civitas capitals. In the last 20 years there have been deconstructions of the attempts to classify towns in Roman Britain according to Roman legal distinctions; and the idea of civitas capitals themselves, like Chichester in the study area, the forerunners of modern county towns, is now viewed as problematical (Creighton 2006, 76).

Creighton replaces the imperial template for Roman towns in Britain with a sort of **discrepant town** approach. Towns were built by, and settled by, those who lived in the locale, and these different sets of people gave towns very different characters. Thus the military, on retirement, lent to towns they helped found, such as Colchester, a regimented and planned character. London developed in a much more piecemeal fashion, the product of a wide variety of foreign individuals and traders temporarily resident there. Verulamium, by contrast, is closest to an indigenous town, its streets and town plan seemingly focussed on a high-status burial of a local chief at the Folly Lane

enclosure (Creighton 2006, 126)[9]. Silchester, the northern Atrebatic 'capital' is an interesting example of urban hybridity. The new timber basilica and forum erected in the AD80s, contemporary with the new north-south: east-west street grid, do seem to be indicative of the 'encouragement' given to the British elite by Agricola. But many buildings of the same date still followed the alignment of the Late Iron Age street grid and may represent the sort of *domus* referred to by Tacitus in *Agricola* 21 (Fulford and Clarke 2009, 9; 2011). From an imperial perspective we can invoke, to some extent, the notion of the 'disciplinary powers' of Foucault (1977; O'Farrell 2005). The colonial authority concentrated populations in urban centres like Chichester in the AD70s, where regularized street patterns permitted physical and ideological control to be exercised on a daily basis. But the **discrepant town** approach illustrates how heterogeneous residents could modify such colonial designs, in a way that was not so easily effected, for instance, in 19th century Egypt controlled by the British. The varying identities of townspeople has been noted by Mattingly (2007, 292-295): the indigenous elite may have formed the rump of the local councillors (*curiales*); there would have been a minority of foreigners; some slaves and freed male and female slaves; and the common free townsfolk; it is conceivable that the latter were outnumbered by slaves, the offspring of slaves, and freed individuals[10].

The impact of unduly imaginative and optimistic reconstruction illustrations of towns in Roman Britain has had a subversive effect on our understanding of this type of site. A good case in point is the cover on *The Archaeology of Fishbourne and Chichester* (Manley 2008). While this is recognizably the outline of Roman Chichester, the rectangular courtyard buildings, the tile roofs and the regular street pattern owe more to the artists' concepts of Roman towns in the Mediterranean, and perhaps to 19th and 20th century Italian domestic architecture, than a realistic reconstruction, drawn from the archaeology, of the discrepant town that was Roman Chichester. The truth is that many Roman towns in *Britannia* were at the very geographical limits of *Romanitas*; there was something of the frontier town about them, and some of them clearly failed by the 4th

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[9] Likewise, the Roman town of Chichester appears partly to owe its location and overall shape to pre-existing significant sites – The Trundle hillfort and the early phases of occupation at Fishbourne. This will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

[10] Many slaves serving in an urban environment presumably shared the same domestic space as their masters and mistresses. It is assumed that many of them were both more skilled, and their lives less arduous, than the slaves who were captured or bought for work in industrial or agricultural enterprises. Much the same difference could be found in slavery in the New World (Walvin 1983, 72).

century AD. Gashed walls, cracked paving, leaking roofs, overflowing drains, and large, empty weeded spaces within the enclosing ditches or walls must have been much more common than depicted (fig. 4). The application of the notion of discrepancy to Romano-British towns and those who built them, and lived in them, should be extended to the material culture of the built environment – streets, buildings, gateways and drains. Differing indigenous values (not to mention the climate and quality of light), and contrasting attitudes towards repair, servicing, maintenance and cleanliness may have given many quarters of Romano-British towns a very un-Mediterranean feel (see Chapter 4). The physical urban fabrics and the idiosyncracies of the communities who lived in them thus provide the context for another demonstration of the result of *miraculative* processes (see above).

Figure 4. The reconstruction from the study area shows the early Roman town of Chichester, say at about AD100. The amphitheatre (bottom left) is outside of the town, while Fishbourne Roman Palace lies isolated, and off to the west (at the top of the illustration). The impression, exaggerated through the bird's eye viewpoint, is of an ordered rectangularity of architecture, with neat, tiled roofs; the reality, on the ground, was probably more disordered, and less maintained. For a fuller discussion see Chapter 4. (Image by Mike Codd; copyright Chichester District Council).

Smaller forms of material culture are relatively abundant within the study area – Late Iron Age Gallo-Belgic and indigenous coins and pottery, Roman coins, pottery, glass, metalwork and animal bones. But even when we encounter good survivals, the inherent polysemy of such finds can be interpreted in different ways (for instance the differing interpretations of the Fortress Mosaic at Fishbourne Roman Palace offered by Creighton

(2006, 152) and Manley (2007, 436-7). The fundamental ambiguity of material culture always needs to be borne in mind[11]. Much of the interpretive value of material culture in the archaeological record is that it provides a voice for the subaltern viewpoint. The classical sources, with their caricatured conquered, are literally lopsided. On the other hand, a sherd of indigenous fired pottery has, more or less, the same chance of survival as a sherd of samian ware, and the greater numbers of the former in the past are accurately reflected in pottery reports produced by 21st century archaeologists. It is through the subaltern engagement with local and imported material culture, the Atrebatic coarse wares and the imported and copied Arretine platters of the study area, that we can begin to speculate on the nature of, for instance, passive resistance and discrepant identities (Mattingly 2007, 472ff).

Finally, we can consider the archaeological evidence for the social and technical aspects of the actual making of things and substances. The salterns on the Hayling Island, Chidham and Thorney Island peninsulas, in the study area (fig. 1), are evidence of the importance of salt in the Late Iron Age (Bradley 1992), and provide a good example of the connection between esoteric technical ability and social rituals. The importance of a regular salt intake to all life-forms is obvious and need not be underlined here. What is less obvious, however, is the mesh of social, landscape and chemical reactions involved in salt-making that probably made the tasks connected with extraction of this vital commodity ones that were given especial prominence and reverence. There are a number of factors to note: the landscape setting for the salt extraction, on the three peninsulas, was a liminal one, and one where earth, vegetation and water came together in an unstable and ever-changing way; salt-extraction was a seasonal occupation and the salt-extractors presumably made periodic journeys to such out-of –the-way places, taking them away from homes for a defined period of time each year; the whole process was a transformational one, in which, through the application of heat from fires, and/or from the sun, the precious powder was condensed from brine; successful outcomes were not guaranteed. There were probably rituals of placation, augury and thanks for a quantity of unrefined salt successfully obtained. An ethnographic example is provided

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[11] Some archaeologists have welcomed anthropological, sociological and philosophical approaches to the ambiguity of material culture which have 'facilitated an interpretive environment in the discipline which is both self-reflexive and dynamic. Concepts such as dwelling, performative practice, phenomenology, personhood and material agency' (Davis *et al.* 2008, 3) have helped to create, through material culture, richer narratives of the past.

by *The Salt Men of Tibet*[12] - the salt men sing while they push the salt into cone-shaped piles with large hoes, and this singing appeases and pampers the salt lake spirit, who in some years gives much salt and in other years gives little. There probably was a relationship of respect and exchange between the salt-workers and the salt-waters. This is another specific manifestation of a *miraculative* process.

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[12] The Salt Men of Tibet, a film by Ulrike Koch (1997)

The Power of Chiefs and the nature of client kingdoms

When it comes to looking at the regional social and political picture in southern Britain in the Late Iron Age most commentators (for example Cunliffe 2005; Mattingly 2007; Sharples 2010, 316) pay lip-service, albeit *faute de mieux*, to the basic model that the region was divided into a number of distinct 'tribal territories', with royal capitals, ruled by leaders; some of these issued increasingly sophisticated and inscribed coinage. We know, however, very little for certain about chiefly power. From the coinage, in the later first century BC/early first century AD, we see abbreviations in Latin for the names of some leaders, and we also note that a few of them claim to be 'son of' a previous leader, so we infer that elite lineages and genealogies were significant. The number of different names in any one area, and the dates of the coins, provide us with an approximation of the longevity of 'rule' of some chiefs, and coin distribution maps may allow us, not unproblematically, to infer where the centres of chiefly power may have been. We have a few elite graves, with the deceased accompanied by numerous imported status goods. Much else is speculation. We do not know how chiefly power and authority were made evident. Was elite status demonstrated through control of a large number of warriors or a labour force of slaves[13], by manipulation of religious influences, by claims of noble or divine ancestors, by monopoly over craft-workers or traders, or over imported goods? Was it demonstrated by control over women, or through elite contacts in Britain and the Continent? Or, more specifically, is the prevalence of horse-imagery on a lot of the coinage, and the fact that some key settlement sites have produced much horse-riding equipment, an indication that the control of horses, important for raiding, warfare and mobility, was a key factor in the demonstration of chiefly power[14]?

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[13] An historical parallel is provided by the American South, when in the 18th and 19th centuries a man's status and wealth could be indicated by conspicuous display of the great number of slaves he had in attendance (Walvin 1983, 66).

[14] It is known that horses played an important role in Iron Age ritual, art and iconography (Green 1986). Burials of complete or bits of horses in Iron Age ritual deposits in Britain are not uncommon, and extend into the Roman period, for instance at South Cadbury (Somerset), Newstead (Scottish lowlands), Bourton Grounds, Buckinghamshire (Green 1986), Nosterfield in (North Yorkshire) and Blewburton Hill (Berkshire).The association of horse sacrifices with elite burials are known from elsewhere in Europe, e.g. the Black Sea littoral (Taylor 1994, 391).

If we know little about how chiefly power was demonstrated, we know even less about how it was communicated, and to whom. We imagine, given the apparent large size of some of the 'tribal territories' that chiefs and chiefly-followers must have communicated with a lower-tier of leaders at settlement and community levels, no doubt by regular visits or communal gatherings, perhaps involving feasting, gift-giving, bride-exchange, ritual observances, the extraction of tribute and even competitive displays of horsemanship and fighting. A collective identity may have been forged through such regular encounters, and the exchange of objects, particularly the distribution of coins, both easily portable in quantity and carrying specific and exclusive symbols, may have had an enduring constitutive role in the formation of a shared identity, at least among the local elites. For the bulk of the population, however, a sense of identity with the local settlement, was probably more significant and more felt than any adherence to a regional 'tribe' or ethnic group.

Another clearly relevant dimension in this discussion of chiefs and their powers is the probable development of 'client kingdoms' in south-east Britain, seen as the product of the Caesarian incursions, and subsequent re-organisations, in 55 and 54BC. Although a Roman army would not return to Britain until AD43, these client kingdoms seem to have been established under Roman hegemony, presumably maintaining close contact with the Continent, and securing relatively stable conditions in some British areas immediately beyond formal Roman rule. Cunliffe (2005, 141) saw the core region of south-east Britain divided between broad tribal spheres of influence – the Atrebates south of the Thames (centred on Silchester and Chichester), and the Trinovantes/Catuvellauni to the north (centred on Colchester).

The evidence for client kingdoms in first century BC Britain, however, is not definitive. Although Caesar (BG V, 21) mentions some names of tribal leaders in southern Britain, and some tribal names, he does not specifically indicate that client kingdoms were established as a result of his incursions. The establishment of such is an inference from Caesar's comments about British tribes surrendering, and providing hostages, and from the evidence of subsequent coins displaying symbols of Roman authority and Latin abbreviations. It is probably more accurate to suggest that Caesar, acting on behalf of the Roman Senate, established personal and diplomatic relationships with certain

influential leaders during his time in Britain[15]. These relationships would have been symbolized and strengthened through the exchange of gifts, conceivably Roman bullion, and the promise of more gifts to local leaders at regular intervals in the future. Indigenous leaders in return may have promised to send a regular tribute of slaves or other commodities to the Continent. An interesting ethnographic comparator comes from the experience of the British in Botswana. Just like Caesar, British colonial administrators sought to rule through local chiefs. These had their authority augmented as a result of British recognition. The enhancement of their powers may have made collaboration with the colonizer an attractive proposition (Morton 2004, 349). Fictive relationships of kinship may have been established by the surrendering of elite offspring to Caesar and his entourage; these could then be taken to Rome and acculturated to Roman ways, with the intention of returning them to Britain at some later date. After 55 and 54BC, an assumption that there would be further direct Roman interventions must have been widely held among the elite of southern Britain. From mechanisms and perceptions such as these, if they endured, it is possible to see a gradual transition from initial client-king to dynasties of client kings.

The arrangements made by Caesar did not endure and effectively were made anew by Augustus (Stevens 1947). Documentary evidence exists for a re-organisation of client kingship during the reign of Augustus (Strabo, *Geography* 4.5.3; Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, LIII, 22, 5). Tincomarus, of the Atrebates, may well have visited Rome. The fact that he did so as a suppliant suggests that the diplomatic successes of the first Emperor had again been compromised. The classical imagery on the coins of Tincomarus probably dates to after his meeting with Augustus. An obvious historical parallel for Roman client kingdoms, and particularly the secondment of imperial troops, is the way the rule of the British East India Company was extended in India and effected through the support of regional princes or maharajahs. In 1774, for instance, the governor-general, Hastings, supported the *Nawab-vazir* of Oudh by providing English mercenaries to fight alongside him against the Afghans. Victory for the *Nawab* strengthened the Company's foremost Indian buffer state and assured its loyal attachment, until annexation in 1856 (Wolpert 2004, 190-1). In 1798 the *Nizam* of Hyderabad signed a treaty with the Company that allowed for an increase of 6000

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[15] Parts of Britain had nevertheless become a provisional Roman province until ratification by the Senate (Stevens 1947, 7). In Caesar's case, this was never granted.

British troops to be stationed in his capital. The troops were to be under the control of British Officers, but available to the *Nizam* for internal peace-keeping, tax-collecting and external campaigns against any third party (Dalrymple 2003, 145).

The Atrebates – a brief introduction

Although the precise characteristics of Late Iron Age 'tribes' and chiefly power are open to debate, we must consider the evidence for the Atrebates, who feature prominently in this thesis. Originating probably with the arrival of Commius (Caesar BG IV to VIII), and his followers in the mid-first century BC, the Atrebates represented an earlier wave of Gallo-Belgic settlers or colonizers, who must have been much more acquainted with Roman lifestyles than the indigenous British. Cunliffe (2005, 168) defines the territory of the Atrebates as south of the Thames, covering the modern counties of East and West Sussex, Hampshire, Surrey, Wiltshire and Berkshire, although, as already remarked, defined territories with fixed boundaries seem unlikely at this date. Studies of coin distributions (fig. 5) and ceramic styles provide an approximate indication of the location of the people that might have thought of themselves as Atrebatic, or perhaps just as living under the rule of an Atrebatic leader. However, correlating forms of material culture with ethnic groups, or groups that think of themselves as sharing the same identity, is problematic; material culture can be extremely promiscuous and widely shared (Shennan 1989, 5).

There were two centres of Atrebatic power – Silchester and Chichester. The evidence for both centres is demonstrated by the distribution of Atrebatic coins of the Late Iron Age and by precocious archaeological deposits and structures – the early street system and rectangular buildings at Silchester; the pre-AD43 imports at Fishbourne and Chichester. The development of Silchester in particular, with round-houses dating to 25-15BC, followed by a putative orthogonal street grid and rectangular buildings (c.15BC), and with imported high-status material culture and coins, bearing the mint mark CALLEV, mark this site out as exceptional in the Late Iron Age. If this really is a comprehensive street grid then the layout might be a Gallo-Belgic manifestation of the colonizer's 'disciplinary powers' (Foucault 1997). In Late Iron Age Britain such re-ordering of physical movements may have 'colonized from within', as daily journeys

gradually reinforced new ideological directions. Sharples (2010, 237) has remarked on the general absence of Late Iron Age domestic structures in Wessex in the first century BC, and it may be that rectangular forms of architecture, which have generally not left significant archaeological traces, were a marker of Gallo-Belgic colonization. Despite Caesar's conquest of Gaul, Gallo-Belgic societies in northern Gaul probably enjoyed considerable independence, certainly until the time Augustus garrisoned the Rhine frontier late in the first century BC. What is much less remarked upon is the relationship (whether equivalent or subordinate) between the two contemporary centres. Certainly Silchester, through its imported material culture, appears to look more towards the Thames valley and the more northerly coast of the Continent, whereas Chichester and Fishbourne look southwards to Gaul. There must have been other, less materially discernible but probably more important, reasons for the co-existence of the two centres, but the current archaeological evidence provides few clues.
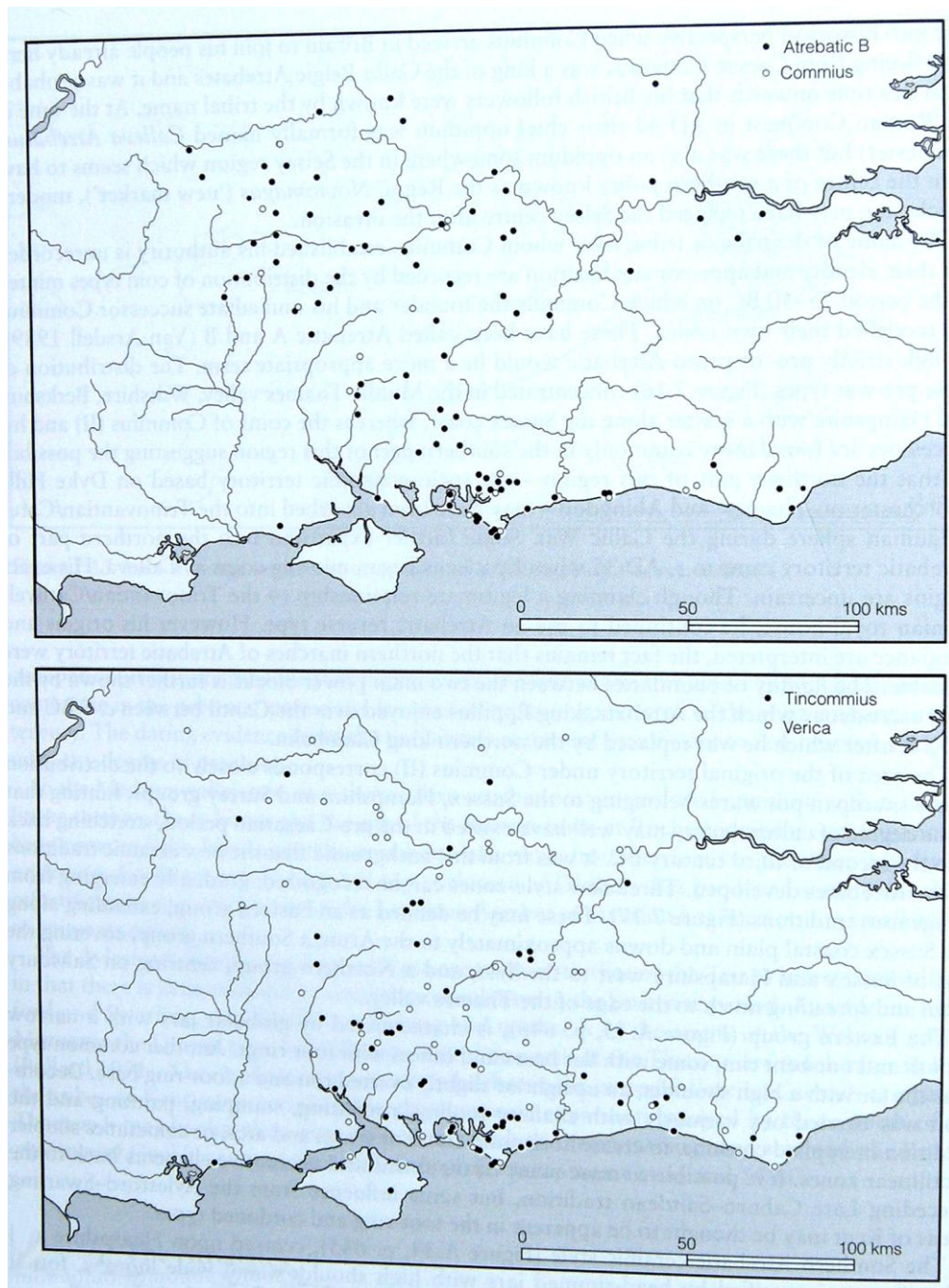
Figure 5. Distribution of Atrebatic coins – Atrebatic B, Commius, (top) Tincommius (Tincomarus) and Verica (bottom) (from Cunliffe 2005, Fig.7.16). The distributions of coins of different rulers is one of the principal ways in which the possible extent of a 'tribal' territory, or perhaps more loosely influence, can be evaluated. Despite problems of interpretation of distributed data of this kind, the concentration of coins in the study area seems real enough.

The founder of the Atrebates in southern Britain may well have been a former controversial confidant of Julius Caesar in the mid-first century BC. Commius, whose tale is recounted in Caesar's Gallic Wars (BG IV to VIII), was an aristocratic member of the Gallo-Belgic Atrebates (Cunliffe 2005, 142; Creighton 2006, 21-22; Mattingly 2007, 70); he had been a trusted agent of Caesar and had helped the Roman leader during his campaigns in Britain. He had returned to Gaul in the late summer of 54BC but two years later double-crossed Caesar and joined in the Gallic rebellion under Vercingetorix. He was hunted down by the Roman authorities, and ambushed and wounded by Volusenus, but eventually granted an exile and departed for a destination where he would 'not come into any contact with a living Roman'. Frontinus (*Stratagems* II, 13, 11) informs 'when Commius, of the Atrebates, was defeated by Caesar and was fleeing from Gaul to Britain…'. Naturally, scholars have suggested that Commius departed with some of his Atrebatic followers to the shores of southern Britain, there, known from his name on Late Iron Age coins, he founded the British Atrebatic dynasty which was to last through to Togidubnus. Cunliffe sees Commius as landing in the Solent, eventually setting himself up in Calleva (Silchester), but indicates that from the coin evidence there were probably two Commiuses – the exile and presumed founder of the dynasty, who may only have lived for a decade or so in Britain, and a son of the same name, who seems to have started minting coins in about 30BC (fig. 5).

I have argued earlier in this chapter how a leader like Commius, and his elite followers, could have established ascendancy over indigenous elites. An historical possibility, based on the reasonable assumption that knowledge of Commius' exploits was known in British elite circles, was that Commius was regarded as a miraculously heroic figure. Very few people double-crossed Caesar and lived, and Commius seems to have done just that, and then was exiled to southern Britain. He may well have appeared to have the aura of invincibility around him; perhaps he was viewed as blessed and protected by the Gods. It could well have appeared to local British leaders that they could find no-one better than Commius to negotiate their continuing quasi-independence from the Roman state. Alternatively, he could have gained a foothold in southern Britain by force; certainly his previous links had been with Kent, not the south coast[16]. What is

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[16] Ernest Black, *pers.comm.*

certain, however, is that the documentary sources and the archaeological evidence give little indication of any subsequent connections between the original Atrebates of northern Gaul and the newly-founded Atrebates in southern Britain. This may suggest there was indeed an element of exile and rupture in the departure of Commius from Gaul, and/or that, as southern Britain remained outside the formal Roman orbit for the next century, and the Gallic Atrebates were under Roman control, elite contacts were not sanctioned. The coinage from the Hayling Island temples does not demonstrate a preponderance of issues from that area of northern Gaul, so it may well be that links grew increasingly tenuous once Commius and his followers gained some sort of hegemony in southern Britain. Despite this element of isolation Cunliffe saw, for the British Atrebates and others, almost proto-urban communities, a multi-denominational coinage, and a fledgling market economy on the eve of AD43 (Cunliffe 2005, 177). This last assertion has to be read with care. It may well have been that there were one or two or even several places where these characteristics were in evidence; however, it appears more likely that for 95% of the population who lived outside these centres, the connection between a multi-denominational coinage and a market economy was little understood.

A speculative dynastic succession of Atrebatic chiefs can be traced (see Appendix 1), from Commius, through Tincomarus, Eppillus, Verica and finally Togidubnus; Tincomarus, Eppillus, Verica all styled themselves sons of Commius. This presumably refers more to the establishment of some sort of connection with the founder, rather than any claim to parentage. The last king of the Atrebates was Tiberius Claudius Togidubnus, known to us from Tacitus (*Agricola*, 14), and from an inscription found in Chichester (Collingwood 1965; RIB I, 91): *'To Neptune and Minerva this temple (is dedicated) for the safety of the Divine House on the authority of Tiberius Claudius Togidubnus, Great King in Britain, by the guild of smiths and its members from their own resources, Clemens, son of Pudentinus, presenting this site'* (Barrett 1979; Mattingly 2007, 109). Togidubnus may have been a noble from Gaul installed as a client-king by the Romans after the annexation, not necessarily, however, in AD43 (Mattingly 2007, 266). Alternatively, and just as likely, he could have been an actual son of Verica, raised in Rome, and brought back to Britain in the immediate aftermath of AD43. The size of the area ruled by Togidubnus is a matter of speculation, but most authors assume it was the greater part of south-east and southern Britain (Creighton

2006, 31). There is a presumption that he resided at Fishbourne, in a collection of buildings that underlay the later Flavian Palace (see Chapter 4). The date of his death is uncertain, but a general consensus is that he probably died during the 60s AD (Barrett 1979). Having said that, it is clear that Togidubnus' heartlands were in contact with northern Gaul. The pottery kiln discovered in Chichester, probably dating to the 50s and 60s AD, produced imitation Gallo-Belgic wares, and was perhaps organised by immigrant potters. This suggests some attempt at a Gallic colonization of southern Britain, partly through Gallic forms of material culture. The death of Togidubnus meant the end of the 'independent' client kingdom; its lands were sequestered and formally taken into the Roman province of *Britannia*. This may not have been an entirely peaceful transition – there are hints of dispossessions, demolition or adaptation of buildings and reallocations of rural and urban land. The Atrebates lived on as a newly-designated and much shrunken administrative rump in central southern Britain.

The key indices of change

All the evidence suggests that, within the study area, a blurred and fuzzy mosaic of peoples, with local and continental ancestries and allegiances, (the *indigenous* and the *predecessors* in the terms outlined at the beginning of Chapter 2), and a similarly constituted set of material cultures, existed from the first century BC onwards. Equally, no-one can dispute that the picture revealed by the archaeological evidence is suggestive of probably profound change between c100BC and AD200 in **most** aspects of **some** peoples' lives. There is uncertainty, however, concerning the speed of material change, its evenness, and the depth of its social penetration. Major political changes at elite levels may have had very little impact on the daily lives of the broad mass of population. Continuities at local level, especially in rural areas, were much more manifest in such regular and frequent rhythms as the changing seasons, agricultural routines, ritual observances, and rites-of-passage such as age-set ceremonies, marriages and deaths. Daily lives were moulded by, and in turn shaped and transformed, these cyclical practices, and remained largely unaffected by changing regional political circumstances. The long temporal framework provided by archaeology provides the opportunity for scalar appreciations of change – the short, medium (generational) and long-term (Braudel 1972), the cyclical and rhythmical, and the collective and the individual scales, through the material culture of these three centuries. For the rural

indigenous, even in the second century AD, consumption of Roman colonial goods, not necessarily recognized as 'Roman', may have amounted to little more than a single piece of fine pottery in a year, or an occasional cup of wine (Morley 2010, 80).

The focus of this thesis is to understand, through changes in material culture, the processes of colonialism in the study area, and the agentive role of material culture in those processes. Some forms of material culture, such as objects made from organic materials like wood and leather, do not normally survive. The archaeological record is dominated by structural remains of earthworks and buildings, by ceramics, metalwork and bone. The chosen indices are therefore: buildings and landscapes; food, drink and trade; coinage; and materials relating to death and burial. These three centuries witnessed at least three phases of immigration and colonization, not one – the Gallo-Belgic incursions of the first century BC, the Roman annexation of much of southern Britain in AD43, and the eventual absorption of the Atrebatic client kingdom in the late 60s or early 70s AD into the province of *Britannia*.

Immigrant forms of material culture, part of the colonial process, were just as unsettling as immigrant people. The import of fully-formed exotic artefacts, as in the case of Roman or Gallo-Belgic goods from the Continent into Late Iron Age southern Britain, disrupted local production and consumption. Material culture newcomers, divorced from their artisanal ancestries, separated from their material culture affines, are likely to have invited glances, fuelled curiosity and finally begged inspection. Their very muteness encouraged speculation. Unlike person-immigrants, who may have wished at times to conceal their identities, they could not so easily cover themselves with the clothes and customs of the indigene. Even if adopted locally they would always stand out, at least for many years to come. When the first shiny and red Arretine platters arrived at Fishbourne the locals must have wondered not only about what they were used for, but also about the fineness of the ceramic, the nature of the clays that made them, the quality of the red finish that had been applied to them. In sum, they appreciated the form, but were both curious and ignorant of the materials, and indeed of the manufacturers. Knowledge of who had made a locally-produced object, of where it had been made, and of what it had been made from were presumably factors that encouraged socially accepted uses of the object. Local objects carried with them associated information that was familiar, unconsciously appreciated, and pre-verbal –

governing subsequent actions (Bourdieu 1990, 68). Imported objects presented the challenge of incorporation, and opened up the possibility of a variety of uses and behaviours that could be assigned to the new objects. Novel items of material culture could be adopted as indicators of status, or rejected as tainted with an immigrant or colonial presence. Imported material culture was intrinsically more polysemic than the indigenous variety. New values had to be found to associate with any immigrant artefact – speculative stories of origin, of distant makers, of strange uses in distant lands – and such values, once attached, facilitated indigenous acceptance and subsequent exchange. As noted, whatever the reaction to alien material culture – there had to be one; the challenging muteness of foreign things could not be ignored.

Knowledge of the mechanisms for consumption of Roman or continental imported material culture are not well-developed. From anthropological parallels we can imagine reactions from acceptance, rejection or transformation; we can speculate on elite control of distribution, on sumptuary practices, conspicuous consumption, potlatch-style destruction in bogs or rivers, removal from circulation in burials, or as offerings at shrines. We can also imagine, more mundanely, that different forms of pottery might just have been accepted because those new forms were available; indeed, as stated previously, they might have been accepted without any overt knowledge that the objects were 'Roman'. And, in the case of some ceramics, we must always remember that often it was the contents, not the containers, that were important. In addition, as was the case with the first Chinese porcelain to arrive in Britain, unfamiliar material culture may have arrived on ships as a by-product and make-weight cargo, crated around other items. The exports, such as slaves, foodstuffs and minerals may have been far more important cargoes than the imports. The matrix of unaccustomed object-people oscillations, the kaleidoscope of miraculative outcomes, offered possibilities for change through 'chances objectively offered him by the social world' (Bourdieu 1990, 64), and through other mechanisms such as emulation and mimesis. We must imagine that a minority of people were willing to take such chances, and found ways of doing so.

Chapter 4: Contested Landscapes and Colonial Encounters

In this Chapter I examine both the integrative and divisive roles played by symbolically-charged cultural landscapes and buildings in structuring colonial encounters. I explore some of the key themes articulated, mostly in the recent anthropological and archaeological literature that reflect on the role of cultural landscapes. In order to bring the past into sharper focus I will also examine, briefly, the legacy of Roman authors. The principal part of this chapter will then explore in detail colonial encounters, landscapes and buildings within the study area during the period approximately 100BC to AD200.

Introduction

Cultural landscapes comprise all tangible and sensual aspects of the surrounding environment, and include all the physical elements which guide and generate daily actions, and in turn are created, modified or destroyed by them. In this respect, the city is as much a part of the landscape as the rural hinterlands (see Williams 1973; Maclean *et al* 1999). They thus encompass not only a spectrum from individual buildings, to villages, towns, streets, squares, fields, tracks, animals, plants, rivers, seascapes, mountain tops and cloudscapes, but also sensed qualities such as temperature, winds, sunshine, rainfall, silence, noise and smells (Ingold 1993). In origin, they are a mixture of creations by human action and natural agencies, but they are also in a continual state of alteration and movement, and they all have histories (Tilley 1994; Head 2010, 433; Ingold 2010, 164). Cultural landscapes also possess significant symbolic dimensions (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988). Landscapes are socialised through naming and memory (Tilley 1994, 67; Sharma 1995) and familiarized, marginalised or sacralised through a variety of social practices. Different cultural landscapes can dwell in the same place and be contested by different groups, particularly during colonial episodes. Cultural landscapes form most of the physical *habitus* that trains and constrains social action (Bourdieu 1990, 52ff). Landscape, as *habitus*, provides structuring principles that generate recurring daily practices and outcomes, without the requirement of prior conscious motivations. This physical *habitus* is also a product of history, and produces

individual and collective practices in accordance with schemes generated by historical experience; it ensures the guiding and active presence of past experiences (Bourdieu 1990, 54).

Establishing authority over cultural landscapes in the colonial project is a vital one. Many colonial projects, including that of the Roman Empire, were based around the idea of subjugation and then enduring surveillance; this was partly achieved through the device of bringing people to live together in one place – in other words, the foundation of towns and cities. Planned urban environments provided optimum conditions for both the encouragement of indigenous, benign behaviours, and the eradication of those hostile to colonial intent, although regulating behaviours carried out behind closed doors was much more problematic (see Mitchell 1991 for an example of British colonial control in Egypt effected through the re-planning of settlements, and Wright (1991) for an example of French urbanization in the Maghreb). The wider cultural landscapes of the hinterlands, more extensive and varied, were altogether more of a challenge. They were at some remove from the epicentres of colonial control; they were often home to groups who stood against colonial values, or were ignorant, suspicious or unmoved by them; they could easily be landscapes of contestation (Bender 1993; Bender and Winer 2001; Low and Laurence-Zuñiga 2003).

Those wider cultural landscapes, however, housed some of the most valuable commodities for the Roman colonizer – slaves, agricultural surpluses and mineral resources. The materiality of landscapes was altered through the construction of roads to ensure quicker communication and more effective policing, and by the establishment of towns and military stations. In southern Britain administrative Roman control was effected by engagement with, and recruitment of the indigenous elite; in the north and the west landscape control was maintained much more through a brutal military presence (Mattingly 2007). For rural areas of Roman Britain, especially in the south, control had to be exercised by re-orientating indigenous ideas and values to align with imperial aims. It was much more a project of conviction rather than coercion, although occasional elite rural dwellings demonstrated colonial practices. But conviction depended on a partial re-ordering of the physical and symbolic structures of landscapes. New or shared ideological values had to be written into the cultural landscape that

seemed timeless and universal; in such a way 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu 1990, 133) could take the place of physical violence of the colonizer.

Contested landscapes and buildings in colonial encounters

Materialization of a **network or grid of surveillance** is one of the early demonstrations of colonial intent. Essentially the activities of reconnaissance, scouting, pioneering are followed by a grasp of topography which is then enmeshed by a grid of roads, boundaries, frontiers, and often a compartmentalization of some areas of the landscape into gridded plots. The colonial agent often cannot see the cultural landscape of the indigenous. For instance, the landscape of the Kwaio of the Solomon Islands, appears to the alien eye to be a sea of green, dense forest broken periodically by gardens and secondary growth, yet to the locals it is not only divided by invisible lines into named tracts of lands and settlements, it is also structured by history (Hirsch 1995, 2). Roman colonization was particularly efficient in establishing such networks of surveillance through its archetypal combination of roads, forts, towns, fixed frontiers such as Hadrian's Wall, and division of agricultural land by centuriation, through the work of the *agrimensores,* designed in part with more efficient taxation in mind (Mattingly 2007, 359-360). How quickly this network was established is debateable, and it certainly took until the 2nd century AD for most of its components to be in place (Mattingly 2007, 277-8). The singular importance of boundaries was much in evidence during the British occupation of Australia. Aboriginal societies were broadly aware of their territorial ranges, but it was a centripetal knowledge, keenly focused on home resources but increasingly fuzzy towards the boundaries (Carter 1988, 163; see also Abramson 2000a, 193, for uncertain local boundaries in Fiji). The edges of territories were debateable places. For the colonizer and settler boundaries had to be clearly demarcated, whether at the macro-political level relating to the boundary of the colonial province, or at the level of the individual settler, demarcating home farm from outback, culture from nature (Carter *op.cit.*, 152-3). This fixation with boundaries echoes the earlier discussion regarding the ill-defined territorial jurisdiction of Late Iron Age tribal leaders or chiefs in relation to the precision demanded by Roman colonial agents.

Indigenous topographies were occasionally respected, but more often neutralized or disregarded. The practice of colonial cartography, allied to the allocation of gridded

plots of territory or land, left little room for indigenous sentiments or ancestral values, still less for local peripatetic patterns of movement (Carter *op.cit.,* 169). Colonial agents often saw appropriation of new lands as their duty. The Puritans, in the New World, perceived themselves as engaged in a struggle to master the savage, untamed, howling wildernesses they encountered. They were ideologically convinced that men and women had a God-given duty to cultivate the land, to make their mark on it. The failure of the indigenous to do so was evidence of their savagery, and justification for their dispossession (Johnson 2007, 15ff). This kind of violent dispossession was not unknown in *Britannia.* Tacitus (Annals XIV, 38-39) informs that plundering by Roman officers and slaves was one of the causes of the Boudiccan revolt. After the suppression of the rebellion in the 60s, during which some 80,000 Britons died, immediate Roman reprisals on the survivors were no doubt savage and consisted of mass executions and enslavements of most of the Icenic population, with much indigenous territory swept up into imperial estates, and settlers drafted in to farm and exploit the land (Mattingly 2007, 384). Much like the Roman surveyors who must have descended on the territory of the Iceni, British surveyors took ideological control of large tracts of Australia by charting it on a map, re-naming, making it appear on a document that could be held, and possessed, in the hand, providing it with a new history, a British history (Birch 1996, 177).

New roads could also be symbolic demonstrations of colonial intent. Indigenous trackways and paths that memorialized local ancestors (Tilley 1994, 41) could be cut through or truncated. In Madagascar ancestral burial grounds were deliberately targeted by the French as sites that colonial roads should cross (Parker Pearson *et al* 1999). The Roman road known as Stane Street (fig. 8) ran from the Chichester channel north eastwards to *Londinium*, smashing through the system of the Chichester Dykes in the study area, and taking little notice of previous topographies or histories. Sometimes, in order to accommodate an active indigenous presence, these networks of surveillance were cloaked in other guises. In Fiji, the British utilized new roads and re-located settlements as some of the key components in colonial control, but argued they were primarily for welfare reforms and sanitation (Thomas 1994, 123).

The skeletal perimeters and arteries of colonial control established, colonial surveyors then usually went to work reifying new land divisions by re-naming (see Jacobs 1993,

116; Russell 2001, 5; Sluyter 2002, 3 for commentary and examples). The keeping of such records, the re-naming of places, such as *Noviomagus* (Chichester) in the study area (the 'Newmarket' implying that the foundation replaced an 'Oldmarket' somewhere nearby) were the building blocks of the Roman colonial mission, although few such cartographic records survive (Mattingly 2007, 361). The re-naming of places and spaces effected a symbolic form of capture, control and dispossession (Thomas 1994, 123; Carter 1998, xxiv; see also Stewart and Strathern 2003; O'Hanlon and Frankland 2003). In South Africa, the naming of cities and streets after prominent Boers or Englishmen served to obliterate the memory of indigenous inhabitants. Indigenous townships, where the blacks were re-located, were given a-historical names, serving to accelerate an historical amnesia in respect of ancestry, ownership and culture (Maake 1996, 150-1). Surviving classical texts such as Ptolemy's Geography, of the second century AD, the third century Antonine Itinerary, and the early eighth century Ravenna Cosmography remind us that fixing and naming locations were very much part of the infrastructure of Roman colonialism. The Latin names given to some pre-existing settlements in southern Britain superficially suggest a degree of accommodation with traditional usage, rather than outright replacement (e.g. *Verulamium* probably replaced Celtic *Verulamion*, - perhaps meaning the settlement of *Uerulamos* – 'Broad-Hand'; or *Aquae Sulis* – the waters of Celtic *Sulis*, whom the Romans identified with Minerva). Such accommodation, however, may have been a form of disguised colonial control.

Successive waves of settlers and colonizers in the study area – Gallo-Belgic, Atrebatic, Roman – had to acknowledge and respond to the legacies of earlier inhabitants whom they had not come to replace, but rather to control and settle among. How such earlier landmarks, both material and non-material, were treated was pivotal to the success of some forms of colonialism – certainly that of the Middle Ground variety (Gosden 2004, 26). The entire landscape of the study area was culturally constituted, and its landforms, trackways, settlements, rivers and shorelines were bound up with memories and probably with ancestors (Tilley 1994, 27, 31). Examples of the mnemonic power of cultural landscapes (and colonial intent to associate with, and transcend them) abound in the study area. The hillfort of The Trundle was sited to incorporate most of the remains of a much earlier Neolithic causewayed-camp; the Roman temple at Hayling Island mimicked and aggrandized an earlier Gallo-Belgic one; the immigrant cemetery at

Westhampnett was focused on an earlier Bronze Age barrow, while the Flavian Palace at Fishbourne incorporated an Atrebatic building – the so-called proto-palace .

Figure 6. Views southwards from The Trundle. The head of the Chichester Channel, at Fishbourne Roman Palace (yellow symbol), and the position of the Middle Iron Age settlement at Chalkpit Lane (red symbol) are marked. It is conceivable that the Middle Iron Age hillfort of The Trundle was a nodal point in indigenous networks of surveillance, prior to any subsequent episodes of immigration or colonial control. Significantly, views to the hillfort may have been just as important as views from it.

In forms of colonialism, where prior settlers were at least recognized, contestations over cultural landscapes were often played out between the indigenous concepts of mythical land (identity/memory/cosmology inevitably embedded with the land) and settler/colonizer concepts of jural land (alienable/of the present/without history – see Abramson 2000b). Invariably these two bipolarized ideologies could overlap or be layered giving rise to various hybrid dogmas. The potential for misunderstandings, confusion and deception was obvious. In Fiji the indigenous did not understand the concept of 'selling' land to whites, and wanted to keep using their land after it had been 'sold' (Derrick 1950, 152). In many small-scale traditional societies it is the land that owns the people, rather than the people owning the land (see Smith 1999 and Abramson 2000a for examples), whereas Roman law upheld the rights of land-owners

to buy and sell property (Mattingly 2007, 354). Perceptions of land-ownership in southern Britain in the preceding Iron Age cannot be defined with any clarity, although it is possible to surmise that collective household/kinships rights in land (Sharples 2010, 234) were much more common than individual alienable land-ownership. Ideological contestations over land would have been prevalent at certain places and times during the Roman colonial project, as the colonial power sought to increase commodification of this resource.

The built form: from round to rectangular?

In the time-frame chosen for this thesis (c.100BC to AD200), in southern Britain, there is a perceived major shift from Iron Age circular buildings of wood, wattle and daub, and thatch, to Roman or Romano-British rectangular buildings of timber, or stone, with tiled or shingled roofs. In essence these mark the archetypal building styles of the indigenous/predecessor and the Roman colonizer. This perception is illusory, in that it is likely that the elite rectangular built form, more often seen in towns, remained in the minority throughout the Roman occupation of Britain; the indigenous circular built form probably outnumbered rectangular building in the rural areas (Mattingly *pers. comm.*). In addition, at last one rectangular building (a possible byre) is known from the study area during the Late Iron Age (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 153; 176-177). An example of a phenomenon that occurred with some regularity in the first two centuries AD can be demonstrated from the settlement at Barcombe, East Sussex (Rudling *pers.comm.*). Here traditional circular timber buildings continued to be constructed well into the second century AD, eventually being superseded by a rectangular stone-footed building of modest proportions. It is extremely tempting to view this sequence as successive generations of the same family, eventually becoming convinced, and accustomed to, the concept of dwelling in a rectangular structure[17].

Circular built forms, even ones that can be dismantled and moved from time to time, can provide the generating principles for daily life which Bourdieu (2003) identified for the Berber house. Among the Cree, who live in large domed tents, or wooden-framed canvas-covered tents, and who move seasonally to hunt and trap, there is a standardized

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[17] A process similar to immigrant assimilation – see Brown and Bean 2006.

arrangement of domestic space, related to gender, age and authority (Tilley 1994, 55). Tswana conceptual space, like that of the Cree, is modelled on circularity (Comaroff 1985). In the archetypal circular pre-colonial settlement the chiefly court was established at the centre, and the individual walled homesteads around the periphery. And within each circular house, the female area was located to the rear (to provide access to the fields outside the settlement), -and the male space at the front (to provide access to the politically important central areas of the settlement), and to ensure agnatic co-operation in the herding of cattle. Similar structuring principles have been applied to some circular Iron Age houses in Britain (for instance see Thatcham (Fitzpatrick 1994), Westhampnett (Fitzpatrick 1997) and also Sharples 2010, 235). In the Iron Age cultural landscapes of southern Britain predominantly circular built forms stood surrounded by rectangular fields (fig. 7), some with particular north-east:south-west alignments, that may have been ritually motivated (Taylor 2007, 67).
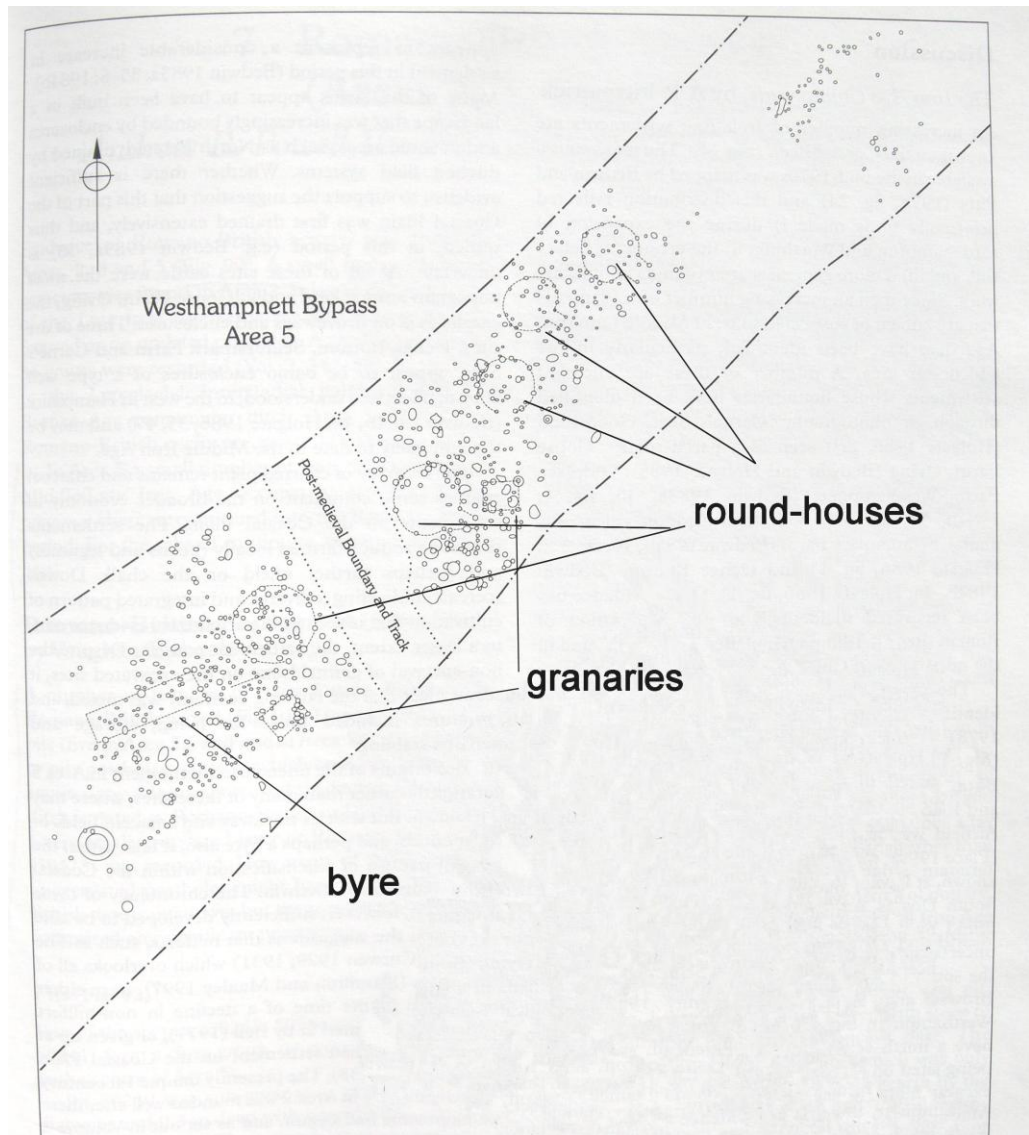
Figure 7. The Middle Iron Age settlement at Westhampnett. Note the five identified circular structures – (round-houses), with entrances facing south or south-east; the square structures (possibly granaries) and the long, rectangular byre(?) to the south-west of the houses. (After Fitzpatrick et al 2008, Figure 63, p.143).

How did this dialectic of circular and rectangular domestic architecture play out during the colonial encounter with the Roman Empire? Superficially it appears that the colonial agents probably had no interest in changing vernacular architecture, at least in the rural areas. It seems highly likely that indigenous lifeways, conditioned by domestic structuring principles, continued after the Roman conquest, albeit with significant and occasionally extreme compromises beyond the wattle and daub walls, such as taxation, re-organisation of land-usages, forced labour and potential enslavement. Assuming that the families escaped some of the more violent effects of the colonial presence, it was

possible that successor generations would eventually, and no doubt for a variety of reasons, adopt rectangularity as a domestic form, as at Barcombe (above). In the towns, colonial scrutiny was much more intense, and here, with grid-patterned streets, public *fora*, and largely rectangular buildings, a facsimile of a classical town could be constructed. Continuity of indigenous lifeways in rural circular buildings therefore provided possibilities for different forms of resistance to the occasional unwelcome presence of any colonial agent, particularly a landlord or tax collector.

Elite rectangular buildings in the countryside, such as the villas, and rectangular domestic buildings in the towns, were also vehicles for structuring principles, but ones that conformed more to the ideal patrilineal models of a Roman family (Dixon 1992). Rectangular buildings were just as compelling as circular ones in this respect. Binary oppositions, for instance, structured social space in rectangular Fijian houses (Toren 1999). All horizontal spaces inside buildings can be mapped onto a spatial axis whose poles are governed by the terms 'above' and 'below'. In multi-occupancy long-houses among the Kelabit of Sarawah, Janowski (1995, 87) indicated how the rice-meal consumed around separate hearths delineated individual conjugal groups, whereas the house itself, with its common passage ways and communal areas, reinforced collective solidarity. Such interplay between separate family areas and shared spaces may well have existed in some Roman villas. Yet even among elite rural Roman villas in southern Britain there are significant suggestions of hybridity. They are unlike prestigious villas in Italy, for instance, and the frequent appearance of two or three 'living units' (one large room, two small rooms) in the same villa suggest that they may have accommodated two or three related families, and could form a direct link to Late Iron Age family residential patterns (Hingley 1990). Contact with Rome might have merely changed architectural ephemera rather than more deeply embedded social structures.

A central tenet of Bourdieu's (2003) theory is that physical domestic space, repeatedly used, generates practice or *habitus*. How does this fit with the changes from round to rectangular architecture? There is some consensus that the entrance orientation of round-houses, towards the south-east and the rising sun, and their circularity, is crucial to the generation and maintenance of practice. Conceivably the porches of some round-houses offered a transitional space between occupant and visitor. A model proposed by Parker Pearson (1996, 1999) and Fitzpatrick (1994) suggests that the movement of

sunlight within the round-house governed behaviours, so that the south side was sunlit for daytime activities, and people slept in the dark, northern sides at night. Thus the circularity of the structure became a device for establishing primarily rhythmical, daily patterns (Sharples 2010, 184). It has also been proposed that circular house architecture could be a metaphor for a lifecycle, with houses constructed when someone comes of age, and dismantled when a death occurs (Sharples 2010, 202). People in Ngamiland (Botswana) speak of a house as having 'died', if it is not strong and collapses (Morton 2007, 163). Rectangular, multi-room, structures favoured by Roman architecture were clearly of an entirely different order. They fractured the homologous relationship between inside and outside. They were built to last, and their many internal divisions, creating rooms of different sizes, sustained hierarchical differences between occupants (*paterfamilias,* children, slaves, guests, apprentices – Dixon 1992, 11), and promoted privacy. The arrangements of doorways and passage ways in the house allowed for different levels of access to family members, guests and strangers. In elaborate houses the differing combinations of mosaics, wall-paintings and furniture structured distinctive social uses in particular rooms.

The foundation of colonial towns, their character, and their location and relationship to the overall cultural landscape was one of the most significant enterprises of the Roman colonial project (Morley 2010, 55). As noted in Chapter 3 Creighton (2006, 76) presented a compelling case for a 'discrepant town' or 'associationist' approach to some Roman towns in southern Britain, emphasizing the importance of different colonial agents in the foundation of each town, and the hybridity of form, layout and architecture, contingent on the new settlement's response to the pre-existing cultural landscape. Associationist, assimilationist and racialist attitudes to colonial town planning have all been documented from more recent colonial adventures (see Wright 1991 for French examples from Morocco (association) and Vietnam (assimilation); and Fuller (1992) for Italian racial ideologies in Ethiopia). The siting of towns in Roman Britain, the forms of architecture in them, the population mix of a minority of colonial agents, a small number of local elite, a few mixed-marriages, and a majority of the free and servile indigenous or predecessor, combined in particular ways in each town to offer different trajectories for governance, acquiescence and resistance. The situation was even more nuanced in the case of early Chichester under the client kingdom. Authors such as Crinson (2006) have investigated how British architecture could be

introduced into areas of the world not formally under British control, such as 19th century Istanbul. Such studies might provide some useful insights into how Roman colonial architecture, and no doubt other colonial manifestations, could be introduced under the sort of 'informal imperialism' enjoyed by the post-AD43 Atrebates, under the nominally independent Togidubnus.

Classical sources for landscapes and buildings

I want to comment briefly here on the attitudes of Roman authors to landscapes and buildings. The Elder Pliny (*Natural History*), who was writing about the same time as Fishbourne Roman Palace was being planned and constructed, was an admirer of quiet, tamed landscapes - not wild beauty (Beagon 1992, 194); the sea, on the other hand, was an uncertain and ambiguous element of the personified and deified Nature. Pliny saw the mission of humankind as the civilizer of Nature. Animals existed for the convenience of men, but the Romans did not appreciate beauty *per se* in nature or animals. Pliny was not oblivious to views and prospects, and saw theatrical design in vistas of mountains and cities. But Pliny's great delight was in the partnership of Nature and humankind in the cultivation of a produce garden, or *hortus*. This linkage between landscape, cultivation and productivity resonates with the colonial project, and with the foundational meaning of a colonist, one who cultivates (see Chapter 2). Gardens were carefully enclosed and protected from the intrusions of wild beasts or malignant plants. Pliny's views are thus highly relevant and should be taken into account when considering the enclosed gardens of Fishbourne Roman Palace (see below). Virgil eulogised both public and private gardens (*Eclogues*); they were enclosed and tamed green spaces that afforded the citizen time and space for specific social and cultural activities, away from the commotions and complexities of public life. The garden at Fishbourne Roman Palace may have both tried to replicate an idealized metropolitan garden in a colonial outpost, and may also have furnished a small landscape of civilization, surrounded by so much that was not. Strabo (*Geography*, Book IV, 5, 2) claimed that the Britons knew nothing of agriculture or gardening, a mistaken trope certainly in respect of the former.

The Ten Books of Vitruvius, an architect who was writing probably during the Principate of the Emperor Augustus (Hicky Morgan 1960), provide insights into the

built environment. At first glance they seem essentially quite functional in their orientation, describing the constituents of various building materials such as brick, sand, lime and pozzolana, and the importance of the correct proportions in the various 'orders', such as Doric and Ionic. There are, however, one or two excursions beyond functionalism (although it probably did not appear to Vitruvius in this light). At one stage (Book III), and neatly anticipating the work of anthropology, Vitruvius provides a detailed account of the rational reasons for the linkages between the form of the human body, and some buildings, particularly symmetrical ones. And the human body not only provides an analogy for the symmetrical proportions of a building, but also furnishes the origins for a system of measurements, such as foot, palm and finger. Vitruvius additionally notes the importance of sacrifices that must be made on site before the foundation of cities. Ever the rationalist, the author concentrates on a functionalist explanation, arguing that the livers of sacrificed cattle were examined to see if the local pasture was healthy, and, by extension, the site would be a good one for humans to occupy.

Famous passages from two more Latin authors conclude this section. The first is from Book II of the Letters of the Younger Pliny, and his detailed description of his Laurentian villa. Noteworthy in the description is the comments on the beauty and importance of views, both on the road that leads to the villa, and from one of its dining rooms. There are also useful comments about suites of rooms for freedmen and slaves, about Pliny's ability to retreat to a secluded area of the villa, away from the noise of the household, and about the box hedge that appears to run around the garden's encircling drive. Just such a box hedge was discovered bordering the formal garden at Fishbourne Roman Palace. Lastly, I turn to Tacitus (*Agricola* 21) and his commentary on the seducing material benefits of Roman colonialism. Agricola encouraged the construction of temples, squares and houses; he educated the sons of local chiefs in the liberal arts – and as a result 'the toga was everywhere to be seen'.

The remaining sections of this chapter will focus on the study area. In particular I want to provide a narrative of the contested roles of the cultural landscape, and of buildings, in the episodes of colonialism that eventually culminated in this area becoming part of the formal province of Roman Britain (see Appendix 1 for a chronological timeline). I will argue that the cultural landscape, through time, was characterized by **integration,**

division, dependency and finally **imperialism**. The relevance of these terms to the role of cultural landscape in the study area during the period c100BC to AD200 can be summarized. By **integration** I mean that a relatively uniform and widespread set of understood cultural values under-pinned social organisation and behaviours. By **division** I mean that, as a result of Gallo-Belgic settlement and colonization, the landscape of the study area became contested, both forcibly and ideologically. By **dependency** I refer to the Atrebatic client kingdom that, at times before AD43 and completely thereafter, was dependent on Roman acquiescence for its survival. This resulted in a culturally hybrid, and colonially tolerated, landscape. And by **imperialism** I indicate the imposition of direct Roman colonial rule in the AD70s, and the introduction of a new colonial grid of surveillance across the landscape.

A landscape of integration – c150BC to c75BC
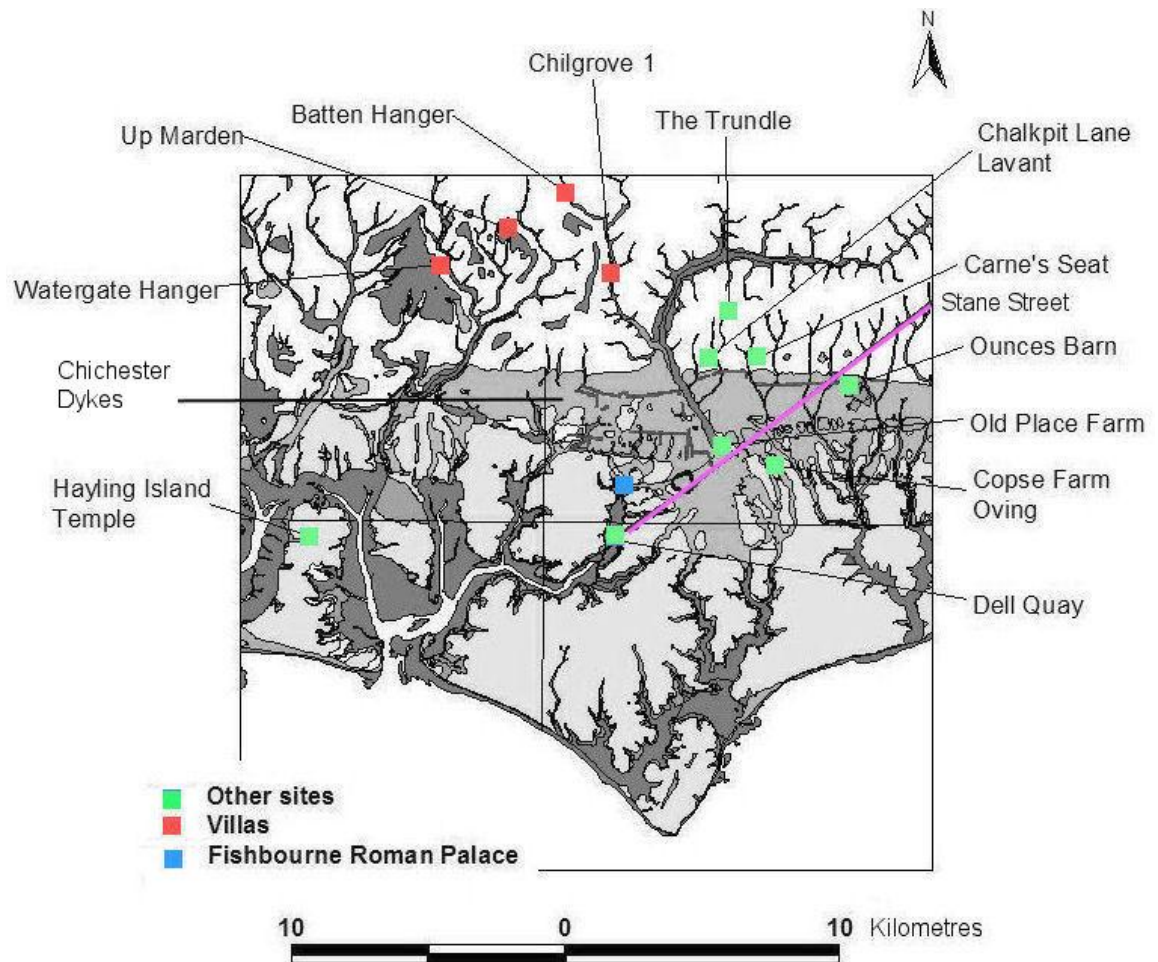
Figure 8. Distribution map of sites mentioned in the text, against the drift geology, and chalk downs (the white areas at the top of the map), of the study area. Note the location of the Chichester Dykes (for detail see Figure 12), Hayling Island Temple, The Trundle, Stane Street, Fishbourne and Chichester. (The background geology is depicted in grayscale, but is the same as in Figure 1).

The hillfort of The Trundle dominated the downland in the northern half of the study area and provided the focus of integration for the landscape. The functions and roles of hillforts have been a recurring theme in the archaeological literature for the last 50 years or so, with, in general, earlier views of them functioning as defensive strongholds giving way to understandings that emphasized their role as central places, somehow serving communities in their hinterlands, and followed, in the last 20 years, by post-processual interpretations which privileged their symbolic roles (Cunliffe 2005, 378ff;

Bradley 2007, 247ff; Sharples 2010, 116ff). Hillforts may, at times, have served as places of defence during raiding or short outbreaks of physical confrontation, but at others they were production centres, or storage centres, while some were arenas for communal gatherings involving rituals and feasting (Bradley 2007, 252). Many do not appear to have been enduring centres of population, wealth, exchange or long-term defensive locations. Hillforts were the loci for a heterogeneous range a of activities. It is true that views from or to hillforts seem to have been significant, and there are a number of such sites along the north scarp of the South Downs (e.g. Devil's Dyke; Harting Beacon; Wolstonbury) that appear to be sited so that they both can command views, and can be viewed with ease by those on lower ground outside them (Hamilton and Manley 2001, 8; 29). The hillfort-dominated societies of some parts of southern Britain were not static, however. Numerous hillforts of the Early Iron Age seem to have given way to fewer, but more complex hillforts by the Middle Iron Age with some of these, like The Trundle, being 'abandoned' (see Chapter 3) in the Late Iron Age (Cunliffe 2005, 400; Sharples 2010, 124). The assumption of cultural stasis, emphasized in some ethnographic accounts which provide synchronic narratives, is probably erroneous for most societies. Even on the tiny island of Gawa, off Papua New Guinea, the dialectic of struggle between internal positive and negative values provides a motor for cultural transformation free from outside influence (Munn 1986, 3). Communities changed significantly during the several centuries of the Iron Age, a long time before any demonstrable immigrant presence.

With regard to The Trundle (fig. 9), no round-houses (potential indicators of seasonal or permanent settlement) have been revealed by excavation, although surface surveys by English Heritage have suggested their possible presence (Oswald 1995). Instead, the excavated internal evidence from The Trundle consists of a number of pits, and the artefacts deposited in them. The pits appear to have been partly filled with deliberately placed and fragmented objects, including pieces of quernstones on the bases of pits, animal and occasional human bones (Curwen 1929; 1931). This phenomenon suggests that ritual activities, which included artefact deposition, served communities outside the enclosure, and provided a focal point for communities to come together. I concur with the views of Sharples (2010, 116ff) and van der Veen (2007, 120) in seeing hillforts as the organizing nodes for displays of inter-community competition that involved the competitive construction of earthworks through gifted labour, and arenas for feasting

and conspicuous consumption. The promise of feasts, in part, encouraged community donations of labour, and agonistic inter-community displays resulted in the potlatch-style deliberate fragmentation of objects.

Figure 9. The Trundle - in the Iron Age the grass covered chalk-bank would have been more imposing, and may have been revetted by a vertical timber façade. The several straight sections of earthwork that make up the enclosing bank, are quite obvious on the ground.

Visually dominant, it is not inconceivable that The Trundle enjoyed some totemic status amongst the Atrebates, rather like Andean *apu*. Certain high mountains are accorded ancestral spirit status among highland Andean communities, and pilgrimages and ritual payments are made to them for a variety of social purposes; some of these payments are made by either burning objects or burying them. *Apu* perform a vital role in strengthening kinship, community cohesion and larger regional identities (Williams and Nash 2006). The uncommon straight-sectioned perimeter of The Trundle also suggests a successor in the polygonal outline of Roman Chichester (see below). Although it might be argued that a mountain is a 'natural' part of the landscape while The Trundle, in part

is clearly manufactured, this sets up a modern dichotomy of natural/artificial which was irrelevant for cultural landscapes at this time (Latour 1993, 105). The Trundle was a hillfort that had been founded in the Middle Iron Age, in a location known to have been revered thousands of years before, in the shape of the underlying Neolithic 'causewayed camp'. Several human bones retrieved from the Iron Age site are indicative of its important centripetal role in the curation of ancestral bones (see Chapter 7).

Those who looked up to The Trundle lived in round-houses at Westhampnett (fig.7 – Fitzpatrick *et al* 2008) and at Chalkpit Lane (fig. 6), some 2 km south-west of The Trundle, on a south-facing slope a little above the coastal plain (Kenny 1993). At Chalkpit Lane there was an unenclosed settlement of up to 13 round-houses, complete with four, six and eight-post granaries (fig. 10). The same combination of south-east facing houses and granaries, accompanied by an exceptional rectangular byre, was found at Westhampnett (Fitzpatrick 2008, 185). There was some rudimentary indications of planning at Chalkpit Lane, with the houses seemingly distributed either side of a communal open space, facing each other. I want to emphasize, briefly, a few significant points about this site. First, its landscape position is absolutely dominated by the nearby Trundle. Secondly, there is again evidence of a broken saddle quern in a pit associated with Middle Iron Age pottery. Thirdly the orientation of the porches of the round-houses, with half facing east or south-east, is suggestive of symbolic elements (as suggested by Fitzpatrick (1994) for the Thatcham house). Note, however, Pope's (2008) critique of an obsessive search for symbolism in entrance orientation. (The advent of Roman colonial town planning, with its ritually charged but rigid east-west//north-south orientations, sought to replace these indigenous cosmologies). Lastly, the presence of raised 'granaries' should be noted. Even these seemingly functional and prosaic structures could be ritual foci, however. Waterson (1990, 53) records the presence of pile-built granaries separate from the main house in Thailand. The floor levels of such structures are higher than the floors of the houses out of respect for the rice Goddess, and indeed, more beautifully decorated for the same reason. And on Gawa yam houses are vital for the storage of the largest yams for community feasts, entertaining exchange partners and as marriage gifts (Munn 1986, 54).
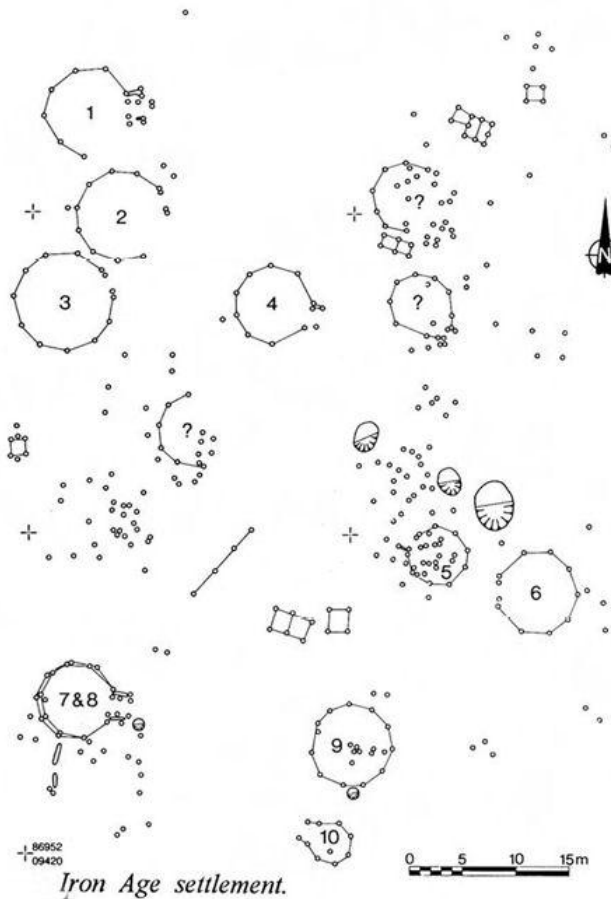
Figure 10. Plan of the Middle Iron Age settlement at Chalkpit Lane, Lavant. The vaguely circular shapes are the remains of round-houses, while the square and rectangular shapes are those of granaries. (From Kenny 1993).

If Chalkpit Lane and Westhampnett might be loosely described as small settlements, individual households might be identified by sites like Copse Farm, Oving, just to the east of Chichester on the coastal plain (Bedwin and Holgate 1985). At Copse Farm a rectangular ditched enclosure contained a circular area at its centre, which probably was the remains of a blacksmith's forge and a bronze metal-working area; a four-posted granary stood in the south-east corner. Entrance to the enclosure was from the east, but was almost completely blocked by a round-house whose entrance faced into the enclosure. The complex dated from 2nd and 1st centuries BC, but may have come to a relative sudden end around the start of the first millennium AD. Relevant to the theme of this section was the discovery that pottery sherds of the same vessels were found in different parts of the site (Bedwin and Holgate 1985, 226). It is conceivable that the successor of this site was a settlement just 700 metres to the north, which has produced Romano-British pottery. The extraordinary aspect of this industrial site, however, is the

blocking of the main entrance to the enclosure and therefore the 'hiding' of what went on within. Almost certainly, as among the Mande of West Africa, blacksmiths were both revered and feared, as possessors of arcane secrets and knowledge (McNaughton 1988; Ross 2002). The whole welfare of the village was bound up with the power of the blacksmith. The entrance hut at Copse Farm could even have been the abode of the blacksmith; its location may have prevented powerful spirits from escaping the enclosure and potentially harming unsuspecting members of the community.

There are, therefore, some significant themes that run through these summaries: the centrality of The Trundle, and the importance of views down from, and views upwards to the earthworks; the collective rituals of earthwork construction and feasts at The Trundle which drew on labour from communities like Chalkpit Lane and Westhampnett; shared cosmological perspectives underlined through deliberate fragmentation and burial of objects, and through mutual concerns with the correctness of certain south-easterly orientations; the looking back in time effected at The Trundle by its absorption of the causewayed enclosure, and its potential totemic status signalled by its polygonal perimeter; and The Trundle's centralizing role in the curation of ancestral bones. An immigrant community cremated their dead at Westhampnett during the latter part of this period (Chapter 7). Although this was an innovative burial rite, the location of the cemetery still looked up towards The Trundle. While these themes collectively do not add up to a comprehensive indication of cultural integration within the study area, they do at least hint at some common rituals and ideological perspectives that may have been shared by several different ethnic or community groups.

A divided landscape – c 75BC to AD43

Sometime in the first half of the last century BC, however, this integration was threatened, with the establishment of a major but unusual series of Late Iron Age temples (fig. 11) at the south-west corner of the study area, on Hayling Island (King and Soffe 1994). The first phase consisted of an early first century BC rectangular building or enclosure, possibly with parallels at Danebury hillfort (King 2007, 16), but more likely with sites in northern Gaul such as Digeon (Somme – Haselgrove 2005, 398). In the second half of that century the site was entirely remodelled. In the centre of the complex was a round-house, conceivably a round timber tower, with an entrance facing

east onto a courtyard. A central pit had been back-filled with local brickearth and a variety of artefacts (pottery, brooches, animal bones, Celtic coins and a fragment of a mirror). A fence to the immediate east screened the timber house or tower, and separated it off from the outer area of the courtyard (fig. 11). It was in this outer area, and especially the south-east corner, that votive offerings seem to have been deposited; the patches of burning suggests that ritual meals may have been consumed. The finds were numerous, some deliberately broken, and included pieces of shield-bindings, belt-loops, chain mail, spearheads, horse-harness pieces and other trappings that could be associated with Late Iron Age warriors and their chariots, a reminder of the recurrent martial characteristics of Late Iron Age societies; Strabo (*Geography*, Book IV, 5, 2) noted that the British used chariots for warfare. Other objects were more personal and included brooches, finger rings, bracelets, amphorae sherds and currency bars, animal bones, plus a large number of coins (see Chapter 6). The form of the temple, with its circular timber focus and rectangular surround, is unlike any other Late Iron Age temple in southern Britain but it does have parallels in Gaul (Maniquet *et al.* 2004, 34-5).
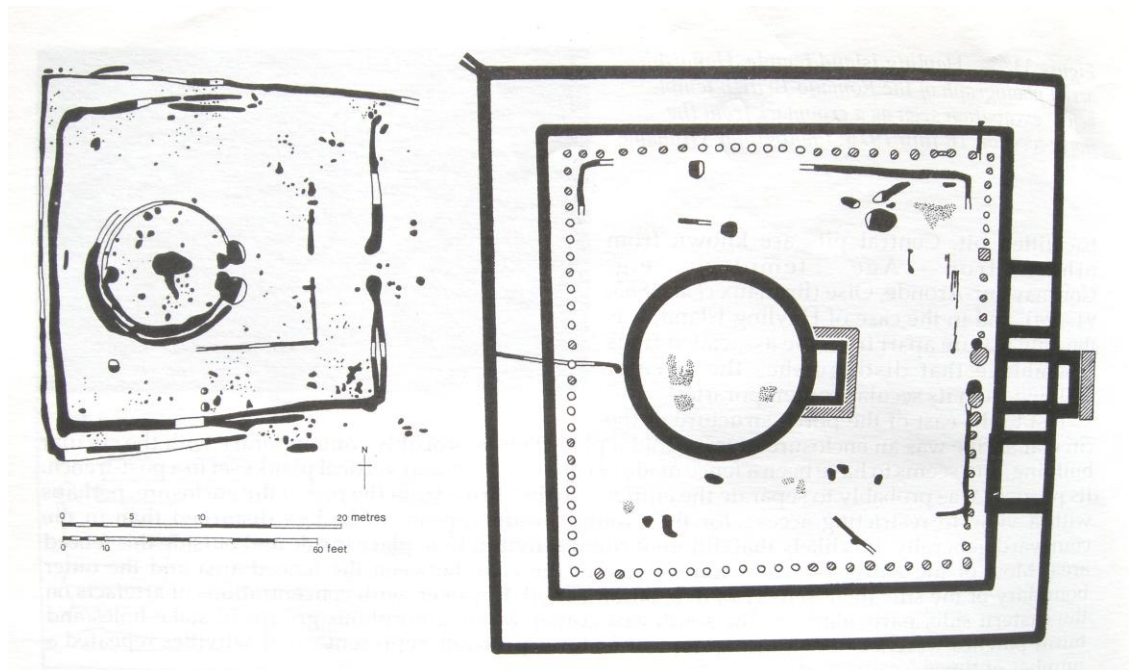

Figure. 11: Plans of the main temples on Hayling Island; note how the later and larger Atrebatic one respects the basic elements of the earlier Late Iron Age temple. (From King and Soffe 1994).

The Gallic parallels for the second phase of the Hayling Island temple (left-hand plan on fig. 11), and its coastal location, strongly suggest that the site became a focal point for an immigrant community of some kind, conceivably a foundational site for the Atrebates under Commius (see Chapter 3). (Indeed, it is possible that the first phase was also associated with Gallic immigrants). The martial nature of some of the objects from the temple, and the possibility that a founding warrior-leader could have been buried in the central pit on the site, point to the probability that the incursions may not have been peaceful and may have constituted some form of colonization of this area of southern Britain in the mid-first century BC. The dating of this immigration is, of course, not precise. There is an obvious historical niche in which to locate this event (i.e. the Gallic wars of Caesar in the 50s BC and the flight or expulsion of Gallic exiles to Britain). However, the wealth of connections that existed between communities across the Channel, and the turbulence of events in the near Continent subjected to Roman encroachment, suggest that there could have been several occasions (most unrecorded by classical writers) for immigration to southern Britain. Indeed, within the study area there is evidence for a previous Gallic immigrant community who buried their dead at Westhampnett (see Chapter 7), and who may have caused the neighbouring settlement, some 800 metres to the south-west (fig. 7) to be abandoned (Fitzpatrick *et al* 2008, 175).

In landscape terms two points deserve mention. The first concerns the liminal location of Hayling Island temple. The low-lying island was connected to the mainland by a causeway that flooded at high tide. The mystical quality afforded by this location, one that effectively the Gods of nature controlled access to, and its association with a founding military leader like Commius, might have made it an ideally located monument to become the focus of pilgrimages for newly arrived and second-generation immigrants. The architectural similarities to Gallic temples could have conjured up notions of the homelands across the water. The second point is that the landscape had now become ritually polarised, with The Trundle on the Downs symbolic of the old land-based order, while the temple on the island provided a sea-facing alternative. Indeed the height of the round timber tower at the centre of the temple may have made it visible for a good distance, conceivably from The Trundle itself, and it was certainly possible to view The Trundle from Hayling Island. The Atrebates might have attempted to dominate by force the coastal plain, or tried to negotiate with earlier settlers and the

indigenous. It could conceivably be that Hayling Island was ceded to the newcomers, after aggressive confrontations, allowing them to settle there, perhaps in the same way as the fictional elders of Mbanta allowed missionaries to build a church in the 'evil forest', on land that no self-respecting local would tread (Achebe 1958,140).

From an ideological landscape of potential contestation the archaeological evidence suggests that it then became a landscape physically divided and truncated by the construction of the extensive linear earthworks (essentially internal bank and external ditch) known collectively today as the Chichester Dykes (fig. 12). The dating evidence for the Dykes is not precise (see Magilton 2003, 157-159 for a good summary of the sometimes conflicting evidence), but it is distinctly possible that most were constructed by the Atrebates during their first, or a subsequent wave of settlement. Their layout suggests at least two phases of construction, with a primary focus from the river Lavant to the Bosham Channel, and then an eastwards extension. A minimalist view, however, would see only the northernmost east-west dyke as definitely Iron Age (Magilton 20003, 159). It is difficult to underestimate the transformation wrought on the landscape by these Dykes. They were dug, conceivably by forced indigenous labour, just to the south of the chalk Downs, and, for instance, passed just to the south of the Chalkpit Lane settlement. Viewed from that site the effect of the Dykes would have been powerfully impressive and excluding, and they clearly were laid out to separate off an area of the coastal plain. What had previously been accessible land from the foot of the Downs now became land that could only be accessed by passing through one of the gateways on the Dykes. Access to the sea and the various harbours was now restricted, as was the ability to reach the salterns on the various peninsulas.
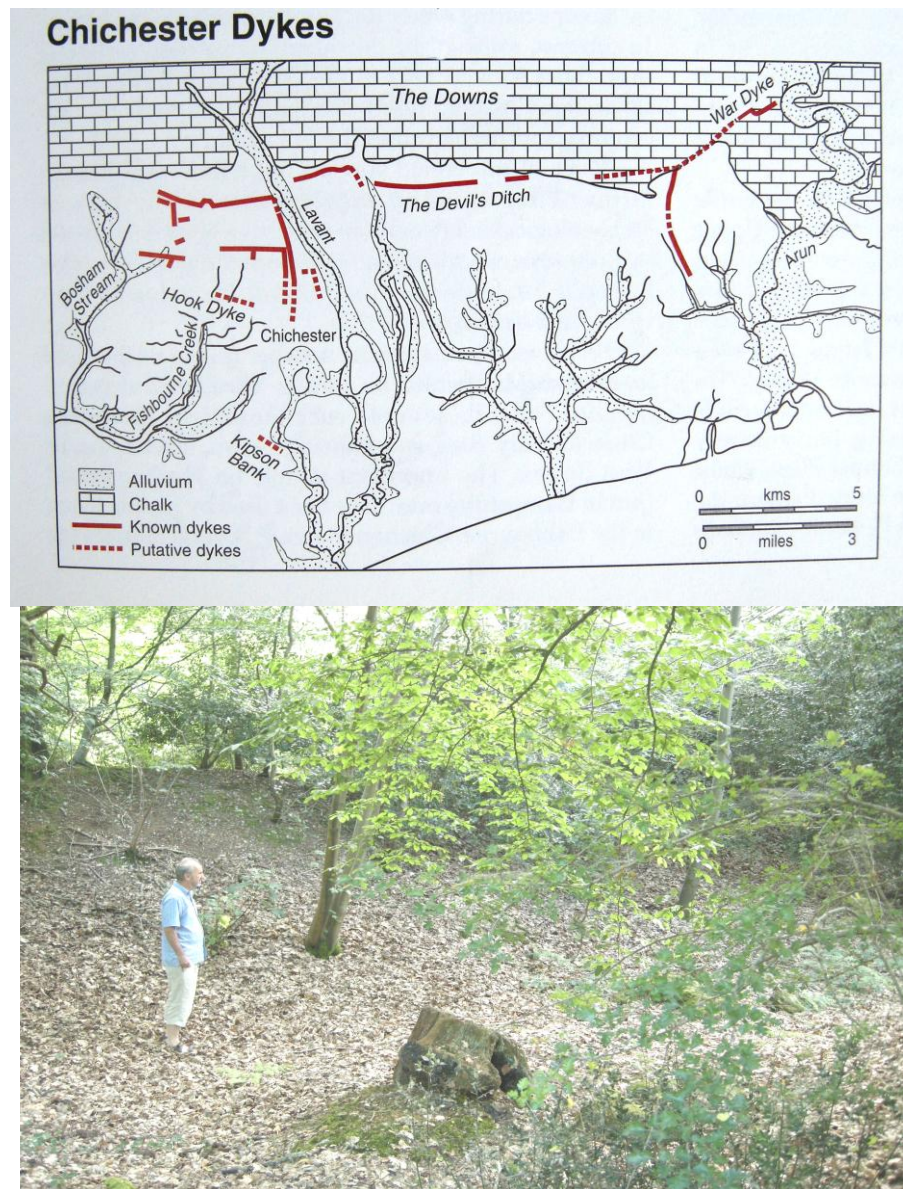
Figure 12. A map of the known sections of the Chichester Dykes (top – Manley 2002). The photograph shows a small section of the Chichester Dykes at Broyle Copse, just to the north of Chichester and Fishbourne. The author is standing on top of the filled in ditch, with the remains of the inner earthen bank to the left, and south (bottom).

There is an assumption that the communities and activities within the area enclosed by the Dykes differed in some respects from those outside the earthworks, and that the whole of the enclosed area might have constituted an *oppidum*, of proto-urban character (Pitts 2010). Such sites do not conform to the classical ideal of densely concentrated houses and public buildings, but rather to the pre-colonial form of urban centres in

south-east Asia (Waterson 1990, 27), which consisted of compounds spread out over wide areas, separated by trees and other vegetation – in essence a continuation of a rural pattern of life within an 'urban' context. A comparator from pre-colonial and colonial Botswana is also instructive. Indigenous communities frequently changed the location of their capitals, on average once every three years in the mid-19th century, for reasons of water shortage or lack of pasture. Organic materials used in settlement construction facilitated such frequent moves. British colonial authorities, however, much as their Roman counterparts, wanted fixed capitals, investing them with some relatively immovable stone buildings, for the purposes of easier administrative control and taxation (Morton 2004, 350). If these Dykes were constructed around fluid or fixed Atrebatic enclaves then it is likely that exchange, trading, and minting of coinage were some of the activities that distinguished the immigrants from the indigenous.

At the beginning of the first millennium AD, there was one further extraordinary episode, perhaps of a colony of settlers, but certainly one of increasing contact in material culture and behaviours from across the Channel. The evidence comes from the ditch excavated directly to the east of the later Fishbourne Roman Palace (Manley 2005) which produced a considerable quantity of Italian Arretine ceramics, associated with the probable remains of feasting (see Chapter 5 for a fuller exposition). Similar types of pottery have been located underneath the later Roman city of Chichester, particularly in its western and north-western sections (Manley 2002, 133). Whoever these people were, whether well-connected locals or more likely immigrants, their eating behaviours, and no doubt many other material manifestations of their identity and community allegiances were ostentatiously different from those living in inland settlements, and those living beyond the Dykes. At the same time, radical changes were taking place at Silchester, where round-houses were replaced at the end of the first century BC by a planned system of roads (orientated south-west//north-east) associated with rectangular buildings, highly suggestive of Atrebatic or other Gallo-Belgic colonization.

Of the more rural settlement patterns there is some tantalizing but fragmentary evidence. There are suggestions of partial discontinuity and reorganisation of occupation in the late 1st century BC and early 1st century AD, as well as field ditches dug to drain land in more marginal areas (Yates 2007, 61) – both developments would not be out of place in a landscape subjected to episodic bouts of colonial appropriation –

with dispossessions, enslavement and forced labour of some of the indigenous. Late Iron Age rural settlements and buildings on the coastal plain so far discovered include a single round-house just to the east of Fishbourne, one at North Bersted (associated with irregular rectangular fields - Bedwin and Pitts 1978), and one round-house underneath Chichester, as well as the example from Copse Farm already noted. Other settlements include the sites of Old Place Farm, Carne's Seat and Ounces Barn, notably all to the west and north-west of Chichester. The majority of these sites, in terms of pottery evidence, lack significant quantities of continental imported wares, and certainly Arretine ceramics, suggesting that continental imports were controlled by a minority, possibly largely an immigrant and colonizing minority. It is highly likely that hierarchical divisions within and between communities and individuals, were now much more apparent, and these generated cultural landscapes and material cultures of greater variability and contestation.

'Informal Imperialism' and the dependent landscape of a client kingdom - AD43 to cAD75

The landscape of southern Britain changed dramatically as a result of its formal annexation by the Roman military in AD43. One of the Atrebatic client kings, Verica, (a fictive or actual descendant of Commius – see above and Chapter 3) had fled to the Emperor Claudius prior to that date, and Roman military intervention was, in part, justified by the need to restore order on the nearer shores of the island – *prima fascie* a pericentric reason for annexation. This was the political context that saw the restoration of the regal Atrebatic client kingdom, almost certainly under the rule of Togidubnus. For a generation, until the death of Togidubnus, the study area and a large chunk of central southern Britain, including the settlement at Silchester, remained outwith of formal Roman control, militarily, legally and economically. That did not stop Roman investment in towns like Silchester, presumably under conditions of informal imperialism, as is evidenced by the major building campaigns in the AD60s (Fulford 2008). Stone became a major part of the public building tradition for the first time. The lineage of Togidubnus is unknown; he may or may not have been related to Verica, and there is some suggestion that he could have been a Gaul, perhaps even of the Gallic Atrebates. It is thus conceivable that a new wave of predominantly Gallic settlers arrived as a result of the re-established client kingdom. Togidubnus, therefore, had to

assert some hegemony over a cultural landscape of diverse peoples, some just arrived, some second or third generation immigrants, some who could trace their ancestries back to places like The Trundle. The client kingdom occupied a quasi-independent status, surrounded by a powerful imperial neighbour, and was no doubt subjected to a variety of influences (e.g. secondment of Roman officials and technicians, military advisors, imports of material culture etc.) best described as the products of informal imperialism.

A colourful example of the sort of tensions that might have been felt under informal imperialism is that of mid-19th Madagascar when extensive western influences from French coastal settlements and missionary posts confronted the indigenous Malagasy rulers, and their inland capitals. The indigenous response was extremely selective, using sumptuary practices to receive some Western imports and refuse others, setting up an oscillation between reclusive attitudes and a fascination with the aesthetics of the West (Wright 1991, 235ff). The richness and variety of the potential imports, the indigenous tensions arising, the sumptuary practices and the involvement of foreign experts, the proffering of imperial gifts – it is possible to imagine all of these factors affecting courtly appearances and aristocratic daily lives within the client kingdom of Togidubnus. Imported material culture and alien buildings were concentrated at Fishbourne, one of his regal capitals, and Chichester, the embryonic trading town. An excessive hybridity characterised some elements of portable material culture and early buildings. For Togidubnus and his people, relations with the Roman neighbour was a matter of selectively controlled consumption.

The landscape that Togidubnus inherited, or was granted by his Roman overlords was an historic landscape, a territory full of past associations and monuments, and some long-lived settlements and buildings; a landscape now as varied in its histories as the diverse communities who occupied it. Left un-altered the landscape would have presented physical and ideological blocks to the rule that Togidubnus sought to establish. A conscious process of remembering and emphasizing some landmarks, and forgetting others must have taken place. This process of deliberate remembering and forgetting places and spaces in the landscape can only ever be partially successful; monuments could become contested, and the locus for the expression of divergent feelings. For instance 'crannogs' in Ireland were mapped by the British as relics of the past; for some of the living they became revitalized symbols of resistance to colonial

oppression. This is a good example of contested cultural landscapes in the same physical region (Stewart and Strathern 2003, 11).

An example of intentional forgetting was the deliberate filling in of the ditches of the Chichester Dykes and presumably the dismantling of its gates, timber revetments and the partial levelling of its banks; these massive boundary markers would only continue to divide if left standing. It is possible that the dismantling of the Dykes was insisted upon by the new Roman provincial administration, as a pre-requisite for the granting of client-kingdom status (and in any case the territories of the client kingdom now encompassed a far larger area of southern Britain – Tacitus, *Agricola,* 14). Their redundancy was also emphasized by the construction, no doubt by seconded Roman military, of a road from the Chichester Channel (Dell Quay) across the eastern and northern Dykes, and onwards to London – the Roman road now known as Stane Street (fig. 8). Similarly I would argue that whatever ritualised behaviours took place at The Trundle would have become muted and even forbidden.

There were also powerfully influential locations that needed to be harnessed in some way. Prior to AD 43 the apparent lull in activity at the Hayling Island temple suggested that cult-observation and pilgrimages had declined. It was probably Togidubnus who transformed the temple at Hayling Island in the mid-first century AD (fig.11 – right-hand plan). The old structure was removed and the whole complex was rebuilt, in fact replicated, since the overall layout and orientation of central tower and surrounding courtyard remained essentially the same (King and Soffe 1994). But there were some key differences as well – the courtyard was nearly twice as big and the monument was now constructed in stone. Clearly the new client kingdom administration recognized the singular importance of the Atrebatic temple; it was not something that could be allowed to fall into gradual disuse through neglect; its power had to be tapped by the new administration, effectively by a monumentalizing architectural makeover, maintaining in building form its Gallic and Atrebatic affiliations. The metamorphosis to a temple of stone at Hayling symbolized technical mastery, permanence and longevity, subliminal messages not completely lost on those who remembered the weathered timbers of the earlier building.

Yet it was not just the appearance of this building that was changed. Votive offerings at the site continued during the client kingdom, but they differed in character. There was a rapid decline in metalwork associated with the warrior-culture that had dominated the earlier temple. It is hard to escape the conclusion that the martial (and potentially resistant) focus of ritual activities at the temple had been channelled, intentionally, into more compliant forms of worship, forms that would sit more comfortably with Roman colonial designs in other areas of southern Britain. Beneath the guise of the often-quoted Roman polytheistic tolerance (Warrior 2006, 80) and willingness to encourage syncretic beliefs may lie more subtle religious reconfigurations more favourable to the colonial power. The Trundle, spatially isolated from the centres of power on the coastal plain, and 'abandoned' several generations ago, could be largely ignored by the new momentum of the client kingdom and by-passed by colonial roads.

Two key settlements of the dependent client kingdom were the cluster of buildings at Fishbourne and the emergent urban form of Chichester. The two were always closely linked and a word is necessary first on their location. The development of Fishbourne followed naturally enough from its precocious role in the Late Iron Age, and from its maritime access at the head of the Chichester Channel. The location of Chichester is not quite so obvious. It is not particularly sited on the best available land and occupies a somewhat marginal location to the east, very close to the main north-south length of Chichester Dykes, but with no access to the sea or a navigable river. To an extent, the settlement grew up here, as a result of antecedent settlement in the preceding Late Iron Age – as the concentrations of Arretine pottery from the north-west area of the later Roman town demonstrate (Manley 2002, 133-4). I suspect that the site, even in the preceding Late Iron Age, was a sort of inland port-of-entry (or exit) within the Dyke system, perhaps a seasonally occupied transient marketplace, giving access to the hinterland beyond to the east and the north. Fishbourne was, by contrast, a high-status site, accessed by sea. That distinction seems to have been maintained in the regal client kingdom period, with Fishbourne the seat (or one of the seats), probably of Togidubnus, and with Chichester as an Atrebatic urban and trading settlement, copying and adapting some elements of Roman town planning practice.

The hybrid layout of pre-Palace Fishbourne (fig. 13) is poorly understood, but what we do have is an embryonic, but Roman influenced, east-west grid pattern of roads and

paths, with a distinctly odd collection of buildings of different phases. Odd in the sense that the complex is dominated by a very large bath-house, too large for the known domestic accommodation, and a rather classical non-domestic building (Building 3) to the east of the stream, which has so far defied definitive functional attribution (see Black 2008 for the most recent thoughts on its interpretation). The presence and size of the bath-house suggests that one colonial bodily practice, that of communal bathing (Mattingly 2007, 283-4), had been thoroughly adopted at Togidubnus' court. But odd also in that the two early 'military' buildings (Building 2 and that beneath Buildings 4 and 5) lie either side of the water-course, again rather exceptional for Roman military planning. It could be suggested, somewhat contentiously, that the putative soldiers billeted in such buildings were seconded to the client king from the surrounding Roman province, much as the detachment of forces of rival western powers were seconded to dependent Indian maharajahs (Dalrymple 2003, 115).
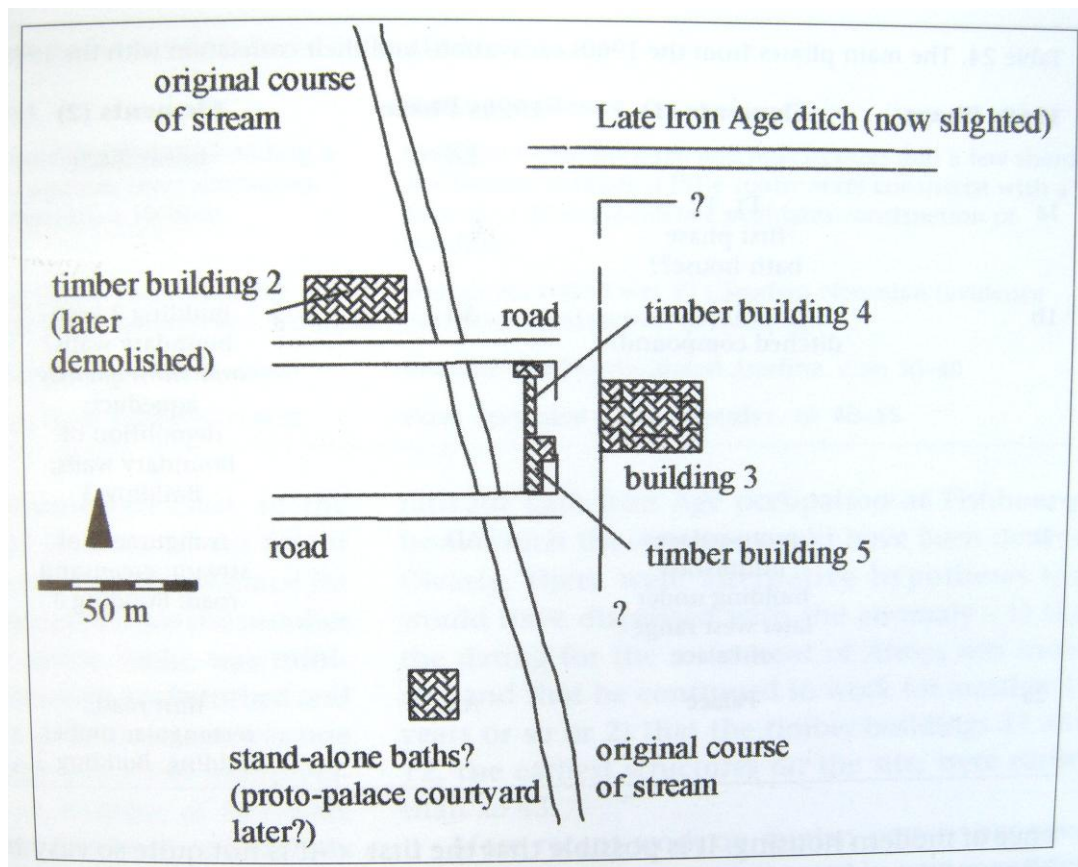
Figure 13. Plans of the early buildings at Fishbourne, underneath the later Palace. Note the position of the stream, which provides a strange setting for the complex. (From Manley and Rudkin 2005).

At Chichester, on the other hand, precocious development again takes place in the north-western quadrant of the later Roman town. Here a rather hybrid collection of rectangular timber buildings were interpreted by the excavator (Down 1988, 10) as barrack blocks, although there is nothing here to remind us of the very organised layout of barracks within a Roman fort, and the current evidence does not support a formal Roman military camp (fig. 15). There are some military objects (their relationship with the timber buildings remains a little conjectural, however). The earliest timber buildings were replaced within a short period of time by a pottery, possibly managed by immigrant Gallo-Belgic potters, and by a workshop specializing in enamelled bronze jewellery. In the closing years of the client kingdom stone public buildings were constructed, including the first phase of some baths, and a probable temple dedicated to Neptune and Minerva. It is quite conceivable, given its strong Gallic connections, that Chichester possessed an elongated forum like early Gallo-Roman towns such as Amiens, rather than the more square versions favoured by their Romano-British counterparts (*pers.comm*. Ernest Black). Fulford (2008, 9) argues for the establishment of an embryonic street grid at this time. Conversely, on the eastern side of 'town' the 'development' was rather stunted. Only four sherds of Arretine ware were recovered from the large Shippams site, just inside the East Gate, with few coin finds. Structural remains consisted of an east-west street, with some limited industrial activity to its north and south (Taylor 2008 139; 233). It should be pointed out that it is conceivable that the 'town area' was not defined by an enclosing bank and ditch during the reign of Togidubnus.

If the regal Atrebatic interpretation of the Fishbourne locus is correct, with the emergent settlement of Chichester occupied by a majority of locals, some seconded soldiers, a few immigrant traders and a good number of slaves, then these two settlements found their *raison d'etre* in the proximity of each other. Their emergence under the conditions of informal imperialism (Crinson 2006) gave them their not-quite-classical feel. The product themselves of Atrebatic colonialism, their quasi-independent, but loyal and ultimately dependent, status was demonstrated by a sort of selective, sumptuary hybridity, that was also characteristic of the wider landscape. It was Roman colonial intention to sweep this hybridity aside on the death of Togidubnus.

An imperial and unified landscape – c. AD75 to c. AD 200

An Atrebatic client kingdom, after the death of Togidubnus, had no further strategic role to play in the Roman pacification of much of Britain. By the 70s AD Wales, the near north and the far south-west had been garrisoned; campaigning was taking place in the lowlands of Scotland (Mattingly 2007, 118). In addition a new Emperor, Vespasian, came to power in AD69, who had personal memories of campaigning on the south coast as a military commander in AD43. A 'metrocentric decision' in Rome must have been taken to annexe the kingdom and bring it formally into the province of *Britannia*. The final wave of colonization broke over the Atrebatic territories and involved the break-up of this large territory into smaller administrative units (Cunliffe 1973, 24), as well as considerable fresh investment in monumentality and planning at Fishbourne, Chichester and Silchester.

There were other impacts, less easy to discern archaeologically. Most of the people in the study area would have still pursued agricultural livelihoods. But they may have had to suffer another influx of settlers, and perhaps even a few retiring veteran soldiers (Mattingly 2007, 353). Land would have come to be viewed as a commodity, as an alienable asset, rather than a resource one had rights in; in essence, as in the case of Fiji, people now wanted to own the land, rather than have the land own the people. Agricultural diversification and intensification (see Chapter 5) led to widespread re-ordering and re-allocation of fields, pastures and woodlands. Land of the former client kingdom was surveyed, quantified and commodified as never before (Mattingly 2007, 361). The growth of some larger villa estates, coupled with the system of Roman patron-client relationships, no doubt led to absentee landlords, bonded farm labour, and the more frequent use of slaves working the land. Desire to lay down a more intensive network of roads, and the need to extract the maximum amount of revenue from the new territories brought under direct rule led to various forms of abuse and forced labour (for an overview of more recent, but comparative, colonial appropriation of indigenous labour in Africa see Gann and Duignan 1975, 14ff).

For some of the specifics of this transition we have to look at some individual sites. First among these was the astonishing monumentalization of that unusual complex of

buildings that had formed the regal centre of the Atrebates. The new four-sided structure at Fishbourne was truly palatial in size and style (fig. 14) - for at least a generation it remained one of the grandest buildings in *Britannia*, and indeed the western provinces of the Empire. The intended occupant of this lavish structure is unknown. A very high-ranking colonial official might be suggested, but such postings were transitory and the investment suggested by this building suggests more permanent occupants. Despite the scale of the new building, and the fact that materials were imported from the length and breadth of the Mediterranean to decorate and furnish it, there was a curious architectural compromise at its heart. Quite simply, as the plan reveals, the front of the Palace (the eastern side) was not straight, but flexed to the west, more so in its northern half. The reason is straightforward – the new Palace incorporated the older so-called Proto-Palace, a magnificent bath-suite and associated rooms that may have been part of the residence of Togidubnus. In addition, the enigmatic classically-styled building to the east of the stream (fig. 13 Building 3), again dating from the regal period, was also left intact (Manley and Rudkin 2005). There were no doubt some functional reasons for these practicalities, but there must also have been a very significant symbolic aspect. By referencing key structures of the regal period, the importance of Togidubnus was recognised; his buildings were incorporated within the greater Palace just as his kingdom was now part of the larger province.

I have already mentioned the singular importance of the enclosed formal garden at Fishbourne Roman Palace. The layout of the Palace, with its four sides surrounding the garden, was a structure that was designed to look inwards rather than outwards. I have written elsewhere (Manley 2003) how the building was constructed to intimidate indigenous or predecessor visitors, and how it emphasized, through artistic virtuosity in the interiors and visual scrutiny in the garden, the power of the colonial government over its provincial subjects. There is no doubt that the physical layout of the Palace was designed to structure resident/visitor encounters (Bourdieu 1990). In some senses it functioned as a Roman Panopticon, allowing colonial representatives to observe local visitors, as they walked the garden paths, without them being observed themselves (Bozovic 1995). But there were other profound changes. The suggestion of a deer park at Fishbourne (Sykes 2006; see Chapter 5) implies that the Palace was endowed with a large agricultural estate, although not all the putative holdings of the Palace need have been grouped into one single entity. There were clearly physical changes to the

immediate landscape, including changes in flora and fauna. A space for the palace-estate must have been brought about through land acquisition, achieved with varying degrees of compulsion or bribery. Local people may have been resettled, perhaps in the town of Chichester. Slave and forced labour were recruited for work on the estate. All of these changes would have transformed customary Atrebatic land-usages and rights in land.
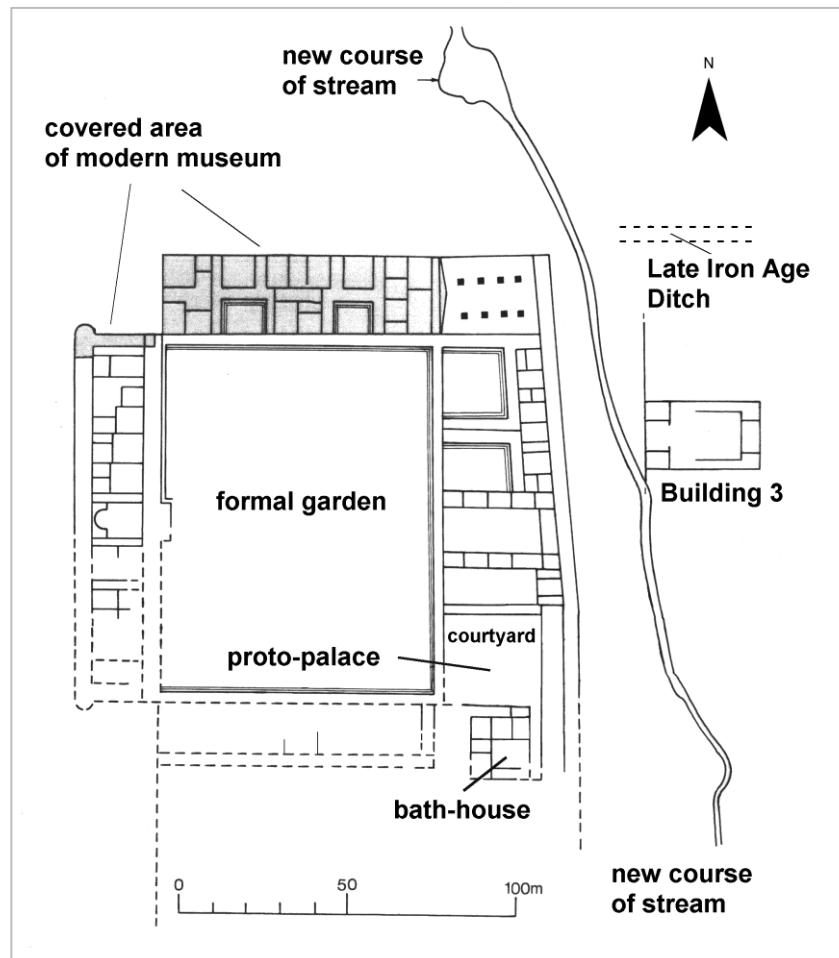
Figure 14. The Flavian Palace at Fishbourne, constructed around AD75. The flexed, front of the Palace is on the eastern side, facing Building 3. The formal garden is enclosed on all sides by the four wings, or ranges, of the Palace. Note the position of the earlier Late Iron Age ditch (which produced imported tablewares and pig bones) in front of the later Palace. This ditch hints at the possibility that there may have been multiple Late Iron Age divisions of the landscape that influenced the layout and position of later post-AD 43 buildings. (From Manley and Rudkin 2005).

In Chichester itself there were also contemporary developments, as the new colonial administration sought to build on the settlement of Togidubnus and transform the site into something that more closely resembled the idea of a potentially prosperous provincial town (fig. 15). Roman architects, surveyors and probably military engineers faced the same issues as the designers of political capitals in much later colonial cities (Vale 1992): the fact that even the most imperially-minded design team could not deny local and indigenous influences. The town planners were faced with a seemingly contradictory task: they needed to both consolidate Roman direct rule in Chichester, but also try and ensure the allegiances of formerly quasi-independent communities. The dating evidence for their endeavours is imprecise but there are archaeological indications of large-scale changes, perhaps taking place over a generation or two, rather than a couple of years. Certainly in the western part of the settlement earlier timber and masonry buildings were destroyed. Sealing these demolitions was a layer of gravel, in places up to one metre in thickness, laid down prior to the re-laying of the street grid. In Chichester it is possible to surmise a range of new public and private buildings – almost certainly a forum perhaps evidenced by masonry foundations near the centre of the town; a temple to Jupiter, or refurbishment of the temple that was constructed under Togidubnus; public baths; a few wealthy town houses, a new drainage system; the development of some suburbs, and an amphitheatre to the south-east of the settlement (Down 1988). A new governing body, largely drawn from the urban elite, came into being, tasked with the administration of the town. *Noviomagus* would now compete for investment and favourable tax settlements against every other town in the province.
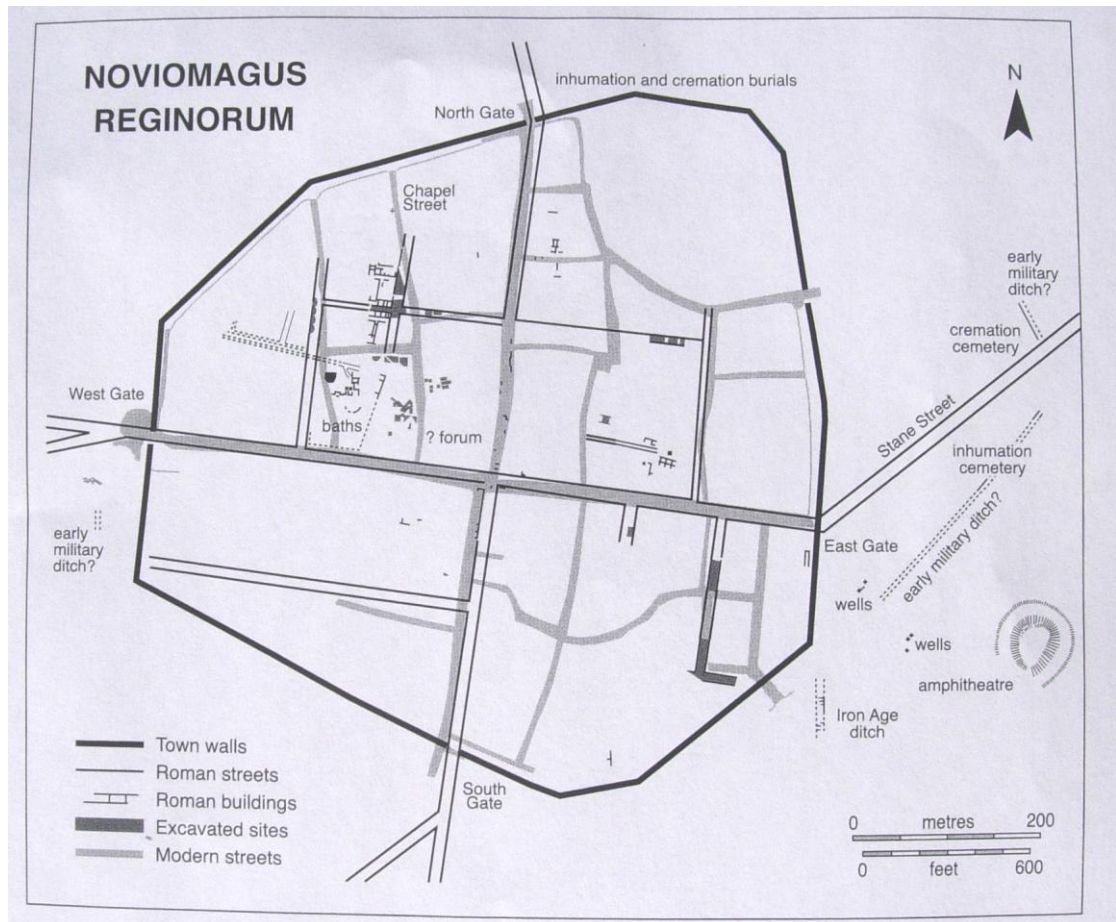
Figure 15. Plan of the Roman town of Chichester (Noviomagus). Stane Street, coming towards the town from the north-east is one of the earliest features on this plan – originally it continued straight to Dell Quay. Note the polygonality of the stone walled circuit, (perhaps derived from the straight-sided outline of The Trundle), constructed in the third century AD; it no doubt followed the lines of an earlier settlement boundary that may have comprised an earthen ditch and bank. (From Manley 2002).

A salutary check against tendencies to see Roman Chichester as a flourishing Mediterranean classical city is provided by the excavations just inside the east gate of the town. Here a large area excavation, some 2% of the Roman urban area, provided faltering evidence of urbanisation. True, an east-west street had been laid out across the site and there was a period of intense activity in the 2nd century involving timber workshops, ovens and wells. But by the 3rd century the pace of activity slowed, and in the 4th century seems to have ceased altogether. (It is also noteworthy that the nearby amphitheatre probably fell into dis-use around AD200). One of the most consistent activities on the site was the burial of neonates, a practice that may have been linked in some symbolic way with the ovens (Taylor 2008, 155 – and see Chapter 7), but one not immediately linked to urban prosperity.

The urban form was central to Roman imperialism (Creighton 2006), as it was to later colonial projects (see, for instance, the importance of towns in French colonialism - Wright 1991). In Chichester, however, it was a failing importation. Roman towns in Britain had their 'wrong sides', their decaying, un-built or abandoned areas, – the rubbish heaps, industrial quarters, squatters' shacks – full of 'fleas, felons, fevers and faeces' Willis (2007, 161). Colonial attempts at improved sanitation have often fouled on the snags of an unhelpful climate and the unsuitable living practices of people sometimes encouraged or driven from rural homes, or attracted by perceived opportunities provided by urban living. The bulk of the residents of Roman Chichester were probably a heterogeneous mix: from the indigenous there were those who may have been forced by the authorities to settle in the town, those without land, resources or helpful kin and who had nothing to lose, and the un-free. The newcomers would be represented by traders, opportunists, perhaps a few veterans settling down with local wives (Mattingly 2007, 292ff; 305). A minority indigenous elite, bribed perhaps by gifts or monetary loans, and the promise of access to imported resources, were persuaded to leave farms in the hands of kin and invest in the new town.

The recent excavations in Roman Silchester have demonstrated that there was a continued proclivity for all manner of ritual activities in an urban setting – many of which seem to have involved the sacrifice of animals and their deliberate deposition in wells, pits and foundations (Fulford, *pers.comm*), practices which recalled those that may have taken place on The Trundle. Despite the new street grid and well-planned *insulae*, many of Silchester's inhabitants probably occupied buildings with earth floors, grubby interiors, and carried out various 'unsavoury' and un-classical acts in the name of local deities. This seems a world away from the Laurentian villa of which the Younger Pliny was so proud, but such scenes were quite probably replicated by the eclectic population of Roman Chichester. In addition, excavations in *Insula IX* have demonstrated that successive generations of Atrebatic residents continued to construct rectangular buildings, and occasionally circular ones, in defiance of the Roman street grid well into the 3rd century AD (Fulford and Clarke 2011, 14). The overall impression is of a remarkably persistent and contested hybridity in one of the better known Roman towns of central southern Britain.

One further point perhaps can be made, in relation to Roman Chichester. At some point the settlement was enclosed by a bank and ditch, along the lines later taken by the 3rd century AD town wall. However, there is a distinct and obvious oddity in the alignment of the perimeter which is most definitely not rectilinear, as would be suited to an internal orthogonal street pattern, but polygonal – in the case of Chichester the perimeter has no less than ten straight sides. This incongruence between internal planning and external circuit has been remarked by a number of authors (Down 1988), but most recently by Mattingly (2007, 332). There is a similar disparity at Silchester, where the alignment of the 3rd century walls bore an uncanny resemblance in shape and area to the long-buried Late Iron Age inner earthwork at the site. The inescapable point of reference at Chichester is to the polygonal straight-sided banks (eight in number) which surround The Trundle. In addition, the Roman circuits of Chichester and Silchester do look remarkably alike. There is one obvious inference to draw from these observations. The colonial planners of Roman Chichester deliberately drew on the emblematic shape of The Trundle to ensure that there was some demonstrable continuity with, and legacy from, the indigenous past – and hence a sense of legitimacy. Through this strategy, paraphrasing Clifford Geertz (1973, 318), they attempted 'to make the new provincial status seem indigenous'.

In the rural areas, in the quiet valleys like Chilgrove in the north of the study area, some rectangular villas gradually took shape, from timber to stone, through different building phases, (e.g. Batten Hanger; Watergate Hanger; Chilgrove I and II; Up Marden). These span the late 1st century to the 4th century AD. Relatively far from the urban and religious hotspots of colonial persuasion, these rural buildings do seem more likely to be the houses of families, or groups of families, who gradually benefited, materially and, one assumes, of their own volition, from the Roman province and the opportunities it offered. They were local families who could trace their ancestry at least back to the regal period, and perhaps further; they farmed, paid their taxes, and were allowed to work and modestly flourish. They did not forget their roots, however, and architecturally this can be seen at Watergate Hanger (fig. 16), where an anomalous circular structure, with stone foundations, to the west of the main villa range, was probably built as part of the original design (J Kenny *pers.comm*). Such juxtapositions of indigenous circularity linked to classical rectangularity have also been noted at Silchester and Piercebridge in Northumberland (Cool 2008), and probably existed in

urban Chichester. They provided some generative structures for practices of remembering a pre-colonial past (Morton 2007, 157). And despite the overall villa-like rectangularity of Watergate Hanger, it is important not to make too much of the familiarity of the floor plan. There may have been myriad ways, in terms of floors, walls, roofs and internal features that gave the accommodation a very un-Roman feel. A likely explanation for these combinations can be found in other, more recent, colonial situations. Jongintaba, a local Transkei chief recognised by the British administrators, had a hybrid home of two whitewashed rectangular buildings and a clutch of round-houses to the rear; the former symbolised his position of authority in the new order, the latter housed his family. Such examples demonstrate that some people, in a colonial context, may have been relatively adept at reifying two distinct forms of *habitus*, and moving between them (Mattingly 2007, 375-6).
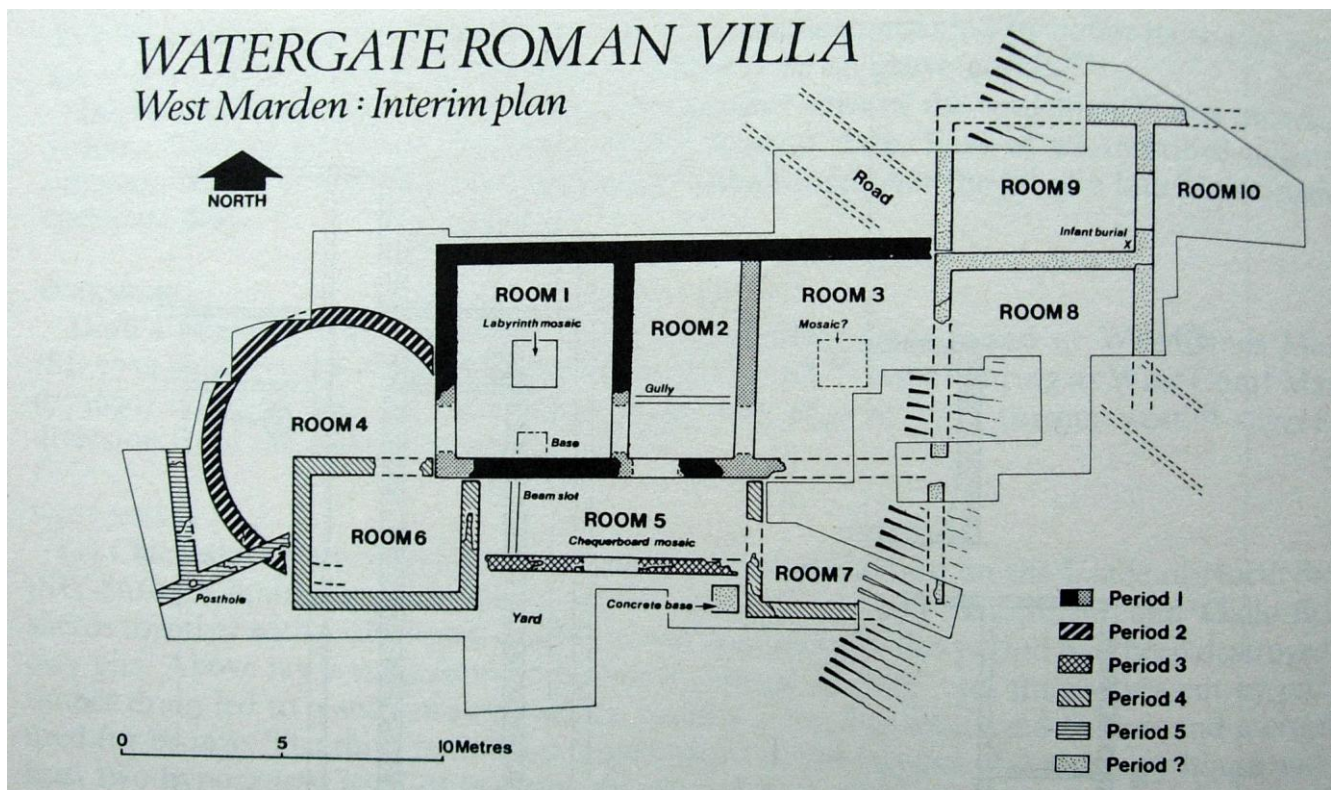
Figure 16. Plan of the villa at Watergate Hanger; note the 'round-house' to the west of the structure (Plan by James Kenny).

Conclusion

These four different cultural landscapes – integrated, divided, dependent and imperial – although chronologically sequential, provided different types of *habitus*, generating different sorts of daily practices. They offered scope for a variety of different and simultaneous contestations over the meaning of lands and buildings. They furnished plenty of opportunities for the mutually constitutive process of miraculation. In a landscape of integration the presence of The Trundle, the place of watching ancestors (see Chapter 7), was in view for most of the time, governing occasional thoughts and perhaps fearful glances. In a landscape divided the Dykes disrupted movement, and broke the unity of coastal plain and downland. Periodic pilgrimages across a watery causeway to Hayling Island temple to make offerings in a liminal location inscribed in the limbs of the pilgrims a remembrance of their foreign origins. In the Atrebatic client kingdom, after AD43, under conditions of informal imperialism, selective consumption of Roman built forms and artefacts generated oscillating behaviours between self-affirmation, through use of indigenous or predecessor material culture, and self-alienation through consumption of exotica. In the AD70s the colonization of this remaining 'independent' region of southern Britain was probably driven mostly by metrocentric factors, in that imperial advisors in Rome must have directed that the lands of the client kingdom be absorbed within the Empire. The imperial landscape, with its network of surveillance, of roads, cadastral field surveys and taxes, constituted a stifling embrace.

Chapter 5: Colonial and Culinary Encounters: the role of food and drink

In this Chapter I examine the roles of foodstuffs in the episodic colonial encounters that are the subject matter of this thesis. I begin the chapter with some introductory remarks on the multiple meanings of foodstuffs, and contextualise their historic importance for my study area. I then proceed to highlight some significant themes concerning Late Iron Age and Roman food and drink, and situate these themes within the context of colonial encounters. The bulk of the chapter is taken up with the examination of the potentially diacritical roles of foodstuffs in the study area through four leitmotifs – gifting, feasting (forms of social practice), mimesis and emulation/resistance (features of social practice).

Introduction

By eating and drinking the particular foodstuffs and beverages they do, people reveal, consciously or unconsciously, something of who they are (or who they think they are, or aspire to be); for example, the ethnic group to which they belong, or their own backgrounds and experiences. 'You are what you eat' may well be a modernist truism (Farquhar 2006), but it seems likely to apply, in some qualified way, to the past as much as the present. And it is equally true that this quality of revelation possessed by eating and drinking can be copied by mimesis (Taussig 1993) or concealed by deliberate disguise. Rather like clothing, uncommon forms of eating and drinking can be adopted, both in public and private, to dissemble origins, make occasional parodies of others, and stake claims to new and more acceptable ethnic or group affiliations. Such claims to identity can also be powerfully manifested by culinary exclusions – we are so-and-so because we don't eat such-and such; in other words by taboos. Indeed, if we view food and drink like any other form of material culture, then the selection or avoidance of different foods and drinks can reflect and be identified with any sub-group of any society; from groups divided by settlement location, to divisions of age-sets, race, caste, rank, status, gender, beliefs, occupation and so on (Counihan 1999, 8).

Like most forms of material culture food and drink are polysemic in meaning, and are capable of carrying multiple, non-discursive, meanings[18]. They can trigger powerful involuntary memories – the *Proustian Madeleine* being the most obvious example to western readers; they can be used in exchanges, sometimes involving conspicuous consumption or destruction, that offer hospitality and strengthen alliances, and in these instances they take on some of the form and attributes of the classic anthropological 'gift'; conversely, such lavish displays of hospitality and feasting may be intended to demonstrate prowess and warn off any potential adversaries. Feasting and consumption may be viewed negatively, as on Gawa, and associated with indolence and witchcraft (Munn 1986, 13; 49). Foodstuffs can be used in rituals, for instance of worship, sacrifice, burial, taboo or fasting, for medicinal uses, for the purposes of intoxication and consciousness raising or altering; and lastly food and drink offer rich repertoires for ethnic caricatures, sly mimicry and passive resistance. Both the eating of foodstuffs and their procurement provide a complex series of activities that are symbolically coded generating consistent daily practices (Bourdieu 2003, 216; 252ff).

As well as being polysemic food and drink also appeal to all the senses[19]. Clearly taste is the most obvious, but not necessarily paramount; experiencing food through texture, whether in the hand or in the mouth is important, as is the look and colour of food, the smell of foods and drinks, and even the sounds of the same. An inert plate of food, and a still drink, does not necessarily conjure up a cacophony. Yet if one thinks about the sounds of food preparation, of boiling or roasting, the squeezing, pounding and grinding of organic materials for drinks, and then the myriad noises that accompany the act of eating and drinking – from the ladling of soups or stews, the carving of meat, the slurping of drink, the crunching of vegetables, and the clatter of tableware, not to mention the noise of verbal exchanges – it is easy to re-register that there is a whole variegated wall of unmistakeable sounds associated with the consumption of foodstuffs. Late Iron Age and Roman dishes had distinctive sonic signatures.

A narrative of colonial encounters can be developed through the lenses of food and drink. I will argue that they play pivotal and circular roles in both structuring the

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[18] In this chapter I use the terms 'food and drink', 'foodstuffs', and sometimes just the shorthand 'food' interchangeably to mean the substances periodically eaten and drunk, unless otherwise specifically indicated.

[19] At least those commonly recognised in the West.

different types of encounter (since logically food-preparation or food-collection precedes the specific encounter which features food consumption or food-gifting) and, in turn, are influenced by repeated colonial encounters. Anthropologists have commonly recognized peoples on the move – migrants, refugees and colonizers – as agents of dietary change (Mintz and Du Bois 2002). All three categories of people were to be found in southern Britain during the last century BC (see Chapter 3). These newcomers, in addition to the later agents of Roman colonialism, will have brought knowledge of different foodstuffs, cooking processes and eating behaviours to Britain, and their culinary entanglements with indigenous practices need to be examined. The rather coarse-grained nature of the archaeological data (fragmentary animal bones, surviving plant remains, usually charred or water-logged, and ceramics connected with the cooking and consumption) throws most illumination on the Roman (or 'classical') contrasts with 'indigenous' or 'predecessor' consumption patterns. However, passive or more overt resistances to colonial occupation, indigenous transformations and creolizations, and adaptations by the colonizers to local customs, (the British Governor of Fiji drinking kava at sundown outside Government House in Levuka is just one among many colourful ethnographic examples of the latter – Thomas 1991, 172), would have been played out through the medium of food and drink.

The same foodstuffs could possess different meanings according to location and occasion. It is entirely plausible to think that an Italian-raised Roman official in Fishbourne Roman Palace, sipping a glass of warm-watered Falernian wine, (a celebrated sweet and strong white wine made north of Naples), may have reflected on how access to such a delicacy, and knowledge of how and when to drink it, separated him from the locals. That glass of wine, literally embodied through consumption, might have symbolized the colonial endeavour, and even legitimated it. The same Falernian wine, however, in the hands of a local leader invoked different thoughts entirely. The particular contexts of eating and drinking were crucial. Domestic consumptions of food and drink were more prone to provoke personal or familial reflections and sensations. The familial arena also provided the context for more mundane differences in consumption; food differences may have reflected basic divides of age and gender. The corollary is that more formal occasions for consumption may have provided the pretext and setting for more conscious preferences for distinctive types of food and drink. And

some of those preferences, passive or more deliberate, were repeatable declarations of colonial intent and presence, or stood testimony to resistances of the colonized.

Lastly by way of introduction, I comment briefly on trade and exchange, particularly in terms of material culture arriving from the Continent during the 1st century BC and the first two centuries AD. Many of these imports, especially the early ceramic ones, seem directly related to the consumption and use in southern Britain of continental foodstuffs, or appear to be standard forms of tableware. The imported amphorae are likely to have contained wines, and later sometimes olive oil or fish-sauce, from Italy and Spain; the shiny red pottery known to archaeologists as Arretine Ware may have been used to eat and drink from. Gallo-Belgic imitations of some of these Italian products, the so-called *terra rubra* and *terra nigra* platters and bowls, were likewise originally produced as tableware. The much more ubiquitous samian ware, mostly made in Gaul, was good quality Roman tableware. Alongside these more materially-enduring imports we can hypothesize new forms of foodstuffs: imported exotics – such as grapes, vegetables and herbs[20] (van der Veen *et al* 2008). Some elite members of communities in southern Britain were therefore tasting extraordinary foods and drinks, and possessed the appropriate vessels with which to consume them, during these three centuries

Iron Age and Roman Foodways – archaeological and anthropological themes

Middle and Late Iron Age

A study of isotope data from both humans and animals from ten British Middle Iron Age sites, ranging from the lowlands of Scotland to Cornwall, demonstrated that the diet consisted of a high level of animal protein, with little use of marine resources (Jay and Richards 2007). Generally speaking, the archaeological and environmental evidence for the diet of the Iron Age indicates that domestic animals, especially sheep/goat[21],

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[20] New plant foods included classic Mediterranean imports such as figs, olives, grapes, but also foods that were brought to Britain via the Mediterranean such as black pepper (from India), dates (from the Near East or North Africa), and almond, lentils and coriander (from the Near East). Additionally novel fruits and vegetables were introduced during the early Roman period and became integrated into the British agricultural system, such as apples, pears, plums, cherries, walnut, lettuce, and leek (van der Veen *et al* 2008, 12).

[21] Sheep/goat often appear together in reports of animal bones from archaeological sites, due to the difficulty, osteologically, of telling the species apart.

cattle and to a lesser extent pigs were of prime importance. It is difficult to assess the relative percentages of meat and dairy products supplied by these animals. There is, however, little evidence for the use of wild game. The absence of fish is particularly noteworthy as some of the sampled sites were close to marine or riverine resources. Similarly there is little evidence for the use of non-domesticated plant foods; annual seed-bearing plants (mostly cereals, (such as spelt as at the settlement at Westhampnett - Fitzpatrick et al 2008, 177) and legumes) dominate, with little evidence for fruits and nuts from perennial plants. The preponderance of crops that need to be harvested annually seems reflected in the remains of storage pits and 'granaries' discovered in Iron Age hillforts (see Chapter 4). Domesticated animals also present during the Iron Age were horse and dog. Although there is some slight evidence for occasional butchery marks on horse and dog bones, it is generally assumed that both animals were kept for other reasons than producing meat (Jay and Richards 2007, 184). It is possible that deer could have provided another source of animal protein, but where deer are recovered in the archaeological record there is a high occurrence of antlers, and much less evidence for the rest of the skeleton, suggesting either butchery and consumption off-site, or, perhaps more likely, that just naturally-shed antlers were collected.

Sykes (2010) has recently reviewed the Iron Age diet, confirming that hunting, gathering, fowling and fishing clearly contributed little to the daily diet. However, she suggests that wild animals and other apparently neglected food resources probably had a much greater symbolic role. There could well have been a taboo on resources from the wild, which may only have been consumed on occasions such as feasting and sacrifice. Such an explanation might find support both from Caesar's (BG V.12) account of the Britons, whom he described as thinking it unlawful to eat hare, fowl and geese, and from the discovery of special buried bone deposits featuring birds, badgers, stoats and martens. In sacralised contexts food binds people to their faiths through powerful links between food and memory (Simoons 1994; Sutton 2001). As well as a focus on particular foods the very acts of eating and drinking, mediated by sacrifice and offerings, and the etiquettes behind those behaviours, particularly in a collective context, serve to exaggerate the linkages between consumption, beliefs, memories and ethnic boundaries. In colonial encounters indigenous and settler foodstuffs, consumed in communal contexts, thus provided powerful arenas for the ritual expression of

indigenous non-compliance, ethnic or community solidarity, or, conversely, colonial nostalgia for the homeland.

Food consumption is preceded by a much longer process of food-procurement; eating and drinking are the culminations of long, ethnically informed and knowledgeable processes. Acts of food preparation involve learned expertise, and its application, to the management and harvesting of botanical and zoological resources. Such expertise must also extend to the making and utilisation of a range of material objects with which to obtain edible foods and drinks from wild or domesticated resources, and with which to eat and drink them from. And last, but not least, food procurers and producers may be skilled in such technologies as butchery, storage, cooking and the production of multi-ingredient meals. The many variables associated with the preparation of foodstuffs may be structured by underlying social principles (Bourdieu 2003, 216; 252ff) . Levi-Strauss (1997, 31) famously separated roasting from boiling, arguing that the former was more likely to be reserved for non-kin occasions, for males, and was preferred by ancient Greeks and Romans, whereas boiling was a familial and feminine concern. Food taboos, therefore, and different underlying ideologies of indigenous or settler foods, could extend to differences over where and when animals were pastured, crops grown, or fish caught, and how edible foods were extracted and prepared from them.

Pottery cooking vessels in Late Iron Age southern Britain consisted of a limited range of jars and deep bowls (Cool 2006). Judging by the remains of sooting and carbonised deposits in them, both forms were used for cooking, although cooking in jars seems to have been preferred. However, the amount of pottery found even on Late Iron Age sites in southern Britain is relatively small, compared with the subsequent Roman period, suggesting that these two broad cooking practices were not materially compatible. Cool (2006, 154) discounts the popular fiction that cooking was performed in a cauldron suspended over a central hearth and surprisingly comes to the conclusion that evidence is lacking for the mechanics of daily cooking in the Iron Age. It seems likely that much Iron Age food was boiled, either producing a variety of cereal-based porridges, or stews. In the absence of pottery forms for smaller shallow dishes, jugs, bottles and bowls, the presumption is that food may well have been served, if not consumed, from similarly-sized vessels to those that it was cooked in. This is assuming that small eating

receptacles were not made of wood, or leather, which have not survived. The evidence is suggestive of communal eating behaviours from shared receptacles.

Feasting, although noted from Iron Age contexts in southern Britain (Ralph 2007; Sharples 2010, 112; 254), has been under-estimated as a frequent social practice. I have already indicated (Chapter 4) how hillforts may have been the sites of competitive inter-community feasts, involving both the conspicuous consumption of foodstuffs and dramaturgical destruction of artefacts. An argument has been made that in the Late Iron Age grain for feasting was instead increasingly used to acquire exotic imports from the Continent (van der Veen 2007, 112), altering indigenous value systems and encouraging more individualistic differences in status. Recent anthropological analysis has highlighted the importance of feasts. Hayden (2001, 29-30) lists at least nine benefits of feasting (and ten different types of feast), from mobilizing labour (as in the construction of hillfort ramparts, or the Chichester Dykes, in the study area; or the making of a new canoe on Gawa – Munn 1986, 73), to attracting desirable mates, to compensation for transgressions, as meals to partake with the Gods (as at Hayling Island temple) or share with the dead (Chapter 7). Apart from work feasts, penalty feasts and solicitation feasts, all such events are bound up with the maintenance of relationships, re-enforcing solidarity or marking differences. For Bourdieu (1990, 112) feasts were important in the constitution of social relationships, and just as significant was the concealment of labour required to host the feast. Asymmetrical power relations between host and guest, or colonizer and colonized, are euphemized as symbolic capital (Dietler 2001, 73). The role of alcohol is central to many feasts. Throughout Africa the notion of a work-feast is common. Beer is both a staple food and a drink at such occasions, and can take up as much as 20% of a family's millet crop (Dietler 2001, 81; Dietler and Hayden 2001, 10). Feasts in the Iron Age were therefore central to the maintenance of competitive relationships, and conducive to social change not stasis. In the study area a few amphorae sherds have been recognized at rural settlement sites, such as Ounces Barn. These could be interpreted as gifts of wine from a local elite in Chichester/Fishbourne to local leaders in order to mobilize labour for the construction of the Chichester Dykes.

Evidence of foodways from smaller social units, and certainly groups that could be loosely called 'families' or 'extended families' in the Late Iron Age are difficult to isolate archaeologically. Commensality is one of the distinctive features of consumption

in small scale societies, involving eating together in peer groups, age-sets or families, and appears to be the norm for pre-modern peoples (e.g. see Anigbo's (1987) ethnography of commensality among the Igbo). Commensality therefore provides a rich and patterned field of behaviours and material cultures in which to reproduce social norms. Age set or familial consumption patterns provide key arenas for the reaffirmation of identities. The number of diacritical variables range from what is eaten and drunk, and during what occasions; the different portions that may be provided for each consumer; the relative position of the consumers around a hearth or table; the distinctions between consumers and those serving the meals; the displayed etiquettes of consumption, and the hierarchy and nature of verbal exchanges while the meal is consumed.

Elite foodways changed towards the end of the first century BC, in southern Britain and within the study area. As noted above, new vessels appear, such as shallow platters, dishes, cups and beakers of various sizes (Cunliffe 2005, 152). Many are imported – the *terra nigra* and *terra rubra* varieties, but others are local imitations. These are tablewares, reflecting a revolutionary change in eating and drinking habits, albeit only experienced by an elite minority –either towards more individual eating behaviours, or towards the production of dishes of different foodstuffs – or both. While there is a respectable prehistoric ancestry for the drinking of beer in Britain, the imported Gallo-Belgic butt-beakers suggest that beer-drinking behaviours were modified, formalised or exaggerated in some way, possibly as a result of Gallo-Belgic immigration or colonization. The importation of Gallo-Belgic wares, and indeed the imports of Gallo-Belgic coinage, during the first century BC raises a more fundamental point. It is possible that some of these imports represent the diacritical markers of Gallo-Belgic colonization, or preludes and overtures preceding attempts at territorial annexation. It is conceivable that there were episodic bouts of Gallo-Belgic colonization both pre and post Caesar's conquest of Gaul. In this context Fitzpatrick (1993; 2001) has argued that, before the emergence of garrisoned Roman frontiers in north-west Europe under Augustus, many Roman goods imported into southern Britain may not represent trade with Rome but rather exchange between Late Iron Age communities either side of the Channel. If this is true then Gallo-Belgic strategies of colonial control may have largely relied on the gifting and imposition of certain portable material cultures, such as coinage and pottery, some of which had been obtained from Roman sources. With those

artefacts, presumably, came innovative behaviours. The putative re-organisation of the settlement at Silchester towards the end of the first century BC suggests that there might also have been Gallo-Belgic built forms (see Chapter 3).

The appearance of amphorae, and from the last decades of the first century BC, imported drinking cups, suggests some limited level of wine use or consumption in southern Britain. A recent survey of the material evidence, mostly in the form of imported wine amphorae, has demonstrated the probable practice of gifting of wine perhaps to chiefs in southern Britain, for much of the first century BC, but has also emphasized how minimal these exchanges were compared with neighbouring Gaul (Carver 2001). As many as 40 million amphorae might have been traded to Gaul in the first century BC, whereas in Britain a complete amphora has never been found on a settlement site. In the last decades BC there is evidence for more ritualised usages of amphorae, and presumably their wine contents, indicated by the appearance of the vessels in elite burials (e.g. Welwyn Garden City in Herts.), and by fragments of the vessels located in boundary ditches and at temple sites (Carver 2001, 38-39). The putatively intentional fragmentation of amphorae may suggest that small pieces of these extraordinary containers were being re-valorised as fetish objects (Chapman and Gaydarska 2007), - an indigenous transformation in the secondary use of these containers and a by-product of the colonial encounter. Deliberate fragmentation of amphorae has been noted in Gaul where it has been suggested that it resembles a rite of sacrifice and is similar to the dismemberment of bodies at contemporary sanctuaries, especially in the north of Gaul (Poux 2004, 606). When white traders first landed on Pacific islands, pieces of broken plates and buttons passed through many curious pairs of indigenous hands (Derrick 1950, 38). High status artefacts, such as Roman ladles and pans, found in some of these elite burials seem less to do with wine drinking than the imitation of Roman sacrificial practices (Creighton 2000, 201). Such practices were capable of mutation and transformation by the indigenous, much more so than a fondness for the taste of wine.

Roman period

For the Roman period in general, a good but biased place to start is with the documentary evidence. No more than a brief overview can be presented here, but a

distillation of three Greek authors (Plutarch *Moralia*; Athenaeus *Deipnosophists*; Galen *On Natural Faculties*) writing at the heart of the Roman Empire in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD has recently been published by Wilkins and Hill (2006). The Roman palate was one that had a fondness for rank flavours like garum (the pungent fish-sauce) or cheese, combined with sweet flavours such as honey or dried fruit – but it also lacked discernment, or rather the kind of 'discernment' we associate with western fine dining. Roman diners were much more interested in the different textures of meats, offered by various body parts such as the womb, udders, heads and ears. Meat was the food with the highest status, and chickens were eaten too, although on nothing like the scale of the contemporary western diet. Pig appears to have been the meat that was eaten more widely (Wilkins and Hill 2006, 147) and Varro (*On Agriculture*) claimed that 'all of our people' kept a pig in Italy at the end of the Republican period. The consumption of pork, an ancient Italic practice (Purcell 2003, 340) may therefore have constituted a distinctive marker, separating Roman colonizer from provincial subject. The inclusion of pork in sumptuary laws would also indicate its importance in the culinary displays of the rich. However, a rich and vulgar freedman, such as Trimalchio, satirised by Petronius (*Satyricon*), treated his poorer guests to a surfeit of pork, perhaps an ostentatious display of wealth laced with an undercurrent of vulgarity. Rich and poor had access to wild animals, such as boar and deer. Cooks often seem to have been slaves. There were no storage techniques other than salting and curing, and the authors rightly suggest (Wilkins and Hill 2006, 15) that food in the ancient world, especially in the countryside, was often scarce in spring, and markedly affected by seasonality all year round; for much of the year life was vegetarian for the rural and urban poor. Marine resources were eaten by both rich and poor; molluscs, shoaling fish, anchovies and sardines were consumed by the less wealthy, whereas deeper sea-fish were deemed one of the foods of the elite. Even in Rome, or perhaps especially in Rome, cuisine was not stable – it was heavily infiltrated by foodstuffs from exotic lands, (as Roman influence expanded), like the citron plant imported from India, and cherries, apricots and peaches from the east. The palate of the colonizer thus became slave to the tastes of the colonized.

I suggest that the consumption of food and drink in the Roman world lay at the heart of a critical nexus of significances. The first, and most obvious, was that food and drink nourished the physical form; the second was that foodstuffs remained at the centre of

exchanges between mortals and Gods, to ensure the spiritual well-being of both, and to bring good fortune to mortals; the third was that different foods played a crucial role as classical medicines. The combination of these capabilities must have made food and drink of paramount importance; for all human beings of whatever status the correct foodstuffs kept them safe from disease and misfortune, and brought divine protection. The sacrificing of a multitude of animals at regular religious festivals, in front of large crowds, induced a sense of solidarity in imploring the Gods for protection, but also offered the opportunities to feast, as vital organs and burnt marrow were offered to the divinities, while the more mortal parts of the animal were consumed by the living. Sacred foodways, therefore, sustained the Roman colonizers' physical and spiritual well-being, as well as constituting a diacritical marker of difference. In any colonial encounter steps must have been taken to ensure that these culinary distinctions were not compromised.

An oscillation of consumption was experienced by many in the Roman world, from the daily porridges of polenta, and vegetable stews of beans and pulses mopped up with a variety of different breads (Athenaeus mentions 74) to the occasional religiously-inspired gorging on sacrificed animals (see Faas 2009 for Roman feasts). This redistributive quality of feasts was also noted by Counihan (1999, 37) with respect to modern Christian Saints' Days (or *festa*) on Sardinia. Celebrations at such *festa* allowed legitimate conspicuous consumption and sanctioned excess, and also countered the erosion of community solidarity by modernity; in private people tended to eat frugally. Foodstuffs were therefore of such importance in antiquity that a meal was rarely socially bland, and a re-affirming and occasional commensality was desirable.

The drinking of wine was common in the classical world (Wilkins and Hill 2006, 166ff) but was often diluted with water to drink. Like food, it too was associated with religious festivals and medicinal usages. In Roman funerals wine was sometimes poured onto flames to extinguish the funeral pyres (Carver 2001, 14). A paraphernalia of material culture assisted consumption – drinking cups and bowls, ladles for scooping out wine, strainers and coolers, and indeed water heaters. Dunbabin (1993) makes a convincing case for the existence of complicated metal water heaters in Campania and demonstrates that both hot and cold water could be added to wine. The drinking of beer was often linked with the barbarian world, although in the western provinces of the Roman

Empire (Spain, Gaul, Germany and Britain) there is considerable evidence for the consumption of beer by the colonizer (e.g. by the military as recorded on the Vindolanda tablets from Hadrian's Wall). This in part may be evidence of hybridity of beverages, perhaps borne out of necessity and availability, and colonization of the colonizer, but it could equally attest to the heterogeneity of the backgrounds of troops serving on the frontiers.

On the fringes of Empire, in Britain, the evidence is less-biased than elite metropolitan documentary sources, but still fragmentary. Some of the best information, summarised by Mattingly (2006, 220-1), is of the military diet and comes from the Vindolanda tablets. A wide range of domesticated and wild animals was being consumed, in a variety of forms – from suckling pig, wild boar and venison to chickens and geese; meats were supplemented by fish, oysters, olive oil, salt, pepper, wine and beer. Civilians in towns were eating more beef than their Late Iron Age predecessors, supplemented, *inter alia*, by fish, shellfish and domestic poultry. The increase in cattle consumption may reflect a characteristic of the north-western provinces, conceivably introduced by lower ranks of the military posted from Gaul and Germania (King 1999, 189). Despite the presence of some amphorae Mattingly (2006, 323) concludes that Britain in the Roman period remained a provincial colonial culture of 'butter and beer'. Hawkes (1999) commented on the probable creole or fusion food produced in southern Britain by the impact and intermixing of continental and insular food and drink customs and practices. She noted that Romano-British eating bowls were generally larger than their Roman counterparts, suggesting that culinary creolization affected tableware forms. Meadows (1994) reviewed some of the evidence, concluding that more remote and less 'Romanised' areas of the south-east may have maintained a meat diet based on traditional mutton, perhaps clinging to a traditional practice, rather than migrating to a colonial diet that included more beef and pork.

One of the seemingly obvious divides in the transfer of knowledgeable culinary processes between the Late Iron Age and the early Roman period in southern Britain was the fact that some transmissions during the latter period were facilitated by a degree of literacy, which, to all intents and purposes, was absent from the Late Iron Age. This fact has an obvious bearing on the distribution of culinary knowledge through cooking procedures that were written down – i.e. recipes, or lists of quantified ingredients. I

suggest that it was the ability to order quantities of foodstuffs (as is evidenced from the Vindolanda tablets from Hadrian's Wall) and the knowledge of how to cook certain dishes (from copied recipes) that would have transformed, more quickly and more widely, daily and relatively unchanging subsistence foods into something that offered more gustatory variation. That is not to forget that cooking skills, and ways to put different ingredients together, are ideal knowledges for transmission orally and by imitation. Late Iron Age foodstuffs may have been more geographically varied, but locationally relatively conservative due to mimetic traditions. On Kalymnos, for instance, children learned the domestic routines of preparing, cooking and eating food and drink not by instruction but by practical, bodily-engagement and imitation of kitchen skills from their mothers (Sutton 2001, 126).

A survey of fish consumption in Roman Britain (Locker 2007), concluded that although fish-hooks were found at Fishbourne Roman Palace, there was no evidence for imported or large fish denoting wealth and status. In general fish consumption was at a relatively low level, with eel, herring and plaice/flatfish being the most common in the south-east; the best evidence for imported fish was Spanish mackerel. It is entirely possible, however, that more distinctively classical or continental practices were manifested by cooking techniques, recipes and sauces, rather than the type of fish being cooked. This should remind us of the rather obvious dualism that traditional foods can be cooked and eaten in novel ways, and conversely, novel foods can be cooked and eaten in traditional ways. The permeable membranes of colonial encounters can thus create a kaleidoscope of creolised and disguised concoctions. Finally Roman elite building culture in Britain did usher in apparently one novelty – the distinctive space set aside for cooking that we call a kitchen (Locker 2007; see also the internal but separate kitchen in the House of the Vettii, Pompeii – but note that even there not all houses had separate kitchens). We cannot discount the possibility, however, that some Late Iron Age round-houses were used exclusively for cooking. In the following sections of this chapter I want to blend some food-related archaeological and anthropological themes with the chronology of colonial encounters in southern Britain.

Gifts of Wine – from c. 100 BC

In most 'first contact' situations that precede attempts at colonization the gifting and exchange of objects and services take the place of words to establish basic communication. The notion of 'the gift, exchange and reciprocity' in social anthropology has been the subject of a long and extensive enquiry; most commentators trace its ancestry back to Mauss (Halls 1990; see also Osteen 2002, 229ff for a recent summary of the gift/commodity dichotomy). The very first imports of continental or Roman food-related objects in southern Britain during the first half of the first century BC may well have arrived as 'gifts', or been perceived as such by local communities. The British elite may have become quickly and increasingly familiar with them. If gifting was the mechanism that introduced these early imports, it is worth asking whether that giving was between elite families on both sides of the Channel (Fitzpatrick 1993; 2001), or whether that 'giving' came from wares offered by Gallo-Belgic traders. If the latter, then it is worth considering further whether 'the Maussian power of the gift' was recognized in antiquity, and if that power of the gift to structure social relations and alliances between people was knowingly manipulated by Gallo-Belgic traders or Roman colonial agents. Certainly a 'gift and favour' culture was widespread in elite Roman society; it was organized around a complex machinery of friendship, influence and patronage, oiled by unwritten expectations of reciprocity and gratitude (Morley 2010, 63).

A related but slightly different line of enquiry concerns the attraction or abhorrence of exotica for indigenous communities. Ethnography has demonstrated that 'indigenous' communities are not necessarily instantly attracted to the 'superior' goods of the colonizer, and can be extremely selective in what they acquire (Thomas 1991, 103; see also compelling evidence for the trading savvy of Torres Islanders – McNiven 2001; and the deceptive ingenuity of some Fijians, tricking white traders that barrels of sea-water were filled with coconut oil – Derrick 1950, 97). The unknown was thus potentially both appealing and unsettling; how were these qualities played out in those situations of early contacts between objects from the classical world and Late Iron Age peoples? It is worth remembering that there had been extensive contact across the Channel for millennia before the arrival of objects from the Gallo-Belgic and Roman worlds. However, the objects arriving in the first part of the first century BC represented

an abruptly new form of materiality – the objects came from societies which could mass-produce artefacts to multiple and identical forms, using unknown technologies capable of producing finishes to objects that had never been experienced or felt before; and some of those objects contained drinks, and later oils, and sauces in previously unimagined flavours and quantities. Alien foods, acquired by gifting or trade could be pivotal to the constitution of class differences, as in Bourdieu's (1990, 136) analysis of the differential distribution of tastes and cultural capital in contemporary France. Food and drink were at the heart of many episodes of historic colonial encounters; when traders met locals, or when explorers met indigenes, both were united by a common bond of needing to eat and drink, and the proffering of foodstuffs were often central to the first communications and exchanges. For instance, in the Marquesas Islands the locals intensified the cultivation of sweet potato to feed hungry European sailors (McNiven 2001, 179). We can imagine that food exchanges were no less important in antiquity.

The essence of 'the gift' was described by Mauss (2001). The thing received is not inactive; even when abandoned by the giver it still retains something of him. The donor has a hold over the beneficiary because the gift is animated by the spirit or *hau* of the forest, homeland and hearth. This *hau* wants to return to its birthplace, and can only be prevented from such by the recipient giving back something of equivalent or even greater value (Halls 1990, 12). This, in turn, can provoke never-ending tournaments of giving, receiving and giving again. Mauss sought to find historical precedents for this quality attached to the gift in some of the classical civilizations of the old world. He particularly focused on Roman society, claiming that the classical equivalent of the *hau*, through the Latin *traditio* –'the act of handing over', travelled with any gift and created bonds of debt and obligation (Halls 1990, 51). There have, of course, been re-evaluations of the Maussian legacy. For instance Thomas (1991, 27) rejected the essentialist claim that Melanesian and Polynesian societies were 'gift economies', their transactions distinct from more commercial forms of exchange elsewhere. He indicated that gifts occur in western societies and that commoditization can also be found in non-western cultures.

Given the connections Mauss made between the custom of gifting among the Maori and in ancient Roman society, we can consider the spirit of the gift in Late Iron Age

southern Britain. Fortunately, there is a small amount of documentary evidence. Tacitus describes the reaction of Germanic Chiefs to gifts of silver:

One may see among them silver vases, given as gifts to their envoys and chieftains, but treated as of no more value than earthenware. (Tacitus, *Germania* 5).

Tacitus goes on to state that peoples just across the border from the Empire recognised the value of gold, silver and precious metals, and certain types of coin, but tribes of the interior practiced barter *'in the simpler and older tradition'.* Carver (2001, 15) has suggested that periodic ceremonies that resembled a kind of 'potlatch' were held in southern Gaul to present fine Roman metalware to indigenous leaders. Elaborate objects that had well-defined contexts of usage in the Roman Empire could be culturally re-positioned once beyond the Empire. I suggest that the gift system was recognised and manipulated by Roman officials, or Gallo-Belgic frontier-traders, from the classical world. Such manipulations need not be confined to relationships between potential colonizer and indigenous on the Middle Ground. Ethnography provides examples of the political manipulation of gifting between native communities (Derrick 1950, 60).

There is additional documentary support. In a famous passage Diodorus Siculus (V.26) remarked on the Gallic addiction for wine, which they drank un-mixed. The traders played on this craving, receiving enormous rewards for the exchange of a single amphora of wine – *'for in exchange for a jar of wine they receive a slave, getting a servant in return for a drink'.* Caesar seems particularly sensitive to the power of the gift. Prior to his departure to Italy from Gaul he bestowed '*rich presents upon the principal citizens'* in order to help maintain peace (BG 8, 49). Caesar had also noted that some continental Late Iron Age peoples recognised the potentially debilitating effect of Roman commodities. The Suebi allowed no wine or other luxuries to be imported, because *'they supposed that their spirit was likely to be enfeebled and their courage relaxed thereby'* (BG IV,2). Permeating the membrane of colonial encounters also produced some unusual behaviours, according to a rather cynical Athenaeus (*Deipnosophists* 10.432): *'The Scythians and Thracians drink nothing but unmixed wine…they pour it over their clothes and think that they practice a noble and happy custom'.* For the Gauls, wine was an alien form of alcoholic beverage that they quickly adapted to indigenous feasting practices (Poux 2004, 606; Dietler 2007, 233). These

examples demonstrate Middle Ground Colonialism in antiquity (see Chapter 2), and reverberate in many later historical parallels of gifting and exchange, as a pre-cursor of colonial territorial appropriation. They also highlight the powerful abilities of some material substances to structure social practices (Bourdieu 1990).

Figure 17. A Dressel 1A amphora. Nothing like this pottery vessel, with its long neck and handles, had been seen in Britain before. The vessel is about 1 metre in height.

The earliest wine –carrying amphorae close to the study area (fig. 18) are from the Isle of Wight, where some 35 sites have produced fragments of amphorae, including some of the earliest variety Dressel 1A, (fig.17) which has a date range of c130 – 50BC[22]. These amphorae were probably associated with Late Iron Age Armorican (Brittany) coinage (Carver 2001, 28). It is quite conceivable that such remains, in the coastal situation of the Isle of Wight, are testimony to the activities of Gallic middlemen traders, perhaps exchanging wine

for slaves, who could then be traded further south to Roman controlled territories. The seemingly lavish gifts ridiculed by Diodorus could have been a classical misinterpretation of indigenous exchange practices, in which gifts were traditionally reciprocated with things of much greater value. Diodorus may also have made the mistake of assuming an approximate equivalence of values; slaves were, however, of little economic capital to local communities and the offering of them traders may well have deflected colonial curiosity from indigenous valuables. Such misunderstandings are common on The Middle Ground (White 1991); they can also have unintended and disastrous consequences, as discovered too late by Captain Cook (Sahlins 1985). The

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[22] There are no Dressel 1A amphorae from the study area, but the presence of early Gallo-Belgic coins within the study area (see Chapter 6) indicates the probable presence of other limited items such as imported containers and foodstuffs.

influx of large number of Gallic (and some British) slaves into the late Roman Republic eventually challenged the very values of Roman conservatism that the Republic held so dearly. The colonizers' principles of austerity and self-sufficiency would be corrupted by the huge deployment of servile labour.

The particular theme of the threat of luxury foreign objects to the colonial metropole, and the menace of slaves and their 'peculiar' beliefs, to the values of *Romanitas* found ancient affirmation in the poetry of Catullus, who may have been writing at the same time as continental traders landed on the Isle of Wight. Republican values frowned on excessive displays of sentiment. However, the poems of Catullus[23] rejoiced in expressions of emotion, and Catullus associated his favourite Spanish dinner napkins, albeit ironically, with intense feelings (Sadashige 2002, 151). This example highlights the power of 'foreign' objects in colonial encounters to affect both colonized and colonizer. In this instance a material made in Iberia, where the production processes for such napkins were developed, assumes the quality of a fetish object once imported into Italic society. The dislocation of the object from its place of origin liberates it from any culturally inherited values, enhancing its materiality and inviting new and distant owners to embrace that materiality and endow it with exotic qualities, a general privileging of the spiritual and sensual over the functional. In such a way Roman amphorae and their contents of wine, essential to social conviviality south of the Alps, were incorporated into indigenous rituals once they were acquired by the Gauls (Poux 2004, 606).

The concept of fetishism can also be appropriated by food and drink, not least because unfamiliar forms of the foodstuffs appeal powerfully to all the senses and demonstrate one of the classic signifiers of the fetish – a miscegenation or unusual mix of materials. In the early to middle first century BC the arrival of small quantities of wine, and no doubt other foods in southern Britain must have had an extraordinary phenomenological impact; their tastes, smells and feels were unimagined. They may have been credited with powerful capabilities of promoting strength, or intoxication, or the absorption of the spirits and abilities of those who brought them. Such indigenous beliefs may furnish additional reasons for the extravagant exchanges recorded by Diodorus. It would be a

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[23] This instance is recorded in the poem known as Catullus 12. *For Veranius and Fabullus sent me Saetaban napkins from Spain, therefore I must love them, like I love my Fabullus and baby-Veranius.*

mistake to assume that the early imports of wine to the Isle of Wight were being consumed for domestic pleasure. A much more likely assumption is that the early imports of wine were being expended in a variety of non-domestic ways – from offerings to Gods, as libation offerings accompanying burials, to ceremonial rituals of feasting when different communities met.

There were different perceptions on each side during these culinary exchanges; the ideological constructions of foodstuffs were probably culturally quite different. For 'indigenous' communities, like the Hua of eastern Papua New Guinea, foodstuffs were unique material objects in being ingested by the user; the *nu,* the good or bad essence of the food-producers could easily be transmitted to the consumer. Food and drink were thus essential among the Hua, as among other cultures, for the construction and maintenance of alliances (Meiggs 1997). I suggest that this was true for Late Iron Age communities. However, for frontier sailors-cum-traders from the Continent, their peripatetic roles afforded them a degree of freedom from such insular cultural restraints; their beliefs, and foodstuffs were no doubt associated with ensuring them protection from perils during their travels, rather than focusing on the specific foodstuff-related behaviours of the people they encountered. Each side proffered its culturally symbolic food to the other; each side failed to appreciate the donors' symbolism incorporated in gifts of alien foodstuffs.

Feasting on Pigs c. 10 BC

The limited and occasional imports of single items of exotica into southern Britain and the study area during most of the first century BC gave way dramatically at the end of that century to something much more substantive – the first appearance of collections of continental material culture associated with food and drink. Strabo (*Geography*, Book IV, 3) indicated that British chiefs were certainly keen to acquire Roman goods. Apparently they paid exorbitant import duties, perhaps mostly in kind, (conceivably in slaves) to get their hands on ivory chains, necklaces, amber gems, glass vessels and other *'petty wares of that sort'* brought from the Continent. The best evidence for collections of imported material culture from the study area comes from a ditch at Fishbourne (in front of the later Flavian Palace), the contents of which suggested

probable episodes of eating and drinking, potentially feasting, between 10BC and AD25 (Manley and Rudkin 2005).
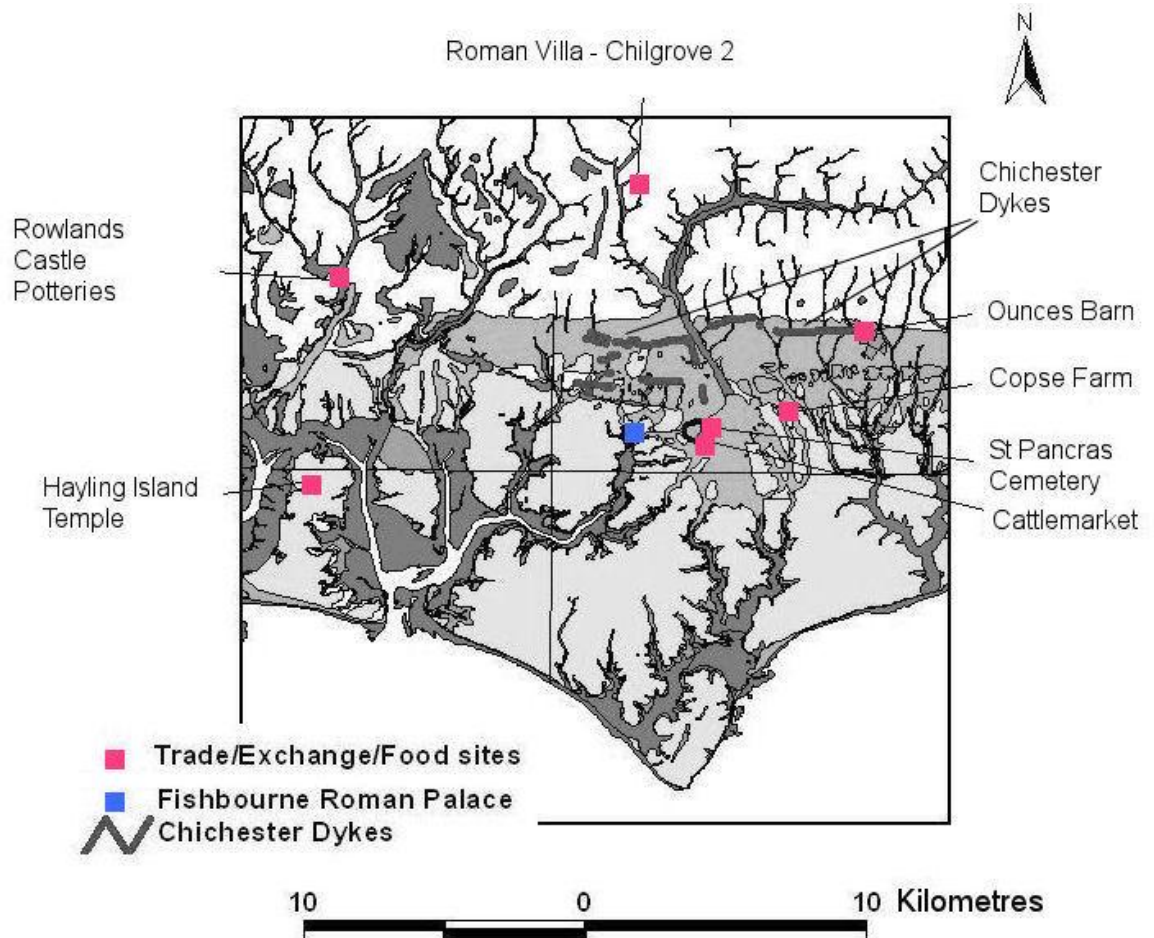
Figure 18. Sites mentioned in Chapter 5. The Chichester Dykes are marked by east-west lines north of Fishbourne. (The background geology is depicted in grayscale, but is the same as in Figure 1).

The fragmentary animal bones indicate what was being eaten. Pig was evidently being consumed in much larger quantities than on contemporary sites (even more than in some *oppida* of Late Iron Age Britain like Silchester and Colchester), and the presence of wild animals, such as red deer, and domestic fowl, as well as the absence of horse, strongly suggest a diet heavily influenced by continental and classical foodstuffs. High numbers of pig bones, as well as sheep, were also located at the earlier cemetery at Westhampnett (Fitzpatrick 1997,73 – see Chapter 7), and at the contemporary temple site on Hayling Island (King 2005 – see below), suggesting that both Gallo-Belgic and

classical cultures put a premium on the consumption of pigs in certain contexts. It is also important to consider the evidence for what the food and drink were being eaten and drunk from (figs. 18 and 19). The pottery comprised locally-produced cooking wares, and the consumption vessels were all of continental origin, from Gallia-Belgica, to as far afield as northern Italy. Not only was the pottery divided into two broad categories of cooking/consumption, there were clear colour contrasts, with the cooking vessels being predominantly grey/black, and the eating and drinking vessels white/orange/red. The bright and varied colours were thus an immediate diacritical marker for the presence of strangers, or of previous contact with them. Two other pieces can be added to the jig-saw of archaeological data: one of the Arretine (North Italian) drinking cups had the initials TV scratched on its base – suggesting both limited literacy and individual ownership – and the other was the find of a piece of ornate metalwork that both decorated and strengthened the top of a wooden and leather scabbard, possibly for a Roman military sword[24].

Figure 19. Arretine pottery, made at Arezzo and at other Italian production centres, from the early ditch to the east of Fishbourne Roman Palace. Note the initials TV scratched on the bottom of the cup (upper left) - a clear suggestion of individual, and possibly immigrant, ownership.

There are obvious inherent difficulties in interpreting such information from a single feature such as a ditch. The residues are presumed to originate from activities of

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[24] Andrew Fitzpatrick (*pers.comm.* December 2010) has, however, suggested to me that this piece of metalwork may have been of British or Irish manufacture.

cooking and eating that took place in the near vicinity, not least because some of the pottery fragments were relatively large. But it is not possible to say whether the deposits are suggestive of a single or several episodes of 'ordinary consumption' or, most likely, feasting, the remains of which were thrown into the ditch, or whether the actual acts of disposal of these high-status residues were symbolic statements in their own right. The initials and the metalwork finds strengthen the continental associations, without necessarily proving the presence of immigrants, or foreign traders. We want to know who these people were, preparing food, cooking, eating, drinking and disposing at Fishbourne, and how many times they did these things, but the archaeological evidence falls frustratingly short; they could be Gallo-Belgic colonizers, or Gallic traders, conceivably Roman soldiers or even very well-connected 'indigenous' elites – or, of course, variable compositions drawn from all four groups, presumably with attendant slaves who did the cooking. And if these residues are indeed those of feasts, were there invited guests, and who were they? Importantly, was this feasting part of a single ceremony, or multiple occasions, of marking significant contact, alliance-making, immigrant settlement, or diacritical markers (Hayden 2001, 54)? The location of the ditch is important in this respect. It ran east-west in an area in front of the later Flavian Palace (fig. 14); it had every appearance of performing some sort of boundary function, not out of place in the contexts suggested above.

Even though identities remain unclear at Fishbourne, food and drink were being used as powerful indicators of demarcation. The types of ceramic in use suggest that the structural canons of classical meals were being adhered to (c.f. Douglas 1997); the messy and potentially polluting aspects of food preparation and cooking were divided from the etiquettes of consumption by rigid adherence to specific types and colours of pottery; the exaggerated commensality confirmed a collective and distinctive cultural presence in a foreign land, an affirmation of the 'we' and a knowing separation from 'the others' (Grignon 2001, 28-9). Individually-owned drinking vessels marked a clear rupture with the shared receptacles of the locals. However, the initials on the Arretine cup may relate to single ownership but perhaps in a communal setting, where vessels were shared or passed around – suggestive of hybrid behaviours. This distinctive pork-rich cuisine, typical of elite consumption in Late Iron Age Gaul, may have constituted the principal means of recognition of a shared *Romanitas* (Jones 2002, 132), or at least a shared continental allegiance, by the potentially new arrivals. The boundaries of such

displays of demarcation needed constant policing, however, against the threats of creolization. The copy of an imported platter in a local grey fabric (and quite conceivably used atypically as a lid) from the ditch (fig. 20) is a ceramic manifestation of the kinds of compromises that infiltrated and sought to corrupt and blur those lines of demarcation. If, on the other hand, the feasting was by local elites who wished to demonstrate their ties with the Continent, then something profoundly syncretic or mimetic was underway, with esoteric collections of pottery and foodstuffs signalling a break with more indigenous forms of consumption. Whatever the identity of the consumers, the data from the Fishbourne ditch demonstrates the flexibility and malleability of foodstuffs to articulate episodes of colonial encounters.

Figure 20. Reconstructions of some of the principal pottery forms from the early ditch at Fishbourne Roman Palace. Arretine ware is at the bottom, with Gallo-Belgic white-wares and beakers in the middle. Locally produced cooking wares are at the top, along with an imitation Gallo-Belgic platter, that probably functioned incongruously as a lid over a cooking pot. (From Manley and Rudkin 2005).

Ethnography, of course, has provided us with a rich corpus of information on feasting practices, and these have been helpfully documented by Twiss (2008). She reminds us that:

'*Feasting is a universal human phenomenon. It is powerful and often transformative; through feasting, social identities are both enacted and altered, political competitions are undertaken, and ideologies are inculcated'*. (Twiss 2008, 418).

Consideration of the ethnographic data both enriches and complicates the problem of the interpretation of the archaeological data from the ditch at Fishbourne. Feasts can serve a variety of purposes, as noted above. Feasting on pigs in particular has a considerable ethnographic history – from the competitive pig-feasts of the Enga (on Papua New Guinea) to the selective practices of the Tangans who only eat pigs at feasts. Pigs can also be given away as presents to the living, or the ancestors, in displays of competitive gift-giving, to increase the status of the donor (Rappaport 1968, 81). On Vanuatu pigs were essential to a dowry and increased men's eligibility for marriage. The line between pig and human was not one familiar to the West. Lactating women could care for pigs as though they were children; pigs had names (cf. Munn 1986, 130), souls, were looked after in the house, and possessed value because of their intrinsic being (Miles 1997, 159). Feasting on pigs, therefore, can be a distinctly anomalous activity. It can involve special foodstuffs, unusually copious amounts of food and drink, accompanied by rituals, songs and dances reserved exclusively for performance during feasts; it can also feature extraordinary serving vessels and unusual methods of the disposal for feasting remains, occasionally resulting in the accumulation of feasting middens.

The Hallaton (Leicestershire) treasure, deposited at intervals a generation later than the Fishbourne example, is an even more vivid demonstration of pig sacrifice and consumption (Hargrave 2009). The only surviving built feature is a length of ditch on the east side of a hill; it could have surrounded a natural feature, perhaps a sacred grove. In and around the ditch were scattered over 5000 Late Iron Age coins, and nearly 7000 animal bones, 97% of which belonged to pig. It is estimated that around 300 very young pigs were killed at the site; sometimes joints of meat were buried without being eaten, suggesting sacrificial offerings. There seemed to be distinct lack of right forelegs,

suggesting that these portions, unlikely to be prime cuts, had been taken off elsewhere for some purpose. It is not inconceivable that the forelegs were tallies, since in competitive feasting records of who brings what are often kept (Hayden 2001, 45). Unlike at Fishbourne, very few ceramic cooking or consumption vessels were found. Enigmatically, a Roman cavalry parade helmet was also located. While it would be naïve to compare pig-feasting on Papua New Guinea with that in Leicestershire some 2000 years earlier, the temptation to draw parallels is disconcertingly attractive (fig. 21).

Figure 21. Pig-feasting among the Ifugao in the Philippines.

The extraordinary find of the Hallaton helmet, the Fishbourne scabbard top (but see earlier footnote), and isolated finds of amphorae sherds at settlement sites within the study area prompts consideration as to whether there was some fetishistic quality to these material tokens from the classical world. Some archaeologists, perhaps in part conditioned by the fragmentary nature of much of what they recover, have seen social correlates in the broken pieces and proposed the theory of 'fractality' (Chapman and Gaydarska 2007). The theory relies on the principle of synecdoche, where a fragment can stand for the whole. So in the case of the early amphorae an imaginative reconstruction would see the contents of wine consumed, ritually or otherwise, at a

feast, and then the vessel smashed, with the participants departing, each possessing a ritually-charged agentive mnemonic in the form of a sherd of pottery, a permanent manifestation, a relic. To an extent the fragmentary sherds were corollaries of communal feasts, individually ingested. Fetishistic attitudes to material culture may occur when local people acquire rare, imported objects (Spyer 1998). It may also be easier to associate fetishistic qualities with a foreign and unknown object, as noted with Catullus' napkins (above). The increasing availability of imported objects gradually provoked alternative reactions to fetishism – a seemingly more simple desire to copy. I demonstrate now that this may not have been the most straightforward of desires.

Imitation and Mimicry AD43 – c. AD75

The Atrebatic client kingdom was established sometime in the second half of the first century BC; it endured, surrounded by the Roman Province of *Britannia*, as a quasi-independent entity until the death of Togidubnus, probably in the AD60s. As such, politically, legally, economically, socially it was characterized, as most client kingdoms must be, with varying degrees of hybridity, resulting from that in-between state of being both independent and dependent. Pre-AD43 at least, it represented an earlier colonial presence. Gallic in origin it retained some vestiges of a Gallic legacy mixed in with later indigenous characteristics. Post-AD43, part-Gallic, part-Roman, part-indigenous, therefore, the local manifestations of Atrebatic material culture were orchestrated according to a complex historic score – and this applied no less to food and drink than other aspects of material culture.

Some of the underlying motors for the development of post-AD43 Atrebatic material culture, including foodstuffs, must have been the principles of imitation and mimicry, albeit imitation with an Atrebatic mutation in order to serve the interests of quasi-independence. Taussig (1993, xiii) provided some theoretical grounding for these concepts; both can be grouped under a 'mimetic faculty', the ability of people to imitate, make models, explore difference, yield into and become the 'Other'. Imitation can be more than unthinking replication of observed behaviours; mimicry implies a knowingness, a purpose, often an intent to make fun of. Taussig seems to imply that this facility is part-psychological and part-cultural – describing it as *'the nature that culture*

uses to create second nature'. This faculty produces copies, but not necessarily true copies.

One of the most distinctive things about people – how they are clothed and the body decorations and ornaments they wear – must have played its part in Atrebatic hybridity. In the Dutch East Indies the Aruese sometimes dressed up in European clothing, acquiring 'a look' which occasionally unsettled their colonial masters in its uncanny similar-but-not-identical quality, a look which offered an unnerving and distorted image of themselves. The giving of European cloth garments to local rulers was one of the most common acts in the Dutch East Indies in order to demonstrate the recognition of a subordinate chief (Spyer 1998, 153-154). I argue that, although beyond archaeological recovery, such gifts must have been received by the Atrebatic elite from their Roman overlords. Likewise, with respect to gifted culinary ceramics and the presents of food and drink, indigenous imitative behaviours of dress and consumption must have certainly given visiting Roman officials pause for thought. The dividing line between imitation arising from a desire to be truly like the 'Other' and its counterpart of parodying mimicry was, and is, always both a fine and permeable one (Thomas 1991, 186). The porosity and ambiguity of the division often provoked colonial nervousness at what was being really observed. Unease was bilateral. On the part of the indigenous mimetic appropriation of colonial behaviours did not necessarily imply passivity; the taking-within may have been a way to neutralize the threat presented by the unaccustomed (Jebens 2004, 166). If such was their motivation the locals experienced an unsettling oscillation between self-alienation and self-affirmation. On the other hand it is important not to underestimate the influence of the Atrebatic court on susceptible Roman colonial agents. The Romans certainly appropriated foods and recipes from their conquests in the East (Ball 2000, 131), and foodstuffs and other elements of Atrebatic culture may have left a permanent mark on the colonizer.

The characteristics of imitation (and the role of food and drink in that) are clearly evidenced by some remarkable cremation burials of 'indigenous' elite persons found near Colchester, dating to the decades from AD40 to 60, i.e. straddling the invasion year of AD43 (Crummy *et al* 2008, 29ff). Two in particular stand out: the 'warrior' and the 'doctor'. The warrior had been sent on his way with, *inter alia,* all he needed for feasting: an amphora of Italian wine, a smart dinner service set of red and black Gallo-

Belgic ware, and a copper-alloy water jug to wash his hands before eating. The doctor was found in a grave containing a set of surgical instruments, at one end, and the remains of feasting, at the other. The culinary remains included an Iberian amphora, a Gallo-Belgic dinner service, a locally made copper-alloy strainer, and a bronze saucepan used for warming wine[25]. The surgical implements were associated with amuletic and divinatory artefacts and suggest links between surgery/divination and foodstuffs which promoted healing. The Colchester surgical kit, however, although ultimately inspired by Greco-Roman examples, was manufactured closer to home, perhaps in Gaul or even in Britain. The excavators have suggested that the 'doctor' could have been a Druid, known for their medical knowledge. These two burials, almost certainly elite figures of the Catuvellaunian client kingdom, demonstrate the powerful material and transformative manifestations of imitative behaviours, and the significant role of foodstuffs in colonial encounters. While we can remark the transformation in design of the locally-produced surgical kit, modifications in behaviours associated with eating and drinking are less recoverable, but probably equally, if not more, significant.

Within the study area there were no such extravagantly furnished contemporary burials (except the anomalous and much earlier burial at North Bersted – see Chapter 7), which may in itself indicate that the Atrebatic leadership was more resistant to imitating colonial material culture. There were certainly imitative ceramic finds that relate to foodstuffs, however. Gallo-Belgic platters and drinking cups were originally imitations themselves of Roman Arretine and samian forms; the imitation Gallo-Belgic wares[26] found in the early first century deposits at Fishbourne and Chichester are therefore imitations of imitations, an echo of mimesis. Almost without exception the various butt beaker, girth beaker, flanged bowl/cup, bell cup and platter forms which cover the 'imitation Gallo-Belgic' repertoire made within the study area, are wheel-thrown vessels (Hayden 2009, 37), and the widest variety of such vessels occurs at Fishbourne, in the pre-Palace levels. At Chichester, kilns in Chapel Street produced platter, butt beaker and girth beaker copies at some point during the late Claudian to early Neronian period (i.e. before AD60s). It is highly likely that the majority, if not all, of the

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[25] Creighton (2000, 201ff) has commented that strainers, pans, and flagons, especially if found in non-settlement contexts, could be associated with the sacrifices of animals, and resultant ritual feasts – rather than more secular eating and drinking.

[26] Gallo-Belgic forms, imitation or real imports, are also found at such locations as Ounces Barn, to the north-east of Chichester, indicating that use of such forms did reach rural areas.

'imitation Gallo-Belgic' vessel forms were made primarily to function specifically as tableware. These finer fabrics were comparable to imported products, even if the quality of the product did not quite match imported varieties. However, a number of platters made from a coarser fabric were produced at nearby Rowlands Castle (Dicks 2009, 57). These exhibit evidence of burning on the underside of the base and were not necessarily used as tableware; no examples of burnt platters in any of the finer fabrics have been noted. This suggests that various social groups within the study area had a different perception of how platters were to be used (Hayden 2009, 39). This is evidence for mutative mimesis; the functions of some mass-produced imitation Gallo-Belgic coarse wares could be transformed by local use, in this case from eating platters to cooking wares. With that point in mind it is worth recalling the copy of an imported platter in the pre-AD43 ditch at Fishbourne (fig. 20), which almost certainly functioned, in unaccustomed fashion, as a lid.

Even more mimetically telling was the practice of mimicking stamps on the bases of imitation Gallo-Belgic platters. This practice is related, in terms of form and position of stamps, to 'real' imported Gallo-Belgic pottery, but all the examples analyzed are illiterate rather than the literate name stamps which are more commonly found on imported vessels. What is noticeable is that these stamps appear to be confined to fineware products, which are closer copies of Gallo-Belgic forms, and which presumably were more or less exclusively used as tableware (Hayden 2009, 57). What are we to make of such an obvious example of both mime and mutation? I maintain that the Chapel Street potters may themselves have been partly-literate immigrants, perhaps working with local apprentices. If we assume this, it could mean that literacy was being consciously rejected by the consuming population in favour of more idiosyncratic stamps, or certainly stamps that bore no taint of the literate and neighbouring colonizer; it might have meant that the locals were fearful of the power of words, perceived as embedded in the materiality of the actual letters and signs. Local versions of the stamps may have incorporated some recognizable, potentially subversive, design element. Elsewhere in southern Britain there seems to have been some attempt by members of the indigenous elite to use faltering literacy to demonstrate allegiance to the colonizer. The partly literate graffiti on the pottery sherds from burial chamber BF6 at Stanway, Camulodunum is a case in point (Sealey 2007b, 307). Alternatively, they could have been literally making it culturally their own by marking it, in a very un-Roman way. So

the Chapel Street potters were probably not trying to demonstrate pro-Roman dispositions. The illiterate stamps may suggest deliberate transformation for 'indigenous' or 'predecessor' ends, rather than imitation.

The best evidence for actual food remains from this final Atrebatic period (i.e. before cAD70) derives from the fragmentary animal bones found, in pre-Palace levels at Fishbourne, at several sites in Chichester and at occasional rural sites (data are from Allen forthcoming). The predominantly pig bones from the early ditch have already been noted (see above). Underneath, and east of the Palace, pig bones still dominate a generation later but there is a larger percentage of cattle and sheep/goat bones; in addition there is evidence for a wider variety of domesticated and wild food-animals, including deer, (roe, red and fallow), hare, domestic fowl, duck, mallard, goose, crane, spoonbill and assorted wild-fowl, along with domesticated but non-food animals such as horse and dog. The rural sites show much less variety with usually cattle, favoured by Roman colonial agents, and sheep/goat dominating over pig. At Chichester the domination of cattle and sheep/goat is maintained, although at the Cattle Market site the number of domestic fowl and the presence of wild-fowl hints at some similarity to the diet of the inhabitants of Fishbourne. At present in the study area, the animal bone signature of Fishbourne during the Atrebatic period, with its high numbers of pigs[27], both before and after AD43, (and its later inclusion of wild resources) is exceptional; it provides evidence for the culinary alignment of the Atrebatic elite with its Gallo-Belgic and elite Roman counterpart. Detailed analysis of the bones suggest that pigs, and other domestic animals, may have been kept in significant numbers near the site for consumption; in the case of pigs, the evidence suggests young pigs were slaughtered before the age of two for their meat. This pattern of on-site animal rearing, culling and consumption probably set Fishbourne apart in terms of the normal patterns of exploitation, where meat would be brought, on or off the hoof, from rural farms to the consuming centre. It seems highly likely that these developments, influenced by the neighbouring Roman colonial presence, mark the establishment of a 'home farm' at the Atrebatic court, pre-figuring the Palace estate which evolved once the Palace proper was constructed under direct Roman rule (see Chapter 4 and below).

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[27] Pigs, and particularly the wild boar, were significant in contemporary Gaul and appear on coins and sculpture (Markale 1987, 93).

Emulation and Resistance c. AD75- c. 200AD

The demise of the Atrebatic kingdom and its absorption within the province of *Britannia*, in the late 60s and early 70s AD, enabled Roman officials to bring the full force of the colonists' disciplinary powers onto the daily lives of the inhabitants. The memory of Roman dispossessions during the recent revolt of Boudicca, and resultant enslavements and executions, would have tempered any overt resistance. In mimetic terms, this spelt the end of uncontrolled mimesis and the advent of controlled imitation – Taussig (1993, 218) argues that this is what 'civilization' is all about. Local elites were encouraged, no doubt through some material largesse and other measures, to 'join the club', to become, outwardly and inwardly, 'civilized' persons who might one day aspire to take on some official role within the community, on behalf of the provincial administration. The ultimate goal was the attainment of Roman citizenship. Lower down the social scale there were benefits of a more immediately material nature; it was a case of stimulating desires, creating wants and needs, and letting communities and families get on with trying to satisfy them. Novel foodstuffs, made more widely available, were tempting and effective tools in creating an awareness of new possibilities.

It is worth pausing at this point and stepping back slightly from the vantage point of the 21st century historian, who can evaluate, albeit subjectively, all the mechanisms of the Roman colonial project, in the knowledge of its full geographical sweep and chronological trajectory. No such vantage points were available in the settlements of the study area. For at least 150 years, some of the locals in southern Britain had grown to be quite cosmopolitan. They were used to meeting strangers from across the water, and had become familiar with previous immigrant groups. The intentions of these latest arrivals, their attachment to wider geographical concerns, and their occasional promotion of the ideas of the 'civilizing mission' of Rome, must, however, have been sources of curiosity. The immediate future, under direct Roman rule, must have been quite unknown. Knowledge of the Roman colonial project, and all its works which included material culture, must have been at best incomplete amongst rural communities. A decorated samian bowl, for some of the 'indigenous' was a strange and powerfully appealing object which excited the senses – either positively or negatively; it was not

necessarily emblematic of the technologies of colonial mass-production, or colonial control, nor of exotic foodstuffs.

Points in the last two paragraphs have touched upon the role of material culture, and new foods, in stimulating wants and needs in the past. I want to explore the idea of a history or genealogy of desires, and suggest that the well-known anthropological topic of 'Cargo Cults' may have some explanatory relevance. A contested phenomenon of colonial encounters of the second half of the 20th century, Melanesian Cargo Cults manifest an implicitly modern mode of desire for consumer material goods – insatiable, inescapable but also pleasurable – not dissimilar to addiction (Lindstrom 2004, 30ff). Modes of desire differ, however, and have histories; before the 18th century perhaps most people satisfied their basic needs more easily. Dalton (2004, 190) reminds us that there is a question mark over whether some 'indigenous peoples', for instance in Papua New Guinea, have the same kind of materialist values that covet things; rural people in some parts of Papua New Guinea maximise prestige by giving stuff away. Conversely, Otto (2004, 223) argues that in certain islands of Melanesia 'Cargo' was about freedom, and breaking the endless cycle of domination by the Big Men, with compulsory competitive cycles of exchange. Kaplan (1995) dismissed Cargo Cults completely, suggesting that, on Fiji at least, these sort of cults were in essence a colonial representation of indigenous movements that stood against the spread of Christianity or modernization, and that they really focussed on values such as indigenous leadership and autonomy, rather than material goods. Lindstrom (1993,1) maintained that Cargo Cults developed when 'primitive' societies were exposed to the overpowering material wealth of the industrialized world; the cults involved the pursuit of rational goals (i.e. more cargo) by irrational means (constructing landing strips for aeroplanes in the forest). So does the concept of Cargo have any relevance in southern Britain 2000 years ago? Can we imagine the 'cargo-ed' nature of Late Iron Age desires confronted with the 'overpowering' numerical variety of Roman material culture in the study area?

These are certainly questions worth asking, as all too often in archaeological accounts of the period there is a tacit and unquestioned assumption that the locals would have wanted better-quality Roman buildings and the goods to go with them, once they had appreciated the existence and value of such things. And, to an extent, they did (or at least we are told they did) – witness the fondness of the Gauls for wine mentioned by

Diodorus above. Certainly Roman colonialism in the western Empire was partly based on creating desires for Roman culture amongst neighbouring peoples – so the dissemination of a 'Roman Cargo Cult' would have been more than useful. New foodstuffs, appealing and in part addictive, were excellent vehicles for creating curious wants. However the dissection of 'indigenous' desires suggests a variety of motivations. There were undoubtedly some who craved the new material culture to emulate continental elites; there were others who may have wanted to amass exotic material culture simply to enhance their status by redistributing it, much as the Big Men of Melanesia. Still others may have desired new goods for their supposed amuletic values (such as images of the Emperor or Roman Gods on coinage – see Chapter 6) or for their mistaken powers of well-being and courage (e.g. as a result of intoxication) as objects to be transformed (like the melted-down *denarii* for Icenian adornments – see Chapter 6), for grave-goods (see Chapter 7), or as offerings to the local deities. There may have even been some who wanted to acquire the material culture trappings of the newcomers so that they, too, could exercise the same authority and power, so that the threat of the colonizers could be somehow neutralized. It may be several steps too far to imagine an Atrebatic John Frum, urging followers to throw their Roman coinage into the sea (Lindstrom 1993, 84); on the other hand Boudicca must have come perilously close to suggesting just this. If the compromised term Cargo has no place in archaeology, the examination of the character of Late Iron Age desires could be more fruitfully explored.

The absorption of the Atrebatic kingdom into *Britannia* enabled the colonial power to exercise direct authority, but what is the evidence for a more 'controlling mimesis' within the study area, especially in terms of food and drink? We could look at the burial evidence in the St Pancras cemetery to the east of Chichester (see Chapter 7). The cemetery was only established as a result of Roman direct control, and platters and flagons buried with the dead indicate that radical changes in the provision of food and drink, at least for the after-life, were established quickly (Hayden 2009, 53). The most obvious change for the living, in terms of what vessels they were eating and drinking from, would have been in the much greater availability of shiny red samian pottery. The rapid demise of 'imitation Gallo-Belgic' and Gallo-Belgic imports occurs around the same time as the shift in favour of samian vessels and the copying of samian in the nearby Arun Valley. Samian pottery was arguably a much more telling marker of

incorporation within the Roman state (Hayden 2009, 71). The old Atrebatic allegiances were being suppressed.

The animal bone record is again revealing of both emulative practices, and perhaps some specific resistances. I suggest an example of the latter first. There was a general trend of animal consumption in Roman Britain, certainly among the non-elite, towards greater reliance on cattle products; the specific Gallo-Belgic and elite Roman connotations of pork have already been noted. It is a truism, however, that no individual eats everything, and the religious taboos associated with pigs are well known and documented both in the Bible and the Koran (Harris 1997; Soler 1997). Pigs certainly stand out from the other main domesticates in that they have virtually no 'secondary products', as opposed to the dairy products and fleeces regularly provided by other animals. The rearing, culling, sacrificing, inspecting of entrails, butchering and cooking of large animals also provided a much greater variety of a multi-sensory impacts than the harvesting of grain and boiling of porridge. So we should not be surprised if 'resistances' to classical foodways were expressed in the context of indigenous religious and ritual observances and taboos associated with animals, especially as Roman officials, superficially at least, were likely to be broadly tolerant of the pantheistic beliefs, and attendant practices, of others. The term 'resistance' is perhaps too loaded an expression, implying a reified political action that stood in defiance of attempts to impose foreign practices. It would be better glossed as a desire to continue 'in the old ways' or 'in the accustomed manner' or 'as our ancestors have done'; it was covert and perhaps unconscious protest at best. Exaggerations of ritual behaviours as a way of expressing indigenous identities under colonial rule have been noted elsewhere (Comaroff 1985; Russell 2001). The expression of emulation and resistance can also be gendered in the colonial encounter. Taussig (1993, 154) noted that Cuna men copied colonial behaviours, while Cuna women emphasized alterity by wearing indigenous dress; it is not hard to imagine similar gender divides in early Roman southern Britain in relation to foodstuffs.

The animal evidence from temple sites in southern Roman Britain is therefore of considerable interest (King 2005). At many temple sites during the Roman period (e.g. Uley – Glos; Harlow – Essex; Lowbury Hill – Oxon) there is still a remarkably high percentage of sheep/goat bones, with cattle much less in evidence. This stands in

contrast to contemporary settlements where cattle were much more in evidence. It is more than likely that religious sacrifices and consumption of animals, at geographically isolated temple sites frequented by people of mostly indigenous ancestry, were vehicles for the continued expression of an allegiance to 'the old ways' which, of necessity, stood in opposition to their daily domestic and secular foodstuffs. Such expressions of indigenous difference were accentuated when those Romano-British temple sites were located within the ramparts of previously significant Middle and Late Iron Age hillforts (e.g. Maiden Castle in Dorset, or Chanctonbury in Sussex). Within the study area the temple at Hayling Island has a more mixed animal bone signature; there are high numbers of sheep/goat but there are also significant numbers of pigs, but very few cattle. Within the former Iron Age hillfort at Chanctonbury, just to the east of the study area, a large number of pig bones were recovered. These two assemblages may well represent both older indigenous preferences (sheep/goats) and potentially former Atrebatic and Gallo-Belgic elite identities (pigs) in contradiction to the imposition of cattle-dominated Roman foodways elsewhere in Roman Britain (fig. 22).

Figure 22. This silver coin of the Atrebatic Chief Verica dates to the decade AD10-20. Note the depiction of a boar on the reverse – a common Celtic iconographic element. It is conceivable that the relatedness of wild boar/domesticated pig, and the powerful attributes and qualities of such animals, informed a Gallic/Atrebatic boar/pig cult as evidenced at Chanctonbury (see Rudling 2001, 115ff).

The animal bones from the Palace phase at Fishbourne are illuminating and can be interpreted in terms of elite status, emulation, or both. There is consistently a higher percentage of pig bones in all phases, even continuing into the 3rd century AD,

Figure 23. A samian cup and oyster shells from the gully at Fishbourne

although the dominance of pig over the other domesticates is much less after approximately AD100 (Allen forthcoming, Table 9; and see Appendix 1). Coupled with higher numbers of domestic and wild-fowl, fish, and the presence of red, roe and fallow deer, this would suggest that the residents of this site enjoyed a much more Gallo-Belgic and elite Roman diet than their contemporaries in urban Chichester or the surrounding countryside. Sykes (2006) has suggested that fallow deer were brought imported as live animals to Fishbourne in the later first century AD and reared there, possibly in an enclosed deer park – an apparently clear indication of elite hunting

activity. The impact of non-native animal species on the local flora and fauna must have been extensive, and the cultural landscape changes associated with the creation of a putative Fishbourne deer-park have been mentioned in Chapter 4. In addition a small gully (fig. 23) filled with food debris and table waste dating to the end of the first century AD, just to the east of the Palace, exhibited an extraordinary range of, *inter alia*, bird, fish, and medium sized mammalian remains, as well as an abundance of oyster shells, strongly indicative of high-status feasting (Manley and Rudkin 2005, 100). However, at nearby Westward House, just a little to the east of Fishbourne, the predominance of cattle bones in the later Roman period demonstrates more normative colonial patterns of animal consumption. A similar, colonial diet of moderate status obtains in the rural sites in the study area such as Copse Farm, Ounces Barn and Elstead, the villa at Chilgrove (2), urban Chichester and rural Westhampnett (Fitzpatrick *et al* 2008, 223).

Evidence for plant and vegetarian aspects of diet in the study area is much less abundant. Wheat, barley and oats were discovered at Fishbourne, along with plum or bullace and possibly lentil; the latter is interesting in the context of colonial imports, since it is not native to Britain and could again reflect the elite status of the Fishbourne

site. The traces of wheats found were suggestive of small-scale cereal processing prior to cooking and consumption (Manley and Rudkin 2005,130). Our knowledge of what was being drunk is even more scanty. It may well be that most inhabitants of southern Britain remained wedded to a 'beer, beef and butter' diet rather than a more classically-influenced 'wine, pork and olive oil' that was reserved for the few; I count the elite residents of Fishbourne among the latter. For most people, however, the daily diet probably consisted of soups, porridges and stews, very occasionally leavened by a little bread and beer. The basic beer/wine dichotomy of this colonial encounter may have been just one of the obvious differences that separated the colonizer from the colonized; there were other kaleidoscopic differences in terms of animal and plant processing and cooking, and consumption practices, varying combinations of which separated the new colonial elite and their native collaborators from the locals.

The disciplinary powers of the colonial agents also brought radical changes to the way food resources were stored, cooked and even taxed. Gradually Late Iron Age hand-made, but wheel-finished, grey cooking and storage vessels in the study area were eclipsed by completely wheel-thrown Romanized forms from the Rowlands Castle potteries (Hayden 2009, 71). In like manner the discovery of a series of probable bread ovens on the eastern side of Chichester, in concentrations that argue for a mass-production of this staple, presumably overtook more domestic modes of production. These changes in the technologies of production, initialized by traders and artisans, emulated the mass production industries on the Continent, and could have had transforming effects on the lives of the people who once made the foods and food-containers in smaller-scale or domestic settings. Dietler (2010, 217-8) pointed out the critical role of consumption in the context of colonialism. It has a structuring role in the creation of culture, albeit sometimes with unintended consequences, and material culture was certainly perceived by some ancient colonial agents as a tool of domination. An elegant study of 20th century bread-making in Sardinia by Counihan (1999) illustrates how the establishment of commercial bakeries reduced opportunities for female social interactions at the household level, and transferred the role of bread-maker from women to men. Bread-making in early Roman Chichester, much more visible and therefore taxable, could have witnessed similarly profound, but different, transformations. It was one of the few Roman industries to be mechanized (Morley 2010, 87). And the standardized forms of Rowlands Castle storage jars, with their

identical storage capacities, made it much easier for colonial tax collectors to gather the correct amount of taxation, in terms of agricultural produce in kind.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have grafted some anthropological insights regarding food and drink onto an underlying chronological overview of the period c100BC to cAD200 in southern Britain and in the study area. I have interpreted some of the surviving information in terms of four well-known leitmotifs: gifting, feasting (forms of social practice), mimesis (both uncontrolled and controlled) and emulation/resistance (features of social practice), and suggested that these concepts can be roughly correlated with different intensities of culture contact and colonial encounter. However, it would be wise now to highlight the other potential complexities and variables in the study of foodstuffs in this period. Not surprisingly, for instance, the different food-related behaviours of gifting and feasting probably all featured *simultaneously*, to varying degrees, within the study area; and those variations were almost certainly a part-function of the involved social group of actors and their community location. Within the context of Gallo-Belgic, Atrebatic or Roman colonization there was considerable scope for the meshing of both forms and features of these practices. Tournaments of gifting could develop between foreign and indigenous, fuelled by mimetic behaviours on the colonial Middle Ground. Likewise diacritical feasting could be tense occasions and exacerbate competitive behaviours, such that emulative and resistant practices could be manifested on the next major occasion. Different food behaviours were from time to time displayed by people living in the countryside, the town of Chichester, or the Palace at Fishbourne; they varied according to the size of the commensal group, whether community-wide, specific age-set, peer-group, or family, and the context of the eating occasion. Even under direct Roman rule, there were social and spatial niches dominated by gifting and feasting. Metrocentric and systemic factors promoted a generalized colonial diet, but pericentric responses, in marginal or ritual locations, sought to retain traditional foodways and forms of consumption.

Meals or feasts were much like Bourdieu's game (1990, 66-67) providing a rule-bound arena for social interactions, both at the unconscious and calculating levels. The particularly individual, sensory and digestible appeal of foodstuffs made them

potentially easy cultural transgressors, rule-breakers if you will, in colonial encounters, especially as, given linguistic barriers, they often constituted the first form of communication. Novel foodstuffs could either be welcomed in delight or feared in disgust. They could reinforce traditional foodways or offer a challenge to the extant *habitus*, and a literal taste of other possible futures (Bourdieu 1990, 64). How individuals, households and communities responded to these culinary challenges generated the forms of social practice that developed thereafter.

Chapter 6: From primitive valuables to early cash: the roles of coins in colonial encounters

'There is a growing comparative literature on how traditional societies have reacted to the introduction of universal money….the time has come for us to build some of these anthropological ideas into our [archaeological] *approach…'*

Haselgrove 2006, 109

[Coins were] *'the most deliberate of all symbols of public identity'*

Millar 1993, 230

Introduction

In this Chapter I examine the contentious dialogue between colonizer and colonized, as it was played out through a clash of coinages. After a general introduction to different forms of money and coinage, I comment briefly on Late Iron Age and Roman coin-use. Following some classical references to coins in antiquity, I illustrate the varied dimensions of the clash of coinages, including materialities, spheres of exchange and the imposition, and responses to, taxation.

The two different types of coinage, one of the Late Iron Age[28] and the other of the Roman period in southern Britain, provide us with an ideal material medium through which we can theorize the nature of the colonial encounters between the 'tribes' of southern Britain and the incoming representatives of Roman annexation in the first century AD. I have already noted in Chapter 3 the ethnically mixed character of 'indigenous' communities in Late Iron Age Britain, and the fact that there probably existed extensive contacts between communities across the Channel, long before any more enduring and formal contacts with the Roman world were made. Even within the same indigenous community there were probably members of the elite who could

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[28] Late Iron Age coinage consisted, in reality, of many different types of coinage spread across southern Britain.

identify just as readily with elites across the Channel or even patrons in the Mediterranean, especially since ethnicity, race and origin seem to have been of lesser status in antiquity than status or wealth (Morley 2010, 53). The southern British elite already occupied a culturally hybrid space between future colonizer and the colonized (Bhabha 1994).

I also noted in Chapter 3 that the 'Roman' presence in southern Britain in the first century AD was probably a minority one, in terms of numbers of people, being restricted to some early adventurous traders, an initial military contact that was quickly transferred to the north and west, and a sprinkling of administrators, officials, and more permanent traders, keen to exploit the resources of the new province (Mattingly 2007, 293; 356). Coinage was a medium that was at the very heart of the relationships between this minority and an insular majority, and its portability ensured that it facilitated a complex mixture of social uses and incipient mercantile exchanges. In the Late Iron Age gold coinage was probably used in a wide variety of social prestations, such as gift-giving, forging elite alliances, fines and bridewealth, as well as in payments to the Gods through depositions in the ground or at temples (Sharples 2010, 146-159). In the Roman period more precise denominations of coinage were essential as a mechanism to stimulate a greater percentage of commercial exchanges, and as a medium of taxation, a very significant proportion of which was ultimately paid by Rome to its large standing army. Between these two generalized uses of, and ways of thinking about, coinage it is possible to imagine a complex variety of adoptions and resistances, played out over time through the medium of the coins themselves, as the indigenous perceptions of coinage encountered their colonial counterparts. These contrasts are mostly definable when comparing Gallo-Belgic, and indigenous coinages, with those of the Roman province. Comparisons between uses of the first indigenously-styled series of coins and, for instance, imported Gallo-Belgic C coins (see Table 1) are more difficult. Inevitably, since Roman provincial administration relied heavily on native collaborators, such as Togidubnus, the confrontation was perceived as much as one between the colonized and their local pro-Roman elites, as with the Roman state itself (Morley 2010, 48-9).

There is an extensive anthropological literature on coinage, and much of it can be considered as a means through which to think about the contested meaning of coinage

in the Late Iron Age and early Roman periods. Dalton (1971, 197-199) attempted to characterize the use of money (of which coinage is one specific form) in stateless societies, like those in the Late Iron Age. He emphasized the importance of exchanges between communities as a means to preventing outbreaks of lethal hostilities. He set out a tripartite scheme of:

- ❑ primitive valuables – such as the kula shell necklaces, pigs, ceremonial stone axe blades, and pearl shells of Melanesia, or the slaves and fur-robes of the Canadian north-west coast – predominantly used in gift exchange.

- ❑ primitive money – commodity money such as rolls of cloth, bars of salt, cowries, or twists of wire – used in bartering and commercial exchanges. (The Late Iron Age equivalent might be iron 'currency bars').

- ❑ early cash – coined money used to pay fines, taxes and for general use in market transactions.

These categories provide a potentially useful framework when thinking about the impact of Roman colonial power in southern Britain. However, they are not watertight. On Gawa, for instance, modern Papua New Guinea money is used regularly in bridewealth gifts and functions, along with other imported goods, more as a primitive valuable (Munn 1986, 122). Money, therefore, can quickly lose its function as early cash and revert to primitive money or valuables. On Vanuatu objects, including money, become devoid of previous associations once they are deposited on the ceremonial grounds. They are neutralized, ready to be ritualized and sacrificed (Rio 2009, 296-7). The Roman world used a form of early cash, and coined money in this form was introduced into societies, like those in southern Britain, some of which were at chiefdom level, if not states (Arnold and Gibson 1995; Collis 2003, 105; 212). On the one hand the colonizers wanted to neutralize indigenous primitive money and ensure that their own coinage acted like early cash; on the other hand many in the indigenous communities wanted colonial coin to function more like primitive valuables or money. As an example Howgego (1995, 102) mentions the use of Roman coin beyond the frontiers of the Empire, in an indigenous context, among the Dacians. The movement of large amounts of coin could have been in connection with the purchase of slaves; other

possibilities are plunder, ransom, or protection money. The Dacians probably desired Roman coinage for its bullion value or as a prestige good in its own right, and needed to acquire it to achieve and sustain rank, rather than any use in market transactions. An anthropologically inspired re-reading of the archaeological record of the study area provides both specific examples and hypothetical scenarios to illustrate these contestations, which in practice constituted a long and continuous sequence of adoptions, transformations and resistances.

As objects made mostly of gold, silver and copper alloy coins are quite resistant to decay and survive in the archaeological record. However, that record needs to be read with extreme care. The same coin could serve many different and sequential purposes depending on context. Coins could also be destroyed and transformed, most notably through the practice of melting down so that the metal could be recast into a different form. An example drawn from a colonial encounter in West Africa perfectly illustrates this phenomenon (Arhin 1979, 73). For at least two generations after the establishment of British rule in Ghana, the colonial coin was simply not regarded as money by the majority of the indigenous population; only their bullion value excited local interest. Gold and silver coins were accepted strictly for ornamental use, in bangles and necklaces, or melted down to make other forms of jewellery. This is exactly the sort of occurrence that seems to have happened among the Iceni of Late Iron Age Britain. The Iceni, centred in East Anglia and staunch defenders of their own liberty, created silver pins, bracelets and brooches, in numbers never witnessed before, from melted down Roman *denarii* and continental silver coinage (Dennis 2008, 20-23). (Indeed circulation of the *denarius* (see fig. 32) in the Late Iron Age, before the imposition of direct Roman rule in Britain, could have constituted an early instrument of colonial monetary influence. It could have acted as a common denominator and facilitated exchange between indigenous or predecessor coinages, and those of Rome). This Icenic transformation could have been simply one of seizing an opportunity represented by an influx of precious metal and perhaps bullion to change an unusable commodity into one that was valued indigenously. In itself the increasing availability of Icenian pins, bracelets and brooches may well have had unforeseen repercussions for local status differentiations, or exchange practices. The act of transformation could also have been, however, a very deliberate act of resistance. Destruction of Roman coin could have been effected publicly through rituals of defacement, and the melting down of its very

materiality may have symbolized the material destruction of Roman power. Re-casting the material substance of Roman authority into indigenous artefacts, to be worn on the person, may have both signified the victory of indigenous forms over immigrant ones, and the absorption of foreign bodies and powers by their indigenous counterparts.

Coinage represents an ideal medium through which to explore the nuances, ebbs and flows of colonial encounters because of its varied **materiality**, in terms of the sizes, weights, metallic content and colours of the coins; its easy **portability**, and hence its potential for concealment; the **plasticity** of metal flans when struck by dies so that they could exhibit a variety of symbols and designs; and the **frequency** with which issues of coins could be struck from dies, enabling the iconography to change through time. In mapping colonial encounters coinage is an important medium because it was a material that both indigenous and Roman bodies could relate to; both valued the same metals, especially gold and silver; both would have recognized the coins of the 'Other' as coins, although both would have probably been perplexed at the Other's use of coinage. The portability of coinage, and its lightness (if not carried in bulk) meant that coins could be carried for long distances, exchanged through many pairs of hands, and scrutinized by many sets of eyes. It was therefore a material mechanism of infiltration, allegiance and subversion that could easily cross political and cultural boundaries.

The detailed and changing iconographic content of Late Iron Age coinage seems to have been distinctive. Image-rich coinage circulated in Late Iron Age communities who possessed few rival goods to dilute their novelty The frequent depiction of an often segmented horse on the reverse of gold staters had, as far as we know, no parallel on any other contemporary artefact; the image in profile of a presumed ruler, with an abbreviated Latin name, had again no known competitor. Text itself must have been a pattern of abstract lines to the illiterate majority who examined it. Most of the corpus of Late Iron Age 'art' consists of curvilinear motifs applied to sword scabbards, mirrors, horse trappings, pottery, and occasionally quern stones (Bradley 2007, 231; fig. 5.2). The detailed quality and complexity of the images on coins, and the very smallness of the objects themselves, would have marked them out as something remarkable. In societies where text and figurative imagery were rare, these objects were likely to have a significant, lasting and wondrous impact. By virtue of their sheer numbers Late Iron Age coinages constituted the first mass medium in southern Britain. Circulation of them

may have been crucial to the maintenance of Gallo-Belgic authority in southern Britain. Coins had the power to influence and affect, like no other object before.

Late Iron Age coinages

The development of coinage in the Late Iron Age has recently been summarized by Sharples (2010, 146-159). There is little that needs adding here, other than to contrast the formalist interpretative school represented by authors like Van Arsdell (1989), who interpreted Late Iron Age coinage as a form of early cash, and the substantivist paradigm advocated by Haselgrove (1987), who argued that western economic practices were inappropriate models for other communities. The chronology of Late Iron Age coinage was conveniently tabulated by Haselgrove (1996) and is included here for reference.

Haselgrove's (1996) division of the coinage of Britain			
Period	Phase	Duration	Character
I	1	Mid–late 2nd cent BC	Earliest systematically imported coinages; Gallo-Belgic B and early Gallo-Belgic A
	2	Late 2nd cent BC	Later Gallo-Belgic A gold; earliest British potins
	3	Early 1st cent BC	Flat linear potin series; latest Gallo-Belgic A and earlier C gold, but little imported
II	4	*c.* 100–60 BC	Later Gallo-Belgic C and Dc and their earliest British derivatives (British A, B, O, etc.)
	5	*c.* 60–50 BC	Gallic war coinages Gallo-Belgic E and F and their immediate British derivatives (British Qa, La)
	6	*c.* 50–20 BC	Earliest struck bronze; silver relatively limited; latest British potins; legends very rare
III	7	*c.* 20 BC–AD 10	Includes TASCIOVANVS legends, ADDEDOMARUS, DUBNOVELLAVNOS and TINCOMMIVS
	8	*c.* AD 10–AD 40	Includes CVNOBELINVS, subdivided in early and late issues, EPILLVS and VERICA
	9	*c.* AD 30–AD 45	Includes some EPATICCVS and CARA, some overlap with later Phase 8 issues

Table 1: The Nine Phases of Late Iron Age coinage in Britain

Haselgrove (1987; Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf 2005) saw Late Iron Age coinage as socially embedded, and emphasized ceremonial and religious usages (fig. 24). Haselgrove's anthropological debt was clearly acknowledged (Polanyi 1966; Dalton 1968 and 1971) and he welcomed the division of money by Dalton into primitive valuables/primitive money/early cash. In Late Iron Age societies wealth could have been expressed through any number of valuables, such as cattle, horses, iron bars, rings or torcs; coins could have been just another one of those valuables. Late Iron Age coins could have been used to pay for services, obligations, tributes, fines and expressions of allegiance, client-ship or dependency (e.g. bridewealth; ritual offerings; blood-money; healing payments) rather than being used for trade. A whole range of primitive valuables were probably used by some Iron Age societies for the discharge of social obligations, for social competition, wealth storage and status displays. It was some of these coinage-mediated social practices that the Roman colonial authorities sought to diminish and extinguish by the suppression of indigenous coins.

Figure 24. A Gallo-Belgic gold stater from the Morini tribe of coastal north-west Gaul (65-45BC) of 'uniface' (blank obverse) design; from Selsey. (Barbican House Museum, Lewes).

Van Arsdell (1989) implies, on the other hand, that one indigenous form of primitive money (currency bars) was supplemented or replaced by a new form of the same, in terms of imported Gallo-Belgic coinage. Some of these latter coins could have come from aggressive immigration and even small-scale colonization in the first half of the first century BC. It is possible that Gallo-Belgic coinage was forcibly introduced by Gallo-Belgic settlers as a substitute medium in some indigenous exchanges. It is my contention, following Haselgrove (2008, 7) that most uses of gold and silver coinages at this time were deployed in social, and indeed ritual, practices, rather than any particular form of economic exchange.

The situation became infinitely more complex around the middle of the first century BC in southern Britain and the study area. New settlers, as well as refugees, from the Continent probably arrived in numbers. There may have been multiple coinages, those brought by the new arrivals, and types minted by earlier settlers and the indigenous. The impression, from the diverse series of gold quarter staters, different types of silver coin, and a distinctive issue of bronze coins in the Chichester area (Sharples 2010, 148) is that no single minting authority existed, with multiple communities in close proximity. Since Atrebatic coinage was predominantly in gold and silver the appearance of bronze coins around Chichester may be suggestive of a sudden need to use coins in a different way, or the presence of a group of foreigners. It is therefore not known who had the authority to commission coinage, or the rules governing its circulation and usages, but it is presumed, often tacitly, that coinage was associated with a predominantly male elite, and that one of its functions was to substantiate and maintain chiefly authority (Cunliffe 2005, 146). The simultaneous uses of these different coinage systems may well have been the product of conflicting social and ritual practices, as well as affirmations of distinctive allegiances.

Figure 25. Three gold quarter staters of Tincomarus from Selsey. The obverses all have Latin inspired legends, while the reverses depict horses. Williams (2007) argues that the Latin on Late Iron Age coins indicates an active and understood indigenous usage of the language. Average diameter 9mm (Barbican House Museum, Lewes). The way the Latin is displayed, however, bears little resemblance to Roman coinage; rather it resembles more the putative names of producers stamped on contemporary fine ceramics and amphorae.

By around 30BC several coin producing 'tribes' in southern Britain had mints in operation, and, under indirect Roman influence, some were producing coins with Latin inscriptions (fig. 25). This suggests some degree of control and consolidation of coin manufacture. If there is a 'tipping point' in the struggle between Late Iron Age Gallo-Belgic coinage and its Roman counterpart, it probably occurred during the reign of the Atrebatic king, Tincomarus. His coinage can be split into an earlier series, influence by Gallo-Belgic designs, and a later series that draws on Roman iconography. Some have argued that elements of indigenous coin iconography were designed both to demonstrate familiarity with Roman ideals, and an awareness of indigenous ancestry (Creighton 2000; Williams 2007a). It is conceivable that the change in the coinage of Tincomarus resulted from his formal agreement with the Emperor Augustus (see Chapter 3). His successor, Verica, minted coinage that was characterized by references to Roman sacrificial motifs (Williams 2005, 37); however these forms of Roman vinous imagery were translated into indigenous categories before finding their way onto coinage. Important for the overall arguments presented here was the fact that it was the outward political and social aspects of Roman symbolism that were adopted first, a long time before any perceived use of coins for barter, exchange, or regular taxation. The probable de-stabilization of the client kingdom in the AD20s, following the breakdown of the accord reached with Augustus (Chapter 3; Appendix 1), and its re-establishment shortly after AD43, led to the introduction of Roman colonial coinage.

With the Claudian invasion indigenous coinage seemingly came to an abrupt end, although some Icenian coinage continued to be struck until the Boudiccan revolt of AD61[29]. Some Late Iron Age coins turn up on Roman sites in southern Britain well into the second century AD, but, according to the Van Arsdell, these need not have represented 'circulating money' (1989, 26). That the production of coinages came to an abrupt end shortly after AD43 strongly suggests that little equivalence in value or ideals could be found between Roman and insular coins, and the colonial suppression of local coinages was a deliberate attempt to destroy traditional usages and behaviours, and create social voids for the introduction of imperial monies. No doubt, as part of the arrangement that saw the installation of Togidubnus and the client kingdom after AD43 (Chapter 3), production of a local coinage for the kingdom was forbidden.

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[29] It is conceivable, if Verica lived on after AD43 for a short while, that some of his coinage could be post-conquest.

There are approximately 946 Late Iron Age coin finds recorded from the study area on a variety of databases[30]. The distribution map (fig. 26) illustrates that the coin finds are concentrated in a number of key locations (the numbers in brackets indicate numbers of coins):

- Selsey (*c.*300)[31]
- Westhampnett/Tangmere (150)
- Chichester (247)
- Hayling Island (165)

In addition, a large Late Iron Age coin hoard was discovered just to the west of the study area in Old Portsmouth (Portsea Island – Hayden 2007, Appendix 3; entry 3.C.2). Bearing in mind that Selsey was effectively a tidal offshore island during the Late Iron Age and Roman periods, the number of coins found on the 'islands' of Hayling, Portsea and Selsey is much greater than on the mainland. This lends weight to the suggestion that liminal and coastal areas were significant for indigenous coin deposition rituals. Contacts maintained by sea and river may have played vital roles in structuring community values and practices, and foreshores could have been exceptionally revered locations, full of anxious expectancy, waiting for travelling kin or traders from across the sea, much as on Gawa (Munn 1986, 23). They were very likely places where offerings to solicit safe and successful journeys were made.

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[30] Historic Environment Records of Local Authorities; Portable Antiquities Records; Celtic Coin Index.
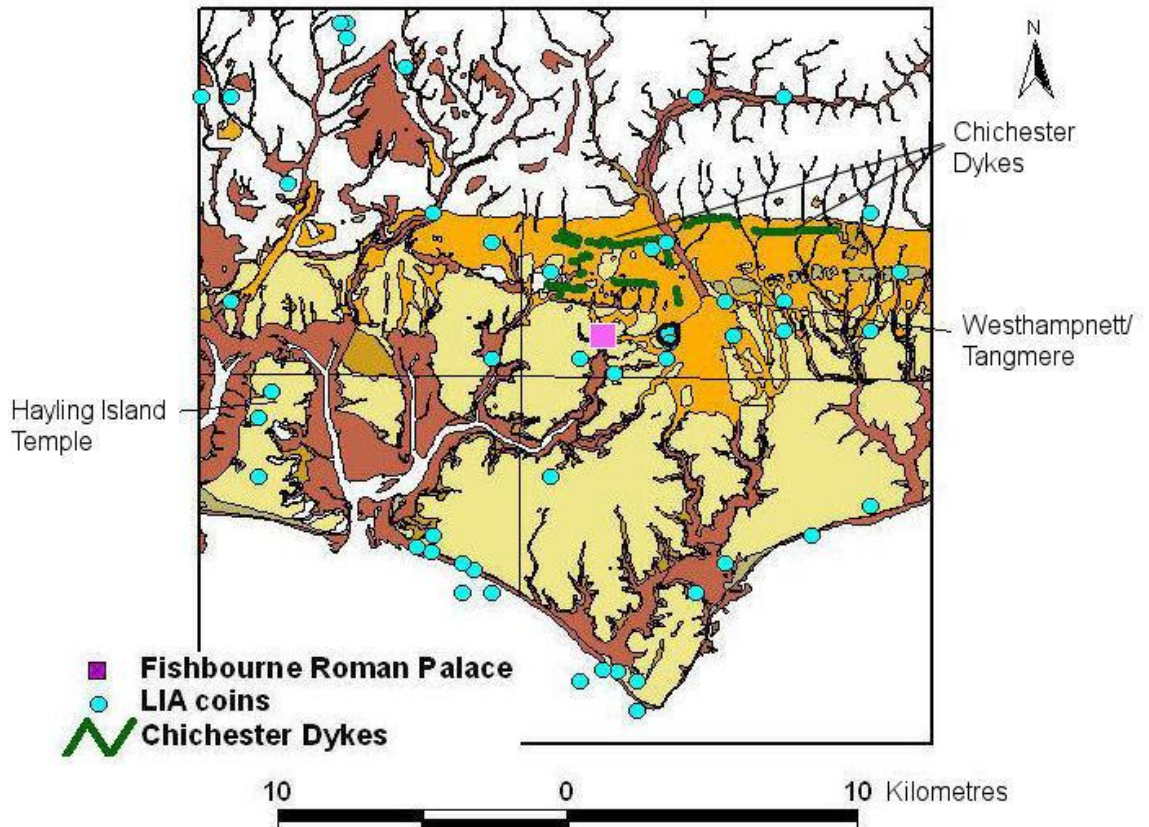[31] Figure quoted by Haselgrove (2005, 398).

Figure 26. Distribution of Late Iron Age coin finds in the study area. The dark green lines in the centre of the map indicate the position of the Chichester Dykes or Entrenchments. (The Key is the same as in Figure 1).

The Roman Monetary system

Roman coinage was ostensibly much more regulated than its Late Iron Age predecessor, although Creighton (2005) has suggested that coins of different metals had discrepant domains of use (see below in 'Spheres of Exchange'). The quasi-universal currency system introduced to Britain as a result of the Claudian invasion was that established by the first Emperor, Augustus, in 24BC (Casey 1999, 8). The system was based on four metals: gold, silver, *orichalcum* (brass) and copper; there was a set relationship between the various denominations (fig. 27) as the following indicates:

Aureus	Denarius	Sestertius	Dupondius	As	Semis	Quadrans
(gold)	(silver)	(brass)	(brass)	(copper)	(brass)	(copper)
1	25	100	200	400	800	1600

Thus 1 *aureus* was worth 100 *sestertii*; 1 *as* was worth 2 *semisses*, and so on. This system of coinage stayed fundamentally the same until reforms were introduced by the Emperor Caracalla in AD 215[32].

Figure 27. A bronze sestertius of the Emperor Claudius from Chichester. The obverse depicts the Emperor's head, the reverse the figure of SPES, or hope, good fortune. The letters SC refer to Senatus Consulto, coinage issued with the authority of the Roman Senate. (Chichester Museum). Diameter approx. 30mm.

In contrast to the debate on the role of coinage in the Late Iron Age, most commentators assume that Roman coinage was a medium that, wherever introduced, gradually facilitated market-orientated trade and exchange, and the collection of taxes (Reece 2002, 115). It is important to note that the Romans had little idea of 'the economy' as a distinct sphere of activity. Under the Principate, Rome was increasingly interested in maintaining a steady stream of resources towards the consuming centre (Morley 2010, 27). Coin use was not widespread in Britain, and operated more at the land-owner and shop-keeper class; below that level, which probably comprised at least 80% of the 2

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[32] There were some minor modifications. In his *Natural Histories*, Pliny writes about Nero's devaluation of aureii and denarii: after the collapse of the Republic, 'it was decided that 40 aureii should be struck from a pound of gold...until Nero most recently increased the figure to 45'.

million estimated population (Mattingly 2007, 356), coins were needed only for relations with the colonial power. A huge amount of money was issued, however, by successive Emperors, most of which went to paying the wages of standing armies in the various provinces. The scale of Roman coinage was vast[33]. In the mid-second century AD the annual imperial budget was around 225 million *denarii*; a staggering three quarters of this went on paying the army, with the remainder paid for the civil service, building projects, subsidies to enemies across the frontiers and other expenses (Eagleton and Williams 2007, 51). Coin came back to the Treasury through taxes, and the leaders of indigenous communities were encouraged to use some Roman coin so that they could pay their taxes in that medium, and invest some of their remaining wealth in public buildings and other accoutrements of *Romanitas*. Within the study area, which saw little, if any, military presence, Roman coinage was probably introduced by way of gifts or loans to the Atrebatic elite. Certainly after AD43 Roman coinage became associated with a whole package of political, social and economic ideals that would have conflicted with many indigenous Atrebatic values, and it is the varied insular resistances to Roman coinage, over time, that flesh out this conflicting dimension of the colonial encounter.

The great majority of Roman coin finds (perhaps as many as 90%) from most areas of Roman Britain are likely to date to the later Roman period, and the coins from the study area (fig. 28) follow a similar pattern. Some well-known excavated sites have produced coins of the early Roman period in significant numbers – Hayling Island, a few sites within Chichester, Fishbourne – and there appears to be a small concentration in the Selsey area.

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[33] As indeed were the outputs of some Gallo-Belgic mints – see Haselgrove 1984.
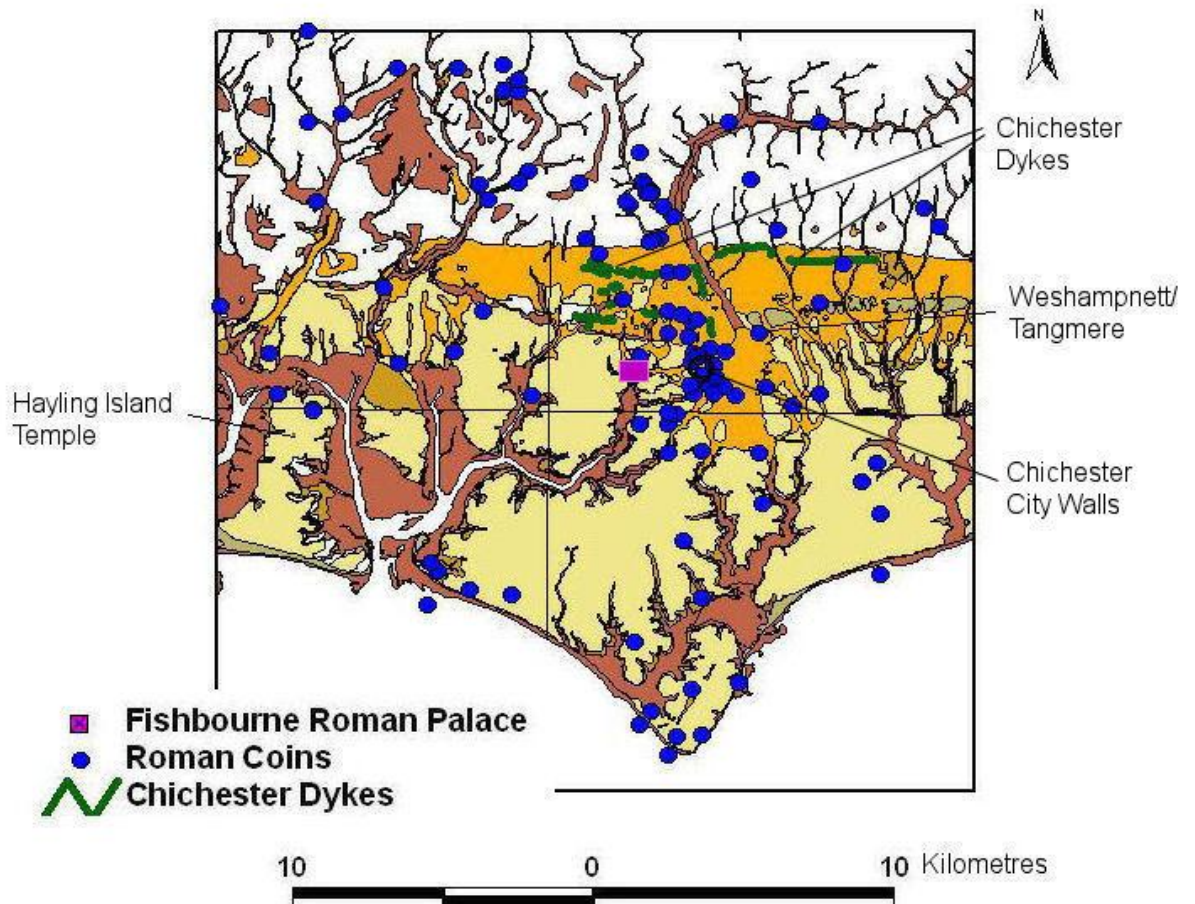
Figure 28. Distribution of first and second century coins in the study area. The dark green lines in the centre of the map indicate the position of the Chichester Dykes or Entrenchments. (The Key is the same as in Figure 1).

Classical references to coinage

A selective glance at classical literature provides some perspectives on the use of Roman coinage. Some illuminating examples of monetary practice can be documented by a few direct quotes, although there is always a possibility that these recorded practices are exceptional, hence attracting the attention of contemporary writers.

The first three examples concern the gifting of coinage, from rulers to ruled. Successive Emperors, and no doubt a variety of other officials, presented large quantities of coins as gifts, a word which has many anthropological resonances (e.g. Douglas 1990). This practice underlines the likelihood that frequent 'gifts' of Roman coinage were made to the British elite, both before and after AD43. Coins were to be spent on specified

commodities, creating restricted markets, spheres of exchange if you will, and were not always free to be exchanged for anything. Again this restraint might suggest that the British elite were coerced into exchanging their imperial coinage for selective Roman commodities, such as elite ceramics, or the construction of Roman building forms.

The first example concerns an imperial donative recorded by Suetonius (*The Twelve Caesars: Augustus* 98), who stated that, as an Alexandrian ship sailed passed Puteoli, the passengers and crew praised Augustus, who was sailing to his villa on Capri. In recompense

This so pleased Augustus that he gave each member of his staff forty gold pieces, making them swear on oath to spend the coins only on Alexandrian goods.

An example of a second century local notable making gifts of money is recorded on an inscription from a statue base in Misenum, just across the bay from Puteoli (D'Arms 2000, 126ff).

In addition he gave 110,000 sesterces to the decurions, so that they and the people of the town could drink honeyed wine on his birthday…

The third example comes from Suetonius (*The Twelve Caesars: Augustus*, 75) who records that Emperor Augustus would distribute, on the occasion of the Saturnalia festivities, among other precious gifts, various unknown foreign coins or coins with portraits of ancient kings:

At the Saturnalia…. he distributed gifts, sometimes clothing and gold and silver, sometimes coins of all descriptions, even old coins of kings or foreign states.

Foreign coins could therefore circulate within the Empire, perhaps perceived as symbols of conquest, and no doubt informing Roman citizens about the customs and beliefs of some of their neighbours. More obviously the coins would have emphasized the strange and barbarian practices of Others, prompting an excuse for their colonization, and demonstrating the vast geographical reach of the Empire. Coinage could thus facilitate flows of information in both directions.

In the three examples quoted above, money is something to be given away, or spent for the public benefit (admittedly of a limited number of people), purchasing for the spender acclaim and status. In the Roman world many uses of coinage were socially, not economically, embedded. The celebrated Trimalchio, however, a freed slave, bragged about his passion and success in business, and provides another, more pecuniary, perspective (Petronius, *Satyricon* 76).

I built five ships, got a cargo of wine…..I made a clear 10 million sesterces on one voyage…straightaway I built a house, bought slaves and cattle…I retired from business and I began to lend money to freedmen.

Business and money-lending are portrayed in this instance as something that slaves and ex-slaves undertake (Morley 2010, 77); it is a means to an end, leading to investment in land and property, and ultimately in status. Clients, freedmen and slaves of the elite seem to have been heavily involved in small-scale banking, financing and trading (Jones 1999, 8). This is a kind of laundering process, in which money gained through perceived low-status activity (trade) is made good by high-status consumption (land and cattle). In essence, in Roman aristocratic circles, money could be perceived as dirty and polluted, whereas land, private buildings and public works were the very stuff of personhood in the very status-conscious communities of the Empire. These attitudes are not so far away from the way money gained through commerce is spent on Fiji through yaqona drinking; this re-enforces chiefly values and underpins the social order, allowing the abhorrence of profit-making to be sustained (Toren 1999). Money is amassed, in both cases, unseen and at arm's length, but eventually translated into culturally acceptable forms of consumption.

A final encounter with ancient textual references to money in the Roman world brings us to the very edge of the Empire, to Vindolanda, a fort on Hadrian's Wall, and to the remarkable wooden tablets that have survived from the site (Birley 2002). Despite its geographical extremity, culturally a military station would be a location expected to demonstrate much greater than average use of both literacy and coinage. Textual snapshots are all that survive:

Tomorrow, early in the morning, come to Vindolanda to [take part in?] the payment of the century[34].

There are accounting records of purchases by soldiers of a great variety of items: bacon, lard, spices, gruel, eggs, chickens, geese, pepper and also glass items, cloaks, tunics, shoe-laces and hob-nails (Birley 2002, 102-5). For the commander's quarters more refined items are purchased such as a set of dining bowls, and curtains. The overall impression is of a monetized series of exchanges in the fort, and of small loans (some from outsiders) to provide bridging finance for larger acquisitions. Money is certainly being used as a means of payment and exchange. However, the character of money usage is more akin to the domestic household than any business or commercial endeavour, and the circulation of much of the coinage probably stayed within the military and their retinues (Katsari 2008, 252). If small amounts of coinage was exchanged with locals outside the fort the character of that unbalanced exchange was probably perceived differently on both sides – for the soldier it may have represented fair exchange, for the indigenous it carried other connotations, not least the need to maintain cordial relationships with the nearby garrison. Even the seemingly equitable exchange of imperial coinage for indigenous goods was therefore a potentially asymmetrical act, and a context for the subtle manifestation of dominant/dominated relationships. In a colonial encounter it was also one that could easily be misunderstood. In South Africa, for instance, the Tswana seemed to show little understanding of the European distinctions between gifts and commodities, and between donations and payments (Comaroff and Comaroff 2006, 118).

The material contrasts

Familiar as the 'indigenous' or 'predecessor' elite of southern Britain were with coinage, the visual contrast between the coins of the two coinage systems (Late Iron Age and Roman) was nevertheless striking (fig. 29). Different combinations of concepts, ideas, beliefs and values were depicted on the two different coinages, and these differences were both the product of contrasting and often antagonistic human practices, and, in turn, helped to sustain these distinctions.

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[34] The 'century' is a unit of 80 men, led by a centurion, in a Roman fort.

Catuvellaunian Gold Stater c 35BC,   *Reverse*

 Obverse – 15mm diameter

Bronze sestertius of Hadrian, AD 117-138,   *Reverse*

Mint date AD 119.

Obverse – 30mm diameter

Figure. 29. Contrasting coins – Late Iron Age Catuvellaunian stater (top row); bronze sestertius of Hadrian (bottom row) – both found in Chichester.

By way of illustration, the above figure provides an instant visual contrast between typical coins of the Late Iron Age and the early Roman period; coins of these two types were in circulation at the same time. The gold coin is half the size of the much more chunky *sestertius*, and weighs much less. The simple dimensions of weight and solidity must have provoked comparisons. The visual imagery is also strikingly different. The obverse of the gold coin displays the typical abstract representation, ultimately derived from the curly hair and wreath of the head of Apollo on Macedonian coinage, and the derivation from the four-horsed chariot, or *quadriga*, on the reverse (fig. 30). By the time these images migrate to the Late Iron Age coinage of southern Britain, the imagery

had been totally transformed. Creighton (2000, 48) had one interpretation of this metamorphosis, suggesting that these abstract and elemental designs were the product of trance-induced inspiration brought about by altered states of consciousness (see also Williams and Creighton 2006). That may be so, and may be a part of the explanation (Sharples 2010, 154). There is no doubt that the original Macedonian models for these coins underwent a thorough 'indigenization' on their journey across Europe to Britain; they were made to conform to the pictorial canons of these islands in their emphasis on intricate patterns made of mostly curved elements. There could have been, however, a cultural aversion to the portrayal of a naturalistic human head. Barbarian warriors indulged, from time to time, in head-hunting, as is evidenced by Classical writers (e.g. Diodorus Siculus, *History,* 5.2 – although it is possible that this practice was over-emphasized in the interests of portraying the 'uncivilized' character of those beyond Roman rule) and suggested by archaeological evidence (Green 1992, 211). The realistic depiction of the human head may also have been taboo. The human head could have been negatively perceived as a 'spying/seeing' head, redolent of the evil-eye, or imbued with a tangible and dangerous substance of the person depicted.

The head of Apollo on the obverse of the gold stater (fig. 30) has completely lost its sense of a head in profile; instead the profusion of curls and head-dress metamorphose into a pattern of separated elements of laurel wreath and hair, that can cover the entire obverse of the coin. The four horses of the *quadriga* have become one, and the single horse (on the reverse) undergoes a process of abstraction that moves it away from a naturalistic image into one that is suggested by a series of elements that together make up a horse form (fig. 29). The horse must have been a striking image for indigenous communities. No other Late Iron Age artefact type has survived that depicts such an animal. The chariot wheels of the *quadriga* have also become detached, frequently replaced by circular wheel-like symbols surrounding or underneath the horse (fig. 29). These wheel-symbols are thought to represent the thunder-god or sky-god (Green 1992, 117). In metal form they have been recovered in vast numbers from sanctuaries in Belgic Gaul. A Roman symbol of status was thus transformed into an indigenous representation of divinity.

Horses especially were the pre-eminent animals on Late Iron Age coins (see Hutcheson 2004 for the importance of the horse; and Creighton 2000; 2005) – standing for prestige

and war; Caesar famously documented that the tribes of southern Britain still used the horse-drawn war chariot (BG IV, 33), whereas in continental Europe it had gone out of fashion. An emphasis on the horse on the reverse was acceptable to indigenous or predecessor tastes; ownership of such, along with presumably horsemanship, was the medium for elite display and maintenance of status. It is possible, therefore, that indigenous communities transformed the naturalistic images to their tastes as an act of absorbing the political power of the Mediterranean world, and making it their own. The capturing of an originally Macedonian portrait, and horse depiction, and their transformation, through shamanic imagery, the observation of taboos, or defiant political acts, may have thus had a variety of motivations but resulted in the same – neutralization and incorporation of dangerously styled, too naturalistic, imagery.

Figure. 30. A 4th century BC stater of Macedonian King Phillip II – diameter 17mm; the Head is that of Apollo, with curls and laurel wreath. This is the type of coin which some authors suggest provided the indirect inspiration for the Late Iron Age coinage of Britain.

A gold stater from East Wittering in the study area (diameter approx.15mm). The obverse (left) is abstracted from the laureated Head of Apollo, ultimately on Macedonian coins; the horse is on the reverse (right).

The Roman coin, by way of contrast, presents us with something altogether less stylized and familiar. Perceptively Hart (2000, 250) drew attention to the materiality of the two sides of a familiar coin – ***the head***, containing usually the Head of State or other pre-eminent figure, a **qualitative** sign and usually a symbol of political authority and a guarantor for the coinage, and ***the tails***, usually associated with some other iconic symbol of security or ideal, either for the person or the community, or good fortune. The Roman Emperor Hadrian was therefore offered to the owner as a symbol of authority, protection, security and, crucially, the one to whom allegiance was owed. It was illegal to refuse coinage that bore the head of the Emperor (Morley 2010, 84). The Emperor also was father of all the peoples of the Empire, and Emperor of every individual city within it; his rule was projected as one of personalized benevolence as much as state authority (Morley 2010, 118). The coin thus created a personal connection between Emperor and subject. The imperial portrait, however, could have been sometimes perceived by the indigenous handler in an altogether different, more threatening, light. The head has eyes, and eyes can see. There is some ethnographic evidence that power of sight itself could be perceived in a coin; such sight might be used for benign purposes or otherwise in respect of the holder. The power of sight can be frustrated, by keeping the coin in a pocket or purse, or released by making the coin visible on the body, as a pendant for instance (Harris 1989, 256). Amongst an indigenous population who both feared and revered the head, some mitigation and channelling of its visual powers may have been important.

Most of the imagery on the reverses of these coins carried a repeating range of cult figures, intended to convey the desirable ideals and reinforce the values of the early Empire. Thus military prowess (Victory, Minerva, Mars); health, wealth, fertility and good fortune (Ceres, Providentia, Fortune, Medusa, Salus); some laudable sentiments (Pax, Equality, Concordia, Vesta, Spes) and worship of the Capitoline Triad (Jupiter, Juno and Minerva). In contrast to the pre-eminent coveted status symbol of the Late Iron Age, the horse, the second century indigenous inhabitants of Chichester were forced to contemplate foreign, supposedly shared ideals, which were of an entirely different order. And lastly the Roman coin was inscribed with letters on both sides. The materiality of incomprehensible text was potentially both fear-inducing and magically powerful to much of the indigenous population of early Roman Chichester.

Figure 31. In this Figure the upper row of coins are all Roman; the middle coin and lower row, all indigenous. A coin of Tincomarus (centre) illustrates a seated horse rider, thrusting a spear downwards. The Atrebatic ruler used the imagery of the first Emperor Augustus to link his authority with that of Rome (From Creighton 2000).

A mingling of these material contrasts is illustrated particularly well in the medium of hybrid Late Iron Age coinage - through its adoption of some Roman symbols of authority and by the first usage of Latin scripts for the names of local rulers (fig. 31). Creighton (2000, 101) makes a case for effectively the material colonization of some Late Iron Age coins by examining a coin of Tincomarus, the ruler of the Atrebates who preceded Verica. He suggests that Tincomarus spent some time in Rome, and observed the iconographic language of the emerging Principate, and how it was utilized by Octavian, at first hand. The coin of Tincomarus (fig.31; VA 375:S7) illustrates a seated horse rider, thrusting a spear downwards; a star is inserted above the horse's head, and the letters C F are below the raised forelegs of the animal. The argument is that the British ruler, who held sway over the study area and much of southern Britain, was using the seated rider to mimic an equestrian statue in Rome, representing military success for Octavian; the star originally symbolized Octavian's deified father Julius Caesar, and the letters C F mimicked the use of CAESAR DIVI F on Roman coinage to legitimate Octavian's inheritance. Translated into a British context the C F stood for Son of Commius, and the star implied that Commius was a God-like figure. The die

engravers who cut this die were therefore instructed carefully about the juxtaposition of these three elements – seated-rider, star and legend. The origin of these motifs was to be found in Rome, but the coin design, and claim of Commian ancestry, was British. The impact, both for Octavian and Tincomarus was to be the same, - confirmation of the ruler in a position of authority.

Late Iron Age chiefly rule, however, was probably of a different order, and more challengingly held, than that of the Emperor, since it could not rely on the backing of a professional army. Tincomarus was more an aristocratic leader, enjoying fluid prominence on the conditional sufferance of his peers in a region that was not fixed and bounded, but subject to continual renegotiation through the redistribution of various benefactions, including coinage (Williams 2007, 7). It could also be that a rather subtle mix of messages was portrayed by this coin. As well as some affinity with Roman values the coin, through its claim of descent from Commius, also emphasized an Atrebatic and ultimately Gallic ancestry. For those who wanted to interpret the iconography, the imagery on the coin could underline mythical descent from Commius, or allegiance to Caesar and Octavian, or both. This polysemic quality of the iconography might have made circulation of such coinage more acceptable; its ambiguity made it also potentially more subversive.

Quantitative versus Qualitative coinages

Colonial attempts to introduce early cash could be thwarted by indigenous rejection of coinage as a measure of quantitative value, subverting it by an insular preference for the qualitative look and feel of coins. The desire to spread monetization by Roman colonial agents was no doubt impeded in this way. Similarly, imported Gallo-Belgic coinages could be made fit for indigenous and local ends (and *vice-versa*) by transforming their superficial materiality. A perceptive study of the introduction of Australian coin in Anganen society in Papua New Guinea (Nihill 1989) serves as an illustration. The colonial assumption was that the ingress of coinage would supersede existing forms of wealth, and the proper use of money would lead to western-style economic growth and development. However, far from undermining traditional modes of exchange, the new 20 kina notes were said to be like pearlshells (Nihill 1989, 144). Money therefore underwent a transformation from a quantitative to a qualitative emphasis by the process

of indigenous *valorization* and *fetishization* (Nihill 1989, 152). By the former term the author means the construction of culturally-specific meanings and significances for objects, different from their place of origin or their intrinsic value; by the latter term the author implies the inherent power that resides in the qualitative aspects of specific items of material culture. Thus, among the Anganen, the items that are welcomed in ceremonial exchanges are only intact, bright, red pearlshells, and only 20 kina notes that are pristine, unsoiled and crisp. It is possible to illustrate a potential example of this phenomenon at the Temple on Hayling Island.

The significance of the very materiality of coinage is demonstrated by the practices of breaking, mutilation and 'plating' at Hayling Island Temple. Some 165 Late Iron Age coins were found during excavations[35] at the temple in the northern part of the island (Briggs *et al* 1992). The temple had two major phases (Chapter 4) – a Late Iron Age one from the later first century BC, and an Atrebatic one – from the mid-first century AD (fig. 11). The second main phase of the temple can be linked with the Southern Atrebatic Dynasty, ultimately ruled by Togidubnus.

The coins were presumably deposited as numerous individual offerings at the temple, possibly in small groups rather than singly. Significantly some of the offerings included broken sword-shaped iron 'currency bars', the first time they have been found on a temple site. Despite the fact that currency bars were produced in standardized forms and weights, Hingley (2005, 186) argues that most were deposited during ritual acts. Some of the Iron Age coins had also been deliberately broken or damaged before deposition, suggesting mutilation rites that might have consigned the coins to the Gods, and prevented their return to the living.

The coins themselves date from c 80BC until the time of Verica. Of the 165 coins, only 46 can be linked with the Iron Age phase of the site. Strikingly, coins of Tincomarus and Verica seem to be almost absent from the Late Iron Age temple. British and Gaulish coins account for the overwhelming majority of coin finds from the Late Iron Age temple, emphasizing the connections, also expressed architecturally in the form of the temple, between southern Britain and Gaul. This underlines the probability that the first

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[35] 14 of these came from surface finds

main phase of Hayling Island Temple represented a key foundational site for an immigrant Gallic community in the mid-first century BC. Only a minority, some 31, of the coins are gold. The practice of using coins as offerings had its origins in the changing values of post-Conquest Gaulish society, and was therefore a practice influenced by the colonial impact of Caesar's wars.

The most puzzling aspect of the Hayling Island Late Iron Age coinage is the quite exceptional percentage of plated coins – some 75% of the gold coinage and 46% of the silver coins. Briggs *et al* (1992) offer three alternative explanations, without offering a preference: one, that the dedicatees were simply cheating the Gods; two, that the un-plated coins were removed subsequently in antiquity – it is possible that coins deposited at the temple could be recovered for later ritual re-use (King 2008, 25); three, that ritual practices at Hayling may have followed continental custom where there was a greater emphasis on token coinage.

The Temple was re-built during the re-establishment of the client kingdom; it yielded 149 Roman coins minted in the years before AD260 (Briggs *et al* 1992, 46ff). The coins from the site are exceptional, peaking in the years between AD14 and AD68, and some Roman coins had certainly been deposited before the Claudian annexation (Haselgrove 2005, 398). In addition, in this early group there are unusually small denominations, such as halved *asses*, *semisses* and *quadrantes*. Some of the halved coins were probably imported before AD43 and are likely to represent ritual objects rather than true coins. The extraordinary character is also borne out by the 35 plated *denarii* that can be dated to the late Republican period or the first century AD; many of the plated *denarii* had been pricked, cut or stabbed, quite possibly as part of the rite of offering the coin to the cult of the temple. The occurrence of plated *denarii* is characteristically associated with Roman military forts on the near Continent, such as Velsen or Nijmegen, and could thus be taken as an indicator of direct colonial influence. However, it is likely that plated *denarii* held some other significance for Atrebatic dedicatees who were not under direct Roman rule. Plated *denarii* obviously held some special quality, and I argue that the practice of plating might approximately correspond to the values placed on crisp and pristine kina notes.

The content of offerings at Hayling Island was obviously bound up with the material appearance of currency as distinct from its metallic 'value' (hence the emphasis on 'shiny' plating) and by its breakage (as is indicated by the broken currency bars and coins). Shape and colour were valorized and fetishized rather than exchange value. It was only the sword-shaped currency bars that were broken and offered at the temple, precisely because they were shaped like swords, not because of the exchange value of iron. In the later Atrebatic phase of the site we see the same concerns – the high number of plated coins, the halved (broken) bronze coins and the deliberately damaged *denarii*. It is possible to argue that in the later phase of Hayling Island temple, indigenous practices still dictated the material forms of worship. Through that multiplicity of practice, involving plating, defacement, fragmentation and deliberate burial, both Gallo-Belgic and Roman coins could be removed from potential market circulation, transformed and mutated to local ends and concerns, made to serve exchanges with the Gods, and, directly or indirectly, the intended monetization of the living could be obstructed. Overt religious observances, therefore, could be accompanied by a covert re-statement of indigenous values, and a collective manifestation of anti-colonial, or at least anti-mercantile, sentiment.

Chronological variations

The fundamental clash between 'indigenous' coin and Roman colonial coin was one between primitive valuables or money and early cash (Dalton 1971), between a more qualitative and social use of coinage and a more quantitative and commercial one. In simplistic terms the colonial encounters played out over time gradually transformed the use of coinage from traditional practices such as social prestations, and ritual offerings of coins in hoards or at temples such as Hayling Island, to uses that were more concerned with payments, taxes, and market transactions. These transformations in the uses of coins gradually moved them from being indicators of symbolic and social capital, to measures of economic capital (Bourdieu 1986, 243). But this struggle, mediated through the different materialities of the two principal coinage systems, occurred over several generations in the last century BC and first century AD. The first experience of coinage among the indigenous communities in southern Britain would have been an appreciation of its novelty and 'otherness', for the first coins that many people saw were the Gallo-Belgic specimens, imported, or carried from, the Continent

(fig. 24). Subsequently indigenous production, or that undertaken by immigrant, settler communities, began. The local Atrebatic elite would still have been used to seeing the Late Iron Age coins of other British tribes, so mixed and different coinages would have been a reality to some. During the latter part of the last century BC Roman coins, probably mostly in the form of Republican *denarii* (fig. 32), would have appeared. Presumably for some decades these were treated either in much the same way as other exotic coins had been, or perhaps utilized as an approximate standard of exchange between different coinages. Alternatively they were recognized for their bullion value and for the threat they symbolized; in the latter case they were melted down[36].

In the early decades of the first century AD there may have been a growing awareness amongst a few that Roman coinage was different, and associated with an extraordinary power in the Mediterranean, and that local coinages were being changed through contact. Insular attitudes to Roman coinage might have changed dramatically at three, conceivably four, points in the history of the first century AD: the appearance of the first classicizing Late Iron Age coins; the actual invasion of AD43 (although the Atrebates were assigned to client kingship); the influences stemming from the Boudiccan rebellion of AD61[37] (although the Atrebatic kingdom was not directly affected to any great degree); and the absorption of the independent client kingdom into the province of *Britannia* some time in the late first century AD, which was probably accompanied by an influx of Roman coinage to urban sites and high status sites like Chichester and Fishbourne[38]. Indeed it is possible that there was a growing realization by a few of the threat to traditional values posed by Roman coinage. In Korea, for example, in the 18th century, the negative effects of the establishment of an universal coinage as legal tender included rural depopulation, thievery, usury and extortion by

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[36] References to Roman melting down of Late Iron Age coinage are more elusive. In March 1998 the Celtic Coin Index (Oxford) showed a picture of a lump of silver from the Isle of Wight, in which was embedded an Armorican stater. This shows that Gallo-Belgic coins in Britain could be made into bullion; in this case the agents are unknown.

[37] Money may have played some role in the rebellion since one of the assumed causes of the revolt was the withdrawal of Roman loans to the local Icenic elite; these may have been perceived as gifts by the Iceni.

[38] The longue durée of attachment to indigenous values in the face of colonial pressure should not be underestimated, however. The Comaroffs (2006) tell the story of a 1995 jackpot winner in a slot machine in Gabarone, Botswana. Asked how he would spend his winnings he replied that he would buy cattle. For the Tswana, he explained, 'cattle are wealth…and it is traditional to have as many as possible to pass onto your sons'.

petty local officials. At one stage, to counter these trends, the Joseon Royal Court attempted to ban coins (Won 2006, 64).

Effects on locally protected markets

The introduction of universalist colonial monies to indigenous peoples in more recent history may provide some potential indicators of parallel reactions and consequences when Roman coinage was imposed on Late Iron Age Britain. The effect of British colonial rule, and the introduction of British coinage, on markets in the Asante area of Ghana, in the 1890s (Arhin 1979) was gradual but ultimately transformational. Internal long-distance trade to the north was taking place much earlier than the European trade from the south coming from the delta, but wealth was confined to the chiefly class of the Asante, and commoners were excluded. (This concentration of high status goods in the hands of an elite is paralleled in some explanatory models of early Roman penetration into southern Britain). Goods from the Mediterranean and the Continent seemingly confined, in the Late Iron Age, to high status sites in core, coastal areas – occasionally exchanged onwards into more peripheral areas; this is the well-known core-periphery model (Cunliffe 2005, 603). Traded goods among the Asante were kept separate from the mass of the people by the establishment of general-purpose markets in peripheral locations, as noted in Chapter 3. In these transitory markets the physical separation of the place of exchange, the employment of primitive money, restricted spheres of exchange, and sumptuary laws prevented the emergence of coin-facilitated market exchange.

The British colonial impact in the late 19th century relaxed restraints on transit markets, so that more markets were set up, with greater frequency. Asante fiscal policies were also loosened so that the benefits of trade could begin to percolate downwards to a greater number of people. New forms of wealth were encouraged, such as property, access to which had hitherto been restricted by kinship ties. Colonial administrative centres were established, whose occupants created a demand for local goods and produce. Such centres, and the construction of policed roads, provided more secure conditions so that women began to engage with trade. At the onset of monetization the traditional female monopolization of cooking and brewing frequently presented women with a different means of earning extra income (e.g. in the form of beer sales – Dietler

2001, 92). Coinage, and a formal scale of denominations, was introduced as a means of payment, with the adoption of a more commercial approach to exchanges. The drive by the authorities to increase the use of coinage was encouraged by the requirement to pay taxes, toll-duties and levies on markets in cash. More people were brought into the local economy through the use of money, and the Asante chiefs and aristocracy lost their ability to keep control of prestige traded goods for themselves. The influx of imperial coinage, however persuasively introduced for reasons of trade and development, was a political act that had profound social ramifications, ultimately threatening and over-turning indigenous values and beliefs.

The potential parallels between the Asante example and Chichester area are compelling. The Chichester Dykes enclosed a large area which circumscribed maritime access to this part of southern Britain; imported goods from the Continent could have been controlled by an elite and confined within the enclosed area, as would have been the continental stranger-traders themselves. The discovery of a Late Iron Age coin mould from one of the northern entrances to the area within the Dykes (at Ounces Barn), and concentration of coin finds between Chichester and Westhampnett/Tangmere, may suggest some connection between trading/money use and the enclosed area (Bedwin and Place 1995). The date range of the 150 or so coins suggests deposition, over a century, from the early first century BC to AD43 and beyond. The earliest coins are imported and show some links with similar Gallic imports at Hayling Island (Haselgrove 2005, 394). The metallic ratios are different from gold-dominated Selsey: silver predominates (60), with gold in the minority (29); there was at least one episode of bronze coin production (Sharples 2010, 148). As at Selsey, however, indigenous or predecessor practices seem to have been unaffected by the establishment of the client kingdom in AD43. It is possible that the coins at Westhampnett/Tangmere originate from a religious site, or conceivably a mint and associated peripheral market within the supposed '*oppidum*'.

The client kingdom, after AD43, led to the creation of *Noviomagus* (Newmarket) at Chichester, a permanent centre of trading occupied mainly by non-elite groups such as traders, slaves, and those of the indigenous without significant assets, creating a demand for local services and goods which were probably paid for in coin. *Noviomagus* was connected by patrolled roads to other areas of southern Britain, and such connections

could have led to the more widespread adoption of money and some of the changes already outlined. In this sense the articulated Roman road system helped to destroy the elite domination of traded goods in bounded 'core' areas. The putative adoption of money by indigenous non-elite groups, such as the poor, slaves or women, for local trading activities may have gradually subverted the elite male monopoly of coinage. Alternatively women may have provided the means whereby polluted low denomination Roman money of bronze, - the only coins suitable for bartering with colonial agents for goods because of their low value (see below) -might have been deployed safely outside the home (fig. 33). Women often played an integrative but ambivalent role when value systems clashed in some colonial projects. In the American Great Lakes region women took a lead role in bartering on The Middle Ground, offering sex to European traders for rum, and then selling the liquor onto their own for a small profit (White 1991, 333-4). In Mount Hagen in Papua New Guinea, women obtain money from outsiders through their own activities, and men are faced with the problem of how to gain control of it (Strathern 1979, 539).

Spheres of exchange

The example of Late Iron Age coins being recovered from Roman period contexts at Chichester, Fishbourne and Hayling Island (and the fact that late Republican coins circulated in Late Iron Age Britain) is indicative of at least dual currency usages in the client kingdom (fig. 32). The presence of two very different denominations of coinage created the conditions whereby at least two different spheres of exchange could have co-existed. In societies, like Late Iron Age Britain, which did not possess a uniform scale of value, different spheres of exchange were almost inevitable (Dietler and Herbich 2001, 251). Indigenous use of Roman coin might have been exclusively reserved for the payment of taxes to the colonial power, or dealing with foreign traders. Traditional coin may have been kept for important social prestations such as bridewealth, gift-giving, religious deposition, and for 'indigenous' exchanges such as use-rights over land, slaves and livestock. Locals were pressured into acquiring small amounts of Roman coinage through coercion from indigenous or predecessor elites, who governed their localities. They were encouraged to offer any agricultural surpluses generated to colonial agents, who paid for them in coin. Similarly, they were made to utilize the medium of money where previously they had relied on product-for product

exchanges or barters. Burnett (2005, 179) has commented on the absence of imperial 'small change' in the Western Empire, and the supply of Roman coinage to Britain in general in the first century AD seems to have been a very sporadic affair. The desire of Roman colonial administrators was to try and weaken the extent of social prestations involving indigenous coinage, unite separate spheres of exchange, and encourage the commoditization of assets, such as land and animals, that were probably socially constrained. Labour in the Roman period, partly because of the availability of slaves, was for the most part not commoditized (Morley 2010, 86; 91).

Figure 32. A Republican silver denarius from Fishbourne Roman Palace. It could have been in circulation in the Late Iron Age. Many of these older coins still remained in circulation during the first century AD. This one depicts the head of Medusa. (Collections Discovery Centre -Fishbourne Roman Palace).

Much the same dichotomy of values and intent was documented by the Comaroffs (2006) for the Tswana of South Africa. Indigenous wealth was counted in cattle, and rights in cattle, and chiefly authority was upheld through cattle prestations. European tender, championed by traders and missionaries, attempted to establish equivalent commensurations between cattle and coin, and the eventual substitution of the former by the latter. Local communities resisted, however, and when they periodically received coinage they turned it into cattle. For the Tswana, cattle provided a social, qualitative form of wealth; for Europeans, money provided a de-personalised, quantitative form of the same. The outcome of a similar colonial intent has been documented archaeologically at Lattara in southern Gaul, where special-purpose local money (only used in relation to dealings with Greek merchants) gradually changed into general-purpose, internally used, money after the Roman conquest of 121BC (Luley 2008). By banning the production of indigenous coinage in southern Britain after AD43, and preventing Togidubnus from establishing his own mint, the colonial authority set in motion the penetration and eventual dissolution of indigenous spheres of exchange.

The existence of different spheres of exchange existed prior to Roman annexation. Haselgrove (1987, 217) identified different distribution patterns of Late Iron Age coinage, most notably between gold (widely distributed) and silver and bronze (more tightly clustered). Creighton (2005, 79ff) has recently taken this further, suggesting that gold coinage, with its representations of man/horse unions, could have been symbolic of leadership, and could have constituted a form of elite, or special purpose, money used conceivably in a particular sphere of exchange. That sphere may have involved the exchange of gold coins for horses, horse-fittings or conceivably chariots. Further Creighton (2005, 81) argues that the supposed universality of Roman coinage has been overstated, and that the Roman monetary system was in fact multi-centric. Apart from the occasional deliberate injection of coinage in the first century AD, Britain was virtually a closed monetary area; it did not participate in the circulation patterns traceable on the Continent. In addition the tariff between denominations was not always fixed, and bronze coin was exclusively the coinage of the market-place (*pace* Morley 2010, 125-6).

Colonial denominations

Roman colonial attempts to increase the degree of monetization of daily life were therefore frustrated both by imperial failure to introduce sufficient coinage after AD43, and by the apparent indigenous preferences for gold and silver (as at Selsey and Bognor). In 19th century Fiji, for instance, the lack of coined money hampered colonial business ventures and was compounded by the fact that traders' ships took away the remaining coinage as payment for imported goods (Derrick 1950, 200). In Britain monetary transactions were also frustrated by the high denominational value of Roman coinage which made it unusable for many mundane transactions. An example from more recent African colonial history is illuminating. Despite the fact that British coinage, comprising copper and silver coins, was introduced into the Asante (Ghana) and Northern Territories as soon as colonial administration was established in the 1890s, acceptance of coinage was only gradual. Their acceptance may have been more as a result of their perceived ornamental qualities as personal decoration rather than their monetary value, although these categories were not necessarily mutually exclusive (Arhin 1972, 73). The colonial authorities had to sanction alternative media of

exchange, including cowries, in the early years of British rule, especially since the lowest denomination of colonial coin carried too much purchasing power for small foodstuffs. The simultaneous use of different coinages, making economic transactions more complicated but not impossible, can be paralleled in different times and other places (e.g. 19th century Fiji – Derrick 1950, 209; medieval Korea – Won 2006, 142).

Figure 33. Low denomination Roman coins. A bronze as (upper row – diameter 26mm) and a copper quadrans (lower row – diameter 15mm) of the Emperor Caligula (AD37-41) found in Chichester (Chichester Museum)

For at least a generation after the introduction of British coin in Nigeria, multiple currencies existed, in order to facilitate exchange patterns. Only a discrete number of imported coins from Britain could be absorbed by the local communities. When colonial officials made purchases from local markets, and refused to offer payment in brass rods or manillas, local vendors equally refused to accept British currency (Ofonagoro 1979, 635; see also Reece 2002, 115). The cessation of indigenous coin production in southern Britain suggests that the Roman authorities attempted a more draconian approach to the imposition of imperial coinage as a means of exchange (fig. 33). Roman coin would have been forced on the local British population by a variety of practices, including gifts, and requirements to pay fines and taxes in the imperial coin. The coin record from the north-western part of Chichester is probably a representative one for the Roman

town (Down 1978). In addition to the Roman coins, a total of 14 Late Iron Age coins, including nine of silver, were discovered. The Iron Age coins are interesting in their own right; all came from Roman levels, strongly suggesting that dual currencies co-existed in the Atrebatic client kingdom after AD43. The presence of Late Iron Age coins in Atrebatic and early Roman contexts suggests that the colonial authorities were, initially at least, only partially successful in encouraging the exclusive use of their own coin.

Taxation

The Roman administrators, or tax collectors acting on their behalf, would have been extremely keen to raise tax revenues in coinage from their new province, since coinage was more portable than taxes in kind. Monetary taxes could be levied on people, as a poll tax, on holdings of land and buildings, slaves, livestock, personal wealth items, and collected from customs and dues as goods were moved along the roads and unloaded in the harbours of the Empire (Jones 1999, 115). There was a distinct relationship between 'taxes in kind' and 'taxes in coin'. The former allowed the farmer to continue with relatively unchanged practices, surrendering a fixed percentage of the harvest to a colonial agent. Monetary taxation inevitably forced the farmer to enter, however partially, a monetized market in order to obtain coinage for payment. Taxes through coinage, therefore, made other dealings with coins a necessity (Morley 2010, 98). The collection of taxes in Britain, however, was complex and contentious. Tacitus makes it clear (*Agricola* 19) that colonial administrators had let tax-collecting contracts out to some unscrupulous profiteers, who made the locals buy corn with money in order to pay their tax-in-kind. They also forced them to pay for the transport of their taxes and tribute to remote collection points. These unsavoury colonial agents became the foci of anti-colonial sentiment.

Tax was a very material and resented manifestation of the colonial presence (Given 2004, 3). When the Tiv of Nigeria first came under British colonial rule, the authorities were keen to introduce a more pervasive use of coin, not least so that taxes introduced by the British could be paid to them in money. Undoubtedly taxes provoked some resistances, and examination of such provide the keys to understanding the experiences of a colonized people (Given 2004, 8). For instance, the Lhomi of north-east Nepal

maintain a sort of flimsy independence by rejecting money, therefore remaining unable to pay monetary taxes to any power or ruling authority. The Lhomi refuse to accept money as an index of value; this means that money has different and inconsistent values in each village (Humphrey 1992, 112). An historical parallel for resistance to taxation in more recent colonial experience was the Hut Tax War in Sierra Leone in 1898 and the spurious allegation by the British that Chief Bai Bureh had refused the tax (Abraham 1974, 106). This demonstrated that, as with some other colonial projects, there is an imbricated relationship between resistance to/imposition of taxation and wider resistance to, or imposition of, colonialism.

The Atrebatic client kingdom may have been largely exempt from taxation, although one imagines that some revenue, again preferably in coin, would have been extracted. There were several ways in which taxation might have been avoided by indigenous or predecessor communities. Coins might have been 'spent' in a ritually protected way, such as in the temple offerings on Hayling or in ritual deposition of metalwork, including coinage, at places like Selsey. Another avoidance tactic, as discussed, may have been the creation of two different 'spheres of use' for the two main types of coinages. If the boundaries of these two spheres were well policed by cultural sanctions, then the agency of Roman coins to encourage more mercantile transactions would have been circumscribed. A further method of avoidance would have been deliberate concealment of wealth, as in the Canal Basin (Chichester) hoard. If your wealth cannot be inspected by the tax collectors then it cannot be taxed. Lastly the high number of plated *denarii* in southern Britain suggests, at face value, that some people were, knowingly or in ignorance, using counterfeit coins. It is difficult to imagine that experienced tax collectors would have been duped by such a ruse, but it is conceivable that some members of local communities may have been. Ultimately too many counterfeit coins in circulation eventually undermined people's beliefs in the exchange value of coins, and thus threatened the whole notion of market exchange, as well as decreasing the pool of monetary value that could be taxed.

Modes of resistance

The impact of universal, colonial coin could be blunted in a variety of ways. An ethnographic example is provided by the Lele of the Congo (Eagleton and Williams

2007, 211). Exchanges among the Lele were not market-based and goods were distributed according to status and controlled by the elders; cloth money (a form of primitive money) was used for a wide range of 'non-commercial' payments such as fees to religious leaders, for fines, for fulfilment of blood debts or marriage dues. The Lele had initial contact with European money through the wages of the young men who worked for colonial employers. Coinage within the indigenous community, however, did not have a direct role, except when acting as a substitute for payments in cloth; its value had to be translated into cloths in order to be usable. When coins and paper money began to penetrate Lele society, they were used in identical ways to cloth within the community, and only exchanged commercially in dealings with the colonial administration. The Lele thus attempted, initially, to preserve the integrity of their own 'money' system in the face of colonial pressures to adopt coinage, by maintaining a distinction between primitive money (in this case cloth) and early cash (European coinage). A very similar example occurred in 19th century in Madagascar; silver coin, brought by Arab and European traders, was being used for payments to the indigenous for local commodities. The coins were not all used for exchange amongst locals, however; whole coins were given to the King in expectation of ancestral blessings (Eagleton and Williams 2007, 213). We can imagine the intended function of Roman coinage being circumvented in the same ways, through its transformed use in indigenous social prestations such as bridewealth (fig. 34), the formation of alliances, and in offerings at places like Hayling Island temple.

Figure 34. A Korean key-holder decorated with the copper coins called yeopjon of the Joseon dynasty. The coin was introduced in 1638 and was Korea's first universal currency. It was intended to encourage commercial transactions, but its intended use could be subverted. Here the coins decorate part of a bride's dowry. Roman coinage could be similarly converted to cultural rather than mercantile ends. (From Won Yu Han 2006).

There were other forms of more direct resistance. In the first instance, the examples of a coin struck under Caligula, with a large hole punched through the centre in antiquity, from Greyfriars site in Chichester, and a perforated pendant coin of Nero from the cremation burial of an indigenous individual at the St Pancras cemetery just outside Roman Chichester illustrate a practice that surely must have been more prevalent. While these perforated coins might be illustrative of the transformation of colonial coin into personal ornamentation, mutilation of coins was also both a violent defacement of a symbol of imperial authority, and a means of preventing the coin from being used in market exchanges; they could thus be also a token of deliberate, but relatively passive Atrebatic resistance. The disfigurement of imperial coinage can also be interpreted more literally. It could represent a blow or strike to the head, a decapitation of the head of the colonial government, a defiant reversion to symbolic head-hunting. This act of personal

rebellion was made more significant by knowledge that it was illegal to refuse a coin for payment bearing the head of the Emperor (Morley 2010, 84). Deliberate defacement also occurred on some Late Iron Age coinage (de Jersey 2005, 104). Scoring marks, bending and perforations are relatively rare, but suggest ritual motivations, rather than attempts to assess the metallic content of a coin. Indeed, resistance, perhaps to attempts at colonization or immigration to Britain in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, is evidenced by deep scoring marks on some of the earliest imported coinage.

Resistance could also take the form of enhanced ritual activities involving coinage. In prehistoric Britain, many metal artefacts were deposited in the ground, or in rivers or watery places, in 'hoards' as offerings to Gods or spirits (Williams and Creighton 2006, 51). It would appear that these were never intended to be recovered, and they have been viewed as an example of conspicuous consumption related to ritual protection and/or the acquisition of status, like potlatched commodities on the Canadian north-west coast. In Norfolk, for instance, the burial of Late Iron Age coins in hoards has been deemed to be a material expression of indigenous rituals or beliefs (Hutcheson 2004, 95). The author perceives that the impact of Roman coinage, in greater numbers and with easier access, may have led to an increase in such coin hoard depositions in areas away from close colonial scrutiny.

The great number of Late Iron Age coins at Selsey (fig. 35), very much a peripheral location, probably deposited during the early Roman period (as the early Roman coins suggest), may be a case in point. A recent discussion of these coins has been provided by Bean (2000, 270). Of the nearly 300 Late Iron Age coins recorded from several discrete deposits at Selsey (figs. 25 and 26), the vast majority are of gold (132), with just 18 silver and only 2 bronze. There is a high preponderance of gold coins from this location, with far fewer silver and bronze than is the average from the study area. The high numbers of gold coins suggests non-temple deposits, since at religious sites coins of lower denominations, presumably representing individual offerings, are more in evidence. The differing metallic percentages suggest additional reasons. Offerings at recognized religious sites, such as Hayling Island Temple, may have been made in the spirit of a contract, as payment for a particular benefaction from a deity. Offerings at less formalized liminal locations may have drawn on deeper psychological motivations

of unease and anxiety, not restrained by the norms of a 'contractual' relationship, and therefore open to more lavish depositions.

Some of the Late Iron Age coins, however, deposited at Selsey, at the same time as the Roman ones, as communal offerings, were possibly as tokens of resistance against direct Roman rule. That resistance may have been geographically widespread. Haselgrove (2008, 11) noted that 65% of Late Iron Age coin finds from wet sites in England are from beaches, and that they tend to attract gold coins. I maintain that Selsey was also an important location of Gallo-Belgic and indigenous veneration, and that some of the gold finds represent communal offerings, which may have continued in exaggerated form in defiance of Roman interference in the client kingdom after AD43. This practice of deliberately consigning gold to the earth, or waves, would have frustrated the Roman provincial administration, which was especially interested in the metallic resources of the new province. The total absence of third and fourth century coins from Selsey suggests that resistance did not endure.

Exaggeration of traditional forms of ritual activity was a common form of resistance to colonial oppression. Ethnography provides many parallels of local customs being given a defiant and indigenous edge, despite the colonial presence. For instance, the Kayapo's hostility to the large scale and environmentally damaging development programmes of the Brazilian government has resulted in overtly flamboyant acts of tacit opposition, which deliberately draw on traditional forms of choreography and self-decoration for political effect (Turner *et al* 2006, 10). In Australia, aboriginal sorcery rock art of the contact period was aimed at killing policemen and repulsing European diseases (McNiven and Russell 2002, 34-35). Indigenous ritual enhancements can also be transformations of colonial practices; among the Tshidi, Zionist cults proliferated to challenge both Christian orthodoxy (the religion of the colonizer) and ultimately colonial domination (Comaroff 1985, 166). The very portability of coinage, its ease of concealment, and the great numbers of coins, probably made it one of the ideal symbols with which to signal a range of beliefs and identities, including those of resistance through deliberate burial at Selsey. The hoard from Bognor Regis within the study area is another example. The initial group of 13 coins was entirely composed of quarter staters all of them gold, dating from the 60s BC, as well as some Gallo-Belgic issues. The latest coin is one of Verica, of the first century AD, indicating that the hoard was

not buried until at least that date, and probably a little time later. The domination of gold reflects the metallic composition of the finds from Selsey[39]. The fact that this 'hoard', buried after AD43 contained no Roman coins, possibly suggests a deliberate depositional act of indigenous practice. The intensification of Late Iron Age coin deposition in the early Atrebatic period, as has been noted above, may well have been an indication of resistance to indirect Roman influence (Haselgrove 2008, 12).

Deliberate offerings of coins at places like Selsey and Bognor, therefore, were attempts by some of the indigenous to re-affirm long-held values and beliefs, and return to a pre-colonial past, or at least pre-Roman past. In other cases, as noted, they may have constituted anxious offerings to ensure safe passage across the sea.

Figure 35. The upper two coins are Gallo-Belgic gold staters; the bottom two early British un-inscribed gold staters. Three were found at Selsey, one (upper right) from Poling (just to the east of the study area). (Barbican House Museum, Lewes)

Conclusion

The arguments presented in this chapter have essentially contrasted the uses of coinages in colonial encounters as primitive valuables or money (at one end of the spectrum, in the Late Iron Age) and as early cash (at the other end, as introduced by the Romans). Little is yet known of the potentially different use patterns between Gallo-Belgic

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[39] However, other coins have been recovered at later dates from nearby Aldwick beach, and an undated gold ingot from Felpham. In total there are some 32 coins now known, although whether they come from the same hoard or different deposits is uncertain (Bean 2000, 267).

coinages, some brought by immigrants (and conceivably used to maintain their identity as settlers, and their hegemony if also colonizers), and their British derivatives. The broad thrust of the Late Iron Age/Roman contrast has been supported by some examples drawn from more recent colonial attempts to introduce universal money. However, in practice this opposition between Late Iron Age and Roman coinages conceals a series of variable behaviours for coins. Creighton (2005) has questioned the apparent universality of Roman coinage making it less easy to polarize Late Iron Age 'primitive valuables' and Roman 'early cash'. And the fact that Roman coinage was not universally available in the first century AD make such contrasts more difficult. The complex realities, yet to be fully revealed, are that different types of indigenous, Gallo-Belgic and Roman coins structured many conflicting social practices in the decades either side of the BC/AD divide. In addition the roles of coins as primitive valuables or early cash were in part conditional on their look and metallic content, and the status, rank and gender of their users. Roman Emperors may have given away gold *aurei*, whereas indigenous women may have bartered hard with bronze coins. The social context of coin use was significant. Communal and social transactions may have allowed the 'sincere fiction of disinterested exchange' (Bourdieu 1990, 112), whereas lone dealings may have permitted more individual and calculated concerns. Time was also a variable: a gold stater thrown into the waves at Selsey as its ultimate act may have had many previous and different uses. Coinage was a very mobile and transferable element of material culture in the colonial encounters that are the subject of this thesis. It possessed a vulnerability to slippage that was a function of its materiality (Keane 2001, 69). These qualities allowed it to generate a variety of daily practices, and its versatility made it an ideal medium for cultural improvisations. Roman coinage, however, was an integral part of its metrocentric colonialism. Ultimately the sheer quantity of Roman coinage corroded indigenous practices, and its eventual universality, and singularly colonial usages, triumphed in the second century AD. Independent Late Iron Age coinages disappeared, along with the independence of their communities.

Chapter 7: Controlling the Afterlife: colonization through death and burial

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Le corps est dans le monde social mais le monde social est dans le corps

Pierre Bourdieu, *Leçon inaugurale, Collège de France*, 1982, 24.

Introduction

In this Chapter I will present an overview of burials in the Iron Age and Roman periods in Britain. I will also illuminate the character of Roman death by drawing on some classical literary and epigraphic sources. Then I will demonstrate that, in general terms and within the study area, there was a movement away from the ritual use of individual ancestral bones at settlement sites to the formal burial or cremation of whole individuals towards the end of the Iron Age. Some of this formalization of burials can be linked directly to immigrant groups or individuals. In the Roman period, and under direct Roman rule in the study area, suburban cemeteries were established and the colonial rite of burial was adopted. However, despite the imposition of outward colonial compliance, there were many discreet ways in which local identities and resistance could be exhibited.

Surviving individual and communal graves and cemeteries constitute one of the mainstays of the archaeological record. In Britain, from the Neolithic onwards, they provide some of the fundamental information that allows a partial reconstruction of past lives. Their importance is only compromised by the fact that in some periods graves and cemeteries are difficult to find, usually explained by archaeologists with the assumption that the preferred burial rite left no archaeological trace (e.g. burials in rivers, or excarnations in trees, or on platforms). There is sometimes a tacit presumption, however, that there was a preferred or principal burial rite(s) for specific communities. This rather unsatisfactory absence of burials in some periods is pertinent to the Iron Age in general. There are some obvious regional manifestations of Middle Iron Age burials in pits – sometimes involving incomplete and/or disarticulated remains (Cunliffe 2005,

554). And there are some distinctive regional burial rites in some parts of Britain in the Middle Iron Age – the famous chariot (or vehicle) burials of Yorkshire (Cunliffe 2005, 556). But, by and large, the burial record for the Iron Age in Britain, although more comprehensive in the Late Iron Age, is both regional and patchy. The effects of this can be seen in our study area (fig. 36). The cremation cemetery at Westhampnett comes to an end around 50BC (Appendix 1); the burial record in the study area does not start again until around AD70, at Westhampnett again, and at St Pancras outside Chichester. For a crucial period of some 120 years, effectively the life of the independent Atrebatic kingdom, which includes the critical date of AD43 – the Roman annexation of the rest of southern Britain, - we have hardly any burials.
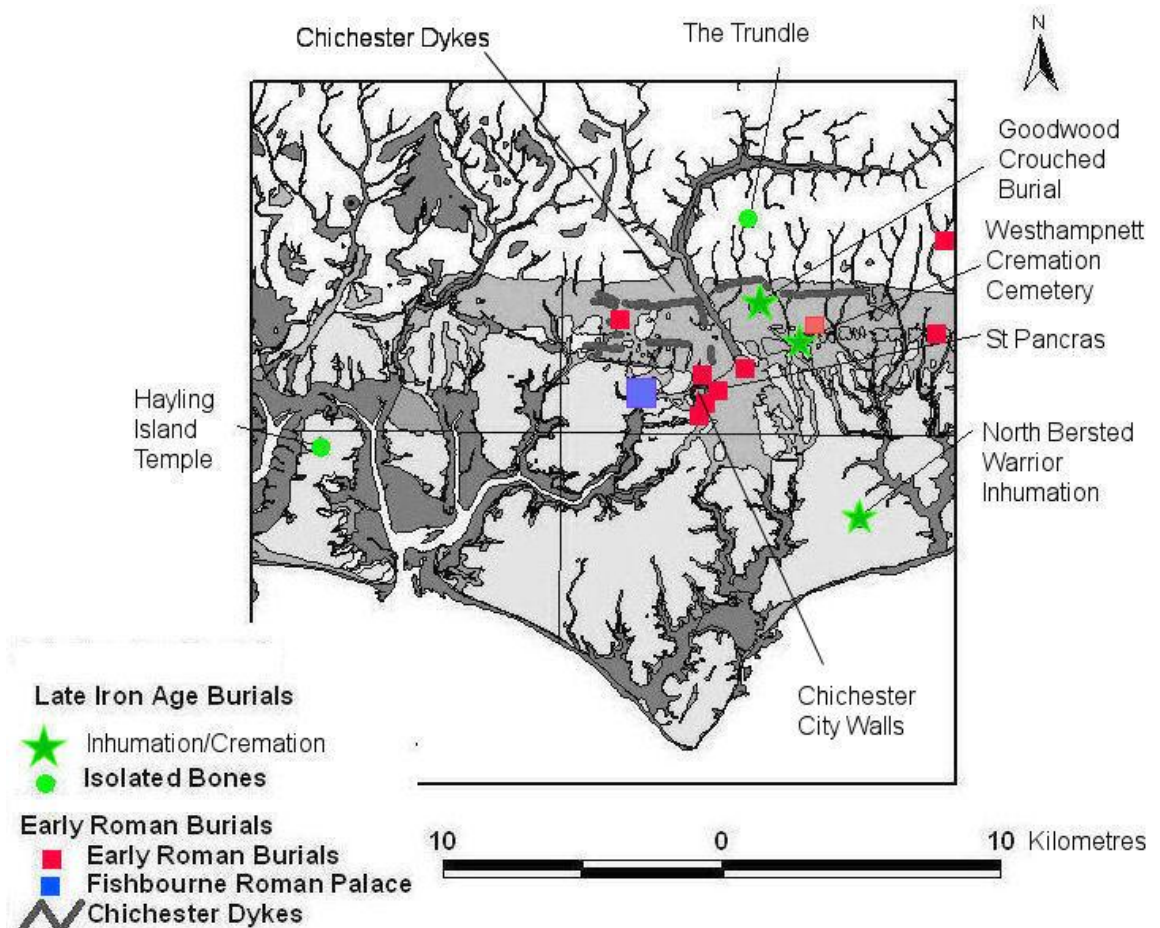

Figure 36. The study area showing the key burial sites in the Late Iron Age and early Roman periods, and the different types of burial. The Chichester Dykes are marked by east-west lines north of Fishbourne. (The background geology is depicted in grayscale, but is the same as in Figure 1).

There is ample evidence in the Late Iron Age that the local population in the study area was not homogenous, and that a variety of newcomers may have arrived during the period, from the Continent, before the imposition of direct Roman rule in the AD70s. The similarity of ceramic forms to continental examples in the cremation cemetery at Westhampnett suggests that this particular community probably was an immigrant one (Fitzpatrick 1997, 131). So we should anticipate burial variability within a heterogeneous population in the Late Iron Age. Furthermore, there is no guarantee that individual communities adopted the same burial rite for all sections of their society, providing another potential dimension of variability. The ethnographic record contains many references to the burials of the young, the elderly, victims of suicides or accidents, being treated differently (Catedra 2004, 77; Hertz 2004, 211; Parry 2004, 271). Variability in the Late Iron Age burial rite could therefore be down to a number of factors including social and ritual status, ethnicity, age, gender, occupation, legal status, wealth and whether the deceased experienced a 'good' or 'bad' death (e.g. Cunliffe 2005, 554).

Burials are especially significant evidence when we are considering the potential changes to indigenous livelihoods, and ways of thinking, brought about by Gallic, Atrebatic and Roman newcomers in the study area. These may not all have been colonizers in the sense of imposing some of their norms on an indigenous, and partly resistant population, although the Romans clearly fall into that category. Indigenous burial practices were transformed by the impact of Roman custom and practice, and earlier immigrant groups, if not intent on encouraging the adoption of their own burial rites, may well have marked themselves off as separate by adherence to distinctive funeral procedures. Burials should provide us with a window, albeit a distorted one, through which we can identify the presence of immigrants (if not colonizers) and gauge their effect. In reality the situation facing archaeological detection is a little more complex. Even after the imposition of direct Roman rule in the study area, and the organisation of colonial, suburban cemeteries, most of its deceased were probably locally born (Mattingly 2007, 166). Excavating a grave in St Pancras cemetery outside Chichester, which contains a mixture of indigenous and continental grave goods, and deciding whether the deceased is immigrant, whose ancestry could be traced to some part of the Continent, or indigenous, is seldom straightforward.

Control of the afterlife was important for a colonial power. Even though the Romans were polytheistic and apparently tolerant of the beliefs of others while alive, a keenly felt respect and fear of the dead informed their attitudes towards the afterlife, resulting in a desire for conformity in mortuary rituals. Another reason may have been just as, if not more, significant. For any community, a death, followed by a funeral, burial and a period of mourning is a traumatic event. The rituals of the death process, some of them private and intensely moving, seek to commemorate the event but also to restore social cohesion (Barley 1997, 159). In a subaltern or repressed population the combination of emotional intensity, memory, traditional rituals and sense of loss provide a powerful platform for the potential expression of antagonism and resistance to colonial domination. The *habitus* of the cemetery and death-rites was therefore just as generative of practice as that of the home. The numerous rituals of funeral preparation, the disposal of the body by fire, burial or other means, the variety of grave goods, the longevity of acts of mourning – all these were usually conducted by a closely knit group of kin. The proscribed mortuary procedures, particularly under very repressive forms of colonialism, controlled these potentially troubling behaviours. But the moment of death was both a volatile and liberating one. There were ample opportunities, for those who wished to take them, for the displays of creative and defiant resistance, for improvisations of the prevailing *habitus.*

Burials are also important archaeologically because, in the case of individual graves, especially those furnished with grave goods, they provide an archaeological context that is related to just one individual, and a context that was created at one specific moment in time. The material culture in a grave should be capable of saying something about that individual, in a way that less closely tied material culture from settlement sites cannot. However, the grave goods accompanying the deceased cannot be read too literally (Barrett 1988, 31). The specific grave goods may have been the possessions of the deceased, but some of them could also have been placed in the grave by mourners. A grave furnished with a relatively large number of grave goods does not necessarily reflect the status of the deceased. The burial of an individual may well have been a time of reflection on a past life, and its long duration; it was a time for reaffirming family ties, and ensuring community welfare – see Lienhardt (2004, 125;130) for an emphasis on protection among the living at Dinka funerals. These collective conservative kin-

related aspects might have governed the selection of grave goods, rather than the wishes of the deceased. In addition the property of the deceased is often taboo and ritually destroyed, rather than being buried with the corpse. The Mandari, Tallensi, and Lugbara destroy possessions which represent aspects of the 'social personality' of the deceased; other 'lineage property' is inherited (Jackson 1977, 293-4). The Wari find it hard to deal with memories provoked by the sight of objects associated with the dead, and most reminders are destroyed (Conkin 2004, 249). Ideologies of the afterlife, and the material requirements that the deceased needed in the afterlife (not the life just passed), may have also largely dictated how the grave was furnished.

Partible and Impartible bodies – the power of the dead in the Iron Age

The archaeological evidence for burials in Iron Age Britain has been summarised by Cunliffe (2005) and most recently by Fitzpatrick (2007) and Sharples (2010). Archaeological interpretation of the burial record has been influenced by the 'rite of passage' theory outlined by Van Gennep (1960) and Hertz (2004). Explanations were sought for the common practice of a double burial (Hertz 2004, 198ff), in which a temporary burial was followed by a final burial. The purpose of the final burial was threefold: to give burial to the remains of the deceased, to ensure that the soul is granted peace and has access to the land of the dead, and to free the living from the obligations of mourning. Even cremation was not a final act, since the act of burning the body, followed by the burial of the ashes, could be interpreted as primary and secondary burials. Van Gennep (1960) saw funeral ceremonies incorporating rites of separation, transition, and incorporation. Mourning separates the bereaved from the rest of the community, inviting them to embark on a transitional period (which in some cases is paralleled by a transitional period for the deceased), before the mourners are reintegrated with the rest of society at the end of the mourning period. These rites can also underpin cremations. Among the Todas of Indonesia, cremation, preservation of the relics, and burial of the ashes can take several months. Bloch (1982, 224) linked the rite of double burial with societies where authority is viewed as ideal and unchanging. The death of an individual is seen as a threat to the notion of eternal unchangingness; a focus on the rites of re-incorporation lays stress on continuity. It is perhaps not surprising therefore, given the emphasis on re-incorporation of the living, that among

the Tlingit the funeral songs over a three day period change in tone from sad to happy (Simeone 1991, 162).

Burial practices during the Iron Age varied considerably, both chronologically and geographically. By the middle of the first millennium BC at least one major difference existed in the archaeological record between Britain and the Continent; most known continental Iron Age swords come from burials, but in Britain they come from rivers. This may imply that the predominant rite of burial in some parts of Britain was disposal of the remains, and associated grave goods, in rivers – leaving no archaeological trace of the burial itself (Cunliffe 2005, 544). The widespread use of water for burials may have made them polluted, and even given rise to a taboo on eating fish (Sharples 2010, 272). The association of death with rivers does have some ethnographic support. For Hindus, in order to cross over to the kingdom of the dead, the deceased must negotiate the terrifying Vaitarni River, which flows with blood, excrement and other foul substances (Parry 2004, 271). Barley (1997, 161) comments on the journeys of the deceased, exiting domestic spaces in unnatural places such as chimneys, holes broken in walls, or removed sections of fence; the dead often go on a journey across a river, or an ocean (Counts and Counts 1991, 46). And in classical times a coin was paid by the deceased to be rowed across the river Styx to Hades.

A particularly specific form of burial has been identified with the 'Arras Culture', thought to have been introduced by settlers from the Continent during the 4th century BC (Bradley 2007, 266). The burial rite involved usually crouched inhumations beneath small barrows in large cemeteries, the occasional rite of cart burial, and the surrounding of individual barrows with a rectangular ditched enclosure (Cunliffe 2005, 546). With regard to the cart burials, the deceased was occasionally accompanied by grave goods, often of a warrior nature, the ritual sacrifice and burial of horses, and the provision of personal ornaments and food offerings – often joints of pig. The cart burials were the elite burials in much larger cemeteries, where the rite for most (conceivably followers of a warrior-leader) was crouched inhumation in a small pit. The geographical concentration of these burials in Yorkshire looks very much like a successful attempt at colonization by a warrior elite from the Continent. The distinctive burial rite, the constructed barrow and grave furniture marked out the newcomers as different, while the materiality of the barrows laid claim to their new territory. There is a relevant

ethnographic support for a variety of interpretations. Feasts and food offerings can be provided for a variety of reasons including the desire to feed the dead, or its spirit, to secure happiness for the departed, to forge closer links between the living and the dead (Brendann 1930, 161) or as sacrifices more concerned with ensuring the welfare of the living (Jackson 1977, 276). As an instrument of domination colonial tombs can have a long-lasting effect. For the 19th century European in South Africa, colonial graves and tombs could become important features in the landscape, familiar landmarks welcoming the traveller as they come over the horizon, and appealing, in epitaphs, with statements of personal achievement or advice, precipitating reflection and meditation on the part of the traveller, and encouraging a sense of colonial well-being and destiny (Bunn 2002, 71).

The discussion in the preceding paragraph concerned the burials of individually complete members of an elite rank in society. However, the partibility of the body in death has become an increasingly recognized phenomenon for the Middle Iron Age, mirroring partible personhood or dividuals among the living (Morris 1994; Busby 1997, 269; Fowler 2010a; Fowler 2010b, 372). Body-parts can be powerful agents in after-death rites. There is an obvious corollary between broken and partible bodies, and broken objects, the latter often playing a significant role in the burial process. Barley (1997, 152-3) suggests that around the world death ceremonies often involve the smashing of pots, just as ceremonies of marriage and life involve their creation. Among the Asante of Ghana, breaking a pot on a man's head was thought to lead to his death, and among the Chaga there is a correlation between the breaking of a pot (which is irreversible) and the demise (again irreversible) of a person. Rosenblatt *et al* (1976, 59; 67-74) comment on the important role of material culture in what they deem to be 'tie-breaking' strategies to divide the dead and the recently bereaved; personal property can be given away or destroyed to increase the separation between the two. Sometimes the opposite effect is intended. In northern Botswana the clothes of the deceased are ritually washed and given away to relatives to wear, so that they will remember him (Morton 20004, 173). While some objects can be deliberately broken at funerals, or 'killed' to appear on the other side, some can be transformed into inalienable heirlooms which are kept by the living to remind them of the dead (Barley 1997, 85).

Over much of southern Britain burials of body-parts, and the comparative lack of formal cemeteries, seems to have constituted normative rites until the first century BC. At the hillfort of Danebury it is possible that body-parts were brought from primary burials elsewhere before being buried in pits (Sharples 2010, 249; 265). It seems that the burial of a single complete individual was a rare and threatening event. A linkage is made by Sharples (2010, 265) between body-parts and veneration of the ancestors, and isolated complete body burials as sacrificial victims, interpreted as outcasts or witches. Three crouched Iron Age burials from Fengate, near Peterborough provide further ancestral examples (Pryor 2003, image opposite p.368). The bones of one are semi-articulated, implying that burial took place after a degree of decomposition; one is fully articulated, crouched and on its side; the last is represented by largely disarticulated bones, perhaps buried originally in a long-decayed sack or bag. Pryor comments that it is possible that such 'sack burials' represent the reburial of a long-dead ancestor. The agency of the dead is active among the living in most societies. Among the Merina of Madagascar, endogamy is valued and seen as an important way of keeping the land together. This value is also played out among the dead in the ceremonies known as *famadihanas*. In these the individual corpses are taken out of the tombs and danced with; the act of dancing with the dead results in an intermingling of dry bones so that a coming together of the dead is effected in the tombs; re-grouping of the corpses is a supreme act which leads to the blessing of the ancestors (Bloch 1981, 139). The disarticulation of the bones found in Iron Age settlements represents secondary (and perhaps repeated) re-workings of the body-parts, perhaps with the aim of ensuring continued protection of the living by the ancestors.

There are a few cemeteries, however. A recent recognition is an Early and Middle Iron Age tradition of multiple crouched burials in quarry holes close to settlements. The crouching aspect of the corpse closely resembles the foetal position, and the connections between death, re-birth and fertility have been emphasized by a number of anthropologists (Bloch and Parry 1982). One of the best examples is the cemetery excavated at Suddern Farm, Hampshire (Cunliffe and Poole 2000) where 34 crouched inhumations were discovered. Importantly the excavators noted that there were signs of post-burial disturbance and mixing of bones. Sharples (2010, 280) argues that these crouched inhumation cemeteries, albeit currently few in number, were the source of the body-parts used in secondary rites within hillforts such as Danebury.

It was notable that at Danebury the body-parts most represented were those of skulls, mirroring evidence from several other settlement sites. Multiple interpretations of this phenomenon are possible. This could represent evidence for the practise of head-hunting. Related explanations are offered by Hertz (1960). He suggests that between primary and secondary burials, the soul of the deceased can harm the living, and, among the Dayak of Borneo, sometimes an enemy is killed and a human head offered to placate the soul (Hertz 1960, 35). For the Sea Dayak of Sarawak, if a human head has been obtained, then the mourning taboos for the survivors can be lifted and ornaments worn again (Hertz 1960, 40; 63). A different explanation is suggested by practices in the Malaysian archipelago. Here, for many indigenous peoples, the head is seen as the seat of a dead person's powers. When chiefs or other important people die, their heads may be revered and given a permanent place in the houses of the living, becoming a focus for a particular cult (Hertz 1960, 57). Given the probable association of body-parts with the ancestors, the latter hypothesis seems more appropriate for the British Iron Age.

The tradition of manipulation of body-parts, in rites associated with communities of ancestors, probably endured into the Late Iron Age. However, it was joined by wholly different burials that respected the sacrosanct completeness of the body in death (Sharples 2010, 280). Not only do strikingly innovative burial rites occur, but there are also indications of the establishment of formal cemeteries. It is difficult to escape the supposition that some of these cemeteries and individual burials are the direct results of new settlers from the Continent, and attempts at localized colonization, especially when they are accompanied by imported grave goods. So-called 'Warrior Burials', characterized by the rite of male inhumation accompanied by weapons, the bodies being in shallow graves with or without barrows, such as at Owslebury (Hampshire), form a distinctive group (Hunter 2005; Hamilton 2007; Sealey 2007a). Other whole-body burial types include a group of rich female inhumation burials, often accompanied by mirrors, beads and bronze bowls. A third type of distinctive inhumation is that found at Burnmouth in Berwickshire, and at Deal in Kent – the deceased being interred with a pair of bronze spoons; in each pair one spoon was marked with a cross, the other had a small hole punched to one side. The distinctiveness of these spoons could suggest that the individuals in life had some particular role or status, perhaps a ritual one (Cunliffe 2005, 555; Fitzpatrick 2007b).

From the second century BC contact with the Gallo-Belgic and Roman worlds, particularly in southern Britain, seems therefore to have encouraged distinct changes in burial rites, also resulting in the increasingly common practice of individual cremation (Fitzpatrick *forthcoming*). In the study area the cremation cemetery at Westhampnett received the dead from c.90 to 50BC, and appears to mark the last resting place of an immigrant community (fig. 37). Cremation became the dominant burial rite at Mill Hill (Deal, Kent) sometime after the middle of the first century BC (Parfitt 1995, 155-7). Slightly later, in Essex and Hertfordshire, a group of extremely rich cremation burials were placed in deep grave pits, accompanied by a great variety of grave goods, much of it connected with feasting (Fitzpatrick 2007a; 2009), and including considerable volumes of wine in Roman amphorae with the equipment seemingly appropriate to its consumption (Cunliffe 2005, 157). Some of these specialized wine-related utensils, however, such as ladles and strainers, may have had more to do with mimicking Roman rituals of libation and sacrifice (Creighton 2000, 201).

Figure 37. Grave 20196 from Westhampnett, illustrating the jar-bowl combination of grave goods found in some of the graves. In front of the two vessels lies some of the un-urned cremated bone of an unsexed adult. (From Fitzpatrick 1997).

The rite of inhumation, however, was deeply rooted in Durotrigian (Dorset) territory even after Roman annexation, and could be seen as a final form of resistance. Indeed in Britain some inhumations occur at all periods from the mid-first century BC to the post-Roman period (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 2007, 157); there never was a time when inhumation as a burial rite disappeared entirely. It is thus possible that inhumations may have been a burial rite of the subaltern population. On the eve of the Roman Conquest of southern Britain in AD43 there was, therefore, a range of heterogeneous mortuary practices taking place, even within small regions such as study area; these varied from elite inhumations, continuing ancestral rites associated with body-parts, conceivably disposals of bodies in rivers or the sea, occasional crouched inhumations of outcasts, and cremation cemeteries. The diversity of the dead reflected that of the living.

Imperial Possessions – Roman domination of the Afterlife

Our knowledge of Roman burial customs is informed by surviving comments and texts from classical authors, although these invariably illuminate elite burials rather than the more commonplace rites of the masses (Morris 1992). According to Morris (1992) cremation as a burial rite began in Rome in the first century BC; the army may have been responsible for introducing cremation to the provinces and cremation could be seen as a sign of allegiance to Rome (Morris 1992, 42;49). The survival of the soul after death was an ancient and deep-seated belief; Plautus (*The Haunted House)* implies that the spirits and ghosts of the dead could haunt the dwellings of the living. At the time of Cicero the dead were regarded as a divine collectivity, to be venerated as ancestors; they could, however, be harmful and spiteful to their descendants if neglected (Toynbee 1971, 35). The dead were thought of as being underground, and needed to be kept alive by regular offerings of food, drink, oil and even blood, and by their share of funerary meals at the tomb eaten by the mourners. Brendann (1930, 154) also notes that the Romans made offerings to the dead by the contrivance of a tube connected to a cinerary urn below the ground. Individuality survived after death (Toynbee 1971, 38). The theme of regeneration (highlighted by Bloch and Parry 1982) finds an echo in the Roman past:

'Here lies Optatus, a child noble and dutiful. I pray that his ashes may become violets and roses…' (Toynbee 1971, 37).

The term *funus* described all that took place from the hour of death to the performance of the last post-burial ceremonies (Toynbee 1971, 43; Hope 2007, 85ff). All Roman funerary practice was influenced by two basic notions – first that death brought pollution and demanded from the survivors acts of purification and expiation; - second, that to leave a corpse unburied had unpleasant repercussions on the fate of the departed soul (Toynbee 1971, 43). The concept of pollution from a corpse, and associated fear, is prevalent among many societies (Bloch and Parry 1982). At the moment of death a last kiss was bestowed and the eyes were closed; the body was then washed, anointed, perfumed and dressed; the face of the deceased was covered in powder to conceal the discolouration of death; and a coin was placed in the mouth to pay the deceased's fare in Charon's boat across the river Styx (Toynbee 1971, 44). The body could lie in the house for as long as seven days, perhaps on a special funeral couch (*lectus funebris*). Funeral processions, traditionally, were held at night and could include hired mourners, a mime, musicians and professional wailers. Mourners, as befits people undergoing a rite of separation, were often marked off visibly from the rest of the community by such things as not shaving or cutting their hair, not using soap or oil, observing strict dress codes, abstaining from sex (Parry 2004, 272) or avoiding certain foods as on Gawa (Munn 1986, 170). A mask of the deceased could be displayed in a household shrine (Toynbee 1971, 45ff). The burning of the corpse, and the couch on which it lay, took place at the spot where the ashes were to be buried (*bustum*) or at a place specifically reserved for cremations (*ustrina)* (Toynbee 1971, 49). Various gifts, and some of the deceased's possessions, and even pet animals could be placed in or around the pyre. Ashes buried in containers below the ground could be marked above the ground with a large pot.

After the cremation, the returning relatives underwent a rite of purification by fire and water, and cleansing ceremonies took place at the deceased's house. As already noted, death and the burial process represents the triumph of the collective over the individual (Barley 1997, 159). It was no different in the Roman world. Polybius (*The Histories* 6, 53-54) says much the same thing – *'people are moved to such sympathy by a funeral that the loss seems not be the affair of a small group of mourners, but rather a loss that*

affects the whole people'. Throughout the year there were occasions when the dead were commemorated by funerary meals eaten at the tomb by their relatives and friends. Food and drink were important at several stages of the funeral and its associated rituals – during the funeral itself, on the ninth day after the burial when the full period of mourning was over, and in the annual commemorations of the dead. Toynbee (1971, 50-63) provides a full list of quite personal grave goods, including lamps and gaming boards, that accompanied the dead. The purpose of grave goods was to honour the dead but also to make them feel at home in the afterlife. Roses (a symbol of fertility and regeneration – see above quote regarding Optatus), alongside food and drink, were one of the most frequently mentioned gifts in funerary inscriptions.

Partly due to a fear of the ghosts of the deceased, Roman law strictly prescribed that a town's cemeteries should be outside its walls or other formal boundaries. Cemeteries, especially at night, were unsavoury places, the haunts of tramps, thieves, witches and prostitutes (Hope 2007, 129; 237). There was considerable fear of desecration and disturbance of graves, for this spelled distress for the soul in the afterlife; *violatio sepulcri* was the subject of repeated imperial enactments (Toynbee 1971, 73ff). This fear of ghosts of the dead is widely found in numerous societies. According to Rosenblatt *et al* (1976, 51; and see also Palgi and Abramovitch 1984, 405; Counts and Counts 1991, 280) the existence and fear of ghosts is near universal. They conducted a study of grief and mourning among 78 different cultures. Of the 66 societies for which there was information, 65 of them entertained notions of ghosts. In Roman cemeteries ash chests could depict the head of Medusa, an apotropaic device to warn off would-be violators (Pearce *et al* 2000, 251ff). There were also a range of other protective charms such as bells, nails, animal teeth, semi-precious stones and miniatures that could be used as grave goods. Brendann (1930, 7; 275) in a cross-cultural study featuring regions of Australia and Asia, claimed that almost everywhere there was a dread of the evil influence of the dead, and the fear that they could interfere with survivors. The will-power of the dead was feared and often a protective amulet was worn by a mourner to bring good fortune and avoid being the subject of the malevolence of the deceased.

Common in the Roman world was a high infant mortality rate, and the absence of formal burial for young children and infants (Hope 2007, 13). In many communities, the death of a young baby is treated as commonplace and the baby is not afforded the same

rites as the adult. Among the Cheyenne (Robben 2004b, 72) a child only becomes a person around the age of 12; personhood is not recognised at birth, but is rather the result of a long process of development. In present day parts of Mali mothers give up on children who suffer from malnutrition and do not respond to medical care. The children are deemed to be evil spirits; they are taken out into the bush and abandoned, where they turn into snakes and slither away (Dettwyler 1994, 86). Roman infants were not seen as formal members of society and so seem to have been buried closer to houses, in ditches or with rubbish deposits.

Philpott (1991) in a study of burial practices in Roman Britain, observed that only a selected sample of the cremated bone ends up in the grave. A considerable amount of material goods, such as fragments of cremated bone, personal dress fittings, sherds of pottery, animal bones from food consumed, ashes and charcoal from the pyre, could have been taken away by the mourners. Attendance at a cremation rite, therefore, was not simply a flow of people and objects towards the cemetery; it was also a flow of people and objects away from the cemetery once the grave had been covered. It must have been through such curated souvenirs that the memory of the deceased was kept alive.

From a philosophical perspective Perniola (2001, 81) claimed that Roman religion did not appear to have developed a meaningful conception of death. Every family had its *Manes*, or spirits of the dead, which it honoured with offerings and sacrifices. The fundamental character of Roman religion, however, was its demythization, its rituals without myths or dogma, its scrupulous observance of rites which were not underpinned by coherent belief structures. On the one hand the Romans were extremely attentive to the dimensions of ceremony, to signs and gestures; on the other hand they avoided any singular or irrevocable meaning they might have had. In death the Romans, as a colonial power, were keen to impose the outward signs of funerary compliance. These were just as important as the 'building of temples, public squares, and town houses' encouraged by Agricola. Metrocentric colonial practices affected the dead as much as the living. However, the colonized would have been able to exploit the lack of fixed and imposed beliefs to create new meanings of their own.

Dry Bones : Living Ancestors

I have outlined above the prevalence of manipulation of body-parts, predominantly bones, in the 'burial' record of the Iron Age. I will argue that such practices occurred in the study area throughout the Iron Age and conceivably into the first millennium AD. Such rites constituted a fundamentally different ideological relationship between the living and the dead, and, for some, may have proved resistant to Gallo-Belgic, Atrebatic and Roman attempts to control the afterlife. Before looking in detail at the evidence from the study area I demonstrate some additional ethnographic support for the significance of bones.

In contemporary Christian north-west Portugal the flesh of the corpse is what binds the soul to the mundane world, and its corruption is a necessary step towards spiritual purification. Three or four years after the burial the grave is opened and bones are cleaned in order to rid them of all traces of flesh. In some parts of the Christian world the dry bones are at this point lodged in a charnel house in a corner of the cemetery, where the bones of the individual are mixed up with the bones of others; the individual grave marker is destroyed (Bloch and Parry 1982, 22). An association between female sexuality and decomposition/pollution seems explicit in many of these cases, and the mixing up of bones signifies the end of mourning, and symbolizes the communality of ancestors. A repeated distinction is sometimes made between the rotting/wet/soft (and polluting) flesh and the durable/dry/hard bones (not polluting) (Bloch and Parry 1982). Among the Tlingit on the north-west Canadian coast, cremation was seen as a quick and efficient way of dealing with the polluted flesh. Barley (1997, 107) reiterates the dichotomy between polluting flesh and dry bones, and suggests that it is often the women who are associated with the worst of this pollution. In Caledonia, no-one except grave diggers can handle the corpse because of its polluting effects (Brendann 1930, 85).

Among the Melpa of New Guinea the relationship between the living and the dead has continually to be reaffirmed by sacrifices of pigs. The flesh of the dead is expected to rot, and the skull of an important man and some of his limb bones might be taken as relics and established in a *penga manga* ('head house'); bones are linked with 'maleness' (Strathern 1982, 117). Bones represent individual claims to soil, or validate

claims to power by being a means of access to a ghost. In Cantonese society, the bones of the dead are exhumed and stored in a ceramic urn; the bones of the ancestors must be preserved at all costs, since they are essential to the well-being of the living. The urn is eventually buried, or 'planted', in an auspicious location (Watson 1982, 155). The bone-related ancestral rites are performed by men for men, in the total absence of women. It is not death *per se* that is objectionable, it is disorderly decay. Among some communities in Borneo bodies are excarnated on temporary platforms, so that the dry bones can be buried and social order restored (Bloch 1982, 224).

Enough examples have been outlined that suggest some interpretative ideas for the manipulation of bone body-parts in southern Britain in the prehistoric period. A much earlier tradition is that represented by megalithic tombs, where there are numerous instances of the curation and careful placement of selected bones, for example the skulls at Hazleton North, Gloucestershire (Thomas 2000, 659); such practices have also been noted at Neolithic causewayed camps, like The Trundle in the study area. (I cite these examples here because it may shed light on the role of ancestral bones in the Iron Age). Thomas (2000, 661) associates the circulation of human bones in the Neolithic landscape with the circulation of objects in a gift economy. Such objects are transferred between people but carry with them notions of the original 'producers and owners'. In case of human bones they would also carry the identity of the deceased. The dry bones could be carried from place to place, ultimately deposited in special locations. These bones would not only create relationships between giver and receiver, but also between the living and the dead. The dead would still be active as social agents in creating relationships and sustaining a distinctive *habitus* among the living. In this scenario the dead are everywhere in the landscape, whereas the key monuments such as megalithic tombs and causewayed camps are not so much cemeteries, as liminal places of ancestral presence (Thomas 2000, 662).

In the Late Iron Age in south-east Britain it is clear that the manipulation and putative exchange of ancestral body-parts continued to play a significant role, alongside new burial traditions introduced by continental influences, or continental colonizers, such as cremation and some of the warrior burial inhumations. Within the study area limb and skull fragments have been found in settlement contexts at North Bersted (Bedwin and Pitts 1978, 339), Copse Farm (Oving – Bedwin and Holgate 1985, 232) and Lavant

(Kenny 1993). Small quantities of human remains were also deposited at Hayling Island Temple (Fitzpatrick 1997, table 30), North Bersted (Taylor and Weale 2009, 6) and in pits in The Trundle (Curwen 1929, 45). The mixture of settlement and ceremonial sites for these body-parts does suggest that dry bones were part of everyday exchanges. If these rites were characteristic of the indigenous population there were no obvious sites of ancestral presence. Even the isolated bones on The Trundle and at Hayling were more representative of a widespread tradition, rather than specific rituals carried out at those specific locations. The unanswered question concerns the process of primary burial; and the mechanics of separating the polluting flesh from the revered bones. Excarnation on platforms, or in trees, remains a possibility (Hamilton 2007, 89) although Sharples (2010, 271-2) argues that the lack of weathering on many of the human body-parts does not suggest prolonged exposure to the elements. An alternative is that primary burial was in the ground, in quarry hollows, or near settlement boundaries. An example of a crouched inhumation, conceivably Iron Age in date, was located just outside the enclosing bank at The Trundle (Curwen 1929, 66), and another was located on the Goodwood Estate in the 1920s (fig. 36). A further possibility is that rivers, streams and pools, played some part in the de-fleshing process.

Communities of the Dead

At some point early in the first century BC a group of settlers from northern Gaul established themselves, by invitation or force, on the coastal plain in the Chichester area. It may have been an act of small-scale colonization. They probably lived in several settlements in the immediate area, and whether they mixed and married the indigenous is unknown. They chose to mark their arrival and difference, however, in a dramatic way – by establishing a very visible and very different community of the dead. They had to contend with the active resistance of the dead as well as the living. They attempted to counter the wandering and widespread influence of the ancestors by prescribed burial rites and, importantly, constrained locations for them. The creation of a focal cemetery in the landscape also provided them with a foundational ancestral locus which, over time, would provide legitimation for their occupation.

The Late Iron Age cremation cemetery at Westhampnett was situated on a small but prominent hillock on the coastal plain (fig. 38; Fitzpatrick 1997, 3). The hill, although only rising some 10 to 15 metres above the level of the surrounding land, and being no more than 100 metres or so in diameter, was marked out from the Bronze Age as being a place of ritual, and predominantly burial. It is not hard to understand why. The hillock was visible from a distance, whether the observer stood on the Downs to the north, or on the adjacent coastal plain. It was a place that stayed in view and in mind during the daily lives of people. If there was a cremation pyre lit on the hillock in the Late Iron Age, then the fires would have been clearly visible at night, and the smoke easily seen during the day. The radically different nature of the burial rites at Westhampnett, involving cremation and the transformation of bones, meant that the role of ancestral bones exchanged among the living was prevented. The specificity and stasis of the burial location signalled the end to ancestral wanderings and emphasized their permanent ties to a fixed place. The prominence of the Westhampnett hillock ensured that the living marked their claim to new lands through a permanently memorialized cemetery. Bunn (2002, 60) pointed out that a cemetery is not just a resting place for the deceased, but also a site of memory which can be repeatedly revisited by the mourners. The above ground markers, conceivably distinctive continental-type pots, that identified individual cremation burials at Westhampnett were visual indicators of a new, foreign presence.

Despite the novelty of their burial rite, the newcomers were also concerned to establish some connection with the location, and with previous generations of the dead. The hillock at Westhampnett was already dominated by a Bronze Age barrow (Fitzpatrick 1997, 10; fig. 38) and the immigrants may have recognised this monument as a place of the dead, although Bradley (2000, 156) has questioned whether distinctions between natural features and earlier built monuments were always observed. There is, however, a substantive record in prehistory of the deliberate re-use of earlier monuments (e.g. Hingley 1997). An additional connection may well have been that they recognised that the burial rite underneath the barrow was likely to have been the same as theirs, i.e. cremation accompanied by pottery vessels. A second connection to the locality was represented by the open, circular space, around which the cremations were arranged. That space was almost certainly a reference to the shape of contemporary Iron Age round-houses, and it may be that the community of dead at Westhampnett were drawing

on the same cosmological referents as some of the indigenous (Fitzpatrick 1997, 238-9). If so then the repeated spatial activities and orientations of the living may have influenced the movements of mourners at Westhampnett (Fitzpatrick 1997, 239; Bourdieu 2003, 136). In itself, this must have represented a considerable acknowledgement by colonizers of the need to stress, in some way, claims and allegiances to new territory. For them, the choice of the representational round-house was significantly unfamiliar, since the dominant shape of contemporary continental domestic architecture was rectangular (Sharples 2010, 176, note 1).
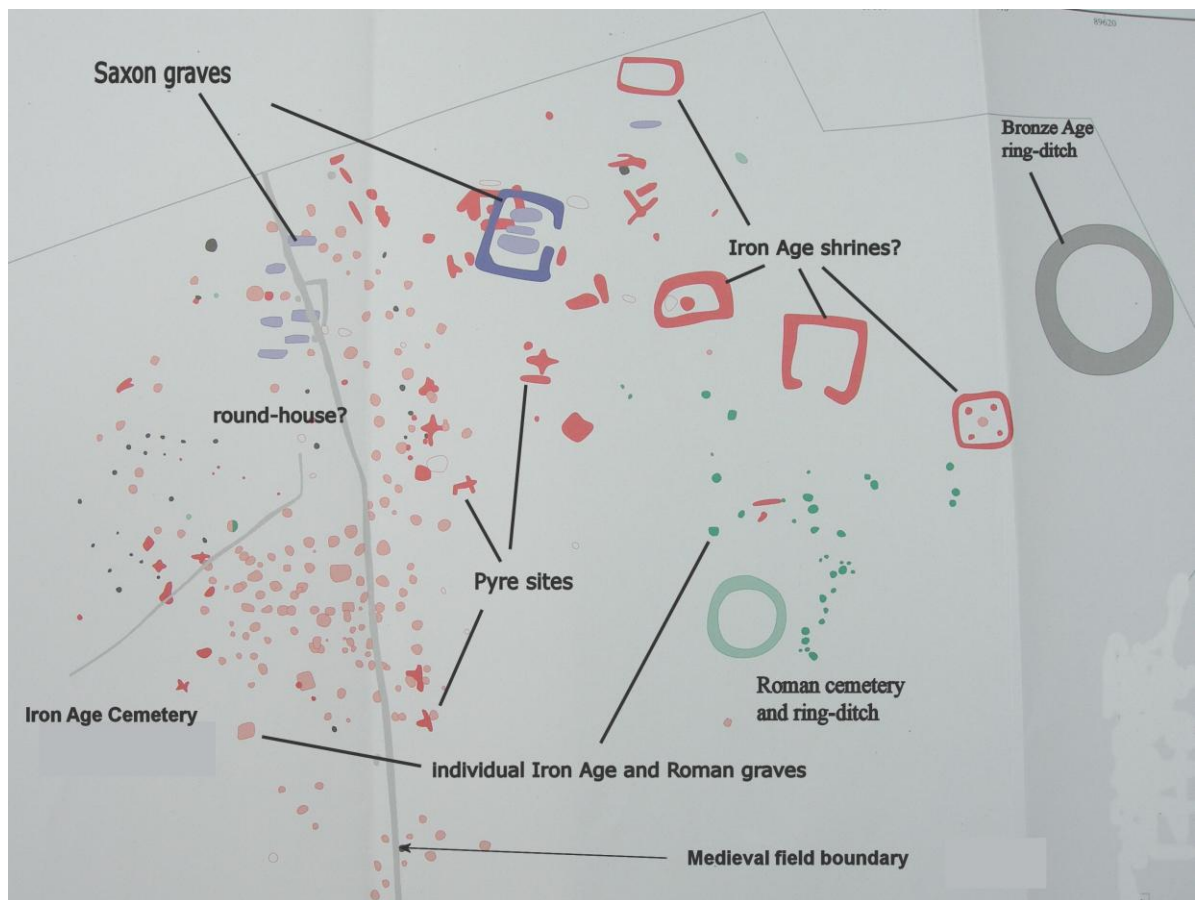

Figure 38. The various cemeteries on the small hill at Westhampnett. The distance across the site is about 80 metres. Note how the graves of successive periods of the dead respect the earlier graves. The round-house? is symbolized by a central open space around which the Late Iron Age cremations (shown as a scatter of light pink marks) are distributed. The Bronze Age ring-ditch (grey circle) seems to have first marked this hill out as a place of burial. Roman graves are shown in green and Saxon in blue. The grey linear feature cutting across the Late Iron Age cemetery is probably a later medieval field boundary. (From Fitzpatrick 1997).

The cemetery at Westhampnett comprised some 161 cremation burials (Fitzpatrick 1997, 35ff), featuring 251 pottery vessels, interred there between 90 and 50BC, suggesting an average of some 4 to 5 burials per year. The cremated bones were not placed in the pottery vessels, but probably in cloth or leather bags buried alongside the ceramics. Two basic pottery forms dominate the assemblage, occurring in approximately equal quantities: jars, most commonly about 280-290mm high, and bowls with heights of 80 to 150mm. There was a mixture of indigenous and continental traits (northern Gaul) in the ceramic assemblage, since the pots were made locally, suggesting the difficulty of maintaining immigrant exclusivity when surrounded by materials that encouraged hybridity. The vast majority of graves (90%) were accompanied by at least one pottery vessel.

To the east of the arc of graves were the pyre sites, where the dead were cremated, and some small square 'shrines', that might have been the temporary resting places for the corpse. Amphorae are conspicuous by their absence in the cemetery. The avoidance, so distinctive when compared with later indigenous elite graves in Hertfordshire and Essex, may have re-enforced Gallic ethnicity in a new homeland, conceivably in opposition to growing Roman influence in northern Gaul in the first half of the first century BC. Occasionally the jar/bowl duality at Westhampnett was interrupted by the presence of pairs of vessels (e.g. grave 20144, 20179 and 20484 – Fitzpatrick 1997; the same author (2007) also notes pairs of vessels in elite graves at Welwyn Garden City, Hertfordshire). This phenomenon is also present at the Roman cemetery of St Pancras and may suggest that some form of commensality was imagined in the afterlife.

The night fires of the funeral pyre at Westhampnett were both destructive and creative. Flames can both consume the dead, but also forge memory, reconciliation and links to the past (Brendann 1930, 273; Palgi and Abramovitch 1984, 398; Sorensen and Bille 2008, 255). The ashes can become an acceptable and even desired materiality for the deceased. The duration of burning a corpse on the pyre, which may last as long as ten hours, provided a powerful combination of visual, auditory and olfactory impressions on the mourners, while involuntary movements of the corpse on the pyre further enlivened the drama of transformation with an active and frightening agency (Williams 2004). The interactivity of cremation added another disturbing element. At Banares, on the Ganges, the chief mourner cracks open the cranium of the deceased with a bamboo

pole (Parry 1994, 177), a practice analogous to the occasional breaking of grave goods during various forms of burial.

The most numerous grave good recovered at Westhampnett were the remains of approximately 50 brooches, mostly made of iron (Fitzpatrick 1997, 91). Their presence in the graves suggests that the deceased were cremated wearing costume, with brooches at either shoulder. Almost all the other pyre goods recovered at Westhampnett (e.g. rings, a belthook, bone toggle) suggest personal possessions likely to have belonged to the deceased. This apparent emphasis on individual distinctiveness through personal possessions may, however, be a superficial one; for instance, no personal tools were present. The consistent appearance of brooches suggests it was a product of a collective understanding of mortuary dress codes. Adherence to certain rules of dress will have been obvious to outsiders and served to re-enforce emic views of collective immigrant identity. Adherence to prescribed dress codes at death underlined the origins of this community of Gallo-Belgic newcomers, and ensured their immigrant solidarity endured into the afterlife.

Animal sacrifices seem to have been part of the cremation practice at Westhampnett, judging by fragments of burnt or cremated animal bones found in 36 of the graves (Fitzpatrick 1997, 73). The animals represented were occasionally cattle, but mostly sheep/goat and pig. The relative proportions of the main domesticates chosen for sacrifice at Westhampnett are very different from contemporary adjacent settlement sites, but similar to those from the contemporary, and Gallicized, temple site on Hayling Island, dominated by equal quantities of sheep/goat and pig. Dinka animal sacrifices, as noted, were prepared, not for the welfare of the dead but for the protection of the living (Lienhardt 2004, 125;130). The Westhampnett evidence is ambiguous in this respect. Substantial proportions of lambs and piglets were placed on the pyres, and animal sacrifices were clearly correlated with the age of the deceased, with more graves of the elderly producing animal bone. Whether the meat was consumed by mourners or buried with the ashes, as sustenance for the deceased, is more difficult to assess.

The stand-out feature of the cremations at Westhampnett is their conformity to a collective, distinct and foreign funerary tradition. The sudden appearance of this singular way of death on the coastal plain exaggerated the customary need for

communities to re-affirm their collectivity after disturbance by an individual death (Bloch and Parry 1982, 35 – for the Merina; Middleton 1982, 147 – for the Lugbara; Aries 2004, 41; Lienhardt 2004, 133 – for the Dinka;). Conformity in burial rite at Westhampnett certainly derived from collectively held views about the dead in the afterlife. The dress code for cremation also suggests that there was a 'right' way in which the deceased should be laid on the pyre. Selective aversions to the possible effects of 'polluted' exotic artefacts, like amphorae, restricted the choice of grave goods and enhanced a shared identity. However, most importantly, conformity meant that the mourners enjoyed a heightened sense of their origin as colonizers. As immigrants surrounded by indigenous settlements they may have been keen to flag their different status. Eriksen (2002) suggested that ethnicity is more an aspect of a relationship rather than the property of a group; in other words ethnicity only comes into play when one group is in contact with one or more other groups. Despite the knowing separation there was a necessary search for some rootedness in a new landscape, a linkage to histories that were not of their making. Choosing a location like Westhampnett, already associated with dead, provided that connection.

Outstanding Inhumations

The cemetery at Westhampnett ceased receiving burials around 50BC (Fitzpatrick 2007a). The short span of the cemetery, some 40 years, and its abrupt cessation, suggests some dramatic event. The link between Westhampnett and Normandy may have been severed by Caesar's conquest of northern Gaul and the settlers may have moved away, or been subjected to a new authority that did not tolerate their way of death. Despite the abandonment, the hillock at Westhampnett retained its association with death – perhaps it had also become a place of ghosts. The graves also seem to have retained some visible markers, for, over 100 years later, the site would receive the deceased again, this time under direct Roman rule. And these more recent dead avoided the graves of the earlier first century BC. Something similar continued into the post-Roman period with the Saxon graves avoiding earlier Roman burials.

It is probably not a coincidence that, at roughly the same time as the termination of Westhampnett cemetery, a remarkable individual was interred at nearby North Bersted, in the south-east of the study area (fig. 39). The man was strong-limbed, and buried

with obvious weapons, including a sword and helmet, loosely but properly described as a 'warrior' (Taylor and Weale 2009). 'Warrior Burials' of the Middle to Late Iron Age have been the subject of some recent syntheses (Hunter 2005; Hamilton 2007; Sealey 2007a). According to Hunter (2005, 50) there are 63 recorded warrior burials, and where the body was sexed, all are male; some are accompanied by spears, some by swords. Geographically, apart from the east Yorkshire group from the 'Arras culture', the majority lie south of a line from the Severn to the Wash. In some cases the warrior burials are located in cemeteries, but separated spatially; in a few others they are located in settlements. Swords were located in 18 of the graves, helmets in only 3, so the North Bersted individual was exceptional. The range of grave goods associated with these burials suggests that a range of warrior identities was being marked (Hunter 2005, 55). The sword was the archetypal prestigious weapon of the warrior, whereas the spear carried connotations of hunting as well as fighting. However, most spears were probably weapons (Sealey 2007a, 38). Some of these warriors were probably chiefs of war-bands, and leaders of immigrant groups arriving from the Continent, determined to fight, if necessary, for places to settle.

Figure 39. The warrior inhumation at North Bersted. Note the helmet and lattice work, possibly covering for the shield, at the centre of the image, and the smashed pottery near the foot of the skeleton. (Image courtesy of Thames Valley Archaeological Services).

In relation to a general discussion of the context of the Kelvedon (Essex) warrior burial, Sealey (2007a, 32ff) makes some important points. He suggests that the fighting technique of the Kelvedon warrior, equipped with sword, spear and shield, was probably to throw the spear (either from horseback or from a standing position) and then to engage in combat on foot with the sword, perhaps having alighted from a chariot (Caesar *BG* 4.33). Significantly for the central theme of this thesis he reproaches the

trends in British archaeology over the last generation not to address themes of warfare, and colonization properly (Sealey 2007a, 33 and 38). He argues convincingly that, despite the hybrid characteristics of the Kelvedon burial, the continental, specifically Gallic, links of some of the grave goods 'will not go away', and the origin of the Kelvedon warrior may lie as a refugee-cum-immigrant leader, seeking, by force, a new home and escape from the upheavals of the Gallic wars (Sealey 2007a, 39).

Given the potential association of some warrior burials with colonization and settlement, it is not surprising to note at least three such burials firmly associated with settlement sites (Owslebury; Brisley Farm and North Bersted). A primary warrior burial associated with an adjacent settlement at Owslebury, which was occupied from the third century BC to the fourth century AD, was that of a 40-50 year old man buried with a shield, sword and spear (Collis 1968, 25; Sharples 2010, 284). The burial, dating probably to the first century BC, lay at the centre of a small rectangular enclosure, which was subsequently revered in the Roman period, since it contains a cremation of that date. At Brisley Farm, in eastern Kent, two warrior burials, dating from the early first century AD, were interred in adjacent square-ditched enclosures, and again associated with settlements. The graves were likely to be protected by barrow mounds, and there is evidence that the burials were venues of repeated acts of veneration into the second century AD (Hamilton 2007, 93). At North Bersted the warrior burial discovered in the summer of 2008 was similarly surrounded by a rectangular ditched enclosure, and no doubt protected by a mound. The topographic location of the burial was relatively unremarkable, on the flat coastal plain with views to the Downs to the north, but it was associated intimately with a cultivated landscape of fields and trackways, and potentially a landscape of colonization.

Chiefly burials in Africa, often of lineage or settlement founders, provide a parallel to Late Iron Age warrior burials. In rural Sierra Leone the grave sites of the founders of settlements or lineages (often hunter-warrior figures) remain highly significant features of the physical and social landscape. These shrine-like graves are usually regarded as sacred sites at which libations are poured and other ceremonies performed. They are often located in the bush, where access is prohibited to non-initiates, and even when the original settlement has been abandoned, they retain their power and continue to be used

in ceremonial practices[40]. Among the Kusasi in Northern Ghana oral traditions and historical accounts tell how a foreigner, Gbewa, and his men settled at Pusiga and assimilated to the local populace, marrying local women and adopting the local language. After his death, his memory became associated at Pusiga with a large hole in the ground, supposedly home to a large python and a local land God. This became recognized as a powerful shrine, gradually legitimating the immigrant presence (Mather 2003, 37). Among the Kuranko of north-eastern Sierra Leone a chief is buried in his own compound and at the burial a sword is carried hilt-down to signify the warrior status of the deceased. Cows are sacrificed and the deceased clothes are burnt on a bonfire. The soul of the chief becomes an ancestor ensuring the well-being of the living (Jackson 1977, 282). In Tanzania (Buhaya) ancestors are remembered by graves associated with trees, becoming shrines that have an enduring social and ritual importance in the landscape, linking community identity and ancestry to a particular locale (Schmidt 2009). Among the Lugbara significant burial shrines marked by trees identify lineage founders, and across the landscape help to memorialize the dispersal of a community and maintain links with the ancestral founders (Middleton and Beidelman 1999, 67).

A feature linking all three of these outstanding inhumations in Britain was the deliberate breakage of some of the weaponry before burial. At Owslebury the shaft of the spear had been broken in two (Collis 1968, 25). At Brisley Farm one of the spears had been deliberately bent and laid across the upper chest (Hamilton 2007, 93). At North Bersted the sword had been deliberately bent prior to burial (Taylor and Weale 2009, 5). Deliberate breaking, smashing, burning or disposal of objects prior to burial are part of a much wider tradition, both geographically and chronologically (Sharples 2010, 301). Such practices, as noted, are motivated by concerns of taboo (Hertz 2004; 200), by the desire to destroy painful memories (Rosenblatt *et al* 1976, 59; 67-74; Counts and Counts 1991, 205; Lieber 1991, 183; Conkin 2004, 249) or by a wish that the objects can cross safely to the afterlife (Barley 1997, 81). Fitzpatrick (2007, 136) also noted deliberate breakage of many grave goods in very Late Iron Age elite burials in south-east Britain.

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[40] pers.comm. Paul Basu.

At North Bersted the male warrior was given a dramatic send-off (Taylor and Weale 2009). The body was aligned north-west (head) to south-east with three pottery vessels, no doubt originally containing food remains, at the head end. The burial was accompanied by a bronze helmet of continental origin, a deliberately bent sword, a shield boss (paralleled at Owslebury) and two extraordinary sheets of lattice bronze that might have adorned the shield. Extravagantly the body seems to have been buried, judging from the remains of iron supports, with a chair or bed-like covering. Analysis of the skeleton suggests the deceased was about 1.57m tall, and died between the ages of 30 and 45, sometime towards the middle of the last century BC. The skeletal remains also indicated that the man was heavily muscled, had been a frequent horse rider, and was much stronger in the right-arm, perhaps due to weapon training and use.

Two further points are worthy of note in the context of grave goods. The first is the distinction between intentional 'breaking' of an object, usually by one bend or fracture, so as to render it unusable, and the 'smashing' of an object so that it fragments into many pieces. The former seems much more an act in consideration of the afterlife of the dead, the latter, as exemplified by the smashed pots closing the Westhampnett pyres, an act that seems best associated with the cathartic experience of the mourners. The North Bersted burial has both phenomena. A second theme concerns food and death. The smashed ceramics at the foot of the grave may well represent the rites of a last shared meal with the mourners, while the three pots at the head of the grave contained foodstuffs for the afterlife. An emphasis on grave goods that relate to food and feasting is widespread one (Brendann 1930, 154; Eves 1996). In the context of colonization memorializing the 'first people', the founders, through food and prayers, and remembering back through six or seven generations, as in the case of Madurese migrants to urban eastern Java (Retsikas 2007, 980), provides a potential insight into the enduring significance of the man buried in North Bersted.

The man buried at North Bersted was a 'warrior', almost certainly in the sense of forcibly securing a new home for his followers (fig. 40). Since his grave was undisturbed by adjacent settlement activity in the subsequent period of direct Roman rule, and since his burial was close to the coast, I argue that this exceptional individual was the leader of some form of Gallic colonization and settlement of the coastal plain in the first century BC. What is more problematic is the extent of his hegemony over the

study area and beyond. It is conceivable that his incursion was directly implicated in the curtailment of the Westhampnett cemetery, some 6 kilometres to the north. It is also possible that his arrival was associated with the first main phase of the temple on Hayling Island. It is even possible that he was the foundational Commius of the Atrebates, fleeing the Roman officer Volusenus so that he would never have to look on a Roman again; certainly none of his grave goods could be described as 'Roman'. His paramountcy in life would be equated with a similar absolutism in death. There is a complete absence of formal burials in the study area until the advent of Roman direct rule in the 70s AD.

Figure 40. A Late Iron Age warrior depicted on the reverse of a gold stater of Verica of the Atrebates. There is a shield behind the warrior's back, and a peaked helmet. The image is reminiscent of the North Bersted warrior. (From Sealey 2007a).

Colonizing Afterlives

The imposition of Roman direct rule in the study area resulted in substantial investment in the town of Chichester, by way of public buildings, street systems, baths and an amphitheatre (see Chapter 4). These all helped to create a regulated *habitus* for the daily lives of its inhabitants; they encouraged the instruction and gradual development of town-dwellers who were accustomed to performing some of their daily routines in a classical way. No less important to the colonial power was the need to control the processes and performance of dying, of mourning, of burial, and control the lives of the dead, the afterlives, since funeral performances could easily become the foci of individual or collective resistances. This was especially important in a colonial town where the colonizer was in a minority, relying on an 'indigenous' elite to govern an 'indigenous' or 'predecessor' majority. Most of the deceased in the cemeteries at St. Pancras and Westhampnett were thus likely to be locally born and not immigrant. However, given that ethnicity was not a major social or political determinant in respect of attitudes to the colonial presence, the choice of grave goods, for instance, need not necessarily show a strong correlation with place of birth. Rather they should demonstrate a mixture of reactions to Roman direct rule and personal preferences which could cut across ethnic fault lines. Nevertheless, colonial control was doubly important at the point of death, when collective emotional drama could easily give way to sentiments antithetical to colonial order. Death was also a time for potentially dangerous reflections on times past, perhaps to a preceding Atrebatic independence. For all these reasons and for the replication of a colonial *habitus*, Roman rule prescribed formal suburban cemeteries just outside the perimeter of the town (as at St Pancras; fig. 41). The rural cemetery at Westhampnett also indicates that Roman burial regulations were actively promoted in the countryside.

Figure 41. An excavation photograph from the St Pancras cemetery, just outside of the East Gate of Roman Chichester. There are three graves here in close proximity, suggesting that some above-ground marker must have existed. The larger upright jars contain the cremated remains of the deceased. (From Down 1971).

An example of the colonizers' need to control funerary traditions, through the imposition of suburban cemeteries, and grid-planned settlements, is provided by British involvement with the Anlo in Ghana (Greene 2002). Prior to the mid-nineteenth century the Anlo believed that it was important to maintain close links with the dead and buried their deceased under the floors of their houses. Those who had experienced a 'bad' death, however, such as warriors killed in battle, were buried on the edges of settlements. In such a way the Anlo could keep contact with the ancestors and ensure that they looked after the welfare of the living. When Britain began to administer Anlo territory in 1875 as part of the Gold Coast Colony, they viewed the practice of sub-floor burials as repugnant, and also objected to the contiguity of buildings in Anlo villages. Under the guise of encouraging better public health, the colonizer promoted public cemeteries on the outskirts of towns, straighter streets and rubbish removals within indigenous compounds. In 1911 the town of Anloga was rebuilt on a grid pattern, partly to improve the flow of 'healthy air' between the dwellings. Anlo resistance to British

regulations endured up to the 1940s, and took both passive and active forms. Eventually, many Anlo did bury their dead in colonial cemeteries, but still maintained a spatial separation of those who died 'good' or 'bad' deaths (Greene 2002, 63).

There were more widespread personal concerns, other than colonial control, regarding death and burial. The experience of death, in relatively small-scale societies, was a frequent one, and a close-to-the-home one. Deaths had a greater potential to disturb the rhythms of life than in the modern world. The theme of death as an unnatural event, caused by human agency, spiritual powers or witchcraft is common (e.g. Brendann 1930, 33; Derrick 1950, 15; Bloch and Parry 1982, 27; Barley 1997, 198; Evans-Pritchard 2004, 115; Hertz 2004, 207). On Gawa all deaths apart from the very old are attributed to witchcraft (Munn 1986, 166). There is no doubt that the Romans, too, believed some deaths were caused by unnatural agencies. We can ascertain this from surviving curse tablets, which indicate beliefs in supernatural agencies to bring about death or injury. Thus, from Uley in Gloucestershire, *'To the God Mercury…(they) have brought evil harm to my breast…I ask you to drive them to the greatest death….'*.

The emotional impacts of death, burial and mourning were intense. Jackson (1977, 271) claimed, from work with the Kuranko (Sierra Leone) that two major characteristics of mortuary rituals were that ubiquitous and probably innate bereavement behaviours were assumed and simulated by those not directly related to the deceased, and that the display of grief was delayed and socially managed. The conscious management of grief ensures that personal despair is controlled making reintegration with the community possible. From a psychological viewpoint orchestrating grief-related behaviours allowed the three phases of separation anxiety (protest, despair and detachment) to be overcome after a period of social exclusion. Roman funerals, like those at St Pancras and Westhampnett, took place at night, and it is conceivable that the cover of darkness provided a psychological anonymity for the release of uncontrolled emotions, an anonymity that would be removed at daybreak when order was restored. Some evidence for the emotions of a broader spectrum of Roman humanity regarding death, other than the elite described by classical authors, comes from their epitaphs. Tombstones from York mention a child of ten months 'most innocent soul', and a 'beloved wife', and a 'loyal wife'; ones from Caerleon mention 'devoted mother' and 'devoted daughter'. A

painter from Rome decries 'most sainted wife…you have left me behind in tears'. At face value, these seem to be genuine expressions of both affection, loss and grief.

Various forms of grave goods acted as conduits for emotional intensities and memory cues at St Pancras and Westhampnett (Hallam and Hockey 2001, 1-12). Recollections were materialised in personal possessions, such as clothing. The hobnailed sandals or boots placed in some of the graves at St Pancras provide one example. A considerable amount of material goods, such as fragments of cremated bone, personal dress fittings, sherds of pottery, animal bones from food consumed, ashes and charcoal from the pyre, could have been taken away by the mourners from the cemeteries at Westhampnett and St Pancras. Death relics kept the dead alive (Counts and Counts 1991, 207).

The cemetery at St Pancras outside the east gate of Roman Chichester was extensively excavated by Alec Down in 1965 (Down 1971). The cemetery lay immediately north of Stane Street, the Roman road to London, and so was a permanent reminder to travellers of the impermanence of life itself. When the deceased was removed from his or her home in the town, the prescribed orientations followed by the mourners along paths and streets, exiting the town and on to the cemetery would have emphasized the separation of the deceased, the isolation of the cemetery beyond the town perimeter and helped construct a distinctive sense of place and performance (Tilley 2004). The extra-mural areas were also places of potential danger, frequented by outsiders. The location of the cemetery in this area was a direct reflection of the equivocal attitude of the living to the dead – on the one hand they would care for them after death, feed and have meals with them and generally keep them close; on the other hand they were cast out, citizens now of the underworld, and potential harbingers of malevolence. The variety of grave goods, both relating to food and drink, and to personal belongings of the deceased, suggest that the grave was partly intended to be a condensed but distorted reflection of the home (Bourdieu 1990, 273).

The cemetery was laid out in early Flavian times, around the AD70s and probably continued in use until the mid-third century. The estimated surface area of the cemetery in antiquity was some 2 hectares, and up to 10,000 people could have been buried there between AD70-AD250. On average one person a week would have been buried in the cemetery – a very frequent occurrence which no doubt was noted ominously by most of

the inhabitants of the town. The lack of intercutting graves indicates that there must have been some form of above-ground markers, perhaps pottery vessels, and these would have represented a powerful reminder of death, of the colonial control now exercised over it, and of the growing longevity of the new town of Chichester. Just such a colonial memorial exists in the Park Street cemetery, in Calcutta. This colonial cemetery has been described as 'ambivalent heritage'. Once, through the materiality of its monuments, it symbolised both bereavement and the power of British colonial administration; now it sits uncomfortably neglected as a colonial reminder of a country's subservient past (Chadha 2006, 349). The Park Street burial ground housed not only the dead remains of the colonial bureaucracy, military officials, mercantile elite and their families but also common and sundry citizenry. These were among the earliest Europeans who came to Calcutta from a different world, thousands of miles away, leaving their families and homes in search of money and power (Chadha 2006, 342). In the context of southern Britain in the early Roman period we can envisage a time, perhaps by the third or fourth generation of an increasingly assured Romano-British elite, when the prominent grave-markers of first-generation immigrants, who arrived during the 70s when direct Roman rule was imposed, became a half-forgotten reminder of their origins.

The number of burials at St. Pancras excavated by Down (1971, 53-126) was approximately 300. Some 147 burials (56.5%) were single vessel cremations. The other types included box burials (33 found), tiled cist burials (3 found), burial urns associated with food and drink vessels, but not in boxes or cists, (a large number found), crescentic burials, where vessels were arranged in a semi-circle with usually a flagon or dish opposite and the bones scattered between (3 found), burials where one or more of the vessels were inverted (5 found), coin burials (6 found) and pipe burials (1 found). Of these box burials represent the most continental type, since the remains of well-to-do Romans were often enclosed in an elaborately decorated box or casket (Toynbee 1971, 50). Animal bones, probably the remains of meals (although pet animals could occasionally be killed to accompany the deceased – Toynbee 1971, 50), were noted from three of the burials; the bones were either avian, or from sheep or goat; a fragment of oyster shell came from burial 201. The considerable number of graves should be capable of some degree of correlation with the social identities of the deceased. Some of the spatial patterning could also reflect real differences in attitude towards the colonial

power. The box burials, for instance, and burials associated with lamps/lamp holders, glass and coins appear to be attracted to Stane Street (seemingly reflecting continental burial practices). However, contemporary single vessel cremations, where the vessel form is drawn from former Atrebatic ceramic traditions, were concentrated away from the main Roman road (Hayden *forthcoming;* fig. 42).
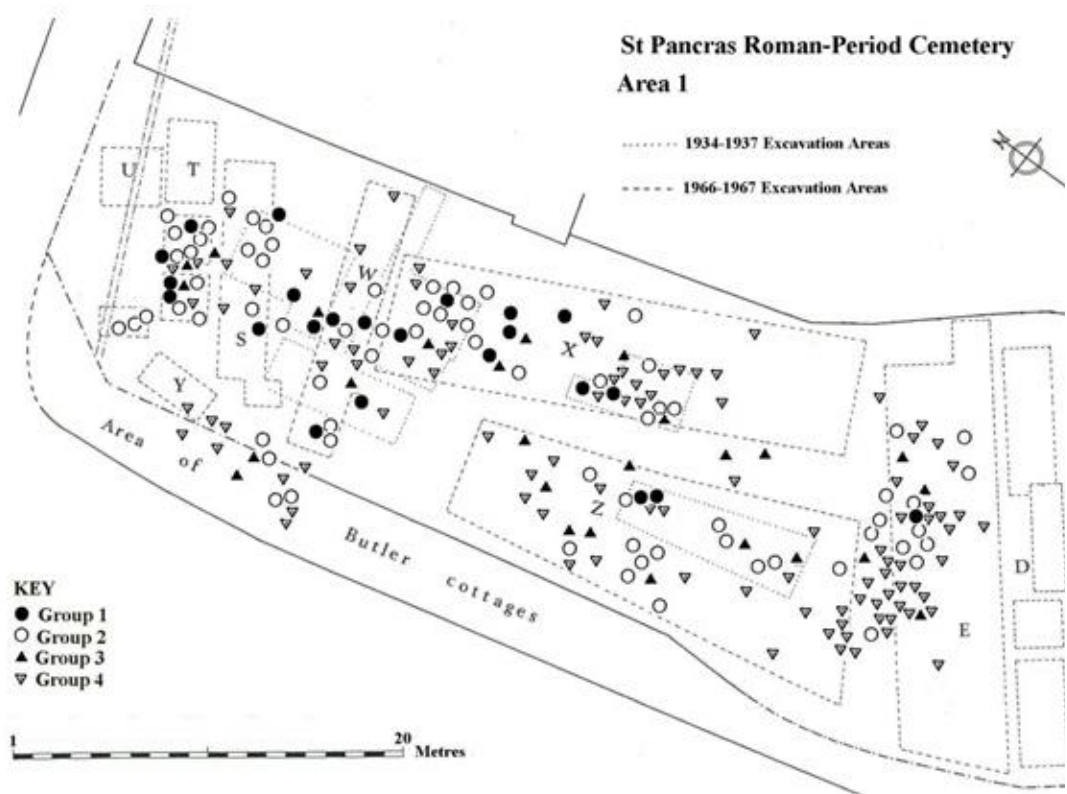

Figure 42. Note that Group 1 burials, comprised of single vessels derived from Atrebatic antecedents, lie in the northern area of the site, the furthest from Stane Street. Group 4 burials, containing more Romanized forms, lie close to Stane Street. (From Hayden forthcoming).

A brief snapshot of some of the St Pancras burials is provided here. Grave 87, which was a single vessel burial, also contained a bronze tinned mirror, a bronze bangle and a bronze needle – probably the grave of a woman, but not of a pauper. The single vessel cremation is the most dominant form of burial and most of the single vessels containing some of the bones and ashes of the deceased are not usually accompanied by other grave goods. This could well imply that most of these type of burials were of the

formerly independent Atrebatic. Their austerity is therefore not related to poverty in life, but rather a political statement of allegiance in death.

Grave 245 at St Pancras (a typical hybrid grave assemblage containing a cinerary urn and associated food and drink vessels, but not a box burial) consisted of a large grey ware funerary urn from the Rowlands Castle pottery flanked by two undecorated samian cups (figs. 43 and 44). The urn dwarfed the two samian cups, so there was a clear contrast not only in size but also colour, shape and fabric, ensuring a high visual impact on the beholder as the objects were placed in the grave. The pair of cups were also a matching pair and stacked neatly one inside the other. This 'pairing' of grave goods, especially seen in relation to smaller vessels (cups, plates) may indicate that the deceased needed to share a meal regularly with another individual, either another deceased person in the underworld or more likely the spirit of a still-living relative (Nordquist 1999; 2002). (Pairing of vessels was also noticed at Westhampnett in the Late Iron Age – see above, and may suggest the continuance of an Atrebatic or Gallo-Belgic custom). The necessity to nourish the dead is a recurring theme in ethnography. During the Mexican 'Day of the Dead' feasts and music are brought to the graveside (Barley 1997, 36). Feasts or meals can be held for a variety of reasons including the desire to feed the dead, or its spirit, to secure happiness for the departed, or to forge closer links between the living and the dead (Brendann 1930, 161). Among the Aymara of Peru the dead remain accessible for a period of years (Orta 2002). They are regarded as an ongoing source of agricultural, animal and human fertility. They are remembered through periodic offerings of food, coca, alcohol and prayers. This remembering of the dead with food offerings is continued for a period of three years, after which the soul of the deceased joins a collective category of *laqa achachilas* ('dust ancestors'). In West Africa ancestor-honouring activities at shrines include offering food and animals, and pouring libations of palm wine to ease communication with founding fathers (Samford 1999, 86). The overt symbolism of colonial grave goods could also be subverted by mourners. The Tiedeme formerly used to bury their dead in sheepskin, but when they changed to imported colonial cloth, they still placed a token piece of sheepskin in the grave lest the ancestors become angry (Goody 1962, 70).

Figure 43. The grave goods from Grave 245 at St Pancras. Note the large grey Rowlands Castle urn, which would have contained some of the ashes of the deceased. Note also the paired samian vessels.

Figure 44. The paired samian vessels from Grave 245. Both carry potters' stamps in the bottom, and may be some indication of a degree of literacy (or appreciation of its power) by the dead and the mourners. The wear marks in at the bottom of the vessels suggests actual use, perhaps by the deceased.

One of the most continental graves from the St Pancras cemetery is that of a box burial. Grave 251 would have conveyed a more specific message to the mourners, for it seems that the deceased, judging by the grave goods, was a second century AD scribe of some sort, who one assumes was comfortable with, or at least familiar with, a more Roman way of life (and way of death). The burial urn is a classic large Rowlands Castle type. Accompanying the urn were two paired little dishes in a sandy grey ware. One of these was slightly smaller than the other, suggesting that they might have been made to stack neatly one inside the other. Other grave goods included a shallow plate in a fine grey fabric which contained food bones and a small buff flagon. This flagon was a miniature; deliberately small Roman objects (fig. 45) were known to have religious or magical properties, and could contain drugs or oils (Nordquist 2002; Graham 2010, 2; see also Hayden *forthcoming*). The deceased was also accompanied by the bronze equipment of

a scribe, and hobnail boots. The overt signs of literacy might suggest work for the colonial administration rather than the presence of a dead colonial official. The Manjaco of western Africa, drawing on their experiences of working for white colonial administrators, recognise the authority invested in the paraphernalia of writing. Ancestor carvings are of white-faced, suited individuals, perhaps with pens poking out of the top pocket – a clear reference to the status associated with colonial work (Gable 2006, 389). It is possible, therefore, that the dead scribe in Chichester worked as such in life, or aspired to that status in the afterlife, or asserted an indigenous or predecessor appropriation of colonial powers of literacy. The hobnail boots are capable of various interpretations. Among the Kol of India the corpse is placed on a scaffold with the feet facing forward so that it cannot find its way back home (Van Gennep – cited in Robben 2004a, 215). Murray (2008, 132) convincingly demonstrates that the hobnailing patterns found on soles of Roman boots is remarkably consistent over the Empire and suggests an apotropaic function.

Figure 45. There were other miniature vessels in the graves, and this pot comes from Grave 231.

Hybrid allegiances may have been expressed in Grave 228, an elaborate box burial, and a coin burial. The large cinerary urn was accompanied by the usual buff-ware flagon. More classical allusions are demonstrated by a glass beaker, a rough cast beaker, and three samian dishes, the latter all of Antonine date. Perhaps more interesting was the range of smaller grave goods. These included eight bone needles and a bronze needle, all broken in antiquity and presumably, by intentional fracture, made fit for burial. In the grave there were also a variety of glass beads, two copper alloy brooches, a ring, two pins, a worn and perforated coin of Nero, a dog or boar tooth with a perforation, a cosmetic kit, and a carved bone toggle. It is striking how many of this collection of smaller grave goods were perforated, or contained ready-made loops through which a cord could be passed. This heterogeneous collection of small objects could have been strung on a single leather cord or belt and have been the personal possessions of one individual, or individual offerings from a number of mourners. Each suspended object might have been charged with a specific memory held by the deceased, or with a particular apotropaic power. Perforation of the coin suggests the transformation of the continental practice of payment of the classical Charon, to one of more 'indigenous' or individual characteristic, such as amuletic protection, or passive rejection of colonial authority.

Quite close to the St Pancras cemetery, but significantly inside the earthwork perimeter of the town, a number of infant burials or disposals have been discovered (fig. 46). In total, some 14 neonate burials were located; most seem to have died around full term, suggesting still births, or death shortly following birth (Sayer 2008, Appendix 11, 267). 'Baby-burials' were often interred close to boundaries, in ditches and shafts during the Roman period (Watts 1989). There is plentiful ethnographic evidence for babies as non-persons, and therefore subject to different burial rites than adults. In Brazil, the mothers in a poor community withdraw food from weak babies, who are unlikely to survive to adulthood (Scheper-Hughes 2004, 180ff). There is almost a joyful celebration of these deaths – 'the angel babies'; women will display pity about these deaths, but do not show grief. The weak social reaction to the deaths of very young infants has been noted by many (Brendann 1930, 265; Bloch and Parry 1982, 63, 81; Counts and Counts 1991, 196; Barley 1997, 53, 179; Conkin 2004, 243; Hertz 2004, 211).

Figure 46. A neonate burial (2552) from the excavation at the Shippams Factory site on the east side of Roman Chichester. The burial dates from the second century AD. Baby burials are probably underestimated in the archaeological record since, due to the small size of the bones, they are sometimes not recognized during excavation. (From Taylor 2008).

'Baby burials' can also be connected with the themes of fertility and re-birth. Brendann notes that the bodies of children are sometimes buried in a house, or near the door of a house, to facilitate re-birth (Brendann 1930, 54, 187). Among the Kuranko the funeral of a child is a perfunctory affair, and the burial is at the back of the house or under the hearthstone (Jackson 1977, 280). There are instances from Roman villas in Sussex of baby disposals/burials being recovered from the masonry foundations of the buildings. The location of the neonate burials in Chichester were very close to a range of bread-making ovens, re-calling the making of 'bread-babies' by women in Ecuador to feed the dead (Ferraro 2008, 265). A last explanation, again specifically associated with women, is that the babies might be the result of a high level of prostitution in this area of Roman Chichester, and possibly related to infanticide. Some 97 baby burials were discovered at a Roman villa at Hambelden in Buckinghamshire in 1912, and recent press reports have

suggested links with prostitution[41]. However, these infant burials are much more likely to be the unwanted progeny of a servile labour force; prostitution was predominantly an urban phenomenon, and cannot be ruled out at Chichester [42].

The location and landscape setting of the hillock of Westhampnett have already been discussed under our consideration of the Late Iron Age cemetery. After a hiatus of some 120 years cremation burials re-commenced in the early Roman period, some 15 metres to the east of the Late Iron Age burials. This may be a statement by new landowners, under colonial authority, referring back to a pre-client kingdom, earlier Gallo-Belgic period and seeking legitimation for their occupation. In addition, older allegiances were stressed by the construction of a small round-barrow, that may have invoked both the Bronze Age barrow nearby, and the Late Iron Age circular space around which the earlier cremations had been distributed.

The cemetery at Westhampnett under direct Roman rule was a much smaller affair than its Late Iron Age predecessor. It comprised 36 graves, but those graves contained the partial or complete remains of 114 vessels, indicating that there were more vessels per grave. Of those vessels, 17 were imported, 16 being samian forms, with one colour-coated beaker from Central Gaul. Compared with St Pancras there were fewer single urned burials at Westhampnett (14 out of a total of 36), tempting speculation that the dead at Westhampnett were 'richer' than their urban contemporaries. There is some indication that pairs of vessels were chosen as grave goods, as the two small carinated cups from Grave 20536 indicate; these cups are imitations of Gallo-Belgic 'bell-cups'. The pairing of very similar vessels in graves has been linked to bipolar traditions of feasting, where the host shares a drink with an honoured guest (Nordquist 2002). On average, between AD70 and 150 there was a burial every other year, and perhaps the cemetery was associated with a few households rather than a larger settlement. The dead buried at Westhampnett were mostly adults; there were no infant burials. Grave goods brought by the mourners included a copper-alloy mirror, and occasional hobnailed footwear. The mirror is of particular interest; in Mongolia mirrors have the capacity to reveal that which is not known, and they can be used to deflect evil spirits, and therefore safeguard the deceased (Empson 2005, 132). In contrast with St Pancras there were no

[41] Daily Mail, June 26th 2010
[42] I am grateful to Ernest Black for this observation.

lamps, lamp-holders or coins found in the graves, possibly suggestive of a more 'indigenous' aspect to the cemetery.

The overall impression provided by the Westhampnett graves is of the colonial control of the mortuary rites of a rural community that was perhaps wealthier than its urban counterpart, but also more conservative (as evidenced by the absence, for instance, of lamps and lamp-holders). The essential character of the ceramic grave goods, with accessory vessels predominantly concerned with the consumption of food and drink, suggests that the same concerns for the deceased were shared with the residents of Roman Chichester. However, even under direct Roman rule the immediate hinterland did not conform to any 'standard' pattern of Romano-British culture. The anomalous temple site, with its indigenous and predecessor parallels, some 300 metres to the south-west of, and contemporary with the cemetery, indicate that the communities of the coastal plain were as 'discrepant' as elsewhere (Fitzpatrick *et al* 2008, 231ff). A reasonable assumption, however, is that the dead at Westhampnett were probably mostly, if not all, locally born.

Conclusion

Imposition and manipulation of the *habitus* of the dead was of critical importance to the colonizer, the more so since the power of the dead could endure much longer than the life span of a mortal individual. In addition, the Empire-wide colonial template, albeit adjustable to local circumstances, of urban settlements, grid-planned streets, and extra-mural cemeteries, was part of the largely non-discursive *habitus* that was forced on, and encouraged among, the provincials. I have already argued that the location of the dead (either circulating amongst the living as ancestors) or sited in liminal locations (Westhampnett; St Pancras) or linked to fields and farms, was crucial to their various forms of agency, and to the practices they could still generate among the living. The imposition of prescriptive burial rites by the immigrant dead at Late Iron Age Westhampnett was clearly meant to be a diacritical marker, whereas the normative rite introduced under direct Roman rule was both a key component of metrocentric *Romanitas,* and a deliberate attempt to control the death rites of a subaltern population. However, colonizers remained to a degree powerless to prevent their burial traditions, once adopted, from being subverted and transformed, particularly through selectivity in

the choice of grave goods. The continuation of grey, handmade, wheel-finished jars produced mainly by potters at Rowlands Castle, and found mainly in burials at St Pancras, and to a lesser extent Westhampnett, suggests reluctance by some of the population to adopt more Romanized forms which were being made contemporaneously in the same area (Hayden, *forthcoming*). The considerable variety of cremation burials in St Pancras indicates that, despite the colonial presence, even the dead were able to maintain an individuality, and offer some form of token resistance to colonial oppression. It is quite possible that the graves above ground were marked by pottery vessels. Rows of locally made grey jars marking graves may have represented a powerful statement of 'indigenous' or 'predecessor' presence, perhaps a resentful and potentially avenging one, even in death.

Chapter 8: A Conclusion. Making Subjects by means of Objects.

In Chapter 1 I indicated that I wanted to assess the roles of material culture in ancient colonialism, within the broad framework of practice theory, and set in the context of the relationships between the disciplines of archaeology and anthropology, the field of material culture studies and the subject of colonialism. I particularly set out to investigate whether differently textured interpretations of archaeological data could be obtained by drawing on anthropological insights, and I took as my case study a small area of southern Britain between *c.*100BC and AD200 that had clearly witnessed profound changes in material culture due to episodic bouts of immigrant settlement and colonialism, culminating in Roman annexation in the AD70s. In Chapter 2 I provided a theoretical introduction to the different, not mutually exclusive, types of colonialism and laid out some thoughts on the nature of territorial expansion in the Roman Republic and Empire. Chapter 3 provided an introduction to the Late Iron Age and early Roman periods in southern Britain and within the study area. In the substantive chapters of this thesis (Chapters 4 to 7) I applied anthropological insights to the archaeological data through four facets of past lives that are archaeologically accessible: landscapes and the built form; exchange, eating and drinking; the use of coinages; and mortuary habits. Through these four different contexts I have assessed the multiple roles of material culture within sequential ancient colonial projects, and the multiple ways in which colonizers and colonized reacted to and utilized material culture.

From a methodological perspective, if anthropologically informed archaeological accounts have now become commonplace (Garrow and Yarrow 2010) then there must be a new generation of anthropological archaeologists. By and large this group of people try to build on the partiality and muteness of the archaeological record by recourse to anthropological 'frameworks of thought'. Injudicious use of ethnographic parallels were rife in the early development of archaeological interpretation (Sollas 1912). The recent rise of a more considered anthropological archaeology was marked in publishing form by the appearance of *The Present Past: An Introduction to Anthropology for Archaeologists* (Hodder 1982). In an opening chapter on the use of analogy Hodder proposed a difference between formal and relational analogies; the former were deemed to be problematic since they were solely confined to function,

while the latter could be made more reliable by the inclusion of ideological and symbolic similarities between the societies compared, providing a greater degree of contextual congruence and interpretative confidence. An early use of a formal analogy is, in fact, present from the study area in the interpretation of the one 'pipe' grave from the Roman cemetery at Saint Pancras (Down 1971, 72); the excavator noted the practice of the Lunda hunters in South Africa pouring the blood of a kill down to the grave by means of a stick to feed the deceased. As it happens, although a formal analogy, it was a useful one. More recent general examples of the anthropological archaeology genre include Tilley's (1996) *An Ethnography of the Neolithic,* Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina (1998) on Stonehenge, Royman's (1990) *Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul: an anthropological perspective* and Sharples (2010) on late prehistoric Wessex.

If it is true that most anthropological archaeologists are more 'armchair' anthropologists but 'active' archaeologists how are these distinctive disciplines integrated in the single researcher? I have followed a contextual approach in this thesis, so that the ethnographic or historical analogies I have drawn on are, wherever possible, from partially analogous situations. The contextualizing concept of colonialism has been of great assistance here, since, for instance, I have been able to draw on anthropological accounts of land-use change during colonialism, or the introduction of a new coinage, foodstuffs, or buildings under colonialism and apply these to episodes of Late Iron Age and Roman colonialism in the study area. There is perhaps a smaller number of ethnographic accounts of changes to mortuary rites as a result of colonialism, but they do exist (Bunn 2002). In this sense ethnography from recent colonialism (e.g. Comaroff 1985) has provided contexts that, while not being exactly analogous (for instance, missionary activity, and its promotion of colonial attire, was a major factor in many historical colonial episodes but was absent from ancient examples) still remain contexts that are 'good to think with'.

There are two further methodological considerations that warrant a brief mention. The first concerns the longevity of evidence in anthropology and archaeology. While it is true that ethnographic accounts, once published, can be revised and re-evaluated subsequently, when new information comes to light, this is far more an issue in archaeology where sometimes every major new discovery in a region or period almost demands that a new synthesis be written. In archaeology this particularly applies to the

dating of monuments or artefacts, which sometimes are re-dated leading to revised regional chronologies. The monuments and artefacts I have referred to in this thesis from the study area are, by and large, well-dated. However, some are not, such as the Chichester Dykes, while the warrior burial at North Bersted is still only provisionally dated, and the precise dating of the various phases at Hayling Island Temple is a matter of on-going debate (Haselgrove 2005, 400). The second concerns the chronological framework for the narrative adopted in the four thematic Chapters (4-7). The milestones or phases used have been structured more by the historical evidence from classical sources than the archaeological data *per se*. At some basic level it is difficult to avoid 'fitting' the archaeology around that historical timeline. Neither of these points have a fundamental bearing on the arguments of this thesis. My principal aim in this work has been to explore, through an anthropological filter, the multiple encounters of material culture and human behaviours in the context of ancient colonialism, not necessarily to present a new synthesis of a particular area.

Significant claims have been made about the power of material culture in the colonial process. According to the Comaroffs (1997, 281) colonialism makes 'subjects by means of objects' or 'moves people's minds' (Gosden 2004, 3). Both these statements argue that the regular use of colonial material culture in some way bends subaltern will to conform to the ideology of the colonizer. Material culture also acts in this way outside of the colonial context. On the small island of Gawa, objects involved in the kula exchange have the power to act upon the mind of the exchange partner (Munn 1986, 56; 60; 160). Movement of minds can also occur in unintended directions. Some colonial monuments or objects can provoke thoughts of rejection and so stimulate subaltern self-identity; others can be appropriated and transformed by the colonized in conscious acts of passive resistance and indigenous affirmation. Dietler (2007, 224) maintained that culture is always a creative process of structured improvisation; an on-going, if gradual, process is always the selective adoption of newly encountered foods, objects and practices, and the rejection of others. In this context the imposition of colonial material culture acts as a multiplier or accelerator of a pre-existing process, seeking to both expand and then control 'second-nature' mimetic inclinations that are pre-existent.

We cannot neglect, therefore, the role of mimesis in colonial encounters (Taussig 1993). The mimetic faculty, in pre-industrial times, was one that pre-disposed people to

copy, imitate, explore difference and yield into and become the 'Other'; it was a nature that culture used to create a second nature (Taussig 1993, xiii). Among some of the indigenous of southern Britain the association of Roman material culture with the Roman Empire may not have been obvious or known. Mimetic copying of some artefacts, which never produces true copies (Taussig 1993, 116) would lead to uncontrolled hybridity. It was the task of the Roman colonizer to control this mimetic faculty so that faithful copies of colonial material culture could be replicated, not just functional copies but symbolic ones as well. Lastly, I do not wish to suggest that the agentive roles of material culture in colonialism only had relevance at the principal milestones of colonial contact, such as AD43 or the imposition of direct Roman rule in the study area in the AD70s. I have argued in this thesis that introduced material culture had a key role in maintaining the colonial *habitus* long after first contact. In addition, Roman material culture imposition and consumption were continuing, if uneven, processes as they gradually penetrated deeper social and geographical levels of indigenous or predecessor communities. There was still work to do for colonial material culture long into the second century AD in terms of tempting cultural improvisations and challenging the stubborn indigenous *habitus*.

The chronological span of this thesis, from *c.*100BC to c.AD200 covers different phases of the Roman colonial project in southern Britain, but a simple distinction can be made between the Middle Ground variety which lasted through to approximately AD43, and extractive colonialism which was deployed in many areas, excluding the Atrebatic client kingdom territory, after that date. Roman colonization by force in the decades after AD43 was driven by a changing balance of metrocentric, systemic and pericentric factors (Doyle 1986). The roles of novel material culture in generating practice can therefore be artificially divided prior to and subsequent to direct Roman annexation. In the first the prevailing *habitus* (Bourdieu 1990) was challenged by the appearance of portable but exotic material culture – including coins, fine ceramics and foodstuffs. These were items that related more to individual consumption than collective requirements, and they appealed sensually and multi-sensorially. Through selective consumption they were bound to produce some innovative behaviours. In the second phase the material culture of landscape re-definition, building forms, new mortuary rites, created and sustained colonial lifeways. This second phase of material culture was much more public than individual, in the sense that it was experienced by many, if not

all. However, the relationship between colonial material culture and colonial domination may well have been disguised. Introduced material culture in the form of high status ceramics, foodstuffs, classically-styled buildings and prescribed funerary rites were meant to be indicators of a cultural superiority to be aspired to, rather than symbols of repression (Morley 2010, 133). They constituted a colonial template or *habitus*, promoted as the aspirational norm by the colonizer. Manifestations of resistance depended, in part, on perceiving this disguise for the euphemism it was. Different forms of resistance were pertinent to the different phases. In the first phase resistance was displayed by aversion, by refusal, by breakage and, in the case of coinage, defacing or melting down. In the second phase most commonly by various attitudes of non-compliance, including ironic mimicry, sly civility, theft, apathy, linguistic choice, feigned incomprehension and ritual exaggerations (Comaroff 1985; Wolski 2001).

It is important also to consider the episodes of late prehistoric immigration in Britain, whether involving settlers or colonizers, that preceded Roman intervention – the Gallo-Belgic and the Atrebatic, and no doubt other instances that were unrecorded by classical authors and difficult to identify in the archaeological record. There can be little doubt that there were other episodes. Caesar's comments on the Belgae (BG V, 12), make it clear that they raided first, then settled and farmed, sometime in the first half of the first century BC. Some monuments in the study area, such as the Westhampnett cemetery, the temple at Hayling Island, and the warrior-burial at North Bersted all evidence continental characteristics and strongly suggest movements of immigrants, by agreement or forcibly, into southern Britain. However, apart from these diagnostic sites, the mechanisms for sustaining their Gallo-Belgic potentially colonial presences, and putatively asserting their domination of neighbouring local elites, are harder to identify. Certainly it appears that colonial control was not effected so much by the imposition of colonial culture in the form of built monuments or widely disseminated material culture, as in the Roman example, unless the introduction of different Gallo-Belgic coinages, ceramics or isolated examples such as the Silchester Late Iron Age street grid and rectangular buildings were significant. Control must have been effected also by other means. Perhaps by the control of material things that have not survived archaeologically, such as a captured servile population, livestock or agricultural produce, or perhaps by the capture and manipulation of indigenous ritual practices.

Consumption of material culture, especially in respect of the colonization of Britain by the Roman Empire, has been viewed as vital to the colonial project (Morley 2010, 75). It does seem clear that the Romans understood the role of material culture in the colonial process, especially at the frontier, in Middle Ground Colonialism, prior to direct Roman annexation. This assertion is justified from the comments of Caesar and Diodorus Siculus quoted in Chapter 5. It is also very likely that they had some knowledge of indigenous bartering and gift exchange practices, and knew that Roman commodities could undergo transformations in use and value once they travelled beyond the limits of Roman rule. In other words, even successful Roman generals like Caesar had to be an occasional ethnographer, to understand the motivations of the enemy. It was the nature of Middle Ground Colonialism (White 1991) however, that these understandings, on both sides, were likely to be imperfect. The fundamental point is that Julius Caesar had already appreciated that certain types of material culture could move people's minds.

I have already commented (Chapter 1) on the simple distinction, extant throughout the timeframe of this thesis, between material culture made by and retained by the colonized, either individually or with others, and that gifted to, or acquired by barter or purchase from the colonizer, or forced on the indigenous by the colonial agents. The involvement of person and thing is clearly of a different order if that person made the object, than if that person acquired an object ready-made. If the object, whether small, like a pot, or large, like a round-house, is self-made then there is a knowing historic relationship between maker and made that emerges during fabrication and ages in time, as well the continuance of that relationship through usage, bodily affordances (Knappett 2005, 47) and periodic maintenance and repairs. If the object is gifted from a neighbouring community then there may be other associations of reciprocity, perhaps competitively edged, and connections with the spirit of the giver. If the object is acquired from a colonial agent, or imposed by the same, through whatever means, there are different, sometimes asymmetrical, associations of domination, resistance, and recognition of some colonial norms, symbolically materialized in ready-made form. These observations illustrate that the origin, manufacture and continuing lifeways of material culture can be very significant. They are reified by colonial exchanges and generate knowingly different ideological and material *habitus*.

If encouraging consumption of material culture, or its deliberate and forcible imposition, was crucial to the ancient colonial endeavour (Dietler 2005, 65) then given the large extent of the Roman Empire, the slowness of communications and the uncertainties of transport, the colonial commodities that did arrive in southern Britain must have been a pale reflection of those available in the metropole. In addition, given the small number of colonial officials and the need to construct edifices through indigenous or predecessor labour, the types of colonial buildings erected must have been compromised and hybrid. A watered-down offering of western Roman culture was thus introduced to southern Britain, and this was diluted still further by the inherent lack of regularization at colonial frontiers. Colonial encounters for the indigenous were more likely with informal agents of colonialism, such as Gallo-Belgic traders, foreign (not necessarily Italic) soldiers and immigrant opportunists than with the colonial authorities themselves. There is plenty of historical evidence from more recent colonialism that the territory of Middle Ground Colonialism was likely to be inhabited by a maverick and lawless collection of groups. In 19th century Fiji Derrick (1950) describes some of the first Europeans as stubborn, uncouth, depraved, and prone to treachery, murder and fraud. In addition, as this thesis has argued, material culture, as it crosses cultural boundaries, is likely to be transformed, functionally and symbolically (Dietler 2007, 229).

A singularly important result of colonialism was the gradual reification of different ways of living, both a discursive and non-discursive appreciation of the existence of distinctive *habitus*. Ethnicity is an aspect of a relationship, and not the property of an individual group; it only becomes real when one group is in contact with another (Eriksen 2002, 10). Much the same might be said about the perceptions of *habitus*. The history of missionary penetration in Southern Africa demonstrates that local leaders were very astute in appreciating , and negotiating, the differences between two very different cultures (Comaroff 1996). Uncontrolled mimesis of clothing styles in frontier areas gave rise to a bricolage of extraordinary Tswana tailoring. The creative couture of the indigenous, mixing colonialism and local elements of attire in the same garment, was as blatant a riposte to the symbolic imperialism of the mission, as it was absurd and dangerously promiscuous to the colonial authorities. The particular European styled suit made entirely from leopard skin worn by Chief Sechele in the mid-19th century must have been unnerving to colonial agents (Comaroff 1996, 31). As must have been

to British administrators the presence of a Tongan Chief in 'black frock coat, white ducks, patent leather shoes and peaked cloth cap' (Derrick 1950, 188). The sight of Roman troops on Hadrian's Wall wearing the local *birrus Britannicus* may have been equally thought-provoking to those in the Roman metropole.

Finally, the impact of Roman colonialism on the Romans themselves was profound. Just as the emergence of various hybridities was impossible to control in distant provinces, so too the massive influx of slaves to the imperial heartlands, especially from the western provinces, changed the nature of the basis of Roman society, not least through the adoption of slave-run agricultural estates. The ideological values of Republican austerity crumbled when the avaricious instincts of some generals and politicians plundered provincial resources. Culturally too Rome was a victim. By the Age of Augustus, the cultural heritage of the Greeks was becoming firmly established in the metropole. In the words of Horace (*Epistles*, 2.1.156), *'captive Greece took her savage victor captive'*. Ultimately the metropole was, to some extent, threatened by unfamiliar material culture more than the periphery. If only because the influx of many new provincial goods, ideas, and vast numbers of slaves were generally welcomed uncritically at the centre, rather than being viewed circumspectly at the edges of Empire. The colonial process ultimately resulted in cultural heterogeneity in the capital. Likewise in the provinces a great variety of different 'Roman identities' and 'Roman cultures' came into being, all hybrids, all sharing some elements in common but all having singular characteristics (Morley 2010, 114). Material culture, initially so instrumental to the maintenance of colonial cohesion, was also the unintended but creative force in cultivating continuing differences both at the core and peripheries of Empire.

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Appendix 1: Timeline for the study area from c.100BC to AD200

Date Range	Colonial Encounter	Site	Key Names	Material Culture
c.100BC	'Abandonment' of The Trundle; immigration of Gallic community who cremate dead at Westhampnett until c50BC	The Trundle; Westhampnett; Hayling Island Temple (simple rectangular enclosure)	Belgae; Diviciacus of the Suessiones; Bellovaci (all previous Gallo-Belgic immigrant groups/colonizers)	First imported Gallo-Belgic coins arrived prior to this date; first amphorae on the Isle of Wight; earliest British coins
c.50sBC	Atrebatic colonization under Commius.	North Bersted 'warrior burial'; first main phase of Hayling Island Temple?	Commius (of the Gallo-Belgic Atrebates); Caesar's conquest of Gaul	More imported coins; and immediate British derivatives
c.20BC	Feasting? remains from ditch at Fishbourne; imported pottery in Chichester – potentially a new immigrant presence	First settlements at Fishbourne and Chichester. Chichester Dykes	Tincomarus (British Atrebates) reaches agreement with first Emperor Augustus	Arretine pottery from Italy; local coinage carries Latin legends. Pig feasts at Fishbourne
cAD20	Potential cessation of elite contacts at Fishbourne and Chichester	Deliberate in-filling of boundary ditch at Fishbourne; potential lull in activity at Hayling Island Temple	Tincomarus Verica (Atrebates)	Less imported material culture from Continent
AD43+	Roman annexation of most of southern Britain. Establishment, or re-establishment of Atrebatic client kingdom under Togidubnus	Earliest buildings at Fishbourne; first timber buildings in Chichester; levelling of Chichester Dykes. Second main phase at Hayling Island Temple	Togidubnus (Atrebates); Roman annexation, under Emperor Claudius, of much of southern Britain (excluding client kingdom)	Imported Gallo-Belgic pottery, and local copies. First Roman imperial coins in quantity

Date Range	Colonial Encounter	Site	Key Names	Material Culture
AD75	Death of Togidubnus; Roman annexation of former client kingdom. Onset of direct Roman rule.	Flavian Palace at Fishbourne; investment in colonial infrastructure of streets, drains, baths etc in Chichester; first cremation cemeteries at Chichester	Take-over of client kingdom under Emperor Vespasian, the first of the Flavian Dynasty of Roman Emperors	Imported samian pottery – one of the material culture markers of Roman colonialism. Elite Roman diet at Fishbourne
2nd century AD	Modifications to Fishbourne Roman Palace suggest the complex may have passed from colonial or provincial ownership to private hands	Continued development of Roman Chichester, but areas of stagnation on eastern side; Chichester cemeteries continue; first basic villas to the north of Chichester; less intensive use of Hayling Island Temple	Establishment of fixed frontiers to the Roman province of *Britannia* by Emperor Hadrian, e.g. Hadrian's Wall	Elite foods, such as venison noted at Fishbourne in the preceding 'Palace' period no longer apparent. The study area now shares in more normative cultural profiles of the province

Appendix 2: List of Figures

1. The study area, showing the central location of Chichester (City Walls - ▢ - similarly marked on all study area maps in this thesis) and Fishbourne Roman Palace, set largely against the drift geology. The several peninsulas or 'islands', at the bottom of the land-mass, are indicated. The detached area of sand and clay at the bottom of the map shows that Selsey was effectively a tidal offshore island during the Late Iron Age and Roman periods. The white area at the top of the map represents the solid chalk and the most elevated areas of the topography. To the south lies the coastal plain. The dark brown 'clay, silt, sand and gravel' flanking the water-courses provide some indication of the wetter areas, two thousand years ago.

2. Map of Late Iron Age 'tribes' in southern Britain, with the study area marked by the small, bordered rectangle (from Cunliffe 2005, Fig. 8.1). The major 'tribal' names have been added to the map, but specific boundaries of those tribes wisely omitted. Note the location of Calleva (Silchester) the northern 'capital' of the Atrebates. The southern 'capital' Chichester is within the study area.

3. Aerial photograph, from the study area, of the hillfort known as The Trundle, on the Downs to the north of Chichester. The outer bank and ditch belong to the Middle Iron Age hillfort (thought to have been 'abandoned' c100BC); the much slighter curving inner bank belong to a much earlier Neolithic monument known as a 'causewayed camp'. The intensive use of this location in the Middle Iron Age demonstrates the knowing re-use of 'special sites' in the landscape, and the persistence of some spatially-specific traditions and significances. See Chapter 4 for discussion. (Image courtesy of English Heritage).

4. The reconstruction from the study area shows the early Roman town of Chichester, say at about AD100. The amphitheatre (bottom left) is outside of the town, while Fishbourne Roman Palace lies isolated, and off to the east (at the top of the illustration). The impression, exaggerated through the bird's eye viewpoint, is of an ordered rectangularity of architecture, with neat, tiled roofs; the reality, on the ground, was probably more disordered, and less maintained. For a fuller discussion see Chapter 4. (Image by Mike Codd; copyright Chichester District Council).

5. Distribution of Atrebatic coins – Atrebatic B, Commius, Tincommius (Tincomarus) and Verica (from Cunliffe 2005, Fig. 7.16). The distributions of coins of different rulers is one of the principal ways in which the possible extent of a 'tribal' territory, or perhaps more loosely influence, can be evaluated. Despite problems of interpretation of distributed data of this kind, the concentration of coins in the study area seems real enough.

6. Views southwards from The Trundle. The head of the Chichester Channel, at Fishbourne Roman Palace (yellow symbol), and the position of the Middle Iron Age settlement at Chalkpit Lane settlement are marked (red symbol). It is conceivable that the Middle Iron Age hillfort of The Trundle was a nodal point in indigenous networks of surveillance, prior to any subsequent episodes of immigration or colonial control. Significantly, views to the hillfort may have been just as important as views from it.

7. The Middle Iron Age settlement at Westhampnett. Note the five identified circular structures – (round-houses), with entrances facing south or south-east; the square structures (possibly granaries) and the long, rectangular byre(?) to the south-west of the houses. (After Fitzpatrick et al 2008, Figure 63, p.143).

along with an imitation Gallo-Belgic platter, that probably functioned incongruously as a lid over a cooking pot. (From Manley and Rudkin 2005).

21. Pig-feasting among the Ifugao in the Philippines.

22. This silver coin of the Atrebatic Chief Verica dates to the decade AD10-20. Note the depiction of a boar on the reverse – a common Celtic iconographic element. It is conceivable that the relatedness of wild boar/domesticated pig, and the powerful attributes and qualities of such animals, informed a Gallic/Atrebatic boar/pig cult as evidenced at Chanctonbury (see Rudling 2001, 115ff).

23. A samian cup and oyster shells from the gully at Fishbourne.

24. A Gallo-Belgic gold stater from the Morini tribe of coastal north-west Gaul (65-45BC) of 'uniface' (blank obverse) design; from Selsey (Barbican House Museum, Lewes).

25. Three gold quarter staters of Tincomarus from Selsey. The obverses all have Latin inspired legends, while the reverses depict horses. Williams (2007) argues that the Latin on Late Iron Age coins indicates an active and understood indigenous usage of the language. Average diameter 9mm (Barbican House Museum, Lewes). The way the Latin is displayed, however, bears little resemblance to Roman coinage; rather it resembles more the putative names of producers stamped on contemporary fine ceramics and amphorae.

26. Distribution of Late Iron Age coin finds in the study area. The dark green lines in the centre of the map indicate the position of the Chichester Dykes or Entrenchments. (The Key is the same as in Figure 1).

27. A bronze *sestertius* of the Emperor Claudius from Chichester. The obverse depicts the Emperor's head, the reverse the figure of SPES, or hope, good fortune. The letters SC refer to *Senatus Consulto*, coinage issued with the authority of the Roman Senate. (Chichester Museum). Diameter approx. 30mm.

28. Distribution of first and second century coins in the study area. The dark green lines in the centre of the map indicate the position of the Chichester Dykes or Entrenchments. (The Key is the same as in Figure 1).

29. Contrasting coins – Late Iron Age Catuvellaunian stater (top row); bronze *sestertius* of Hadrian (bottom row) – both found in Chichester.

30. A 4th century BC stater of Macedonian King Phillip II – diameter 17mm; the Head is that of Apollo, with curls and laurel wreath. This is the type of coin which some authors suggest provided the indirect inspiration for the Late Iron Age coinage of Britain. A gold stater from East Wittering in the study area (diameter approx. 15mm). The obverse (left) is abstracted from the laureated Head of Apollo, ultimately on Macedonian coins; the horse is on the reverse (right).

31. In this Figure the upper row of coins are all Roman; the middle coin and lower row, all indigenous. A coin of Tincomarus (centre) illustrates a seated horse rider, thrusting a spear downwards. The Atrebatic ruler used the imagery of the first Emperor Augustus to link his authority with that of Rome (From Creighton 2000).

32. A Republican silver *denarius* from Fishbourne Roman Palace. Many of these older coins were still in circulation during the first century AD. This one depicts the head of Medusa. (Collections Discovery Centre -Fishbourne Roman Palace).

33. Low denomination Roman coins. A bronze as (upper row – diameter 26mm) and a copper quadrans (lower row – diameter 15mm) of the Emperor Caligula (AD37-41) found in Chichester (Chichester Museum)

34. A Korean key-holder decorated with the copper coins called *yeopjon* of the Joseon dynasty. The coin was introduced in 1638 and was Korea's first universal currency. It was intended to encourage commercial transactions, but its intended use could be

subverted. Here the coins decorate part of a bride's dowry. Roman coinage could be similarly converted to cultural rather than mercantile ends. (From Won Yu Han 2006).

35. The upper two coins are Gallo-Belgic gold staters; the bottom two early British un-inscribed gold staters. Three were found at Selsey, one (upper right) from Poling (just to the east of the study area). (Barbican House Museum, Lewes)

36. The study area showing the key burial sites in the Late Iron Age and early Roman periods, and the different types of burial. The Chichester Dykes are marked by east-west lines north of Fishbourne. (The background geology is depicted in grayscale, but is the same as in Figure 1).

37. Grave 20196 from Westhampnett, illustrating the jar-bowl combination of grave goods found in some of the graves. In front of the two vessels lies some of the un-urned cremated bone of an unsexed adult. (From Fitzpatrick 1997).

38. The various cemeteries on the small hill at Westhampnett. The distance across the site is about 80 metres. Note how the graves of successive periods of the dead respect the earlier graves. The round-house? is symbolized by a central open space around which the Late Iron Age cremations (shown as a scatter of light pink marks) are distributed. The Bronze Age ring-ditch (grey circle) seems to have first marked this hill out as a place of burial. Roman graves are shown in green and Saxon in blue. The grey linear feature cutting across the Late Iron Age cemetery is probably a later medieval field boundary. (From Fitzpatrick 1997).

39. The warrior inhumation at North Bersted. Note the helmet and lattice work, possibly covering for the shield, at the centre of the image, and the smashed pottery near the foot of the skeleton. (Image courtesy of Thames Valley Archaeological Services).

40. A Late Iron Age warrior depicted on the reverse of a gold stater of Verica of the Atrebates. There is a shield behind the warrior's back, and a peaked helmet. The image is reminiscent of the North Bersted warrior. (From Sealey 2007a).

41. An excavation photograph from the St Pancras cemetery, just outside of the East Gate of Roman Chichester. There are three graves here in close proximity, suggesting that some above-ground marker must have existed. The larger upright jars contain the cremated remains of the deceased. (From Down 1971).

42. Note that Group 1 burials, comprised of single vessels derived from Atrebatic antecedents, lie in the northern area of the site, the furthest from Stane Street. Group 4 burials, containing more Romanized forms, lie close to Stane Street. (From Hayden forthcoming).

43. The grave goods from Grave 245 at St Pancras. Note the large grey Rowlands Castle urn, which would have contained some of the ashes of the deceased. Note also the paired samian vessels.

44. The paired samian vessels from Grave 245. Both carry potters' stamps in the bottom, and may be some indication of a degree of literacy (or appreciation of its power) by the dead and the mourners. The wear marks in at the bottom of the vessels suggests actual use, perhaps by the deceased.

45. There were other miniature vessels in the graves, and this pot comes from Grave 231.

46. A neonate burial (2552) from the excavation at the Shippams Factory site on the east side of Roman Chichester. The burial dates from the second century AD. Baby burials are probably underestimated in the archaeological record since, due to the small size of the bones, they are sometimes not recognized during excavation. (From Taylor 2008).

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