The Roman Object Revolution

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The Roman Object Revolution

OBJECTSCAPES AND INTRA-CULTURAL CONNECTIVITY IN NORTHWEST EUROPE

MARTIN PITTS

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Preface

This study addresses a major step-change in Eurasian history: the revolutionary boom in standardised objects at the start of the Roman era. Was it really a revolution? The new object-rich environments that emerged matter greatly for how we understand the transition from Iron Age to Roman Europe. They embody major changes in everyday life and social display, from eating and drinking to bodily adornment and the treatment of the dead; they tell stories of cultural transformation through innovative styles of consumption that relied on new combinations of 'things'; and they reveal new fault lines of regionalism, status, wealth, inequality, and knowledge amongst nascent Roman provincial communities. The object boom did not simply come about through the presence of Roman merchants, soldiers, and colonists, nor did it happen only after conquest. Northern European Iron Age communities were active participants rather than accidental consumers caught at the fringes of the Mediterranean net, despite the popular image of princely 'barbarian' graves filled with Italian wine containers and other exotica. The beginnings of object standardisation were well underway in northwest Europe before the arrival of Rome, with the spread of the potter's wheel, and the appearance of fibulae with pan-regional distributions. Roman expansion greatly intensified these developments, with an influx of new people, production technologies, commodities, styles, and customs. The Roman influx of standardised objects was not the end of the story, however. A second watershed involving synchronous transformation in the make-up of object-worlds in the last decades of the first century AD saw the object revolution undergo a major reinvigoration, with significant long-term ramifications for provincial societies.

By considering standardised objects, their stylistic innovations, distributions, local combinations, and changing social uses, this book contributes to a new kind of history in which 'things' take centre-stage. A great deal has been written on the historical scenario in which Rome established dominion over the 'barbarian' societies of northwest Europe, beginning with the campaigns of Julius Caesar in the 50s BC. Rather than re-tell this story fleshed out with archaeological finds, I have pushed narratives of battles and territorial advance into the background. By exploring the emerging riches of archaeological data on the styles, uses, and associations of a plethora of objects, this book has a different approach to such traditional history, and tells a different story. A core aim is to compare combinations of objects as they were placed together in graves and settlements by people in the past – in effect to re-constitute the basis of what I have termed past 'objectscapes' – rather than examining individual classes of artefacts in isolation (e.g. only looking at *terra sigillata* pottery). This kind of approach is essential for an anthropological perspective that seeks to understand the selections and uses of objects in the past. As such, this study would not be possible without decades of dedicated work by archaeologists and especially pottery and finds specialists, who have painstakingly compiled the raw data on which this research is based.

To do justice to the potential of objects to shed light on Iron Age to Roman northwest Europe, I have adopted an explicitly comparative perspective. This not only entails breaking down the artificial boundaries that separate prehistory from history, but also transcending the modern nation-state boundaries that have fostered different and often separate regional traditions in the study of archaeological data, often to the detriment of comparison. If later Iron Age societies exerted a major influence on the development of early Roman landscapes, cityscapes, and objectscapes, equivalent influence should be expected to have passed between neighbouring provinces that shared connections before and after conquest. While writing this book it has become increasingly apparent that to properly appreciate the significance of material culture in early Roman Britain (for example), archaeologists not only need a detailed knowledge of pre-

ceding Iron Age developments, but also parallel understandings of connected societies in Gallia Belgica and on the Rhine axis (and vice versa).

This book seeks to overcome some of the obstacles to cross-regional and inter-provincial perspectives on material culture in the northwest Roman empire. Rather than providing a comprehensive account, it attempts a context-sensitive and object-centred analysis of the bigger picture and detailed site-based evidence, using some of the best quality data currently available. The database that forms the basis of this research takes in over 100 archaeological sites and cemeteries, over 3250 grave assemblages, and over 80,000 objects in total, all confidently dated to the period c. 120/100 BC – AD 100/120. This sample is of course partial in certain respects. I privileged better-published sites and classes of archaeological material for which contextual analysis is possible, while striving for a sample that is representative and balanced in terms of its geographic and temporal coverage. Accepting the limitations of archaeological data is important, but not to the point of impeding progress. As pointed out by Greg Woolf in his preface to *Becoming Roman* (1998), archaeological data are by their very nature incomplete, but there is little point in collecting it in the first place if works of broader analysis and synthesis are not attempted.

The research underpinning this book has had a long genesis, and it would not be possible without the help and support of many people. In the first place, it develops some ideas that formed during my doctoral studies in the Department of Archaeology at the University of York (2002-5), where my supervisors Dominic Perring and Steve Roskams provided much inspiration, and James Barrett introduced me to multivariate statistics. The idea of a comparative pottery-driven project spanning Britain and Gaul originated as a research proposal for postdoctoral study, for which Colin Haselgrove and David Mattingly provided valuable input in 2006. Elena Isayev has been a mentor for over a decade at the University of Exeter and must take the credit for introducing me to the world of Chinese porcelain. I was fortunate to meet Miguel John Versluys in Amsterdam in 2008, and since then our work together on globalisation and objectscapes (a term I borrow from him) has transformed my outlook on the Roman world and its material culture. Working with Astrid Van Oyen convinced me of the need to confront some ingrained assumptions about approaching material culture, as well as opening my eyes to exciting new possibilities. I benefited greatly from working with Tamar Hodos on a much larger project concerning the role of objects in longer-term histories of globalisation. My indebtedness to Miguel John, Astrid, and Tamar can be seen in the volumes *Globalisation and the Roman World* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), *Materialising Roman Histories* (Oxbow, 2017), and *The Routledge Handbook of Archeology and Globalization* (Routledge, 2017), which had no small impact on shaping the approach and arguments in this monograph. Dominic, Astrid, and the members of Miguel John's NWO VICI project 'Innovating objects: the impact of global connections and the formation of the Roman empire' at Leiden University all generously commented on the draft text, for which it is much stronger.

A big challenge in writing this book was to build up a robust body of data. To this end, the College of Humanities and Department of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Exeter generously provided study leave in 2015/16. The project benefited immensely from running alongside the AHRC-funded network 'Big Data on the Roman Table' which I co-led with Pim Allison. I extend special thanks to Xavier Deru, who kindly sent reports and drew my attention to relevant literature from Belgium, France and Luxembourg. His typology of Gallo-Belgic wares proved to be enormously useful in aiding comparisons drawn across multiple provinces and national archaeological traditions. Likewise, I am grateful to Harry van Enckevort and Rien Polak for sending digital data and information from Nijmegen, including the Kops Plateau, which provides an important case-study in Chapter 3. I also thank Edward Biddulph (Oxford Archaeology), Thomas Cadbury (Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter), Glynn Davis (Colchester and Ipswich Museums), Annelies Koster (Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen), Harry van Enckevort (Municipality of Nijmegen), and David Thorold (Verulamium Museum) for their assistance in helping me locate suitable images. All elevation maps (Figs. 1.6, 2.3, 2.5, 3.1, 4.5, and 5.4) are produced in ArcGIS using the Ancient World Mapping Centre's 'carte_background' and 'ba_roads.shp' files, available

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I dedicate this book to Jess and Orson.

A list of common abbreviations used in tables and figures is as follows:

GB – Gallo-Belgic ware
hand. – handmade pottery
ISS – Italian-style *terra sigillata*
LY – Lyon ware or colour-coated pottery
SGS – south Gaulish *terra sigillata*
TN – *terra nigra*
TR – *terra rubra*
TS – *terra sigillata*
TW – thin-walled ware
vs – vessels
wheel. – wheelthrown pottery

1 Standardised objects as historical agents

1.1 THE GENEALOGY OF THE SAUCER

Consider the saucer. For most of my life I have taken saucers for granted, as one of many objects encountered in the routine of everyday life. Without thinking too hard, I associate saucers with cups, drinking tea, and a vague sense of Englishness. Thinking a little harder, I realise these associations are historically contingent. Around four centuries ago, very few people in Europe had tasted tea, let alone drank it using a cup and saucer. How did this familiar association of saucers, cups, and tea come into being? A clue is provided in the records of the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, or VOC) of 1645, detailing the specifications and quantities of Chinese porcelain deemed likely to sell in the port of Mocha (now Yemen):

> *50,000 flat small dishes as large as a tasting-dish without foot, some with and also some without a small rim as thick as a straw at the base, to be used to hand over thereon the small, fine, newly-devised tea-cups which nowadays is a habit among the Turks; together with the coffee-cups they could bring in 3 R. p.c., or 7500 reals*[1]

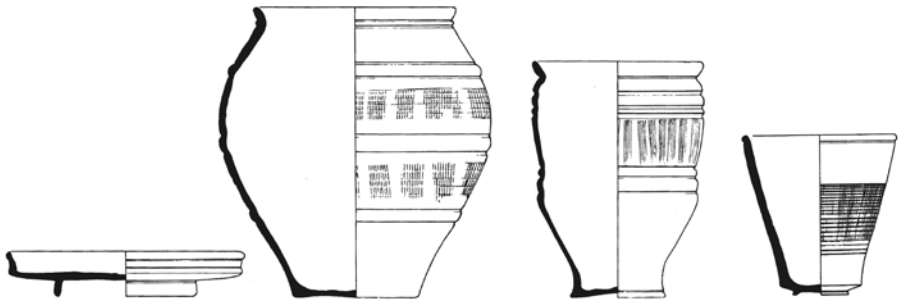
Volker, from whose book *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company* I take this example, considered this to be the first reference for the now ubiquitous cup-and-saucer combination, which he believed to be a Turkish innovation of 1645, or shortly before. Since the English lagged behind the Dutch in the trade of tea and porcelain from China, it was probably not until several decades later in the early 18th century that the popular practice of drinking tea with a cup-and-saucer combination really took off in England.[2] This brief example demonstrates how cultural practices often rely on combinations of standardised objects that are the products of highly specific historical circumstances and connections. The genealogy of what is now seen as a quintessentially English practice probably not only involved the appropriation of a Turkish custom, but was dependent on the global trade networks of the English East India Company to obtain tea and the porcelain vessels from China necessary for polite consumption – and all of this in some sense physically embodied by the mundane saucer. It follows that paying closer attention to seemingly humdrum standardised objects – objects which nevertheless would often travel hundreds or thousands of miles from the source of their manufacture – has great potential to shed new light on the past. Can the same be said of standardised objects in the Roman era, roughly two millennia ago?

1.2 THE BRIGHT RED PLATE AT THE FUNERAL

The first documented European encounter with the saucer and its later mass appropriation is a powerful example of how a chain of long-distance material exchanges turned an alien object into something that has become deeply familiar and mundane. Of course, deep-rooted changes like this did not simply occur overnight. It would take several decades for the cup-and-saucer combination to take root in European

[1] Volker 1954, 100.

[2] Godden 1979, 19.



Type:	Cons. 18	P20	P29	Ob. 37 (derivative)
Form:	platter	butt-beaker	girth-beaker	conical beaker
Fabric:	*terra sigillata*	grog-tempered	*terra rubra*	grog-tempered
Provenance:	Lyon (La Muette)	local	Reims	local
Design:	Italy (Arezzo)	N. Gaul	N. Gaul	N. Italy

Figure 1.1. Finds from grave 328 at King Harry Lane, St. Albans, c. 15 BC-AD 30 (after Stead/Rigby 1989, 364).

society as a routine custom for the mass consumption of tea and coffee, as we shall see later in this chapter. At this point, however, a comparative example from the Roman world may serve to reinforce the message and illustrate the transformative power of standardised objects in moments of historical change. Let us now consider a single episode in the early spread of standardised bright red Italian-style *terra sigillata* pots in northwest Europe – a phenomenon considered to be directly analogous to the European obsession with Chinese porcelain in the 17th and 18th centuries.[3]

Sometime in the decades after Julius Caesar's inconclusive campaigns that brought part of southern Britain under Roman influence, if not direct control, an Italian-style *terra sigillata* plate was placed alongside the cremated remains of a young person of indeterminate sex. The plate was stamped with the serial name 'Ateius' and was probably made at a branch workshop at Lyon (La Muette).[4] It was accompanied by three other pottery vessels (Fig. 1.1). The grave in question was one of over seventy excavated in the earliest phase of the large King Harry Lane cemetery at St. Albans,[5] most likely dated to the turn of the first millennium (c. 15 BC – AD 30), and adjacent to the settlement that would later become the Roman town of Verulamium. While the standardised *sigillata* plate, of type Conspectus 18, was comparatively rare in late Iron Age Britain, it was one of the most common types in circulation in northwest Europe at the time. Very little else about this grave stands out, at least at first glance. It is not especially well-furnished in either the quality or quantity of objects present. The other pots in the grave take the guise of large beakers, which are typical for the cemetery. At face value, everything points to the chance incorporation of a stray imported Italian-style plate as an item of exotica in an otherwise thoroughly late Iron Age funerary practice. What is wrong with this interpretation?

To explore further, let us first consider the other three vessels found in the grave in more detail. In the first place, the *sigillata* plate is not the only import present. It was accompanied by a girth beaker of standardised design that had been produced across the Channel in the new Roman province of Gallia Belgica. While this vessel was made in an orange-red Gallo-Belgic fabric called *terra rubra*, a technologically inferior imitation of *terra sigillata*, its shape as a large and elaborately decorated drinking vessel sug-

[3] For example, Reece 1988, 8; Cool 2006a, 157-8; Pitts 2013, 2015, 80-88.

[4] For a recent summary of debates on the relationship between *sigillata* workshops associated with Ateius in Lyon and Italy, see Van Oyen 2015, 286.

[5] Stead/Rigby 1989. The grave in question is 328.

gests that its design owed much more to northern European inspiration. Capacious beakers associated with the conspicuous or communal consumption of alcohol in northern Europe were virtually absent from the *terra sigillata* repertoire, which was instead geared towards the world of Mediterranean dining and dominated by smaller cups and platters. In a similar vein, the second vessel found with the *sigillata* plate is an even larger butt-beaker, this time made in local grog-tempered fabric, but crucially in a standardised shape that replicated another innovative vessel in circulation in northern Gaul in the late Augustan period.[6] The last of the three is a beaker of conical design, also made of local grog-tempered ware, seemingly completing the overarching emphasis on large drinking vessels in the assemblage. However, not only is this vessel unique in the King Harry Lane cemetery, its shape imitates another standardised continental design, not from Gallia Belgica, but instead an Italian thin-walled ware beaker that is seldom found outside of Augustan-Tiberian Roman military bases in northwest Europe.[7]

Why do the design and provenance of the beakers found with the *terra sigillata* plate in King Harry Lane grave 328 matter? All four vessels collectively embody, either directly or through careful local imitation, each of the three major innovative repertoires of *standardised* pottery that had begun to circulate in northwest Europe from the Augustan period – Italian-style *terra sigillata*, thin-walled wares, and Gallo-Belgic wares. As we shall see later in this book (Chapter 3), each of these repertoires had separate origins and tended to occur in specific configurations at different locations in continental Europe. The diverse genealogies of the beakers in the grave underline that the *terra sigillata* plate was not so unique or exotic after all. It was instead symptomatic of a series of material exchanges that connected the selections of objects in the grave to the 'objectscapes' of northern Gaul, the Rhineland, and even as far away as northern and central Italy. Not only were these objects deliberately selected in preference to those of local design that were more common in the cemetery, but two of the designs had been manufactured locally to a high-degree of precision so that they could be typologically connected to objects produced in far-away places: the new standardised continental designs of pottery clearly mattered to the buriers.

Taken together, the contents of grave 328 present a globalising scenario in which the design, production, and selection of objects was framed by deliberate engagement with circulating styles and objects whose origins were anything but local, instead deriving from multiple distant (but above all) *connected* localities.[8] While it may seem paradoxical, this statement does not contradict the idea that the contents of the grave, dominated by what appear to be large drinking vessels, can be placed firmly in the traditions of later Iron Age feasting in southeast Britain. In this context, it would be somewhat wide of the mark to claim that the presence of the *sigillata* plate represents an ideologically-driven attempt to create a Roman image, either of the deceased, or those responsible for the funeral. While the assemblage is dominated by beakers, the selection of a plate is likewise unremarkable, with 25 such vessels in this phase of cemetery, most of which being imitations of *sigillata* forms in either Gallo-Belgic or local fabrics. Instead, much like the example of the saucer, the ensemble of objects in the grave highlights a high degree of local

6 Deru 1996, form P20. This vessel held the cremated remains of the deceased.

7 Brulet/Vilvorder/Delage 2010, 300-302, type Oberaden 37 (compare Fig. 3.4, this volume). The vessel in grave 328 features a developed footring recalling thin-walled type Ob. 39, whereas its decoration closely parallels type Ob. 35. Vessels with similar typological features can be seen in the pedestal beaker series in Gallo-Belgic wares (i.e. KL1-5; Deru 1996), which was more directly influenced by the potting practices of Roman military communities on the Rhine. The most likely conduit for the design to have reached potters in Britain is therefore through intermediaries in Gallia Belgica.

8 The grave in question is included in correspondence analysis in Chapter 3, Fig. 3.21 (KHL328). Note that it is an outlier that is roughly equidistant between three major clusters of grave assemblages: those from southeast Britain (where the butt-beaker types are more common); those from Gallia Belgica (where girth-beakers are more common); and those associated with military communities and fledgling urban centres (where thin-walled wares and *terra sigillata* are more common).

agency in selecting elements from wider circulating repertoires that offered the best fit with local needs and practices.

There are many implications that can be taken from the examples of the *china* saucer and the *terra sigillata* plate. Both cases make it abundantly clear that historical studies of localities in isolation are inherently partial. To fully appreciate the local significance of material culture it must be studied in the context of much wider patterns of circulation and genealogy. These tenets are especially applicable to the early Roman and early modern periods, as globalising moments in world history that were characterised by, amongst other things, an influx of *standardised* objects that moved over ever-increasing distances, and formed the basis of truly pan-regional frames of reference, which had no small impact on the development of local object-worlds.[9] Why did the movement of standardised objects suddenly come to matter, and what exactly was their impact on the various societies that used and reproduced them? To do justice to these questions, we must examine the big picture of multiple localities in new ways, as 'objectscapes' transformed by sudden surges in pan-regional connectivity.

1.3 BACK TO THE BIG PICTURE: ON GLOBALISATION AND ROMAN CONNECTIVITY

The big picture has always mattered to modern understandings of the Roman world. From Hollywood to political discourse on the future of Europe, the perceived universality and homogeneity of Roman culture is a source of continued fascination. However, if Rome is to serve as a robust exemplum for the present, popular notions of the Roman empire must be reinterpreted. For over a century, Roman archaeologists and historians have sought to understand the apparent forging of cultural unity across the patchwork of Eurasian societies conquered by Rome. Until the last decades of the 20th century, this scholarly fascination was often bound-up with contemporary European imperial discourse.[10] The idea of Romanisation was a synonym for the blanket civilising of passive 'native' societies encountered by Rome, with cultural innovation emanating from the empire's core to its peripheral provinces. To its benefit, recent scholarship rejects these out-dated perspectives.[11] As a result, narratives of cultural change tend to consider the stories of local communities in their regional contexts – from self-identifying groups such as the Batavi and Treveri,[12] to urban communities in their provincial contexts.[13] In these accounts, big concepts like imperialism are often given explanatory power, but are seldom investigated across larger vistas of *connected* localities that made up the Roman world. Indeed, the very success of these regional studies suggest that it is time for big picture cultural analyses to go back on the agenda.

To move beyond the perceived dichotomy of context-sensitive local approaches versus the bigger picture of a 'global' Roman world, I wish to emphasise mobility rather than regions and boundedness as an important point of departure. This entails examining the connections between territories and communities that have all too often been studied in isolation. One way of approaching these connections is to marry ideas from the study of globalisation with a methodological emphasis on the impacts of circulating objects.[14] Following benchmark applications of the concept in historical and archaeological studies,[15] I define globalisation as a condition in which marked increases in connectivity – evident in inter-regional flows of people, things and ideas, not necessarily in conjunction – foster pan-regional consciousness and shared practices. Globalisation thinking adds two crucial perspectives to studies of the Roman world

9 Pitts/Versluys 2015a, 16-18.

10 Hingley 2000; Mattingly 2011.

11 Substantial works include Woolf 1998; Wells 1999; Mattingly 2006, 2011; Wallace-Hadrill 2008; Dietler 2010; Eckardt 2014.

12 Roymans 2004 and Fernández-Götz 2014 respectively.

13 Creighton 2006; Revell 2009.

14 Pitts/Versluys 2015b, cf. Versluys 2014; Witcher 2017.

15 A.G. Hopkins 2002; Jennings 2011.

and its material culture. The first of these is to break with the insularity implicit in the writing of much 'provincial' Roman archaeology. The Roman world is not well served by a situation in which provinces are viewed through the methodological lens of modern nation-state boundaries. The persistent treatment of 'Roman Britain' as an island in isolation, for example, often fails to reflect the realities of Britannia's relationship to a connected Roman empire.[16] While Britannia was a Roman province in its own right, even the most cursory examination of material culture in southeast Britain often reveals greater similarity with northern France and Belgium than it does with the rest of England, from the late Iron Age onwards. Likewise, the tendency to separate the study of Roman military communities from their civilian counterparts can only serve to reinforce old soldier-civilian dichotomies, thus limiting scope for understanding the important contribution of military personnel in the development of provincial societies, and vice-versa. Deeper methodological acknowledgement by archaeologists and historians of the dynamics of these kinds of connectivities is long overdue.

To do justice to the application of globalisation ideas to the Roman world, Laurence and Trifilò suggest there is a need 'to shift the academic focus of the disciplines of Roman archaeology and history from a focus on region/single province study to a wider viewpoint accounting for more material'.[17] For this reason, this book addresses a single swathe of connected territory at the interface of the Roman provinces of Gallia Belgica, Britannia, and Germania Inferior, corresponding to an area presently spanned by parts of six nation-states: southern Britain, northern France, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and western Germany. As one of the more intensely studied parts of the Roman world, it may seem surprising that inter-provincial comparisons of material culture in this region are not already commonplace. While it is true that many comparisons exist,[18] and that archaeologists have a working awareness of the shared chronological horizons of standardised objects,[19] more extensive works of genuine like-for-like cross-provincial analysis and synthesis are scarce for portable artefacts that were produced and consumed *en masse*, like pottery and fibulae.

A second advantage of globalisation is that it fosters a new kind of history in which analysing the *movement* of objects between localities forms a methodological priority. Unlike concepts such as imperialism, historical studies of globalisation do not assume the *a priori* importance of institutions or mechanisms that explain the distribution of material culture and its interpretation. For example, this perspective raises the possibility of identifying pan-regional cultural networks that were independent of, or only indirectly influenced by, the Roman state. In this sense, some of the common criticisms of globalisation turn into assets, namely the uncertain location of agency in the process, and its paradoxical character as both process and outcome.[20] The study of globalisation raises important new questions about the roles of objects in historical change and requires new ways of describing and visualising archaeological data. In this vein, an emphasis on tracing the paths of objects-in-motion, for example, makes it clear that standardised objects had far from universal cultural trajectories or 'meanings', as the examples at the start of this chapter illustrate. Globalisation ideas encourage archaeologists to focus attention on the fundamental question of what objects do, rather than (only) recourse to the older question of what objects mean.[21] This subtle shift in emphasis fosters

16 These conceptions of Roman Britain's boundedness probably owe much (indirectly) to the impact of connectivity in setting the boundaries of Britain as a modern nation-state, i.e. the Channel as an obstacle for frequent exchange with mainland Europe, while simultaneously offering opportunities for longer-distance maritime connections involving bulk goods.

17 Laurence/Trifilò 2015, 99.

18 Notable examples of inter-provincial studies of material culture spanning the NW provinces include works of synthesis on epigraphy (Saller/Shaw 1984), inscriptions (Blagg 1990), the consumption of animals (King 2001), and urbanism (Laurence/Esmonde-Cleary/Sears 2011). Likewise, Willis 2011 includes brief comparisons of *terra sigillata* in Britain with those of selected locations elsewhere in the western empire.

19 Such as *terra sigillata* pottery, and its relationship with short-lived Rhine military bases like Haltern (Loeschcke 1909).

20 Morley 2015, cf. Rosenberg 2000.

21 Van Oyen/Pitts 2017a.

a more holistic and open understanding of the roles of objects in history, rather than limiting the use of material culture to proxy evidence for abstract concepts like 'economic growth' and 'social identities'. This point of view is vital for the identification of historical patterns not easily explained by existing models, and guards against falling into outdated positions that equated artefacts with 'cultures'.[22]

While it is clear that many latent possibilities exist for the study of the big picture, there are several practical obstacles to realising the potential of of circulating objects *en masse* in Roman northwest Europe. Artefacts like pottery first require careful typological analysis at a site- and regional level to fit local wares into the established chronologies of objects with interprovincial circulation, such as amphorae and *terra sigillata*. While a typology can be used to categorise pottery from a region, the typology becomes less useful the further one gets from the original type-site. As a postgraduate student, it took a month for me to learn the Chelmsford typology for Roman pottery in Essex.[23] While this typology formed the basis for a regional study of pottery consumption north of the Thames,[24] it is unsuitable for understanding Roman pottery in areas further afield. Wider artefactual comparisons rely upon the development of concordances between regional typologies. Here language forms an extra barrier. Whilst most Roman inscriptions from northwest Europe are written in Latin and therefore predisposed to universal cataloguing systems, specialist artefact reports are produced variously in Dutch, English, French, and German.

Despite obstacles to studying the phenomenon, there are nonetheless many clues that pan-regional horizons of cultural sharing existed in parts of northwest Europe long before the arrival of Rome. This is evidenced in terms of synchronous changes in similar (if not identically replicated) material practices between various communities, in which circulating objects formed common points of reference. It is attested in late Iron Age southeast Britain, for example, in the use of coinage and the selection of coin imagery, the adoption of the rite of cremation accompanied by certain forms of grave goods, the organisation of spaces for ritual, networks for the movement of Mediterranean goods, the use of the potter's wheel, and stylistic similarities in pottery production.[25] The existence of such a broad cultural milieu was of course not lost on Caesar as early as the 50s BC (as explored in Chapter 2), nor Theodore Mommsen, one of the founding fathers of Roman provincial studies, writing in 1887:

> *This nation [Britain] was to all appearances more connected than separated by the narrow arm of the sea which parts England and France; the same names of peoples meet us on the one side and on the other; the bounds of the individual states often reach over the Channel; the chief seat of the priestly system [Druidism], which here more than anywhere else pervaded the whole nationality, was from of the islands of the North Sea.*[26]

It is revealing that this quote essentially reflects the state of knowledge that may be gleaned from ancient texts written by ancient authors such as Caesar and Tacitus, rather than archaeological research, which was in its infancy at the time Mommsen was writing. At the same time, Mommsen's claim has yet to be verified at a more substantive level. To what extent did cross-Channel, pan-regional and inter-provincial connections matter in Iron Age to Roman northwest Europe, and what roles did objects play in these connections? While several researchers have broached the topic with success from an archaeological perspective, these works are often more concerned with the Iron Age than the Roman period,[27] and are badly in need of updating to consider new data and methodological approaches. Furthermore, a significant gap exists between studies that scrutinise low-resolution archaeological data *en masse* across multiple

22 Trigger 2006, 211-313 provides an excellent summary of the 'culture-historical' approach in archaeology.

23 Going 1987.

24 Perring/Pitts 2013.

25 Creighton 2000; Hill 2002; Champion 2016; Moore 2016.

26 Mommsen 1968 [1887], 182.

27 Nash 1984; Cunliffe 1988; Champion 2016. Morris 2010 takes a longer-term economic perspective, whereas Moore 2016 summarises pre- and post-conquest developments.

provinces, such as the consumption of pigs, cattle, and sheep/goat,[28] and distribution and chronology of *terra sigillata*,[29] and those undertaking more detailed contextual analysis of scarce objects with thin distributions, such as particular types of black gloss and thin-walled pottery.[30] Ultimately, doing justice to cross-provincial interaction requires a multi-scalar approach featuring the interrogation of big data to establish large-scale patterning, combined with more sensitive contextual analysis to determine the impacts of moving objects at a local level.

Taking up the challenge of the big picture without sacrificing contextual detail, this book attempts to clarify the extent, timing, and agency of pan-regional connections in the late Iron Age and early Roman northwest – as well as examining historical contexts characterised by cultural difference, and blockages in the flows of circulating objects. The study focuses on the most common varieties of standardised artefacts, notably pottery and fibulae, which are well-recorded from excavations from across northwest Europe, and for which concordances exist between the relevant modern national archaeological traditions. An emphasis on standardised objects is not only desirable for methodological convenience.[31] A major reason for privileging standardised things in a study of Roman mass consumption is that they provide a benchmark to compare the various societies and historical contexts that made use of them. Standardised ceramics and fibulae were increasingly produced *en masse* and circulated widely in northwest Europe from the Augustan period onward. Both repertoires have an innate capacity to reveal and embody cultural differences, through the selections and combinations of specific types, and their participation in different forms of social practice, including bodily adornment, eating and drinking, and their use as funerary offerings. Studied appropriately at multiple scales of analysis across a connected expanse of territory, they may also reveal something of the extent of inter-provincial shared practices in the Roman empire.

1.4 TOWARDS OBJECTSCAPES: A MULTI-SCALAR APPROACH TO OBJECTS EN MASSE

To better understand the circulations and impacts of standardised objects, from artefacts placed in individual graves to the vast numbers used across an expansive connected empire, I introduce the term 'objectscape'. For the purposes of this study, an objectscape consists of the repertoires of objects at hand in a given locality in a particular historical moment.[32] While there is some overlap between the notions of 'objectscape' and 'assemblage', an assemblage refers more specifically to a discrete and quantifiable group of artefacts, often with a direct relationship to their archaeological contexts, from the contents of a pit fill to the finds from a whole archaeological site. By contrast, objectscapes go beyond the static archaeological idea of the assemblage by emphasising the dynamic roles of objects in past societies, thus aiding the writing of material histories in which objects play vital roles in human-thing entanglements.[33] In more practical terms, the objectscape provides a starting point to use archaeological data to explore the multifarious selections and combinations of objects *en masse* at a variety of scales, placing the relationality of material culture at the centre of analysis. This perspective is especially valuable for understanding scenarios in which societies are suddenly exposed to larger networks of moving people and things. The precise configuration of object-object relations in such historical scenarios can have profound social and cultural implications,[34] as the

[28] King 1999; 2001.

[29] Mees/Polak 2013.

[30] For example, Cosyns 2015 (black glass ware) and van Enckevort 2009 (black eggshell ware).

[31] Other practical advantages of standardised objects include their general ubiquity and tendency to be easily datable in the period/region in question.

[32] For initial discussion on this concept, see Pitts 2017b, 53; Versluys 2017a, 196-199.

[33] Hodder 2012.

[34] In this way, objectscapes may be considered analogous to the notion of 'relational constellations' (Van Oyen 2016b).

examples at the start of this chapter demonstrate. Prioritising this relationality fosters better understandings of what objects did in the past, helping to evade the partial representational logic in many archaeological studies in which objects are reduced to proxies for abstract processes (e.g. Romanisation) or social categories (e.g. ethnicities and identities).[35] To explore the concept of objectscapes in an applied sense, I now turn to a case-study that showcases the impacts of innovative standardised objects in a more recent historical setting, by reprising the example of Chinese porcelain in early modern Europe.

1.4.1 Case-study: the agency of China in Europe, 1600 – 1800

To illustrate the impact of standardised objects-in-motion on objectscapes in the short- and longer-term, I return to the example of the saucer and explore the historical scenario that gave birth to it in greater depth. By providing a historical slant on the well-documented origins of everyday objects used in the modern world, I hope to introduce some useful perspectives and concepts to inform the analysis of Roman period objectscapes.

How did the saucer fit and find a place in the context of bigger objectscapes? From a modern perspective, it is tempting to think of the rise of the tea cup-and-saucer with a degree of inevitability, as the 'correct' thing to do when tea first became available as a mass commodity. Saucers did not simply materialise in response to European need, however. By making objects the focus of historical inquiry, it is possible for different stories to emerge. For this purpose, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) records of the early 17th century provide fascinating insights into the quantities of vessels ordered and shipped, despite some gaps.[36] These records detail not only porcelain sent to the Netherlands, but also to Dutch overseas settlements such as Batavia (Jakarta) and Formosa (Taiwan), and other localities not controlled by the Dutch, including Safavid Persia, Tokugawa Japan, and the port of Mocha (Yemen), one of the first places in the world to supply Europe with coffee.[37] Using these data, Fig. 1.2 provides a snapshot of the different vessels used in several Chinese porcelain-using locations in the 1640s, which happens to represent one of the better documented decades of the VOC's porcelain trade in the 17th century. This decade was a high point for VOC Chinese porcelain imports to the Netherlands, after the Dutch took over the trade monopoly from the Portuguese at the start of the 17th century, coinciding with the peak of so-called Kraak (carrack) porcelain production before the tumultuous end of the Chinese Ming dynasty.[38]

Among the most striking features of Fig. 1.2 are the similar shapes and ratios of Chinese porcelain vessels shipped to Amsterdam and the Dutch overseas settlements of Batavia (Jakarta) and Formosa (Taiwan), compared with material sent to the non-Dutch localities. The two Persian locations, Basra (Iraq) and Gamron (Bandar Abbas, Iran) also share consistent combinations of porcelain forms, but these are different again to those sent to Mocha (Yemen) and especially Nagasaki (Japan). These data and the surviving commentaries of Volker indicate that the global trade of the VOC produced very different porcelain objectscapes in different localities, which were seemingly driven by the specific cultural demands of the communities in question. By adopting a global perspective on Chinese porcelain shipped by the VOC, Fig. 1.2 illustrates how comparing combinations of objects has the capacity to reveal something of local preferences and styles of consumption. The destination with the highest proportion of saucers relative to other vessels is Mocha, which fits well with the order from 1645 for tea cups, saucers, and coffee cups.[39]

35 This perspective is discussed at length in Van Oyen/Pitts 2017b.

36 Volker 1954. Records for the 18th century are published with greater completeness by Jörg 1982. For further analysis of these data, see Pitts 2017a; for comparisons with Roman ceramics, see Pitts 2013; 2015.

37 Chaudhuri 1978, 359; Pendergrast 2001, 5-6.

38 Rinaldi 1989, 62.

39 Although frequently noted in orders, coffee cups are not always mentioned specifically in the bills of lading for this period.

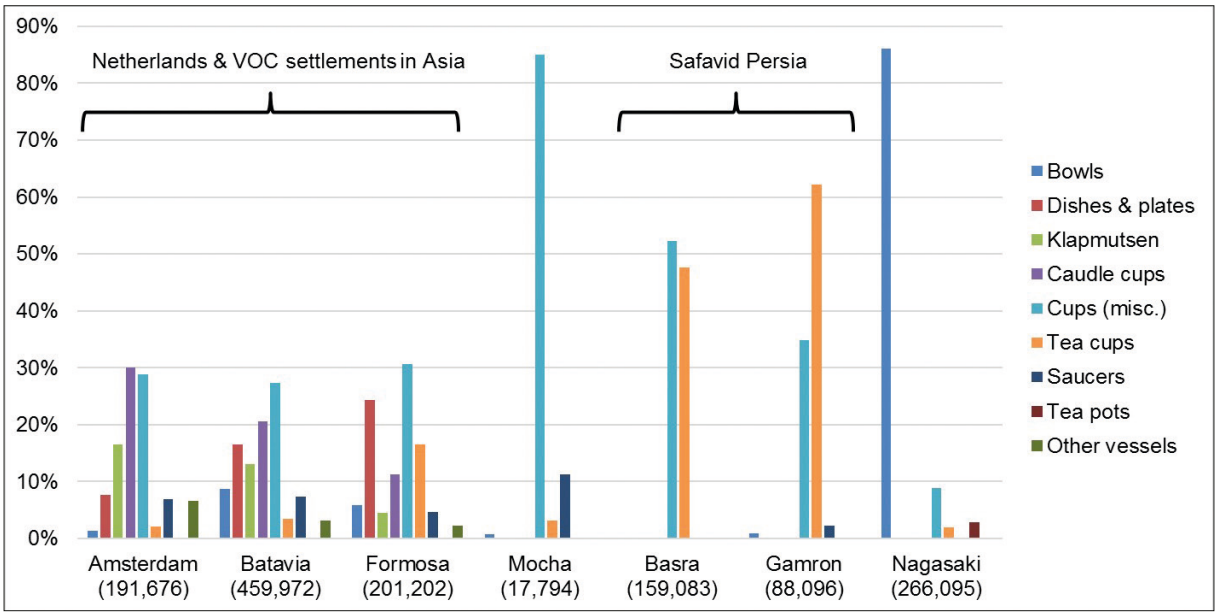


Figure 1.2. Chinese porcelain shipped by the Dutch East India Company, c. 1640-1649 (total no. of vessels per location given in brackets). Data from Volker (1954).

Although better-known as a centre for coffee drinking, Mocha is the only locality in Fig. 1.2 for which the association of cups and saucers for drinking tea is well-represented. Elsewhere, the practice of using tea cups without a saucer was well-established in Persia in the 1640s, where the highest number of cups specified for tea drinking were shipped, and Nagasaki, where the predilection for bowls alongside smaller quantities of tea pots hints at the different needs of the Japanese tea ceremony.

Compared with other regions, Amsterdam received a much smaller proportion of tea cups and saucers in the 1640s. At this time, cups specified for purposes other than tea-drinking dominate the records of porcelain shipped to the Netherlands. Since tea was only exported to the Netherlands as a bulk commodity from 1637,[40] the infrequency of designated tea-vessels in records of Dutch imports suggests that most porcelain cups imported to Amsterdam at this time would have been used for different, local beverages,[41] very much evoking the scenario of the Iron Age grave filled with large beakers of northern Gallic design at the start of this chapter. A loosely parallel practice to later Iron Age drinking can be seen centuries later with the near-exclusive Dutch preference for the klapmuts, a soup bowl shaped like an upside-down hat with an everted rim. In contrast with more typical steep-sided Chinese porcelain bowls, the klapmuts was better-suited to resting a spoon of European design while keeping the bowl flat on a table.[42] Had an equivalent kind of local use for porcelain cups in the Netherlands prevailed (i.e. for consuming alcoholic spirits or other beverages), the saucer may not have come to enjoy its position in the modern global repertoire of tea drinking vessels.

So far, our story of the saucer and its selective adoption by different porcelain-consuming cultures around the world has focused exclusively on Chinese porcelain. However, it is worth pointing out that even during the height of Dutch *china*-mania in the 17th century, *china* only constituted a small percentage of pottery available for eating and drinking. Fig. 1.3 details the proportions of different pottery vessels from the Dutch towns of Dordrecht and Nijmegen at the start of the 17th century (c. 1600 – 1650).[43]

[40] Volker 1954, 48-49.

[41] Rinaldi 1989, 154; Viallé 2014; Pitts 2015, 81-85.

[42] Rinaldi 1989, 118-119; Brook 2008, 75-77.

[43] Data from Bartels 1999, taking assemblages with a median date falling into the first fifty years of the century.

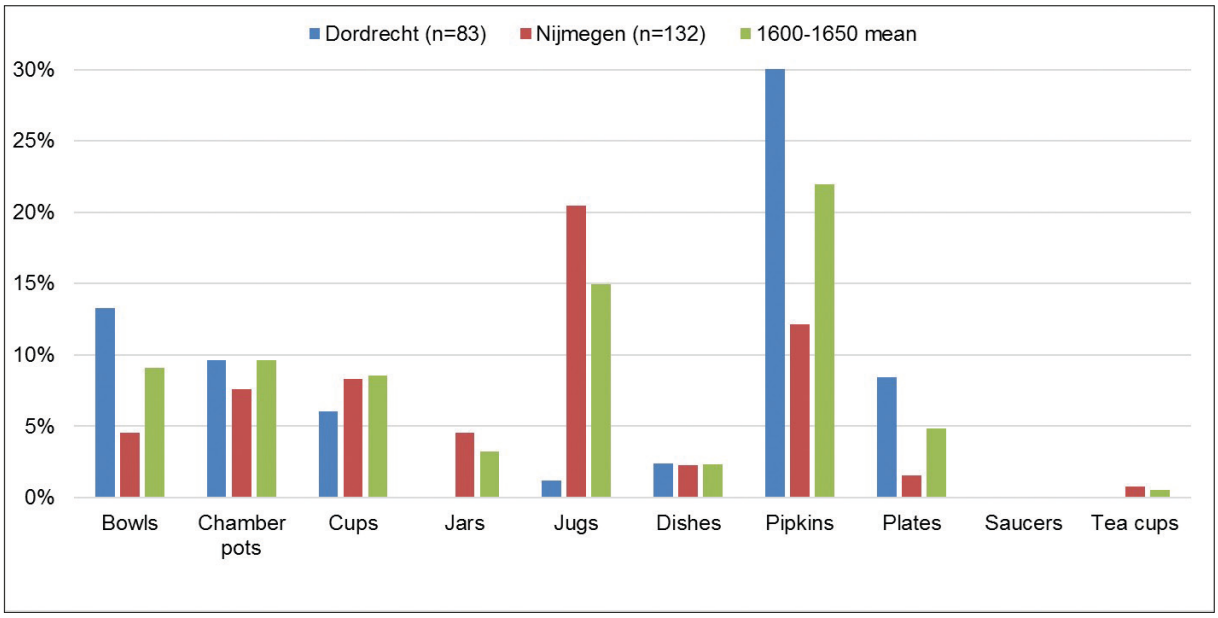


Figure 1.3. Ceramic assemblages from Dutch cities, c. 1600-1650. Data from Bartels (1999).

The graph does not distinguish between different wares and their origins, but since only one *china* vessel was reported amongst 215 vessels, we can assume most of the vessels are of local or regional manufacture. Examining the graph, it is revealing that the most common vessel shapes are crude coarse ware jugs and pipkins (cooking pots with tripods and spouts), illustrating just how radically different the new Chinese porcelain vessels must have seemed compared with their locally-made counterparts.

An illuminative way of assessing the impact of Chinese porcelain on European objectscapes is to fast forward 150 years or so and repeat the experiment. Fig. 1.4 uses equivalent data for the late 18th century (c. 1750 – 1800) from the towns of Deventer, Nijmegen, and Tiel, providing a sense of the local agency and replication of Chinese porcelain forms, and a glimpse at the longer-term evolution of local objectscapes. Fig. 1.4 effectively presents a mirror image of the scenario in the early 17th century. Crudely fashioned jugs and pipkins are now in the minority, whereas vessels previously favoured in porcelain (plates, tea cups and saucers) have come to dominate. This fundamental shift in the styles and combinations of European dining ceramics shows a clear impact of designs that first appeared in Chinese porcelain at the start of the 17th century. While historians and sociologists have viewed the arrival of Chinese porcelain in Europe as a symptom of phenomena such as the rise of civilised manners and capitalism,[44] it is arguable that the porcelain *itself* was an instigator of change, as a historical agent in its own right.[45] Put simply, without the appearance of Chinese porcelain in Europe in the 17th century there would be no polite ensembles for tea-drinking and dining for Europeans to adopt. Indeed, without an influx of *china*, it is debatable whether domestic pottery would have changed in the way it did in the 18th century, further jeopardising later phenomena like the development of European porcelain, familiar modern brands like Wedgwood, and above all, the very ways that tea and coffee are consumed today.

All of this, and more, is embodied in the stylistic genealogy of the saucer. Consider, for example, a saucer and cup dating from the first half of the 18th century that I purchased in Exeter (Fig. 1.5). The wide availability of these vessels as antiques in the 21st century is a powerful testament to the scale of their importation to Europe nearly three centuries ago. Even at the height of European porcelain produc-

[44] Elias 2000 [1939]; Sombart 1967.

[45] Pitts 2017a.

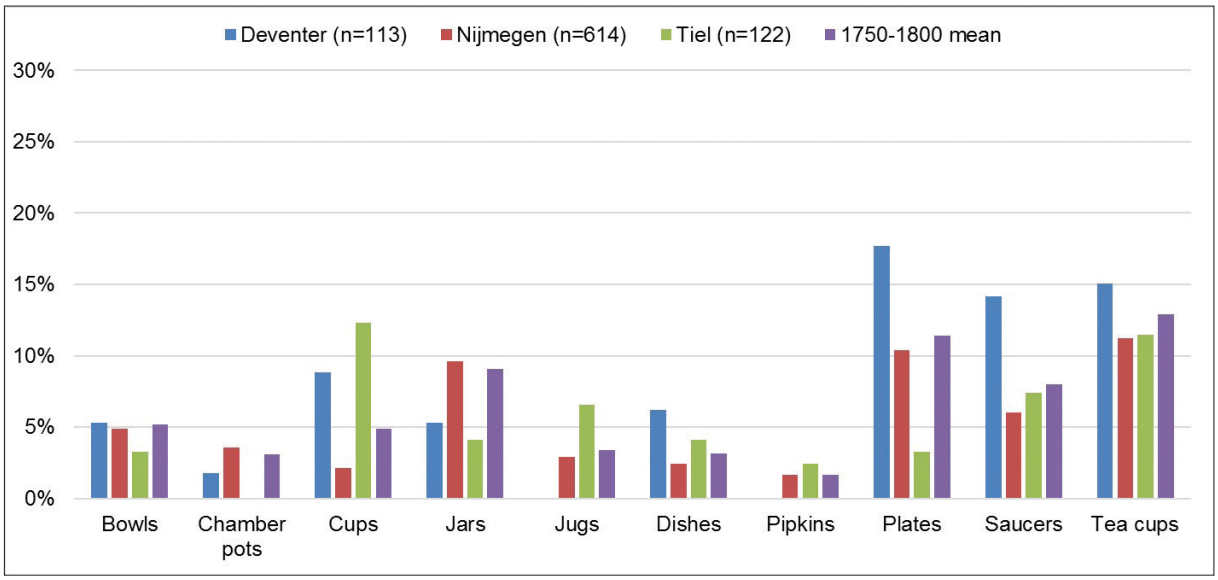


Figure 1.4. Ceramic assemblages from Dutch cities, c. 1750-1800. Data from Bartels (1999).

tion in the 18th century it is likely that Chinese vessels in European circulation vastly outnumbered the combined outputs of the European factories.[46] Data compiled by Christiaan Jörg records that the VOC imported over half a million (631,470) cups-and-saucers of the scarcer kind illustrated in Fig. 1.5 during the 18th century, i.e. varieties with Imari decoration (blue underglaze, red enamel and gold gilding), and lacking handles.[47] The decoration was in fact a Chinese attempt to imitate a style of Japanese porcelain that was no longer shipped by the VOC after 1682,[48] itself a Japanese innovation on the universal Chinese product – a scenario that in turn evokes the complex range of genealogical influences seen in our late Iron Age grave considered at the start of this chapter.

The decoration of the tea-drinking ensemble in Fig. 1.5 suggests a mass market destination. It clearly lacks the artistic execution of the armorial porcelain commissioned for wealthy families and savoured by latter-day collectors, and would most likely have been the kind of *china* used in a public tea house or by a family of modest means. Nevertheless, the act of holding the cup-and-saucer in one's hands heightens a sense of rupture with everyday ceramics of the 21st century. The cup is considerably smaller than modern European tea cups, the walls are exceptionally thin and delicate, and for someone used to holding a tea cup by a handle, the absence of a handle makes for a certain amount of awkward experimentation in the best way to drink from the vessel. The lack of a handle underlines the essential Chinese genealogy of the tea cup, as well as specific economic constraints that affected the global trade in *china*. Despite European preferences for cups with handles, the extra cost of adding a handle to Chinese porcelain cups was evidently not worth the risk of breakage in transit, since cups with handles never exceeded more than five percent of VOC orders.[49] The matching decoration of the cup-and-saucer attests not only to the universalisation of the Middle Eastern practice of using this combination of vessels for drinking tea or

[46] Godden 1979, 15.

[47] Jörg 1982. The same records specify a minimum of 8.5 million Chinese porcelain cups-and-saucers imported to the Netherlands by the VOC in the same period, which of course, was separate from supplies obtained by the English East India Company.

[48] Jörg 1982, 157. Imari wares cost twice as much to produce as blue and white porcelain, but did not yield equivalent returns in European markets, hence its comparative scarceness.

[49] Pitts 2017a, 575-577.

Figure 1.5. Early/mid-18th century export Chinese porcelain saucer (with cup, right), with Imari decoration and mostly worn overglaze gold enamel (copyright: author).

coffee, but also the ability of Europeans to order vessels to their own specifications after direct trade with the Chinese at Canton had been established in the early 18th century. In this case, the Chinese figures attest to the phenomenon of *chinoiserie*, the prominence of selected images of China in European popular culture, which simultaneously helped to cast China as the Other in the European cultural imagination.[50]

The cultural connections, entanglements, and innovations evoked by just a single object can be vast, even for an object as seemingly mundane and ordinary as a saucer. This example demonstrates how a familiar modern object has a rich cultural heritage, a heritage that has nonetheless become obscured by many generations of production and design evolution, in which the saucer was gradually disassociated from the cultural contexts that gave birth to it, and re-embedded in a newly transformed cultural setting. In discussing the saucer, I have identified several themes with the potential to provide similarly new insights into the objectscapes of other periods, not least that of Iron Age to Roman northwest Europe, which I consider in further detail in the following sections.

1.5 THE IMPACTS OF STANDARDISED THINGS-IN-MOTION ON OBJECTSCAPES

The examples of the saucer and the impact of *china* on European objectscapes and cultural practices highlight clear potential for bringing new understandings to the role of standardised objects in analogous processes in the Roman period.[51] Indeed, the mass availability of objects for everyday use has become a substantial topic in recent scholarship in Roman archaeology and history. Rather than reviewing these developments in detail, for which good summaries exist,[52] the aim of this section is to set out a blueprint

[50] Berg 2005, 49-52.

[51] For a different account of the impacts of mechanical reproduction and connectivity in deep history, see Wengrow 2013, which deals with matters of cognition and visual representation rather than standardised objects *per se*.

[52] Woolf 1998, 169-205; Cool 2006a; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 315-440; Greene 2008; Dietler 2010; Eckardt 2014; Pitts 2015; Swift 2017.

for the analysis of the roles of standardised objects in objectscapes in Iron Age and Roman northwest Europe in this book. What can the circulation of standardised objects reveal about the ways in which European Iron Age societies transformed themselves (and were transformed) within the expanding Roman empire, and how exactly should this question be addressed in practical terms?

1.5.1 WHAT DO OBJECTSCAPES DO?

> *It is an illusion to think that in most cases there are informants who can provide an 'emic' representation of [these] material phenomena that gives immediate access to their cultural implications – in short, that you need only ask your informants. …micro-scale analysis of objects, which is the staple of archaeological enquiry, is dealing with material which provides enormously rich evidence for social relations, yet is often neglected in ethnographic enquiry, precisely because of the existence of other, more easily available, sources of evidence. A society studied through its material rather than its linguistic manifestations is in no less sense immediate or less real.*[53]
> Daniel Miller, *Artefacts as categories*

As we have seen in the opening examples in this chapter, standardised mass-produced objects are especially prone to being used in distinctive combinations as part of objectscapes associated with enacting certain social tasks, from Iron Age funerals to 18th century tea drinking. Pushing this idea further, it follows that the configuration of objectscapes can help channel the possibilities for specific social actions and practices.[54] This is an important perspective for the purposes of Roman cultural history, since it has direct implications for understanding the first arrivals and impacts of standardised goods in processes of cultural change, goods that tended to appear in the context of contact with the Mediterranean world. Taking this approach seriously requires new ways of analysing and visualising artefactual data, not least because many traditional archaeological methodologies are not well-suited to dealing with multiple combinations of different types of objects at once – including distribution maps, biographies of individual types of object, and graphs describing the composition of finds assemblages at a given site. Studying objectscapes from an archaeological perspective entails the analysis of the recurrent contextual associations of object-types across multiple contemporaneous assemblages, placing emphasis on relationships, ratios, and combinations. At a micro-level, an underlying assumption is that objects used together will probably be broken and deposited together, most commonly through accidental breakage and refuse disposal, but also in forms of ritual practice, such as the deliberate act of placing grave goods with the dead.[55] Studying objectscapes means that these kinds of relational associations between objects must be pushed to the forefront of analysis.

Prior to writing this book, I considered aspects of the relationality within objectscapes through the ways in which 'suites' of fine pottery came to be deposited together at the ends of their use-lives, whether broken on settlements or as whole vessels in graves.[56] The results underlined the likelihood that fine ware vessels made in the same fabric (especially *terra sigillata*) were often used together in life, and were separated from coarser pottery, in ways analogous to the use of 'best *china*' for the consumption of food and drink in early modern societies. The analyses also revealed recurrent associations of fine pottery with other distinctive wares, other objects such as fibulae, and animal species consumed for their meat.[57]

53 Miller 1985, 197-198.

54 Robb 2015, 167.

55 It is less likely that there will be a direct link between the spatial locus of use or consumption and the place of deposition (so-called 'primary deposition'). An ethnographic study of 79 cultural groups revealed that primary deposition is the fate of few material residues of household consumption (Murray 1980).

56 Pitts/Perring 2006; Pitts 2007a, cf. Van Oyen 2016a, 115-130, for later patterns in the same region of Roman Essex.

57 Pitts 2010b; Perring/Pitts 2013, 231-238.

While the constituent elements of the assemblages in question were often fragmentary, confidence that the patterns resembled meaningful use-life combinations was founded on the basis of two factors: the sheer frequency of contextual linkages between the same kinds of objects in multiple assemblages; and the occurrence of similar combinations of objects in contemporary graves, in which the objects had been consciously and deliberately placed. While methodologically promising, the scale of these analyses was insufficient to effectively determine the extent to which the make-up of such 'suites' was governed by innovative local customs or informed by practices in neighbouring Roman provinces.

Building on the relational methodology of my older work focused on individual sites and smaller regions, the approach to objectscapes in this book places emphasis on the relational properties of *mobile* standardised objects in a wider connected milieu, by considering the objects available to multiple communities rather than just a single locality. Placing the onus on standardised objects-in-motion has the advantage of illuminating the nature of objectscapes in multiple cultural scenarios at once, as the case-study on Chinese porcelain demonstrates. The various combinations of porcelain vessels shipped by the VOC in the 1640s arguably had very little to do with those favoured by the Chinese (or even the Dutch), but everything to do with a complex global network of interconnected local preferences. Such perspectives have long been advocated in anthropology and archaeology under the heading of the cultural biographies of things,[58] and have more recently been advocated as a means of mapping the effects of contemporary globalisation.[59] Putting this into practice entails fleshing out the connection between the big picture of mass consumption and the micro-scale of selections made in local contexts, and rejecting the assumption that the spread of standardised objects has the lone outcome of fostering cultural homogenisation. Instead, a much more complicated process seems to be commonplace, in which universal standardised goods are particularised to suit local consumer cultures and are often later re-universalised in the form of innovative new styles and combinations: the particularisation of the universal hand-in-hand with the universalisation of the particular.[60]

1.5.2 WHY DID PAST OBJECTSCAPES LOOK THE WAY THEY DID?

Having briefly sketched some implications for studying the workings of past objectscapes, I turn to address the fundamental issue of why objectscapes took the form they did in different times and places in history. A tremendously helpful concept in this regard is Alfred Gell's notion of the 'inter-artefactual domain'.[61] In the second half of his influential posthumous book, *Art and Agency* (1998), Gell stressed that the appearance of objects is governed neither by culture nor ethnicity, but rather relationships with other objects of similar style within the inter-artefactual domain. At a basic level, this observation is evidenced by the fact that most objects share some common stylistic or genealogical features with other artefacts in the same objectscape:

> *…it is an error to imagine that 'culture' in some general sense, is responsible for the visual style of artefacts. Culture may dictate the practical and/or symbolic significance of artefacts, and their iconographic interpretation; but* **the only factor which governs the visual appearance of artefacts is their relationship to other artefacts in the same style**. *Visual culture is an autonomous domain in the sense that it is*

[58] Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986; Thomas 1991. Hahn/Weiss 2013 prefer the metaphor of 'itineraries' to 'biographies', due to the difficulty of pinpointing moments of object birth and death. While 'itineraries' and 'trajectories' seem more appropriate to mass-produced objects studied *en masse*, it is arguable that 'biography' retains its value as an analytical concept for the discussion of individual objects, cf. Fontijn 2013.

[59] Foster 2006, cf. Pitts 2015, 80-88, for applications to the Roman world.

[60] Versluys 2015a, 152-158.

only definable in terms of relationships between artefacts and other artefacts; it is a mistake to think of 'culture' as a kind of 'head office' which decrees, on the one hand, what form political competition will assume, and on the other, what artefacts will look like. **Artefacts are shaped in the 'inter-artefactual domain'***, obeying the immanent injunctions governing formal stylistic relationships among artefacts, not in response to external injunctions from some imaginary 'head office'.*[62]

There are several important points to take away from Gell's powerful statement on the inter-artefactual domain. In the first place, Gell's emphasis on understanding the relationality between objects underlines its suitability for explaining aspects of objectscapes, as defined in this study. Second, while seemingly concerned with the appearance of individual objects, the examples used by Gell, most notably his study of the Maori meeting house,[63] highlight the possibility that discrete conglomerations of objects such as houses and grave assemblages are also subject to the inter-artefactual domain,[64] and in turn, that the concept has significant potential to explain aspects of the make-up of objectscapes and not just individual objects. In this way, if the appearance of an object is primarily influenced by its relationship to extant objects *in the same style*, then it follows that the collective form of a bounded conglomeration of objects – such as the architectural components of a house, or goods placed in a grave – is thus influenced by the make-up of existing object packages *used for the same social function*. A third important facet of the inter-artefactual domain not considered in detail by Gell is its relationship with connectivity. In a globalised context such as the Roman empire, the impact of connectivity might entail, in effect, the creation of a single merged inter-artefactual domain spanning large swathes of imperial territory. A significant caveat here is that the integration or consistency of the Roman inter-artefactual domain in each region would depend upon the degree of local connectivity. For example, at major hubs characterised by high rates of circulating objects and associated producer and consumer knowledge, we might expect the emergence of more stylistically-eclectic objectscapes. In contrast, scenarios characterised by weak connectivity and blockages in the flows of objects and commodities might be expected to produce more regionally-distinctive objectscapes with a more conservative or 'traditional' character. This may be an attractive line of reasoning to account for synchronous and (more or less) universal material changes across large parts of the Roman world, alongside the emergence of distinctive local objectscapes forged in dialogue with much bigger frames of reference.[65]

Gell's inter-artefactual domain seemingly offers a powerful tool for explaining aspects of the make-up of objectscapes in situations of variable connectivity. However, we should be cautious about invoking the concept as a kind of *deus ex machina* to explain all aspects of changing objectscapes. An obvious criticism of this kind of explanatory framework is that it removes a great deal of agency from human actors.[66] Objects, of course, cannot reproduce themselves without help from people. Reflecting on these concerns, it is important to consider that the material changes most strongly governed by the inter-

61 Gell 1998, 216. Gell's work in general has become influential in the recent material turn in anthropology, archaeology and other cognate disciplines. As Küchler 2013, 25 puts it, Gell's *Art and Agency* offers a new direction 'by challenging the assumed primacy of the social over the material and the cultural'.

62 Gell 1998, 216, my emphasis, cf. Garrow/Gosden 2012, 26.

63 Gell 1998, 255, Fig. 9.6/3.

64 Larson 2007, 99.

65 This possibility is compatible with the suggestion that Roman expansion necessitated the creation of a single sign system in the Latin West that cross-cut the local and regional value systems of the later Iron Age (Woolf 1998, 181, cf. Jiménez 2017 on material synchronisation and Roman 'standard time').

66 Criticism of Gell's inter-artefactual domain tends to revolve around this point. For example, as Morphy 2009, 21 forcefully puts it, 'objects do not breed as Gell seems to suggest…', highlighting the need to examine production in the context of knowledge systems and relevant historical factors. Further critique *Art and Agency* points out that objects in Gell's explanations only really have agency in the context of human interaction (Webmoor 2007, 568), or that 'objects can only have effect as representations of others' minds and agency' (Leach 2007, 182).

artefactual domain are incremental in nature. The more substantial the material change, the greater the rupture with the past styles and objectscapes, and the more likely it is that human agency takes primacy, as seen for example, in the early onset of *china*-mania in Europe, when Chinese porcelain was consciously sought out and imitated by Europeans to varying degrees of success. However, one could persuasively argue that it was through the longer-term workings of the inter-artefactual domain that Chinese porcelain irrevocably altered European objectscapes in the decades and generations that followed. In this way, while the inter-artefactual domain can account for a *spectrum of possibilities* for the appearances of objects and make-up of objectscapes in a given moment, it is the interface with human decision making that determines their final configurations. In this way, through the inter-artefactual domain objects become part of the human 'extended mind',[67] by informing and channeling the reproduction of material conditions and social practices.

In sum, the idea of the inter-artefactual domain has great potential to shed new light on the relationship between short-term changes in material culture and longer-term trajectories in the make-up of objectscapes. To consider the relationship between objectscapes and the inter-artefactual domain in less abstract terms, I introduce three further concepts: **stylistic genealogy**, the historical influences embodied in the design of an object and in the constitution of objectscapes; **local agency and replication**, the capacity of mobile objects to instigate the reproduction of some of their design traits in local cultural contexts; and **longer-term evolution**, addressing the changing styles of objects and the make-up of objectscapes over multiple generations. These concepts are now considered with reference to the roles of standardised objects in Roman history.

1.5.3 STYLISTIC GENEALOGY

Unlike handmade objects, whose uniqueness can evoke something of the social frames of reference of the producer, standardised objects arguably provide a more limited number of possible interpretations,[68] engendering a greater sense of functionality, and obscuring their genealogies as individual objects. This is certainly true of long-lived objects such as the modern saucer, a taken for granted constituent of modern objectscapes associated with tea and coffee drinking that was universalised some centuries ago. By promoting instant evaluation and minimising cultural ambiguity and uncertainty,[69] standardised objects have the capacity to promote cultural sharing by encouraging conformity in practice.[70] It is therefore no surprise that generations of Roman archaeologists viewed the spread of *terra sigillata* pottery in the Roman empire as a universal indicator of Romanisation. However, if the cultural knowledge for such instant evaluation is lacking, and standardised objects pass into different regimes of cultural value, standardised objects can paradoxically offer a greater number of potential interpretations to their users, precisely because they are no longer connected to a specific cultural trajectory. The idea of the universal evaluation of *terra sigillata* in the Roman empire is flawed precisely because of the diversity of cultural scenarios and practices that it is known to have participated in, much like Chinese porcelain in more recent global history. We should consider that the very success of *terra sigillata* in the Roman northwest may have been in part due to its obscured genealogy and lack of particular cultural connection to various pre-existing local regimes of value.[71] It follows that the standardised constituents of objectscapes may have had very different cultural genealogies, however much these may be disguised in a given moment (e.g. the assemblage accompanying our *terra sigillata* plate in the example at the start of this chapter). This is an important perspective, not

[67] Gell 1998, 221-258, cf. Gosden 2013, 43.

[68] Robb 2015, 174

[69] Gosden 2013, 45.

[70] Robb 2015, 171-174.

[71] Van Oyen 2016a, 128.

only for understanding how objectscapes retain some traits, and absorb innovations over time, but also for understanding the design and functions of individual objects in a given moment.[72]

A good example of the benefits of examining the genealogies of standardised objects is provided by the case of so-called Gallo-Belgic wares.[73] Gallo-Belgic wares were produced at several locations in the new province of Gallia Belgica from the late first century BC to the late first century AD. Roughly half of the vessel designs in this repertoire can be seen to derive from prototypes in Italian-style *terra sigillata*, with a Mediterranean genealogy. The other half of Gallo-Belgic vessel designs may be instead viewed as emerging from a genuine fusion of northern European and Mediterranean traditions of pottery production. Crucially, the genealogy of the different Gallo-Belgic vessels seems to have mattered greatly to people at the time. Objectscapes associated with the pre-conquest aristocracy in southern Britain, for example, show a particular preference for Gallo-Belgic pots with more innovative Gallic designs (e.g. so-called butt- and girth-beakers), whereas the same designs tend to be less popular and are even eschewed by Roman military communities in Britain.[74] This kind of patterning highlights the 'rootedness' of vessels with northern European genealogies, which seem to have been created as regional categories distinct from vessel shapes in the universal *terra sigillata* repertoire.[75] Unlike the many Gallo-Belgic bowls, cups, and plates that resembled designs in *terra sigillata*, it seems that those with northern European genealogy were treated differently precisely because ancient consumers had some awareness of this rootedness.

1.5.4 LOCAL AGENCY AND REPLICATION

An obvious indicator of the impact of goods exchanged over long-distances is their local replication, even if the new objects are not made to identical specifications, materialising real and imagined links with distant people, places, and objectscapes.[76] While Chinese porcelain designs and decorations were eagerly imitated in European tin-glazed wares such as Delftware and Maiolica in the 17th century, porcelain itself was not mastered by Europeans on an industrial scale until well into the 18th century.[77] Such developments are testament to the cultural impact of mobile objects and the technical proficiency of local artisans – a phenomenon also testified in the local reproduction of Gallic and Mediterranean ceramics in the late Iron Age grave considered at the start of this chapter. The relationship between mobile objects and their so-called local 'copies' and imitations, as well as the reproduction of particular combinations of objects, are both subjects that require further study in Roman archaeology, moving analyses of objects beyond the reductive application of paradigms like Romanisation.[78]

Less obvious indicators of the local agency of mobile objects can be accessed by considering the active uses of the objects in question.[79] On this issue, important considerations include the quantities and social distribution of mobile objects in circulation at a given moment, the degree of their participation in everyday use versus more ritualised forms of practice (such as feasts and funerals), and the extent to which such practices may be considered novel or traditional. Mobile objects may likewise play a vital

72 Gosden 2005, 203-207.

73 Pitts 2017b, cf. Gosden 2005, 205-207.

74 Pitts 2014.

75 Van Oyen 2016a, 107-113, for further explanation of this concept and application to Trier Rhenish wares.

76 On the local transformative potential of itinerant copies, see Stockhammer/Forberg 2017.

77 Weber 2017 provides fascinating insights into the process by which Meissen porcelain came to be valued by Europeans over Asian 'originals' at this time.

78 For example, see the exploration of meme theory to explain the imitation of *terra sigillata* (Biddulph 2013), and the cultural selection of objects for funerary assemblages (Biddulph 2012). On copies and copying, see Forberg/Stockhammer (2017).

79 Swift 2017 emphasises the benefits of detailed characterisation of object function through use-wear and experimental studies.

role in 'the invention of tradition' through processes of material entanglement,[80] a classic example being the conscious cultural appropriation of things Greek (Hellenism as opposed to Hellenisation) that came to be a defining feature of what has been termed the Augustan cultural revolution in Rome.[81] Was a less grandiose, but no less important 'invention of tradition' fostered in the Roman northwest with the spread of new cultural practices dependent on standardised objects with Mediterranean genealogy, such as oil lamps, *terra sigillata*, glass ware, and amphora-borne commodities such as fish sauce, olive oil, and wine?

1.5.5 LONGER-TERM EVOLUTION

The short-term impact of mobile objects can be overwhelming. In recent decades, there has been a noticeable emphasis in archaeological research on the immediate social contexts in which material culture was used. Less attention tends to be given to longer-term shifts in material culture that may not have been perceptible within a given generation, i.e. greater than a period of 20-50 years or more. Investigating such pan-generational change in material culture is not only essential for understanding how objectscapes are capable of channelling human action in the longer-term,[82] but also for evaluating more far-reaching impacts of circulating objects over time.

Studying the longer-term evolution of standardised objects forms a vital counterpart to the analysis of their impact in a given moment, in a way analogous to Appadurai's distinction between the *social histories of things*, taking into account longer-term shifts and larger-scale dynamics, and *cultural biographies of things*, dealing with specific objects and historical contexts.[83] From a methodological point of view the so-called culture-historical approach in archaeology has much to offer this kind of perspective. Although rightly discredited for its one-to-one correlations of material culture with ethnicity, and its explanatory reliance on external factors like invasion, migration, and diffusion, the enduring value of this approach is its ability 'to trace real lineages of the development of material culture in the archaeological record'.[84] It follows that the analysis of longer-term changes in material culture should not be confined to object typologies, but rather the constitution of objectscapes. Indeed, the notion of objectscapes has some resonance with the culture-historical concept of the archaeological culture, famously defined by Gordon Childe as 'certain remains – pots, implements, ornaments, burial rites, house forms – constantly recurring together'.[85] A radically rehabilitated version of this concept has much potential, divorced from the reductive connotations of fossilised ethnicities, and applied with greater methodological sophistication than many clumsy 20th century narratives that merely sought to fill in gaps in the record of written history. In this vein, there are notable echoes of the typological approach in Gell's idea of the inter-artefactual domain,[86] whose practical application requires 'carefully tracking and recording the variety of material forms an object takes within a specified region, through time and space.'[87]

What kind of insights may be expected by considering the longer-term evolution of objects? We have already seen how Dutch domestic pottery assemblages at the end of the 18th century came to be dominated by tea cups, saucers, and plates as a direct impact of the influx of Chinese porcelain imports a century or so earlier, while Chinese exports became increasingly subject to European design preferences. By the same token, it is well-documented that the standardised repertoire of *terra sigillata* pottery did not

80 On the invention of tradition, see Hobsbawn/Ranger 1983, cf. Boschung/Busch/Versluys 2015 on application to the Roman world.

81 Versluys 2015b, cf. Wallace-Hadrill 2008.

82 Gosden 2006.

83 Appadurai 1986, 34, cf. Van Oyen 2016a, 131-135 on object trajectories.

84 Trigger 2006, 313.

85 Childe 1929, v-vi.

86 Gosden 2013, 43.

87 Larsen 2007, 99.

remain static in the Roman period. A glance over the changing appearance of *terra sigillata* vessels from the middle of the first century AD to the end of the second century AD reveals that plates are replaced by deeper dishes, and bowls and cups become larger.[88] It is likely that these changes reflect changes in eating and drinking, such as a shift from wine to beer consumption,[89] and the longer-term influence of other northern European foodstuffs on the diet of the Roman military. As *sigillata* production slowly gravitated towards northwest Europe, its changing appearance seems to be a good example of local feedback influencing the long-term design trajectories of a product with inter-provincial reach. Nevertheless, the reasons for this change, and many others, including the continued evolution of some forms and the steep decline in others, require further investigation.

1.5.6 FROM OBJECTSCAPES TO STYLES OF CONSUMPTION

Using objectscapes as a basic methodological concept, explored variously by addressing the themes of stylistic genealogy, local innovation and replication, and longer-term evolution, this book aims to provide a new history of mass consumption in Iron Age to Roman northwest Europe. If objectscapes channel the possibilities for collective social action, the resulting actions may be described in terms of styles of consumption. In this way, a focus on the context and constitution of objectscapes provides a methodology to address the call of Greg Woolf 'to draw a distinction between the consumption of Roman goods and Roman styles of consumption.'[90] The contextual information needed to make this distinction may take many guises. For the uses of Chinese porcelain in the 18th century, modern historians are blessed with a wealth of information, including descriptions of vessels in orders and bills of lading, as well as contemporary written accounts and artworks – so much data that the archaeological approach to material culture has for decades played second-fiddle to art- and documentary history.[91] The absence of equivalent riches for the study of Roman Europe entails privileging the growing corpus of published archaeological data, used alongside surviving textual sources which offer many valuable insights, such as accounts of an ethnographic disposition.[92] Taken together, archaeological and historical sources are able to offer vital contextual information, such as the history of relevant customs and practices in the society in question; understandings of the location of a community in wider political and economic networks (e.g. a city's legal designation); and details of the archaeological contexts in which the mobile objects were found, combined with the analysis of any associations with objects of local provenance.

1.6 THE STRUCTURE, DATA, AND METHODS USED IN THIS BOOK

The chronological remit of this study spans the vital two centuries in which northwest Europe became intertwined and integrated within the Roman world (c. 120/100 BC-AD 100/120). For analytical convenience, this rough 200-year span is broken down and analysed in four period-themed chapters that follow. Chapter 2, 'The roles of objects in later Iron Age societies', addresses the phenomena of standardisation and consumption practices prior to Roman military conquest, with emphasis on the selection of objects *en masse* in funerary contexts (c. 120/100-25 BC). On the eve of Caesar's conquests in the

88 Webster 1996, 113-116.

89 Dannell 2006.

90 Woolf 1998, 176.

91 This situation is changing, as demonstrated by Gerritsen/Riello 2015. Porcelain figures strongly in this resurgence of interest in material culture within historical studies.

92 Woolf 2011.

region in the 50s BC, the appearance of standardised objects in the guise of Italian wine amphorae are linked with the emergence of new funerary practices that connected several distantly spread societies. At the same time, weaker emerging forms of standardisation in the designs of fibulae and locally-made pottery attest to the development of a series of loosely-linked regional inter-artefactual domains and ever-intensifying levels connectivity between late Iron Age communities.

Chapter 3, 'The object revolution in northwest Europe', is concerned with the fundamental changes to objectscapes that began in the Augustan period, which coincided with the reorganisation of the Gallic provinces, and the building up of a permanent Roman military garrison along the Rhine (c. 25 BC-AD 40). Describing the changes in this period as a revolution evokes a series of landmark studies on the world of Augustan Rome, from Syme to Wallace-Hadrill,[93] albeit with an important difference. Whereas those influential works situate major innovations primarily in the realms of politics, society, and culture, this chapter (and book) addresses transformations in the world of objects that had arguably even more tangible and far-reaching consequences for people in northwest Europe.[94] The dramatic proliferation of widely-circulating standardised objects in this period, both locally-made and imported, marked a genuine step-change in which the entire region can be described as belonging to a single fully-integrated inter-artefactual domain, facilitated by surges in imperial connectivity and intensifying relations of clientship and kinship between societies across northern Gaul and southern Britain. This scenario fostered the emergence of two different, if occasionally overlapping pan-regional styles of consumption, related to the objectscapes of military and colonial communities (as seen in the case study of the Kops Plateau military command post, Nijmegen), and those of a series of rapidly changing local societies conquered by Rome (based on examples drawn from across the region).

Following the revolutionary new Augustan template, similar consumption patterns continued to be followed into the mid-first century AD, when the re-configuration of objectscapes in colonial situations is examined in more detail in Chapter 4, 'Objectscapes, cityscapes, and colonial encounters'. This chapter examines the Claudian conquest of Britain alongside parallel developments taking place in Gallia Belgica and the Rhineland (c. AD 40-70). While recent scholarship tends to frame the archaeology of Roman conquest in terms of a series of disconnected local responses to Roman imperialism, this chapter contrasts such perspectives by placing objectscapes from the micro-historical scenario of Colchester's colonial landscape in the wider context of fresh inter-provincial comparisons. The analyses in this chapter highlight phenomena in which local selections of objects were made and evaluated in the context of a broader shared material-cultural milieu, made up of multiple connected localities across northwest Europe.

Chapter 5, 'Local elites, imperial culture, and provincial objectscapes' considers another major watershed in object design and circulation that went on to inform the appearance of provincial material culture well into the second century AD, and beyond. This chapter begins with a focus on the material choices of local elites, and the genesis of more diagnostically provincial objectscapes that began to emerge in the Flavian period (c. AD 70-100). The resulting analysis of the stylistic evolutions of objects and their deliberate selection in funerary contexts singles out this period as the most globalised in historical terms, being marked by widespread synchronous universalisation of objectscapes on one hand, and a series of dramatic regional divergences that were informed by fundamentally *pan-regional* frames of reference. These important Flavian changes represent less of revolution as a significant reinvigoration and reembedding of changes to objectscapes set in motion over a century earlier. A final concluding chapter, 'Historical change and the Roman inter-artefactual domain', evaluates the main findings of the analysis with respect to the themes outlined in this introductory chapter.

[93] Syme 1939; Wallace-Hadrill 2008. Kay 2014 envisages an equivalent economic revolution for roughly the same period.

[94] Although cf. Woolf 2001, who draws an implicit connection between the multiplicity of Augustan innovations in Rome and material changes in the provinces.

In geographical terms, the focus of this study is on changing objectscapes at the provincial interface between Britannia, Gallia Belgica, and Germania Inferior, and corresponding regions in the preceding Iron Age. In the modern world, this area spans a large swathe of territory taking in southeast Britain, northern France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and western Germany. Fig. 1.6 provides a comprehensive map of the major archaeological sites contributing data to this study. In assembling the database upon which this study is based, priority was accorded to putting together a series of assemblages that sampled multiple locales that would permit comparative analysis of the larger study region through time. A secondary objective was the incorporation of high-quality case-studies to illuminate the roles of objects in certain historical scenarios. While the database makes no pretense of being comprehensive, the emphasis on the selection of large and high-quality samples of archaeological data lends a great deal of confidence to the representativeness and robustness of the resulting analysis. All 80,000+ objects under scrutiny have some form of archaeological context, with the detail of this contextual information ranging from presence at an archaeological site in a stratigraphically-determined period, to more specific information such as presence in a sub-site, area, grave, pit, ditch, or layer, in addition to relations with other objects found in the same context. This variable level of contextual detail permits multiple scales of analysis to maximise the analytical potential of the data.

The primary emphases in this study are on the two largest extant categories of objects that were produced and consumed *en masse* in the period: standardised pottery and fibulae. For the Roman period it is often possible to obtain comprehensive lists of these artefacts from the relevant phases of published archaeological sites. While such basic data harvesting can form the basis of useful comparisons between sites,[95] it is less helpful for a more sensitive analysis of patterns of deposition, which require a minimum level of contextual information that is only inconsistently provided in published excavation reports. At the same time, the lack of standardised pottery (by Roman period standards) in the late Iron Age means that equivalent lists of fine ware ceramics simply do not exist for this vital period. To overcome these methodological obstacles, an important element of data collection for each stage of analysis was to build up a large enough sample of objects from funerary contexts, which have the advantage of being routinely published in their entirety, often with complete lists and illustrations of all the objects recovered from each grave. Funerary assemblages are particularly attractive since they constitute individual episodes of the deliberate object selection. The grave can thus form an excellent unit of analysis for studying webs of object-object and object-human relationships, and how these changed through time. In this respect, it made sense to gather data on not just fine pottery and fibulae, but all the other kinds of objects that were placed in graves, for a more holistic perspective on processes of object selection and objectscapes in Iron Age to Roman northwest Europe.

While funerary assemblages provide an especially rich source of information on the make-up of Iron Age and Roman objectscapes, they are nevertheless the product of a highly-specific cultural practice, and cannot be assumed to be directly representative of the roles of objects in everyday social settings.[96] For this reason, a substantial amount of the data gathered for this study comes from settlement contexts, not only as a means of testing the representativeness of selection patterns emerging from the funerary sphere, but also to provide comparative insights into the roles of equivalent objects in different social and cultural settings. In most cases, data included in this study allow basic comparisons of the quantities of different circulating fine ware and fibulae types. To facilitate such comparisons, the data have been re-classified according to a unified system using suitable overarching and geographically wide-ranging typologies, such as Xavier Deru's Gallo-Belgic ware series,[97] and Michel Feugère's fibula typology from southern Gaul.[98] These typological classifications are supplemented by the adoption of basic descriptions devised

[95] See Pitts 2014; 2017b, which outline pilot research making use of such broad-brush comparisons.

[96] Tuffreau-Libre 2000; Biddulph 2005.

[97] Deru 1996.

[98] Feugère 1985.

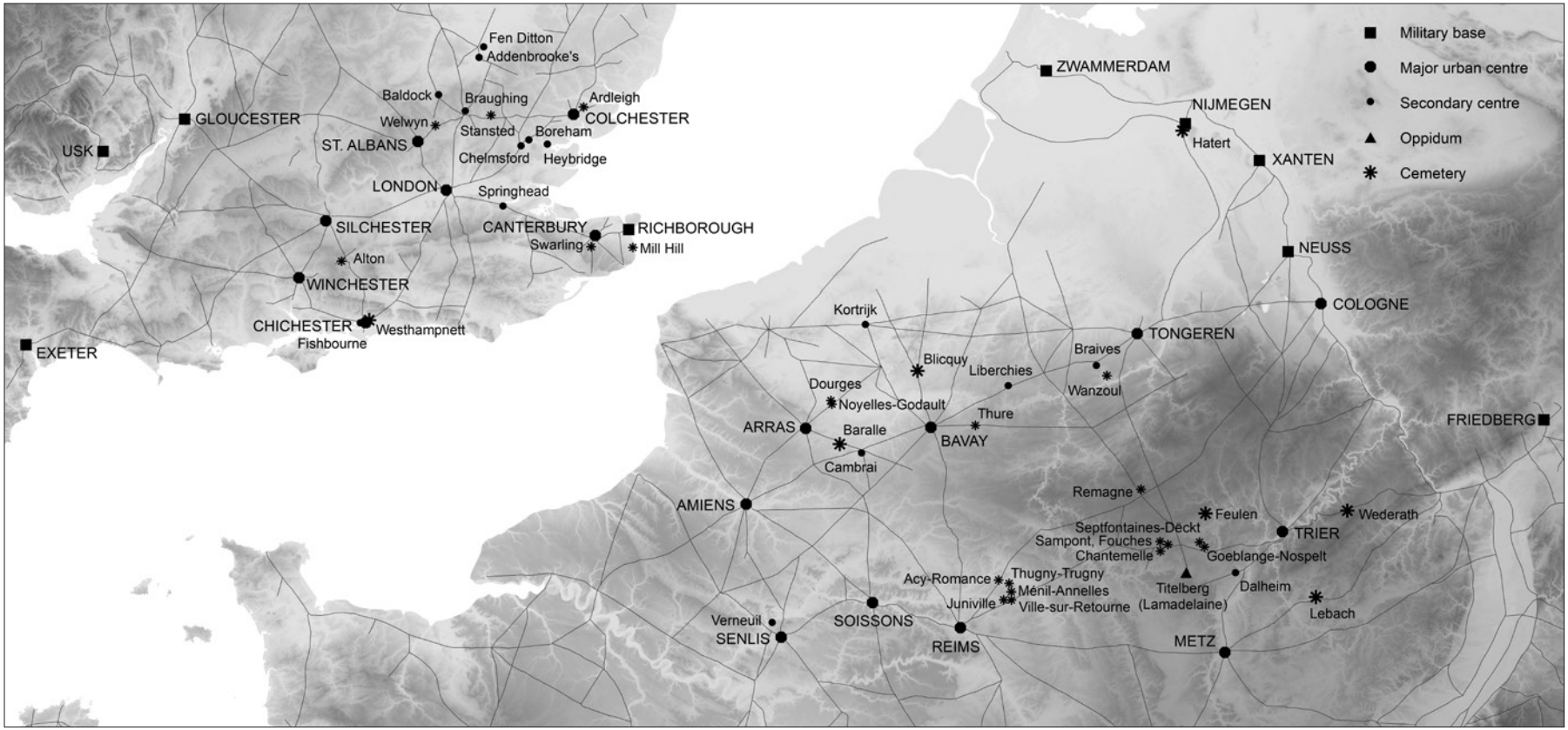


Figure 1.6. The locations of major late Iron Age and early Roman cemeteries and settlements considered in this study, in relation to the Roman road network.

for this study, for example, to facilitate the morphological comparison of late Iron Age and coarse pottery using a consistent language (e.g. shallow bowls and pear-shaped jars). Further details of these classificatory schemes are discussed in the chapters that follow and are outlined alongside common typological conventions in Appendix 2. This general approach to data collection is supplemented by the inclusion of several settlements that permit more detailed spatial and contextual analysis, forming the basis of more substantial case-studies of intra-site object selection and use, such as the Kops Plateau (Nijmegen, Chapter 3), and various localities at Camulodunum (Colchester, Chapter 4).

1.6.1 THE SIZE AND SHAPE OF THE DATA: SAMPLES AND COVERAGE

The breadth and coverage of the database assembled for this study is summarised in Tables 1.1 to 1.6. Table 1.1 breaks down the coverage of broad categories of object included from funerary assemblages by four main periods of interest. While it is not possible to gauge the representativeness of general patterns in this table, the large numbers of graves per period allow room for some cautious initial discussion. General trends include a gradual decline in the placement of fibulae in graves into the early Roman period, most pronounced in the final decades of the first century AD, a tendency also observable in weaponry, faunal remains, and alloy vessels, coupled with a steady increase in the numbers of glass and fine pottery vessels (per grave). The inclusion of coins and lamps in funerary contexts both gradually increase before a dip in the Flavian period. Delving deeper, Table 1.2 breaks down the same data into more specific object categories, highlighting increasing numbers of *terra sigillata* pots in funerary contexts over time, as well as an increased ratio of copper alloy to iron brooches. While the coverage of objects from non-funerary contexts is more uneven and weighted towards the pre-Flavian period (Table 1.3), equivalent patterns are observable within the primary categories of circulating fine ware pottery and fibulae. At a basic level, these patterns effectively illustrate the changed priorities in the use and deposition of material culture as later Iron Age objectscapes transformed into Roman objectscapes.

Table 1.4 summarises the regional and chronological distribution of the 3250+ graves. Despite the inevitable weighting towards larger cemeteries with several hundred graves each, such as Blicquy (Hainaut), King Harry Lane, St. Albans (Hertfordshire), and Wederath (Rhineland-Pfalz), data collected from a multitude of smaller cemeteries has greatly evened the geographical coverage of funerary assemblages for each major period. It is likely that most large gaps in geographical and chronological coverage are as much the product of real lacunae (i.e. in the uptake of accompanied cremation as a mortuary ritual) as opposed to biases of modern fieldwork and data collection for this project. The equivalent table concerning the coverage of data from settlements (Table 1.5) appears sparse in comparison, in large part resulting from the inconsistent approaches to the recording and complete publication of quantitative data from settlement contexts across the various modern national archaeological traditions, which impeded the collection of further data for this study. Although data for late Iron Age settlements (before the arrival of truly standardised forms) is lacking, funerary assemblages from this period provide a solid basis to examine the transition towards the use and selection of new kinds of standardised objects alongside other material culture in later periods.

Lastly, Table 1.6 gives a rough indication of the chronological spread of the data in terms of the kinds of settlement contexts and associated cemeteries selected for analysis. At one level, this categorisation overlooks important distinctions, for example between major civilian centres and those founded as *coloniae*, as well as a variety of status distinctions between cemeteries not associated with major cities or military bases that have been lumped into the 'secondary centre' category. Such distinctions are more easily examined in the chapters that follow. While the 'military' category appears noticeably smaller than the others, a more detailed assessment of the Roman military influence or presence at settlements and cemeteries lacking diagnostic military architecture and settlement morphology is likewise provided in Chapters 3-5.

Phase	Era (c.)	Graves	Coarse pottery	Fine pottery	Fibulae	Other objects	Coins	Glass vs	Animal remains	Martial	Lamps	Alloy vs
1	100 – 25 BC	697	2494	-	608	597	17	-	207	161	1	45
2	25 BC – AD 40	783	1439	1132	594	384	101	25	97	56	20	43
3	AD 40 – 70	985	1843	1581	461	419	237	162	40	20	106	32
4	AD 70 – 100	801	1883	1551	179	370	107	183	26	7	65	19
Grand totals		**3266**	**7659**	**4267**	**1842**	**1770**	**462**	**370**	**370**	**244**	**192**	**139**

Table 1.1. Numbers of graves and associated classes of objects included in the project database.

Funerary assemblages		Pottery						Fibulae		
Phase	Era (c.)	GB	SGS	Misc.	LY	ISS	TW	Cu	Fe	Ag
1	100 – 25 BC	-	-	-	-	-	-	222	386	-
2	25 BC – AD 40	1090	3	9		22	6	495	96	3
3	AD 40 – 70	1270	227	8	54	20	1	399	58	4
4	AD 70 – 100	1052	361	86	50			153	24	2
Grand totals		**3412**	**591**	**103**	**104**	**42**	**7**	**1269**	**564**	**9**

Table 1.2. The quantities of fine ware pottery and fibulae from funerary contexts in the project database.

Settlement assemblages		Pottery						Fibulae		
Phase	Era (c.)	GB	SGS	ISS	LY	TW	Misc.	Cu	Fe	Ag
Fibula horizon	100 BC – AD 70	-	-	-	-	-	-	3559	597	1
2	25 BC – AD 40	2982	23	4151	-	991	12	123	19	-
2-3	25 BC – AD 70	10304	2966	411	490	129	391	-	-	-
3	AD 40 – 70	6571	13438	1197	984	406	319	683	40	13
4	AD 70 – 100	1432	548	3	57	-	-	3	-	-
Grand totals		**21289**	**16975**	**5762**	**1531**	**1526**	**722**	**4368**	**656**	**14**

Table 1.3. The quantities of fine ware pottery and fibulae from settlement contexts in the project database.

Having outlined the rough extent and sub-division of the data that forms the basis of the analysis in this book, it is important to explain the deliberate exclusion of some attributes. While funerary evidence forms a substantial focus, a primary aim of this study is to shed new light on the roles of circulating objects on the constitution of larger objectscapes. The aim is not to provide a comprehensive account of changing funerary practice, or an in-depth study of the elaboration of identity through mortuary remains, for which good accounts already exist for the majority of cemeteries considered.[99] As such, information on the age and sex of the deceased, as well as the various stages of the cremation rite, was excluded from the outset. The main justification for this is the highly patchy and incomplete nature of these data, which greatly reduces the scope for meaningful intra- and inter-cemetery comparisons, let alone those

[99] See Pearce 2013 for funerary practice in Britain, with extensive continental comparanda.

Funerary assemblages		United Kingdom					France			Belgium				Luxem-bourg	Nether-lands	Germany		
Phase	Era (c.)	West Britain	Sussex-Hampshire	Hertfordshire	Essex	Kent	Pas-de-Calais	Nord	Ardennes	West Vlaanderen	Hainaut	Liège-Limburg	Luxembourg	Luxembourg	Gelderland	North Rhine-Westphalia	Rhineland-Pfalz	Saarland
1	100 – 25 BC	-	154	7	19	26	-	7	61	-	-	3	12	98	-	-	304	6
2	25 BC – AD 40	-	1	271	7	7	23	2	8	1	1	3	57	79	15	3	270	35
3	AD 40 – 70	8	4	161	62	60	33	23	3	23	38	9	85	26	106	30	256	58
4	AD 70 – 100	1	20	5	10	62	76	34		22	293	17	22	44	81	46	25	43
Grand totals		**9**	**179**	**444**	**98**	**155**	**132**	**66**	**72**	**46**	**332**	**32**	**176**	**247**	**202**	**79**	**855**	**142**

Table 1.4. Locations of funerary assemblages in the project database, by modern administrative boundaries.

Settlements		United Kingdom					France					Belgium		Luxem-bourg	Nether-lands		Germany	
Phase	Era (c.)	West Britain	Sussex-Hampshire	Hertfordshire	Essex & London	Kent	Somme	Oise	Aisne	Marne	Moselle	Hainaut	Liège-Limburg	Luxembourg	South Holland	Gelderland	North Rhine-Westphalia	Hesse
Fibula horizon	100 BC – AD 70	1	3	4	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-
1	100 – 25 BC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	25 BC – AD 40	-	1	3	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	2	1	-	1	2	1
2-3	25 BC – AD 70	-	3	3	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
3	AD 40 – 70	2	2	1	4	1	-	2	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	-
4	AD 70 – 100	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-

Table 1.5. Locations of settlement assemblages in the project database, by modern administrative boundaries.

at inter-regional scales of analysis. For example, considering the small number of cemeteries for which reliable data exist on the age and sex of the deceased, only a minority of graves in a given cemetery can be reliably assigned to firm age and gender categories due to the destructive and selective nature of the prevailing cremation rite. This problem is compounded by the tendency for gender to be assigned on the basis of grave goods in many older cemetery reports.[100] While the discussions that follow do not completely ignore these sorts of information, I chose to avoid the battle of diminishing returns associated with building such variables into analysis in a more comprehensive manner.

[100] Fernández-Götz 2017, 115.

		Major urban		Military		Major *oppida*		Secondary centres	
Phase	**Era (c.)**	**Settlements**	**Graves**	**Settlements**	**Graves**	**Settlements**	**Graves**	**Settlements**	**Graves**
Fibula horizon	100 BC – AD 70	7	-	2	-	5	-	8	-
1	100 – 25 BC	-	-	-	-	1	49	-	648
2	25 BC – AD 40	4	37	4	10	2	300	4	436
2-3	25 BC – AD 70	4	-	-	-	4	-	4	-
3	AD 40 – 70	11	212	6	31	-	175	5	567
4	AD 70 – 100	8	105	-	27	-	-	1	659

Table 1.6. Numbers of settlement and funerary assemblages included the project database, by settlement-type.

1.6.2 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO HANDLING DATA

Since this book is all about objects *en masse*, a quantitative approach is essential to tease out historically significant patterns. At the same time, a multi-pronged methodology is required to deal with very different kinds of data, at contrasting scales of analytical resolution. As a basic rule of thumb, the widest regional and chronological comparisons need to be able to consider as much data as possible, and therefore require a 'lowest common denominator' approach to ensure parity and robustness. Basic descriptive statistics such as tables and bar charts are often most appropriate for these kinds of comparisons, e.g. to compare the proportions of different types of *terra sigillata* in fine ware assemblages across the wider region in a given period. For the most part, such comparisons are easy to make based on shared typological and quantification conventions for the recording and publication of fine ware ceramics across northern Europe.[101] However, there are limits to the use of basic descriptive statistics, not least because they often fail to do justice to the complexity of the archaeological record and the relational make-up of objectscapes. To this end, where high-quality complex data exist, more advanced analytical tools and methods are deployed to maximise the scope for detailed analyses that have the potential to characterise more nuanced patterns in the selection, use, and deposition of objects. This kind of analysis entails the simultaneous comparison of patterns of association of thousands of objects, split into hundreds of standardised types, and deposited in thousands of different contexts. Having taken the time to catalogue the full contents of over 3250 graves, it would be wasteful not to make use of this granular level of detail, and only compare the total quantities of objects in different cemeteries, for example. Likewise, where data are available, it is desirable to not only compare the supply of different kinds of objects at the level of different archaeological sites and settlements, but also the associations of objects as they were thrown away in hundreds and thousands of different contexts and episodes of deposition.

To undertake the more important and ambitious forms of analysis involving thousands of objects, hundreds of object categories and thousands of graves or settlement contexts, this study makes judicious use of the multivariate statistical technique of Correspondence Analysis (hereafter CA). This is a method that has enjoyed wide usage in archaeology in recent decades, with several profitable applications

[101] Quantification of fibulae by basic counts, and fine pottery by minimum or estimated number of vessels, greatly improve the ease of comparing assemblages across multiple national traditions in this study. This observation does not extend to coarse ware pottery, for example, where the use of Estimated Vessel Equivalent (EVE) in the UK has improved the statistical robustness of narratives at a regional level (e.g. Perring/Pitts 2013), arguably at the cost of creating obstacles for conducting cross-provincial comparisons. EVEs cannot be compared directly with other means of quantification.

to Roman material culture.[102] However, CA is often less than intuitive to use and interpret, especially compared with more common means of summarising patterns in quantitative data, and for these reasons I have restricted its use in this book to important comparisons which are simply impossible using other means of displaying data. Indeed, by routinely comparing several hundred grave assemblages simultaneously, the analyses included in this book are some of the most ambitious applications of CA that I have attempted.[103]

CA is a powerful tool for analysing 'Big Data', and its use for revealing material and cultural phenomena has a long lineage, including its famous application by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu to elucidate tastes in Classical music and cuisine in 20th century France.[104] Applied archaeologically, the essential basis of CA is to reduce the complexity of numerical associations between different categories of objects and their contexts to a simplified 2-dimensional visual representation, configured in such a way to account for the maximum amount of variability in the sample. The main benefit of using CA is that it allows comparisons to be drawn between large numbers of complex assemblages that are made-up of similarly large numbers of different kinds of objects. In this way, it must be remembered that CA is an exercise in data reduction. CA removes the necessity of producing and analysing huge contingency tables with hundreds of objects (columns) set against thousands of archaeological contexts or graves (rows). The method works by summarising tabulated data in terms of dominant patterns of similarity and difference. It is most useful to ascertain whether particular kinds of objects (say, for example, a Dressel 1 amphora) are most commonly associated with particular kinds of site or context (e.g. richly-furnished graves), and indeed, other kinds of object (e.g. bronze cauldrons). CA typically produces one or two graphical outputs in which object types with recurrent contextual associations are plotted together (e.g. *terra sigillata* cups with *terra sigillata* platters), corresponding with labelled assemblages in which those kinds of objects make up the largest proportion (e.g. pits from urban sites). In this way, CA provides a summary picture, in which a given assemblage or object type are compared against the spectrum of other objects and assemblages in the entire data-set, plotted in such a way as to highlight the most statistically striking patterning.

1.6.3 Interpreting and using correspondence analysis (CA)

CA plots can be confusing to read and interpret. This is because CA plots cannot be understood in the same manner as standard bar-charts and scatter-graphs, in which it is possible to read-off the numbers or proportions of different objects in an assemblage. Indeed, this kind of information cannot be extracted directly from reading a CA plot, but it does constitute the raw data that is fed into CA in the form of a contingency table of rows (typically assemblages) and columns (typically object types), with different quantities of objects in the cells of the table. The axes of CA plots measure the degree of statistical difference between the various row and column elements, following thousands of calculations made simultaneously by the computer software. Reading the axes, therefore, can only give a sense of how far removed a given object or assemblage is from a hypothetical 'average' object or assemblage plotted at the axial intersection (0, 0). What tends to happen in a useful CA plot is that multiple clusters of objects and assemblages appear in different parts of the plot. Another common outcome with a larger number of assemblages is the appearance of a multi-pronged continuum of points. Interpretation of CA revolves around understanding the basis of these clusters, or the extremities of a continuum, which may sometimes require some cursory checking against the original tabulated data. Some basic rules of thumb are

[102] For examples, see applications to Roman ceramics (Biddulph 2005), coins (Lockyear 2000), glass (Cool/Baxter 1999), plant remains (van der Veen et al. 2008), objects in military bases (Allison 2013, 377-81), and multiple strands of artefactual data (Perring/Pitts 2013).

[103] For methodological literature, see Pitts 2007a, 2010b, 2014; Perring/Pitts 2013, 137-162; 231-242.

that a) objects plotted close together in a given cluster probably occur in assemblages of similar character or make-up; b) assemblages plotted close together in a cluster probably have similar artefactual attributes; and c) corresponding objects and assemblages tend to be linked contextually and/or chronologically. In this way, CA can be useful for a range of archaeological tasks, including determining chronological patterns in artefactual use across different contexts (seriation), uncovering spatial and contextual tendencies in the deposition of objects within a settlement (spatial analysis), as well as isolating patterns in the use and association of objects *en masse* between multiple sites, contexts, cemeteries, and graves (contextual analysis).

Before meaningful patterning can be isolated, there are certain caveats that apply to the use of CA, both in general, and in specific reference to this study. While the software used typically produces a range of accompanying statistics that measure the contribution of each individual object or assemblage to the overall pattern,[105] this information is not always obvious from examining the visual outputs alone, and may need further verification. This means that CA is often best used as a starting point, helping to flag important patterns that once isolated are better presented using simpler graphs or tables. Alternatively, if basic information about patterning a data-set is already known, CA can be used to clarify the nuances of relationships in a large data-set, or as a means of summarising the big picture constitution of objectscapes. Since CA is set up to highlight difference, it is common for CA plots to be over-affected by a small number of outliers, which typically consist of assemblages with high proportions of unusual objects (unusual being defined in relation to the contents of the other assemblages in the sample). In such cases, the outliers are so different (statistically) that the rest of the data points can be forced to cluster at the centre of the plot, making it virtually impossible to spot any further variability or even read the labels of the points. This situation is easily remedied by re-running the CA once the outliers are removed and understood, called 'peeling the onion',[106] or instead zooming-in to parts of the CA plot that are otherwise too clustered to be visually interpreted. In my own experience, the risk of outliers is best reduced at the stage of tabulating data, by insisting upon minimum numbers of objects for each object category or type, and amalgamating object types that fall below a certain threshold (e.g. lumping rarer *terra sigillata* types if there are less than ten vessels in a given contingency table). This approach produces clear and usable CA plots without recourse to removing outliers, and is used throughout this book.

Ultimately, CA is a flexible and robust tool that can cope with lots of highly variable data. It is well-disposed to compare large and small assemblages simultaneously. As such, it is ideal for investigating and comparing the fundamental make-up of different objectscapes. While there are no minimum or maximum assemblage sizes as such, there is little point in running small contingency tables through CA that can be easily interpreted without complex visualisation, using basic descriptive statistics. At the same time, while smaller assemblages can be compared, their inclusion should depend on the aim of the exercise, since large assemblages will inevitably produce more robust results. For example, when comparing assemblages that are used to stand for activity from whole sites or settlements, each assemblage should ideally consist of at least 25 or more objects for inclusion in CA (and the greater the number of categories of objects, the higher this threshold needs to be). At the same time, however, if the goal is to look at aggregative patterns in funerary practice at the level of hundreds of individual graves, a minimum of only two objects per grave is all that is needed to isolate meaningful patterns of association in the placement of different kinds of objects.[107] In this way, the use of CA in this book is restricted to instances when it is needed the most, when dealing with vary large numbers of assemblages and/or object types at once, which need to be compared simultaneously – in other words, to characterise the make-up of objectscapes, from object-rich locales to pan-regional vistas.

[104] Bourdieu 1984 [1979], 266, 340.

[105] Minitab 17 was used throughout this project.

[106] Cool/Baxter 1999.

[107] No minimum number of objects is really necessary for this, although removing all the graves with just one object can help reduce clustering in the CA plot.

2 The roles of objects in later Iron Age societies

2.1 Funerary equipment for the late Iron Age aristocrat

In early December 1967, the progress of a bulldozer digging the course of a road near Baldock in north Hertfordshire was halted by a piece of iron sticking out of the ground. The substantial object in question was a fire-dog, an item of late Iron Age hearth furniture, one of a pair found in the same context. This chance discovery led to the full-scale archaeological excavation of some other exceptional objects and a small quantity of cremated human remains. In full, the grave contained an amphora from Italy that probably once contained wine, a pair of iron fire-dogs, a pair of copper alloy bowls of likely Italian origin, a pair of copper alloy-bound wooden buckets, an iron-rimmed copper alloy cauldron, the remains of a pig, and a brown bear pelt which probably wrapped the body prior to cremation (Fig. 2.1). If the dating of the Dressel 1A amphora is a reliable indicator of the date of the grave, it probably belonged to the first half of the first century BC, pre-dating the campaigns of Julius Caesar in Gaul and Britain – making it the earliest known Mediterranean amphora in a funerary context in Britain.[108] The presence of standardised Mediterranean objects in a grave this early raises many questions. What was the significance of the Italian wine container at Baldock, long before any historically-attested Roman presence in the region, north or south of the Channel? What kind of person was buried in the grave? And what can be inferred from the combinations of objects with the cremated remains?

To shed more light on the questions posed by the richly furnished grave at Baldock, a logical next step is to locate nearby examples or parallels. While Italian wine amphorae are known in Britain in this period, most famously at the port of Hengistbury Head in Dorset,[109] central southern Britain has yet to produce a late Iron Age grave with a wine amphora. Across the Channel however, the situation is rather different, with a plethora of examples to choose from.[110] One such grave comes from Vieux-les-Asfeld (Champagne), which dates to roughly the same period as the one at Baldock, and includes a similar combination of objects: a pair of Dressel 1A amphorae, a pair of buckets (both in a fragmentary state), a wide range of animal offerings (including pig), as well as a plethora of items not found at Baldock, including over 20 pottery vessels (Fig. 2.2).[111] Although over 400km apart as the crow flies, both graves feature similar elements: the same type of wine containers from Italy, deliberately placed in a funerary setting, and directly associated with elaborately decorated buckets with alloy fittings and animal offerings. What, if anything, can be inferred from such similarities?

In its European context, the amphora-bearing grave at Baldock may be considered a northerly outlier of a much bigger phenomenon in which Italian wine amphorae were placed with buckets and related equipment in funerary contexts of the first century BC (Fig. 2.3). Although spanning extensive parts of

[108] Stead/Rigby 1986, 51-61; Sealey 2009, 31. A date range of c. 90 – 40 BC is likely given the early date of the amphorae and the absence of local grog-tempered pottery characteristic of graves from the second half of the century onward; for further discussion see Fitzpatrick 2007, 131-132; Garrow/Gosden 2012, 241-248.

[109] Cunliffe 1987.

[110] Poux 2004, 555-580 provides an excellent survey of find-spots of wine amphorae in late Iron Age Gaul.

[111] Vieux-les-Asfeld grave 3, Lambot et al. 1994, 211-227.

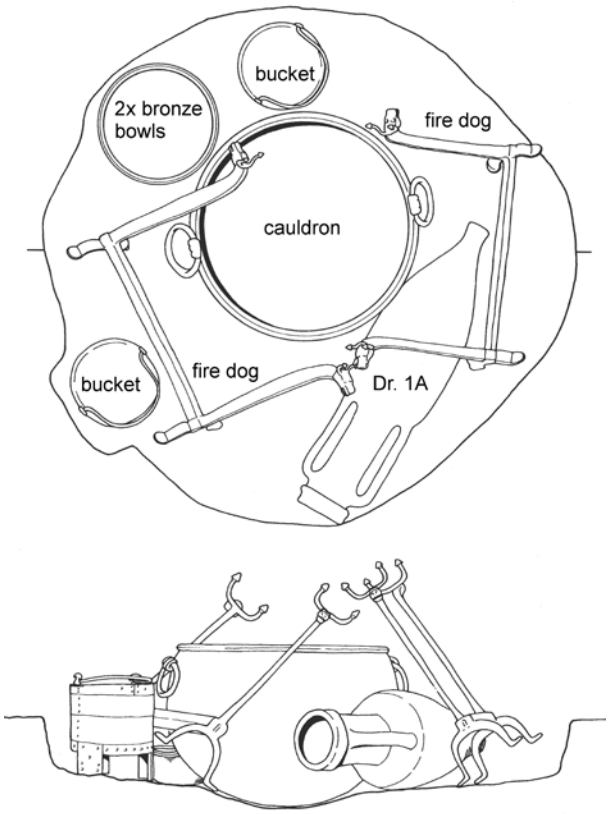


Figure 2.1. Finds from the rich late Iron Age grave at the Tene, Baldock (after Stead/Rigby 1986, 52).

central and northern Gaul,[112] the pattern was clearly not universal among societies across the region. Even if all northern Gallic societies had ready access to Italian wine, which was not the case, placing amphorae and feasting equipment in graves must be considered an optional strategy for social display. At a basic level the combinations of objects discovered at Baldock reveal not just the movement of objects from as far away as Italy, but a deliberate opting-in to loosely-shared cultural practices that held sway among several communities in northern Gaul. Whether the people responsible for placing the objects in the grave at Baldock were local to southeast Britain, from Gaul, or even further afield is impossible to know. But in a sense, this is not important. What is matters most is that the people responsible for placing the objects in the grave had intimate knowledge of what was a highly exclusive funerary practice among certain communities in Gaul, and crucially, the vital resources to carry out aspects of the practice in Britain.

By enacting the amphora and bucket ritual so far away from its north Gallic heartland, it is likely that the buriers at Baldock included the objects they considered most essential: the wine amphora and what is conventionally interpreted as hearth and feasting equipment, the buckets, cauldron, and fire-dogs. The more numerous objects and offerings illustrated at Vieux-les-Asfeld – especially the pottery vessels, also paralleled in equivalent graves across northern Gaul, were evidently less crucial at Baldock. For pottery, quantity seems to have been an important criterion for its inclusion in the richer Gallic graves. Under the circumstances that local sources of good quality wheel-thrown pottery were not available at Baldock at the time, such items may well have been regarded as secondary compared with the other feasting equipment. It is possible that no pottery at all was preferred to large numbers of the 'wrong' kinds of vessel. This all begs the question what made the amphora and bucket combination essential in what is assumed to be the upper echelon of

[112] See Poux 2004, 385-392 on the geographical extent of the phenomenon.

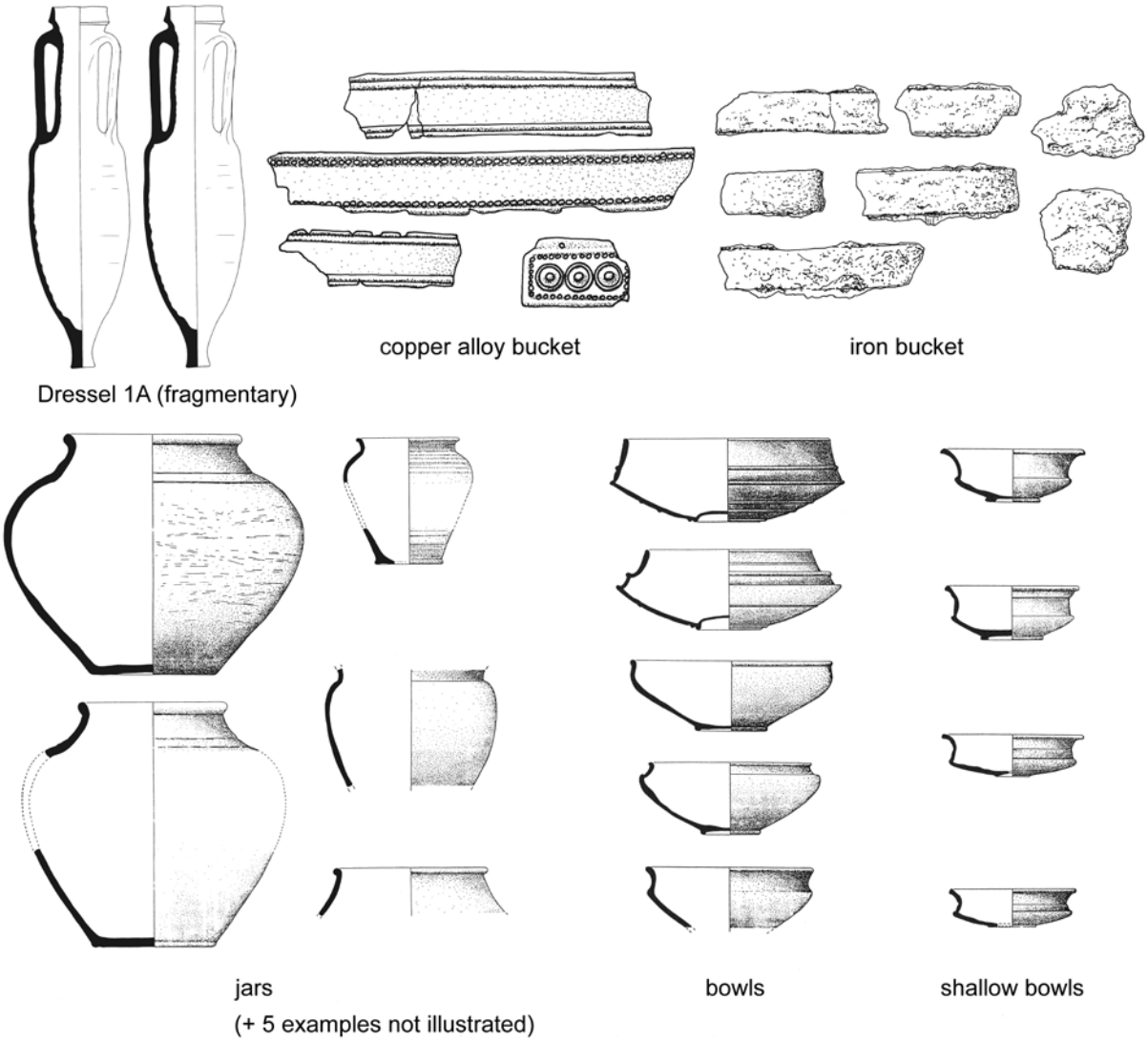


Figure 2.2. Selected finds from Vieux-les-Asfeld grave 3 (after Lambot et al. 1994, 219-224).

late Iron Age funerary practice. To answer this question, it is necessary to examine a wider array of evidence, including the testimonies of observers whom may be considered broadly contemporary.

While the peoples of Iron Age northern Europe did not produce their own histories or descriptions of how their societies worked, a surprising amount of useful information can be gleaned from critical readings of the so-called ethnographic accounts written by Mediterranean authors. Before considering some of these texts in more detail, it is worth summarising the observations of modern scholarship on ancient ethnographies concerning so-called 'barbarian' peoples. On this subject Greg Woolf highlights several literary devices that were commonly deployed by the classical ethnographers. Perhaps the strongest of these was the stereotype, constructed on the basis of obvious observable differences with Mediterranean peoples, with more familiar customs often edited out because they failed to create a picture of an 'other' that was sufficiently outlandish for their intended audience.[113] A variety of paradigms helped to explain the basis of cultural differences. These included a climatic paradigm, which linked the greater physical stature of Gauls and Germans with the harsher climate of the north and its prevailing agricultural regime, which favoured meat and dairy diets; a genealogical paradigm, which provided a basis to differ-

[113] Woolf 2011, 19-24.

entiate different tribes based on their mythological ancestors; and a geographical paradigm, in which the fiercest barbarians were to be found furthest from Rome, as the centre of the civilised world.[114]

Despite the blunt predispositions of classical ethnography, it could nonetheless shed light on an unfamiliar world, and in its own way involved the creation of new information, however unreliable this may seem to modern historians. There is some room for optimism concerning the writings of Posidonius (c. 135-51 BC), a stoic philosopher who is thought to have gained first-hand knowledge of the pre-Roman communities of northwest Europe following a visit to Gaul, probably in the 80s BC. Although the full account of Posidonius' time in Gaul does not survive for modern audiences, key elements are reproduced in the writings of later authors who had access to the original text, including Athenaeus, Diodorus of Sicily, Strabo, and Julius Caesar.[115] A particular aspect of Posidonius' experiences that served to highlight deep-rooted cultural differences with the Mediterranean world is his description of Gallic feasting. One passage famously describes the consumption of wine undiluted by the Gallic elite,[116] a practice that in Mediterranean discourse was generally held to infringe on the prerogatives of the gods, a well-known trait of barbarians.[117] Observations like this, coupled with the presence of wine amphorae in graves rather than everyday domestic settings, serves to underline the likelihood that in much of so-called long-haired Gaul (Gallia Comata), the spread of Italian wine did not entail the spread of Mediterranean styles of consumption. In this way, wine was a universal commodity that was particularised to fit with existing Gallic customs and social structures.[118]

Given the prominence of archaeologically-attested commodities and objects, the writings of Posidonius have been influential in archaeological and anthropological studies on the role of wine in late Iron Age societies.[119] Others, however, urge a more cautious approach, highlighting the disconnect between the societies visited by Posidonius, presumed to be in southern Gaul, and the archaeological evidence from northern Gaul to which the text-derived models are often applied.[120] While bearing in mind these caveats, it is easy to appreciate the archaeological fascination with Posidonius' writings. The passage on Gallic feasting from Athenaeus describes certain customs that demonstrably correspond with the objects present in late Iron Age aristocratic graves like Baldock and Vieux-les-Asfeld.[121] The account begins by recounting feasts involving 'a large amount of meat, either boiled or roasted on charcoal or on spits',[122] and Diodorus of Sicily likewise refers to 'cauldrons and spits containing large pieces of meat.'[123] While the roasting of meat on spits refers to the necessity of fire-dogs to ensure that joints could be cooked evenly on a rotating spit held at an optimal distance from the fire, the boiling of meat was accomplished using a cauldron – both kinds of objects that were present in the grave at Baldock, in addition to animal remains. In the Athenaeus passage, Posidonius describes how a rigid social hierarchy was reflected in the positioning of the assembled congregation, with the host and most influential person at the centre of a circle, seated in front of their warrior retinue.[124] Posidonius then describes a distinction between the consumption of Italian wine for the wealthy, and the consumption of wheat beer by the poorer members of the group via 'a common cup' passed to the right around the circle. At Baldock and Vieux-les-Asfeld the likely candidate for such a communal vessel would be the buckets with alloy-fittings, which were sufficiently capacious to hold enough beer to be passed around a large congregation, or perhaps the smaller copper-alloy bowls at Baldock.

[114] ibid. 32-51.

[115] See Tierney 1960 for a comprehensive reconstruction.

[116] Athenaeus IV 36, 151-152; Tierney 1960, 247. In this context it is noteworthy that Posidonius concedes that 'sometimes a little water is added' to the wine, slightly tempering the image of the irredeemable barbarian.

[117] Murray 1990, 6, c.f. Dunbabin 1993 for Roman practices of wine mixing.

[118] Woolf 1998, 174-181; Pitts 2005a.

[119] e.g. Dietler 1990; Arnold 1999; Poux 2004.

[120] Loughton 2009, 77-78.

[121] Athenaeus IV 36, 151-152; Tierney 1960, 247.

[122] Athenaeus IV 36, 151-152; Tierney 1960, 247.

[123] Diodorus Siculus V 28, 4; Tierney 1960, 250.

[124] Keating 2000 highlights the analogous role of seating in the construction of social rank in an anthropological study of Pohnpeian feasting (Micronesia).

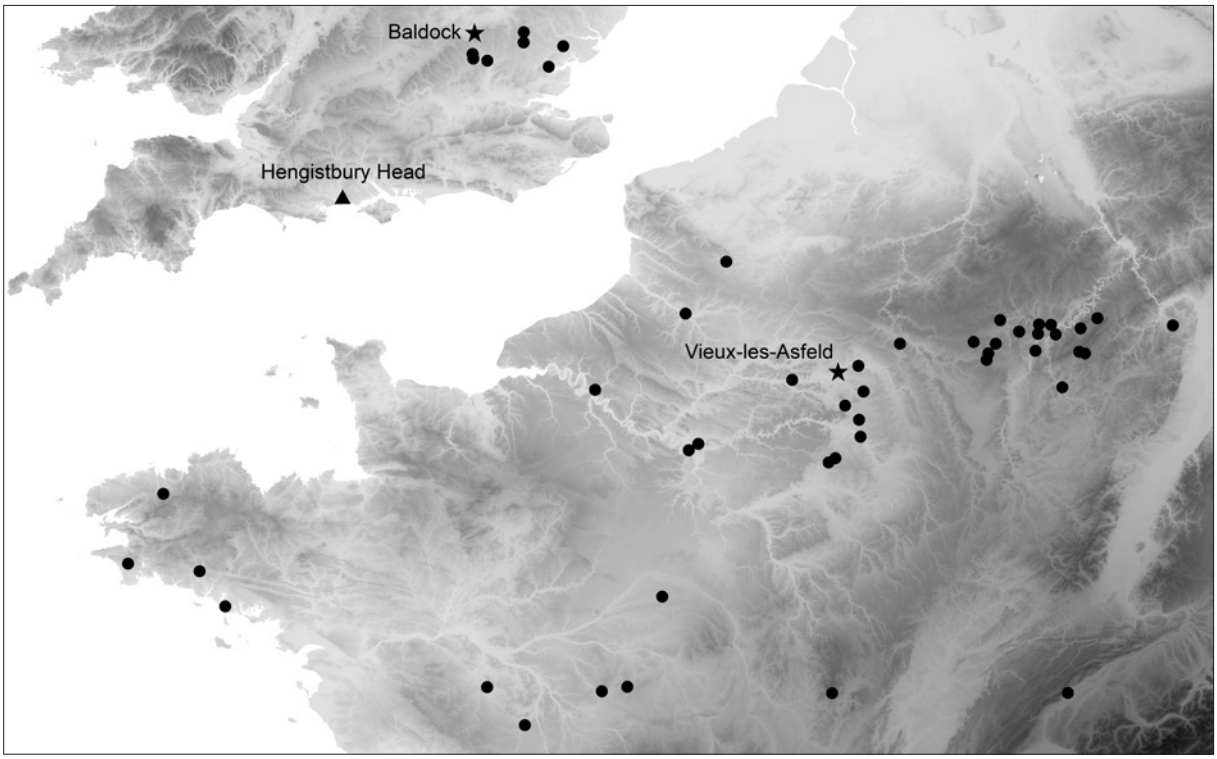


Figure 2.3. The distribution of Dressel 1 amphorae in funerary contexts in NW Europe (data from Poux 2004 with additions), with other sites mentioned in the text.

What can be inferred from the corresponding elements of Posidonius' account of Gallic feasting and the contents of early first century BC graves such as Baldock and Vieux-les-Asfeld? While it is highly unlikely that Posidonius had first-hand experience of the societies in question, the archaeological evidence nonetheless suggests that certain basic aspects of the practice he describes had currency across a wider region, despite inevitable divergences and incongruences.[125] Since agricultural surplus could not be acculmulated without limit in Iron Age societies, feasting would have provided an attractive mechanism to ensure its useful mobilisation, as a constructive way of dissipating excess.[126] The central elements of this broadly universal Gallic feasting practice according to Posidonius comprise the food and drink (meat, wine, and beer), consumed according to a social hierarchy, which was reinforced through the use of appropriate vessels and equipment. Matthieu Poux asserts that certain objects, notably the cauldrons, larger buckets, and iron fire-dogs, were reserved for collective use at feasts alone, and that their presence in funerary contexts must be indicative of the upper aristocracy responsible for organising feasts at which they would dispense largesse to their clients.[127] Likewise, Poux suggests the graves of the members of the first to fourth circles of the feast could be identified by the presence of objects for individual as opposed to collective consumption, which could still include quantities of wine amphorae, smaller buckets, and various other feasting accoutrements.

At this point of the discussion, it is important to recall a central tenet of funerary archaeology, that 'the dead do not bury themselves, but are treated and disposed of by the living'.[128] This maxim warns against the

[125] Loughton 2009 reveals less hierarchical wine consumption patterns among the Averni of central eastern France.

[126] Murray 1990, 4.

[127] Poux 2004, 222-226.

[128] Parker Pearson 2003, 3.

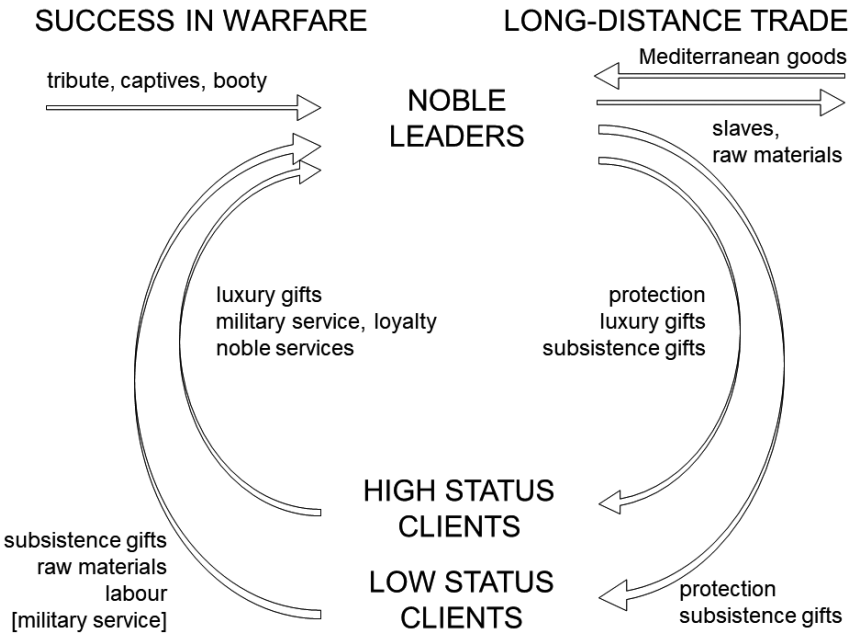


Figure 2.4. Schema of clientship in later Iron Age societies (adapted from Roymans 1990, 43).

assumption that grave goods habitually reflect aspects of the deceased's social persona, and is all too often overlooked when dealing with cases of exceptionally well-furnished graves. In such situations, it is necessary to be mindful of other possibilities, such as the placement of objects as gifts from people with particular kin or client-based connections to the deceased.[129] While grave-gifts may still represent aspects of the deceased's fossilised social network, from communally-owned cauldrons to the drinking vessels of individuals, this perspective also opens up the possibility that objects placed in the grave were associated, for example, with age, gender, or status groups that the deceased did not belong to at all. If a Gallic aristocrat decided to place a suite of feasting gear in the grave of a lowly client, would archaeologists be able to make this distinction?

While retaining some healthy caution on the link between individual social identities and grave goods, the model advocated by Poux is compelling on many levels, not least because it seems to fit both the classical accounts and archaeological evidence, but also because it concords with anthropological understandings of the role of clientship as an organising principle in many late Iron Age societies of northern Gaul. The clientship system was rooted in reciprocal but asymmetrical obligations between patrons and clients, typically among societies with highly visible aristocracies with higher status clients such as warrior retainers,[130] and lower status clients engaged in forms of subsistence production.[131] The system of reciprocal flows of gifts and tribute between patrons and clients of differing status is best summarised diagrammatically (Fig. 2.4). Clientship permeated many social spheres, and as with feasting, a great deal of the evidence for it comes from classical ethnography. A particularly famous example of the workings of clientship comes from Posidonius' description of the Avernian chief Louernius, who attempted to win influence by giving gifts of gold and silver, and doling out food and alcohol from a specially constructed enclosure at which feasting lasted for several days.[132] While the text is silent on the

[129] Millett 1993, 267-277.

[130] See Hill 2012, 256-258 for discussion of the possibility that Iron Age clientship systems could have worked without marked social stratification, producing a trapezoidal rather than pyramidal social structure.

[131] See Roymans 1990, 29-45, cf. Nash 1984; Roymans 1996b, 13-41; Fernández-Götz 2014.

[132] Athenaeus IV 37, 152; Tierney 1960, 248.

consequences of this largesse, if it had any basis in reality, the recipients of Louernius would have almost certainly have accepted the obligation to provide various kinds of reciprocal services. Under this system therefore, objects for the collective dispensation of largesse at feasts had a very practical value, as well as potentially symbolising high social rank rooted in the capacity to bestow gifts on others.[133] Likewise, items found in graves associated with individual consumption may well represent gifts given by aristocratic patrons to higher status clients in reward for their loyalty or military service.

Taking on board the implications of the combinations of objects with wider circulation in the exceptional late Iron Age grave at Baldock, an overwhelming picture emerges of a new form of funerary practice in Britain, drawing upon ideas from across Gaul, and utilising commodities from Italy. The highly distinctive combination of objects in this grave raise important questions about the spread of Gallic social institutions and feasting practices to Britain, as well as the possible existence of a much broader milieu of shared cultural values and social practices, hinted at by the resonances with Posidonius' accounts of similar practices in central or southern Gaul. The example also underlines the importance of standardised objects as historical game-changers, most notably the highly standardised Italian wine amphorae and associated objects such as buckets and cauldrons. While the buckets and cauldrons only hint at the beginnings of standardisation in Gallic design, being more stylistically and formally varied than the amphorae, they nevertheless can be argued to form a single category unified by function and practice at a pan-regional level.[134] To explore these phenomena in greater detail, the following sections discuss the wider impact and development of standardisation in terms of the bigger picture of later Iron Age objectscapes in northwest Europe, considering imports from the Mediterranean world and local innovations respectively.

2.2. MEDITERRANEAN OBJECTS IN LATE IRON AGE NORTH-WEST EUROPE

Goods of Mediterranean manufacture were effectively the first truly standardised objects to circulate in northwest Europe, and thus offer a vital means of comparing the various societies and objectscapes they ended up in. For the purposes of this study, I define standardisation from the point of view of the styles and appearances of objects in circulation. Standardisation refers to the reduction in variability in the visual appearance of objects, at its highest-level minimising noticeable heterogeneity within a category of objects, with the result that multiple individuals may be considered virtually identical.[135] Standardisation in objects tends to be associated with craft specialisation, and increasingly larger-scales of production and organisation associated with the appearance of workshops.[136] Standardisation can occur for a variety of reasons, such as aiding the practical utility of mass production, to ensure efficiency in the movement of objects (e.g. stacking multiple pots together), to achieve standard volumes (for amphorae), or unit measures for economic exchanges. The focus of this book, however, is on the impact of standardised objects on their users and the wider make-up of objectscapes. Before examining the impact of Mediterranean standardised objects in later Iron Age Europe in more detail, it is useful to be aware of some of the problems of previous attempts to interpret this phenomenon.

133 The classic anthropological text on gift-giving is Mauss 1954; cf. discussion in terms of commodities and value by Appadurai 1986; Douglas/Isherwood 1996, and feasting by Gell 1986; Dietler/Hayden 2001.

134 For example, Stead 1971 highlights the strong stylistic similarity of the buckets found at Baldock with others in south-east Britain, as well as those found in Luxembourg.

135 This definition draws heavily on the discussion in Rice 2015, 365-367.

136 Rice 2015, 365-7; Orton/Hughes 2013, 144-149. The definitive study of the organisation of pottery production in the Roman world remains Peacock 1982. The appearance of standardised pottery in late Iron Age Britain is likewise seen as a product of intensified labour (Morris 1994, 380).

While intrinsical small in number compared with locally-produced objects, imports such as Italian wine amphorae and associated alloy vessels have long held a privileged position in the archaeology of pre-Roman northwest Europe.[137] As demonstrated by the example of the highly-standardised Italian wine amphora in the grave at Baldock, past scholarship on such mobile objects has often focused on their capacity to dramatically alter (and reveal) local social structures, and the degrees to which they represent the spread of hitherto alien practices in northern Europe. In cultural terms, the presence of Italian wine in demonstrably pre-conquest contexts gave credence to parts of Caesar's Gallic War narrative in which the outlook of different Gallic communities towards Rome was in part judged on their willingness or refusal to allow Italian wine merchants into their territory. For example, Caesar's observations that the Belgae, living in the northernmost part of Gaul, received less frequent deliveries of wine from Italian *mercatores* than other Gallic communities to the south and west,[138] are largely supported archaeologically,[139] as are similar assertions that particular groups like the Nervii refused entry to merchants and forbade the importation of wine and other Mediterranean goods.[140] In Caesar's narrative, such acceptances and refusals are explained in the context of a geographical paradigm in which the societies furthest from Rome were portrayed as the most barbaric. Not only did such descriptions add to Caesar's prestige in overcoming a difficult opponent, but the specific reference to wine underlined the Gauls' resistance to the corrupting effects of luxury – another common literary trope, in this case no doubt intended as a thinly disguised barb against Caesar's political adversaries enjoying the good life in Italy while he was suffering the hardships of a military campaign in Gaul.

Caesar's first-hand descriptions of the dispersal of wine among different Gallic communities raise the question of whether finds of imported Mediterranean commodities can provide evidence of a process of 'Romanisation before conquest',[141] in which societies more positively disposed towards Rome may have actively sought to emulate aspects of Roman culture. While the appearance of such goods may indicate processes of change were underway among the Iron Age societies in question, this was not necessarily change that would have been easily recognised as something familiar from a Roman point of view. A critical factor is being able to make 'the distinction between consumption of Roman goods and Roman styles of consumption'.[142] As the introductory examples of wine amphorae in graves at Baldock and Vieux-les-Asfeld demonstrate, the movement of objects from the Roman world should not imply a corresponding transfer of Mediterranean cultural knowledge to the late Iron Age recipient in Gaul or Britain, and instead more often than not tended to involve Italian products being incorporated into thoroughly Gallic systems of value.

In recognition of the different social function of Mediterranean objects in late Iron Age societies, another popular interpretation was to classify them as 'prestige goods'. A leading proponent of this approach in the 1970s and 80s was Colin Haselgrove, who suggested that the expansion of Mediterranean trade in luxury commodities like wine actively stimulated the development of urbanism in northwest Europe.[143] Haselgrove argued that a ready supply of wine and other objects was vital for recipient societies to maintain a social hierarchy based on the gift exchange of prestige goods.[144] Criteria for these prestige goods included items that were only available from outside the local economy, required rare materials, or considerable technical skills and/or labour investment to manufacture.[145] The most likely candidates in the late Iron Age of southern Britain and northern Gaul were wine amphorae, imported ceramics and

[137] For the impact of wine amphorae in late Iron Age Europe, see Colin 1998; Collis 1984a; Cunliffe 1988; Fitzpatrick 1985; Haselgrove 1982, 1987; Loughton 2009; Pitts 2005a; Poux 2004; Roymans 1990; Tchernia 1983.

[138] Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 1.1.3.

[139] Roymans 1990, 163.

[140] Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 2.15.4.

[141] Haselgrove 1984; Millett 1990, 33.

[142] Woolf 1998, 176.

[143] Haselgrove 1976.

[144] Haselgrove 1982.

[145] Haselgrove 1982, 82.

metal drinking vessels. The popularity of prestige goods thinking was fuelled by a spate of archaeological discoveries that seemed to give credence to another famous passage from Posidonius, this time describing the Gallic love of wine. In particular, it is Posidonius' observation that Italian merchants could expect a Gallic slave in return for an amphora of wine that attracted particular attention.[146] According to Haselgrove and Cunliffe, such an exchange rate made sense in the late Iron Age economic system in which the ruling elite exercised control by supplying prestige items needed by their juniors and subordinates on critical occasions for their own advancement to higher status.[147] These occasions included rites of passage and initiations, marriage, and religious services. Funerals of important individuals would likely have held similar significance, providing occasions for new generations to make claims to status and ease any tensions arising from the rupture or transferral of power through the distribution of gifts and largesse.

Although often compelling and supported by impressive theoretical frameworks, the application of prestige goods models to Mediterranean imports in later Iron Age Europe was found to be problematic, and they gradually fell from favour. The reasons for this are threefold. In the first place, while it is reasonable to assume that many so-called prestige items were luxuries, i.e. having a role that was primarily social or rhetorical,[148] insufficient evidence emerged to sustain the idea that imports were vital supports to the social hierarchy. In other words, there was not enough proof to support the notion that Gallic societies were dependent on the supply of wine to function effectively. Following extensive fieldwork in northern Gaul (Picardy), Haselgrove concluded that the quantity of wine amphorae in this region was not enormous, may have only been drunk on special occasions,[149] and was therefore insufficient to completely support an elite class. Secondly, the theory that the development of new late Iron Age settlements with urban characteristics was somehow driven by access to Mediterranean imports was cast into serious doubt by the appearance of new centres in areas which never received significant quantities of imported goods.[150] Even in regions with some correlation between Mediterranean imports and the development of new forms of settlement, such as southeast Britain, these changes are increasingly viewed as the culmination of longer-term indigenous processes, such as population increase, settlement expansion, and diasporas.[151] Thirdly, prestige goods models implicitly assume prehistoric societies to be characterised by the emergence of aristocracies, social hierarchies, and inequality, which recent research demonstrates to be far from universal in pre-Roman northwest Europe.[152]

Perhaps the biggest weakness underlying the application of prestige goods models to late Iron Age Europe is that they privileged small quantities of imports over the consideration of larger objectscapes, of which items exchanged over long-distances made up only a negligible component. Taking into account the make-up of pottery assemblages of local manufacture that were associated with the importation of Italian wine into southeast Britain, for example, it is highly probable that amphorae were entering a world in which practices of communal drinking at feasts were already well-established, using local beverages such as beer or mead.[153] In this scenario, the demand for wine is understandable, as a scarce commodity that came in large anthropomorphically-shaped containers well-suited to social display. These observations diminish the agency once accorded to Mediterranean imports in prestige goods thinking. Nevertheless, while societies in northwest Europe were unlikely to have been dependent on the trickle of wine imports entering their territories, this does not mean that the importation of Mediterranean goods

146 Diodorus Siculus V 26, 3; Tierney 1960, 249.

147 Haselgrove 1982, 81; Cunliffe 1988, 87-92. This is a characteristic of Dietler's (2001, 82-83) patron-role feasts, involving 'formalized use of commensal hospitality to symbolically reiterate and legitimize institutionalized relations of asymmetrical social power'.

148 Appadurai 1986, 86.

149 Haselgrove 1996, 168-175.

150 Woolf 1993a, 18-19.

151 Hill 2007, cf. Fernández-Götz 2014, 166-171, 2018, whose reviews of the emergence of European *oppida* emphasise population growth and the development of new forms of social and religious stratification, as opposed to long-distance trade and large-scale production.

152 Hill 2012; Brück/Fontijn 2013.

153 Hill 2002; Pitts 2005a.

did not have a considerable impact. For example, even if we may question the veracity of the exchange rate reported by Posidonius, reciprocal flows of slaves to Italy from some Gallic communities remains a likely consequence of the wine trade. To reconcile these ideas, it is sensible to return to the ideas of clientship articulated by Nico Roymans and others (Fig. 2.4). Under this system, the appearance of wine and other imports likely had a destabilising effect on the various exchanges governed by webs of clientship, but ultimately constituted an option rather than a necessity in the larger repertoire of aristocratic strategies for reciprocal gift-giving and social display. For example, whereas sharing wine in horizontal exchanges with individuals of equal status at a feast would have served to underline the prestige of a host, the success of the feast would have still been largely dependent on the ability to command local resources available in a given moment (i.e. beer and meat) to satiate a larger pool of base clients.

2.3 LOCAL OBJECTS: CIRCULATIONS, INNOVATIONS, AND THE BEGINNINGS OF STANDARDISATION

In object-rich graves such as those at Baldock and Vieux-les-Asfeld, standardised Mediterranean imports such as amphorae were closely associated with a plethora of locally produced artefacts. At higher levels of exchange within Iron Age clientship systems, classic examples of locally-produced prestige items are objects like gold torcs, which likely functioned as gifts to social equals and important clients, as well as serving as highly visible symbols of individual authority.[154] For less hierarchical Iron Age societies, torcs could instead be used to stand for the collective wealth and power of a group, functioning as symbols of office rather than objects conferring elite status.[155] Similar social roles are also likely for hearth and feasting equipment, such as buckets, cauldrons, and fire-dogs. While these items could have circulated in elite gift-exchange networks, their implied use in practices of communal consumption likewise cautions against viewing them as exclusively aristocratic objects. It is also important to recognise that many prestige 'local' items were in some way reliant on longer distance exchanges. For example, the torcs in the Winchester hoard from southern Britain (c. 75-25 BC) were probably made using a technique and alloy from the Mediterranean.[156] Other objects with wider social distributions, such as La Tène glass armrings from the Lower Rhine, were likewise dependent on raw materials of Mediterranean origin.[157] For exchanges further down the social hierarchy, other locally-produced objects that may have functioned as gifts from the aristocracy to lower-status clients and military retainers include gold and silver coins,[158] pottery vessels for individual consumption,[159] and other objects potentially associated with status such as weapons, mirrors, and items linked to bodily adornment, such as elaborate copper alloy brooches, arm- and finger-rings.

Looking beyond the well-documented roles of imported goods and exceptional locally produced objects like torcs and weapons, it is important to stress the vital contributions of more mundane objects in later Iron Age societies, such as pottery and brooches. Not only were such items theoretically available to the widest cross-section of Iron Age communities, often constituting the most numerous material finds in cemeteries of the period, but they also seem to have cross-cut social strata, frequently occurring in rich and modestly furnished graves alike. Indeed, the ever-proliferating array of more ordinary objects at this time constitutes a sizeable societal step-change, which relative to earlier periods may justifiably

[154] Roymans 1990, 128-131; Creighton 2000, 18; Roymans et al. 2012, 17.

[155] Hill 2012, 256.

[156] Hill et al. 2004; Creighton 2006, 42-44; Joy 2015, 155-158.

[157] Roymans et al. 2014. These likely functioned as markers of gender and age class identities.

[158] Nash 1981; Roymans 1990, 131-136; Creighton 2000.

[159] Poux 2004, 222-226.

be described in terms of 'mass consumption'.[160] As Chris Gosden puts it, there was 'a general excitation of the object world from at least 100 BC onwards which owes something to trends emanating from the Mediterranean which ripple out through areas north and west'.[161] Understanding this transformation of late Iron Age objectscapes is vital not only to comprehend the societies in question, but also their trajectories into the Roman period, which witnessed an object boom of even greater intensity.[162] In this regard, the extent to which the emergence of *standardised* forms of material culture can be recognised prior to Roman conquest is an important question to address in determining the relative contribution of indigenous communities in processes of change, as well as Mediterranean contacts. This entails examining the emergence of standardisation as a form of genuine innovation in later Iron Age objectscapes. Other important questions concern the effects of standardisation, and the extent to which it was associated with growing pan-regional connectivity and shared cultural practices in northwest Europe prior to Roman conquest. Examining these developments also provides a background for the analysis of the genealogical influences of Gallic and associated designs on the provincial Roman objectscapes that followed.

2.3.1 THE 'FIBULA EVENT HORIZON'

One class of seemingly mundane object that underwent significant innovation in the later Iron Age of northwest Europe is the brooch, or fibula. From the end of the second century BC in southern Britain and across northwest Europe, a massive upsurge in the quantity of fibulae, combined with an emphasis on more outwardly visible and decorative designs, has been provocatively termed the 'fibula event horizon' by JD Hill.[163] Jundi and Hill originally interpreted the phenomenon in terms of the need for new ways of expressing aspects of social identity through bodily appearance. This in turn inspired a wave of studies seeking to examine the role of fibulae in various later Iron Age and early Roman societies.[164] From a late Iron Age perspective, it is important to distinguish the earlier stages of this process from later developments that occurred in the wake of Roman conquest in the wider region. For example, the increased pluralism of more visually-elaborate designs, such as the Thistle brooch, did not occur until the Augustan period at the very end of the first century BC, a period that saw many other widespread changes in objectscapes that are addressed in Chapter 3.

Prior to Caesar's conquests in the 50s BC, the most notable changes in the use of fibulae are undoubtedly their increased numbers, combined with greater standardisation at a pan-regional scale. Regarding the increase in numbers of brooches, Jundi and Hill highlight not just an increase in the numbers of fibulae in general circulation, but also a qualitative shift towards their deliberate placement in so-called ritual and structured deposits,[165] including votive deposits at shrines and temples, and as inclusions in funerary assemblages. This combination of quantitative and qualitative change in the use of fibulae suggests deeper-rooted changes in the relationship between brooches and their wearers. Commenting on the phenomenon from a longer-term perspective that takes in the Bronze and Iron Ages, Peter Wells focused attention on the emergence of common brooch forms from the end of the second century BC, such as the Nauheim type, which was cast as a single piece and designed specifically for mass-production.[166] In particular, Wells stressed the contrast in brooch manufacture from the early Iron Age, when more elabo-

160 Wells 2012, 216-221.

161 Gosden 2005, 208.

162 Woolf 1998, 171-174.

163 Hill 1995, 121; Jundi/Hill 1998.

164 Eckardt 2005; Carr 2006; Pitts 2010a; Ivleva 2011; Heeren 2014.

165 Jundi/Hill 1998, 127-129. See Hill (1995) for discussion of 'structured deposition' in the context of late Iron Age Britain.

166 Wells 2012, 109-111.

rately designed brooches were produced as unique individual items. By the late Iron Age, the wearing of more or less universal styles of brooches had become normalised.

In basic terms, the emergence of mass-produced fibulae types with increasingly pan-regional distributions such as the Nauheim may be interpreted as a move towards standardisation. However, in contrast with something like the Dressel 1 amphora that was circulating in northwest Europe at the time, there are big differences in what this 'standardisation' entailed. While a universal style of Nauheim brooch is clearly recognisable (Fig. 2.8), unlike the Dressel 1 amphora, which can be split into distinct three subtypes (A-C), there is considerable stylistic variation within the category of Nauheim brooches, especially when derivative forms are taken into account, even within particular regions or localities.[167] A term used more routinely in prehistoric archaeology to account for this sort of phenomenon is seriality, i.e. the existence of kinds of objects we perceive to be identical, albeit with subtle amounts of variation.[168] Building in a sense of successive productions, the idea of seriality is important in describing processes of standardisation in late Iron Age objects like fibulae, in which the creation of slightly differing series of artefacts are nonetheless recognisable as constituents of a single family of objects. In this way, it follows that standardisation in late Iron Age (and Roman) fibulae should be largely characterised in terms of a milieu of objects that replicated one another closely enough to enable routine typological classification, but at the same time falling short of (virtual) identical replication.

The increased circulation of fibulae in late Iron Age northwest Europe that were standardised according to typological criteria and serialised types can be interpreted in several ways. In scholarship of the early 20th century, for example, such typological similarities in artefacts were the essential building blocks of bigger packages of co-occurring objects that were termed 'archaeological cultures'. In the so-called culture-historical paradigm in archaeology, the occurrence of objects with stylistic similarities over wide geographical areas were directly linked with groups of ethnically-homogenous peoples, often those mentioned in Classical texts, such as 'Celts', 'Germans', and 'Belgae'.[169] Since modern scholarship rightly rejects the simplistic correlation of material culture and ethnicity, alternative explanations of the archaeological patterns are needed. From a socio-economic perspective, greater standardisation in fibula design broadly coincides with nascent urbanism, political centralisation, and the emergence of larger settlements called *oppida*.[170] While it might be tempting to see the creation of new urban markets as a stimulus to brooch production, the spread of the fibula event horizon beyond territories and communities associated with *oppida* rules out urbanisation as the sole prime mover. Another possibility is to view the emergence of serialised brooch styles as a response to increased pan-regional networks of connectivity that helped link-up a patchwork of later Iron Age communities in northwest Europe. Such connectivity might have taken a range of forms, from various kinds of exchange and trade, to the expansion of networks of kinship, clientship, and political alliances, and small- to large-scale movements of people.

While inter-regional connectivity at some level must have underpinned a phenomenon as big as the fibula event horizon in northwest Europe, connectivity alone is too vague a concept to account for the specificity of changes in the mass-production and standardisation of fibulae. Further insights may be provided by focusing on what objects do, rather than what they mean. Following Gell, the concept

[167] Feugère 1985, 203-205; Gaspar 2007, Taf. 1-3; Mackreth 2011b, 9, Plate 6.

[168] Stockhammer 2017. The term is productively applied in describing serial imagery on late Iron Age coinage (Creighton 2000, 35-37).

[169] A classic application to late Iron Age of northwest Europe is Hawkes/Dunning 1930. Substantial critique of this paradigm exists in recent literature, but see Jones 1997, 15-39; Wells 2001; Collis 2003 for discussion in relation to the use of archaeological evidence.

[170] For further discussion of the *oppida* phenomenon and urbanism in northwest Europe, see Collis 1984a; Woolf 1993b; Colin 1998; Fichtl 2000; Pitts 2010a; Fernández-Götz 2014, 2018.

of the 'inter-artefactual domain' potentially provides a missing link between increased connectivity and increased standardisation in fibula design in late Iron Age Europe. A greater intensity of connections involving objects moving over longer distances would create enlarged inter-artefactual domains, which over time could foster serialisation and standardisation across wider areas as objects became increasingly evaluated in comparison with, and influenced by, other objects from larger circulating repertoires, as opposed to *only* the artefacts from more discrete localities. This perspective may provide a more compelling alternative to ethnic or cultural explanations of fibula distributions, while re-focusing attention on the essential relationships between objects, people, and larger objectscapes.

2.3.2 THE POTTER'S WHEEL AND MASS CONSUMPTION

The most common everyday item that survives archaeologically from late Iron Age Europe is the humble pottery vessel, typically in a fragmentary state. Locally-produced pottery vessels existed in far greater quantities than the highly visible Mediterranean amphorae that have attracted so much attention in scholarly literature. While often described in less dramatic terms than the 'fibula event horizon', the production and use of pottery can be seen to have undergone similar far-reaching innovation from the end of the second century BC in northwest Europe. The most notable change was the spread and increased use of the potter's wheel. While handmade pottery continued to make up substantial portions of pottery assemblages in several regions, the more regular use of the potter's wheel had a striking impact on the shape and surface texture of pottery.[171] This change also entailed a diversification in the range of shapes of pottery vessels produced (moving away from multi-purpose bowls and jars), hand-in-hand with a general reduction in the ornament and decoration of the pots themselves.[172] The spread of the potter's wheel also theoretically improved the speed of pottery production, as well as the potential for a greater degree of standardisation in vessel manufacture, in effect setting the stage for the mass production and consumption of pottery.[173]

Since the main purpose of Iron Age pottery was to serve as a receptacle for preparing and consuming food and drink, a logical approach to understanding the uptake of the potter's wheel is to link these phenomena to changes in the social sphere of eating and drinking. Following the preceding discussion of amphorae and grave furniture, it is certainly the case that for many late Iron Age societies, changes in the design of pottery seemed to coincide with the increased importance of feasting as a means of connecting patrons and clients through webs of reciprocal hospitality, often as part of bigger systems of clientship. This might be evidenced, for example, in the statistical preference among multiple late Iron Age communities for taller vessel forms seemingly designed for individual or communal alcohol consumption, such as the pedestal jar and later butt-beaker,[174] which often appear prominently in grave assemblages, as well as non-funerary assemblages associated with feasting.[175] Nevertheless, it would be over-simplistic to ascribe all the changes taking place in an objectscape as diverse as late Iron Age ceramics to changing foodways alone. Indeed, Gell's writings caution against viewing such material changes as a mere by-product of changing cultural practice, and raise the possibility that developments in the ceramic inter-artefactual domain instead influenced the rise of certain forms of eating and drinking.

To explore other avenues for explaining the overarching changes in pottery production in late Iron Age northwest Europe, it is worth considering some similarities and contrasts with the changing fibulae

[171] Wells 2012, 66 draws attention to the changed materiality of pottery repertoires.

[172] Hill 2002; Wells 2012, 66, 93.

[173] Wells 2012, 93.

[174] Okun 1989, 47-49; Hill 2002, 147-151; Pitts 2005a.

[175] Pitts 2005a, 151-155, 2010b.

objectscape. Both fibulae and pottery objectscapes were moving towards the simplification of decoration on individual objects, mass production, and the eventual emergence of recognisable pan-regional variants such as the Nauheim brooch. In some regions, it is possible to describe the emergence of greater standardisation in the production of local pottery.[176] While locally-produced pottery seems to have circulated less-widely than equivalent brooch styles and forms, it is possible to identify regional equivalents of specific pottery shapes with more universal distributions in northwest Europe, such as pedestal and pear-shaped jars, and shallow bowls. In some cases, the similarities in pottery styles between different regions has a clear typological basis, such as the pedestal jars in the so-called 'Aylesford culture' of southern Britain and their equivalents in Normandy.[177] In other cases, even where specific typological links are lacking, it is possible to note general similarities in the designs of certain pottery vessels, i.e. tall drinking vessels. If this phenomenon can be classified as standardisation, it is of the weakest kind, i.e. at a morphological or functional level of producing broadly similar shapes for a similar range of purposes, as opposed to the more tightly-defined stylistic range of serialised Nauheim fibulae and its derivatives, and the highest level of standardisation as seen in the virtually identical Dressel 1 amphorae. The reasons for such standardisation are difficult to attribute to a single cause, although as with fibula design there are strong indications that increased standardisation was the product of the coalescing of multiple regional inter-artefactual domains, to different degrees of overlap and intensity. Such a scenario must have been further underpinned by increased inter-regional connectivity in the later Iron Age, in which objects could be evaluated against an increasingly pan-regional framework.

If there was a hierarchy of standardisation in late Iron Age objectscapes, from identical replication, to groups of serialised objects with flexible typological links, and those with even looser functional and visual similarity, a general rule of thumb seems to be that the most technically-proficient standardised objects travelled the furthest. Italian wine amphorae may be considered a special case in this regard, being designed for long-distance shipping, and standard volumes facilitating bulk exchanges involving consistent prices per unit. Similar observations can be nevertheless made about the long-distance movement of other highly standardised pottery, such as *terra sigillata*, as we shall see in Chapter 3. By contrast, serialised objects such as particular coin issues and Nauheim brooches tended to have smaller-scale pan-regional distributions, with the least standardised objects occurring in fundamentally localised concentrations, such as coarse pottery vessels. These observations raise the question of the relationship between increased standardisation in the appearance of objects and objectscapes over larger territories and groups of people, and the spread of shared knowledge concerning what standardised objects should be used for.[178] This returns us to the question of agency in the emergence of standardisation – did new object combinations and styles emerge in response to social and cultural stimuli, or did standardisation in objectscapes foster shared values? Archaeologists have for decades preferred to opt for the former approach, but Gell's work makes a compelling case for the latter. To further investigate this crucial tension, the rest of this chapter examines these developments in greater archaeological detail, placing emphasis on the evolution of objectscapes and social practices in multiple late Iron Age societies.

[176] For example, Morris 1994, 380, for later Iron Age central southern England.

[177] Hawkes/Dunning 1930, 240-254; Fitzpatrick 1997, 208-211.

[178] See Morley 2015, 62 on the necessity of standards and shared values for participation in large-scale social and economic networks.

2.4 FUNERARY OBJECTSCAPES IN LATER IRON AGE NORTH-WEST EUROPE

To explore standardisation and pan-regional selection in the changing objectscapes of late Iron Age northwest Europe, this section scrutinises archaeological assemblages from a range of societies and regions, including Rhineland-Pfalz and Luxembourg, the Nord, Marne and Ardennes départements in northern France, and various counties of southeast Britain to the north and west (Fig. 2.5). The data are used to shed light on the changing roles of objects in a handful of societies prior to the more direct influence of Rome in the decades that followed, rather than to provide a fully comprehensive picture of changing objectscapes. In this regard, a primary consideration in the selection of archaeological material was to be able to compare the relationships between objects and multiple societies across a broad geographical area, focusing on selection of material culture from cemetery contexts. While the practice of cremation in flat graves with accompanying grave goods had a patchy uptake across later Iron Age Europe,[179] there are several reasons to privilege these data. Cremation was used by several late Iron Age societies in the region at the start of the first century BC, and it went on to be even more prevalent as the dominant burial rite in the early Roman period. Studying the changing deposition of objects in cremation rituals in the late Iron Age not only helps to enrich understandings of the development of the practice into the Roman period, but also to explore the fundamental roles of objects in later Iron Age societies themselves. Crucially, funerary contexts permit the analysis of intentionally placed and selected objects in a better state of preservation than they are usually found in other archaeological contexts, with the added advantage of being found in direct association with human remains. While the associations of objects in funerary contexts might reflect idealised patterns rather than the combinations used in everyday life, a great deal of important information can be extracted by considering how such associations varied through time and space.

2.4.1 CHANGING FUNERARY OBJECTSCAPES, C. 120 – 20 BC

The modern regions of Luxembourg, southeast Belgium, and parts of western Germany (Rhineland-Pfalz and Saarland) collectively constitute an area that is particularly rich in excavated Iron Age cremation cemeteries, and as such forms a useful starting point for a survey of changing funerary objectscapes. This area formed a substantial part of the ancient territory of the Treveri, a powerful, if not always politically unified community that played an important role in the early Roman history of the region from the time of Caesar's campaigns onward.[180] In the eastern extremity of the region, the fully excavated cemetery of Wederath provides an excellent opportunity to investigate changing patterns of Iron Age object use, with nearly 2500 extant published graves dating to the Iron Age and Roman periods.[181] For a basic overview, Table 2.1 summarises how the provision of common objects such as pottery vessels and fibulae changed through the later Iron Age at Wederath. Also included are less common items such as martial equip-

[179] The consensus of recent research is that such concentrations and absences in the funerary record are the product of deliberate choices made by communities in the past rather than lacunae in modern archaeological research (Fernández-Götz 2017, 111-112). Previously, Roymans 1990, 239 considered disparities in the cemetery record to correlate with the concentration of modern research and the visibility of burial rites favoured by different communities.

[180] Wightman 1970; Fernández-Götz 2014, 2017.

[181] For a list of publications and archaeological sites from which the data are drawn for this study, see Appendix 1. Haffner 1989 and Cordie 2007 provide further research summaries on the cemetery at Wederath. For the dating of the graves at Wederath used in the present study, see Gleser 2005, 344-6.

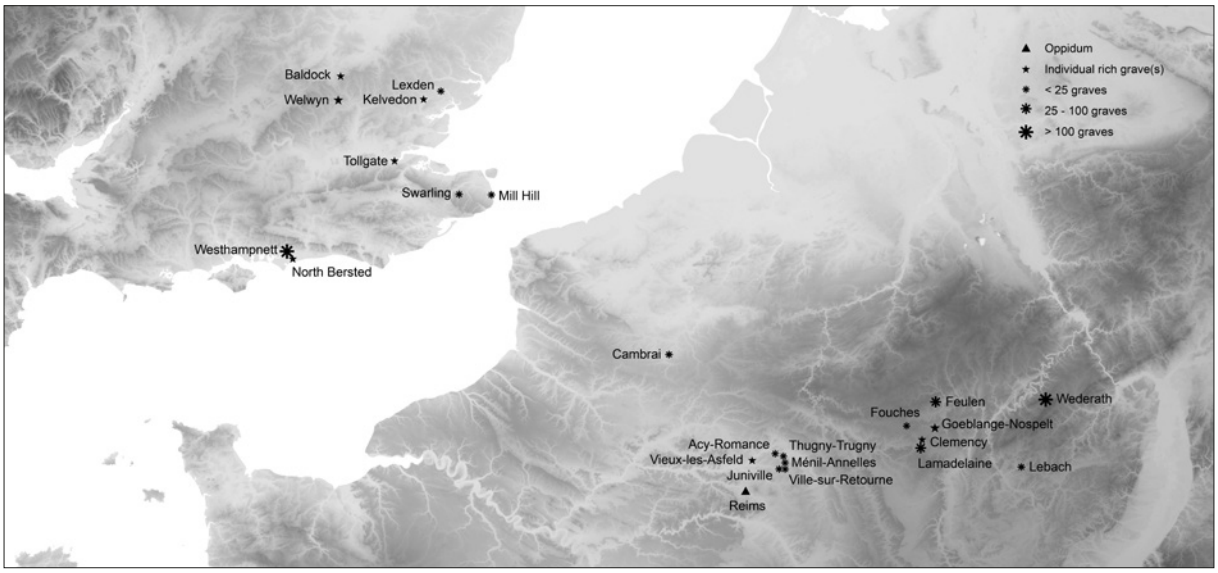


Figure 2.5. The locations of late Iron Age cemeteries, graves, and settlements considered in this chapter.

Wederath		**Pottery**			**Fibulae**			**Martial**	
Phase	Graves	Tot.	% wheel	Per grave	Tot.	% Fe	Per grave	Tot.	Per grave
D1a	70	314	64.3	4.49	47	76.6	0.67	8	0.11
D1b	116	411	60.6	3.54	134	56.0	1.16	25	0.22
D2	39	117	17.9	3.00	17	35.3	0.44	18	0.46
D2a	24	92	50.0	3.83	28	92.0	1.17	19	0.79
D2b	55	189	30.7	3.44	56	42.6	1.02	36	0.65

Table 2.1. The deposition of pottery vessels, fibulae and martial equipment at Iron Age Wederath.

ment (i.e. weaponry and shields), which provide useful means of differentiating funerary practice at both cemetery and regional scales. Although most late Iron Age graves at Wederath can be dated to the mid to late second century BC (La Tène D1a, c. 150-120 BC, and D1b, c. 120-80 BC), the average numbers of brooches and pottery vessels per grave remain roughly constant after the La Tène D1a through to the late first century BC (La Tène D2a, c. 90/80-50 BC, and D2b, c. 60-20 BC), indicating a basic level of continuity in depositional practice. While many factors fluctuate, such as the ratio of iron to copper alloy fibulae, the two most striking patterns seem to be the gradual decline of wheelthrown pottery in graves, and the gradual increase in the placement of martial equipment (specifically swords, scabbards, spearheads, and shield-bosses), whose peak roughly coincides with the time of Caesar's campaigns in Gaul. Otherwise, the overall patterning in the deposition of objects is remarkably consistent over time.

In contrast with the overview of common objects deposited at Wederath, equivalent data from the smaller cemeteries to the south and west at Feulen, Fouches, Goeblange-Nospelt, Lamadelaine, and Lebach provide a greater sense of unity and diversity in the wider region beyond Wederath (Table 2.2). The average numbers of pottery vessels and fibulae per grave, and the ratio of iron to copper alloy brooches, are all broadly equivalent to those at Wederath, whereas the provision of martial equipment also peaks in the same period at all cemeteries with multiple phases of late Iron Age graves (D2a, c. 90/80-50 BC). In one instance, at Lamadelaine, a cemetery associated with the Titelberg *oppidum*, the graves featuring

Luxembourg & adjacent			Pottery			Fibulae			Martial	
Phase	Cemetery	Graves	Tot.	% wheel	Per grave	Tot.	% Fe	Per grave	Tot.	Per grave
D2b	Fouches	6	11	37.5	1.83	3	33.3	0.50	0	-
D2	Feulen	18	55	16.4	3.06	23	78.3	1.28	1	0.06
D2a	Feulen	9	45	15.6	5.00	16	93.8	1.78	1	0.11
D2b	Feulen	21	76	18.4	3.62	36	88.9	1.71	0	-
D2b	Goeb. - Nospelt	7	87	85.1	12.43	14	57.1	2.00	9	1.29
D1b	Lamadelaine	8	67	92.5	8.38	7	71.4	0.88	0	-
D2	Lamadelaine	7	23	78.3	3.29	7	71.4	1.00	2	0.29
D2a	Lamadelaine	16	88	64.8	5.50	34	88.2	2.13	9	0.56
D2b	Lamadelaine	11	40	85.0	3.64	17	70.6	1.55	2	0.18
D2	Lebach	6	20	35.0	3.33	2	-	0.33	8	1.33

Table 2.2. The deposition of pottery vessels, fibulae and martial equipment at selected Iron Age cemeteries from the Luxembourg region and adjacent territory.

martial equipment were grouped into the middle of three zones in the cemetery.[182] The same cluster (ensemble B) also features the highest proportion of graves that have been dated to the periods overlapping with Caesar's campaigns in Gaul (La Tène D2a-b – to which all the weapon graves at Lamadelaine belong), which underlines the likelihood that this part of the cemetery had been reserved for military casualties from the war. The deposition of martial equipment, however, remained a relatively exclusive practice, even during its Gallic Wars era peak in the La Tène D2, occurring in just over one in five furnished graves at Lamadelaine and Wederath.

Considering more commonly placed items in Treveran cemeteries, further important differences emerge. For example, while Feulen has consistently low ratios of wheelthrown to handmade pottery compared with Wederath, the percentages of wheelthrown pottery are considerably higher at Lamadelaine, and over 90 percent at Goeblange-Nospelt, a small but very richly-furnished cemetery associated with the Treveran aristocracy. It is instructive to note the unrivalled quantities of pottery, fibulae, and martial equipment deposited at Goeblange-Nospelt, as well as lower ratios of iron to copper alloy brooches, perhaps giving some indication of the more rarefied preferences of the Treveran elite. Collectively, the patterns seem to underline both basic levels of cohesion and conservatism in the selection of certain classes of objects over time, as well as important criteria for the status differentiation of whole communities (and individuals) in death.

Moving further west, a series of smaller cemeteries from the modern French département of Ardennes provide comparative insights into the roles of objects in funerary practices of the La Tène D2a (c. 90/80-50 BC) in the neighbouring community of the Remi, who would go on to become the long-time allies of Rome in this part of Belgic Gaul. The cemeteries in question are located roughly 40km to the north-east of Reims, including Acy-Romance, Thugny-Trugny, Ménil-Annelles, and Ville-sur-Retourne (Table 2.3). These data are supplemented in Table 2.3 by details of contemporary domestic pottery excavated in various locations from the Iron Age *oppidum* underlying the Roman city of Reims (Durocortorum). Compared with the preceding discussion of objects in Treveran graves, the cemeteries from the Ardennes/Champagne region tend to be characterised by higher numbers of pots per grave, higher percentages of wheelthrown vessels, with similar levels of fibulae per grave, and a lower prevalence of martial equipment.

[182] Metzler-Zens et al. 1999, 382, Fig. 373.

Champagne region & Reims			Pottery			Fibulae			Martial	
Phase	Cemetery	Graves	Tot.	% wheel	Per grave	Tot.	% Fe	Per grave	Tot.	Per grave
D2a	Acy-Romance	16	74	75.0	4.63	25	52.0	1.56	1	0.06
D2a	Thugny-Trugny	6	20	70.0	3.33	9	11.1	1.50	0	-
D2a	Ménil-Annelles	9	57	89.5	6.33	12	67.5	1.33	1	0.11
D2a	Ville-sur-Retourne	16	144	83.3	9.00	24	70.8	1.50	7	0.44
D2b	Ville-sur-Retourne	5	30	96.7	6.00	11	90.9	2.20	0	-
D2a	Reims	-	96	51.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
D2b	Reims	-	262	46.6	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 2.3. The deposition of pottery vessels, fibulae and martial equipment at selected Iron Age cemeteries from the Champagne region, with pottery data from the Reims *oppidum*.

Indeed, despite the evident contrasts with the Treveri, there is very little variability between the different cemeteries from Champagne, which points towards a basic level of cultural unity within the region, or indeed, the existence of a shared inter-artefactual domain. The contrast between the pottery assemblages from the cemeteries and those from the Reims *oppidum* is also revealing. These differences suggest the deliberate selection of higher quality pottery vessels for deposition in funerary contexts, with almost double the proportions of wheelthrown pottery in the cemeteries compared with those at Reims.

To complete this overview of late Iron Age funerary objectscapes, the final group of cemeteries comes from the north and west of the study region, with a small but important phase of a cemetery at Cambrai (Nord) contrasted with those from southeast Britain, including the large cemetery at Westhampnett (Sussex), and smaller cemeteries at Mill Hill, Swarling (both Kent), and Lexden (Essex). The basic comparison of these cemeteries in Table 2.4 is enlightening in several respects. While Cambrai is the closest of the cemeteries considered to Britain, its inclusion alongside the British cemeteries underlines substantial differences. For the La Tène D2a (c. 90/80-50 BC), the deposition of objects at Cambrai is more closely aligned to the patterns from Champagne than Britain, with much higher numbers of objects per grave and proportions of wheelthrown pottery compared with Westhampnett. Whereas the later Iron Age La Tène D2b (c. 60-20 BC in Britain) witnessed more widespread use of the potter's wheel with the increased spread of fine grog-tempered 'Aylesford-Swarling' pottery, the average number of vessels per grave are on the low side by northern Gallic standards, even at perceived high-status cemeteries such as Lexden. At the same time, this is the first group of cemeteries surveyed in which the deposition of weapons is completely absent. These differences all serve to underline the disconnection between funerary objectscapes in southeast Britain and those of northern Gaul, despite some similarities in the mortuary rite and the styles of objects in use in both regions.

Another important aspect of funerary practice across late Iron Age northwest Europe is the deliberate placement of animal remains in the grave – either as the remnants of a funerary feast for the congregation, or perhaps a final meal or ritual offering to the deceased. Often a prominent feature of richly furnished graves such as those considered at the beginning of this chapter, this practice was also commonly invoked in more modest graves, and would have certainly formed a visually striking component of funerary objectscapes alongside items of human manufacture. Table 2.5 demonstrates the general ubiquity of the practice across multiple regions, but also the apparent emergence of divergences at the level of regions and individual cemeteries. Pig was the most universally favoured species, as the most frequently deposited animal offering in all the cemeteries considered. When the data are available, another notable pattern is the consist-

N. Gaul & S. Britain			Pottery			Fibulae		
Phase	Cemetery	Graves	Tot.	% wheel	Per grave	Tot.	% Fe	Per grave
D2a	Cambrai	5	25	92.0	5.00	4	75.0	0.80
D2a	Westhampnett	153	245	15.1	1.60	37	59.5	0.24
D2b	Swarling	15	32	90.6	2.13	8	37.5	0.53
D2b	Mill Hill	5	10	50.0	2.00	5	20.0	1.00
D2b	Lexden	6	18	100.0	3.00	0	0	-

Table 2.4. The deposition of pottery vessels, fibulae and martial equipment at selected Iron Age cemeteries from northern Gaul and southern Britain.

				Animal offerings (presence per grave)							
Phase	Region	Cemetery	Graves	ALL	Pig	Sheep/goat	Cattle	Chicken	Horse	Dog	Deer
D2a	Sussex	Westhampnett	153	0.12	0.05	0.05	0.01	-	-	-	-
D2a	Nord	Cambrai	5	0.80	0.80	-	-	-	-	-	-
D2a	Ardennes	Acy-Romance	16	1.13	0.81	0.06	-	0.13	-	0.13	-
D2a	Ardennes	Thugny-Trugny	6	1.00	0.67	0.33	-	-	-	-	-
D2a	Ardennes	Ménil-Annelles	9	1.11	0.67	-	-	0.44	-	-	-
D2a	Ardennes	Ville-sur-Retourne	16	1.19	0.56	0.19	0.06	0.31	-	0.06	-
D2b	Ardennes	Ville-sur-Retourne	5	1.00	0.60	-	-	0.40	-	-	-
D2a	Lux.	Lamadelaine	16	2.00	0.94	0.13	0.25	0.44	0.19	0.06	-
D2b	Lux.	Lamadelaine	11	1.36	0.91	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.09	-	0.09
D2b	Lux.	Goeblange-Nospelt	7	1.29	0.57	0.14	0.29	0.29	-	-	-
D2a	Lux.	Feulen	9	0.22	0.22	-	-	-	-	-	-
D2b	Lux.	Feulen	21	0.24	0.24	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 2.5. The prevalence of animal offerings per grave (presence/absence) in selected late Iron Age cemeteries.

ency between the La Tène D2a and D2b phases for rates of both general animal deposition and those of different species, notably at Ville-sur-Retourne, Lamadelaine, and Feulen, which seemingly emphasises the stability and conservatism of this aspect of funerary practice for most of the first century BC.

Greater variability in the deposition of animal remains can be seen in differing degrees of presence and absence per grave, as well as the predilection for different kinds of species. Graves in both the Ardennes and Luxembourg regions typically exhibit at least one animal offering per grave, although the much lower prevalence at Feulen (Lux.) of animal offerings at one in four to five graves demonstrates that practice was far from homogenous at a regional level. The lower rate of animal offerings at Feulen is paralleled in lower levels of the deposition of other classes of objects, including fewer wheelthrown pottery vessels, copper alloy brooches, and martial equipment – all adding up to a picture of a local funerary rite that appears materially deprived compared with nearby cemeteries. The biggest outlier in Table 2.5 is the sole British example, the large cemetery at Westhampnett, with just over one in ten graves receiving an animal offering, levels even lower than Feulen. Such figures again seem to stress the relative cultural distance between Britain and northern Gaul in the late Iron Age. Either through cultural

preference or relative poverty, Feulen and Westhampnett both feature limited diversity of animal species in their funerary objectscapes. This is in stark contrast with other cemeteries such as Ville-sur-Retourne and Lamadelaine, where offerings of chicken and other animals like horse (in the case of Lamadelaine) are more common.

Taking stock of this tour of late Iron Age funerary objectscapes, several general patterns emerge. At one level, the rite of cremating the dead and burying them with varying quantities of the same kinds of objects points towards a basic element of universal practice for the communities in question. The prevailing rite in the cemeteries surveyed featured some reliance on the placement of pottery vessels, brooches, and animal offerings. Moreover, it is often the case that cemeteries with higher levels of wheelthrown pottery also tended to exhibit higher levels of copper alloy fibulae and animal offerings, hinting at the elevated positions of such objects in shared pan-regional regimes of value. The rates of deposition of these various material categories often had a distinct regional character, with the greatest differences being accounted for by sheer geographical distance, as demonstrated most prominently in the apparent gulf between southern Britain and mainland Europe. This observation is exemplified in another pan-regional trend, that of the peak deposition of martial equipment in the La Tène D2a (c. 90/80-50 BC), a period that is just before or overlaps the historically attested military campaigns of Julius Caesar. While the Treveri were particularly predisposed to bury their dead with weapons and shields, the Remi appeared more ambivalent to such practices, whereas in Britain, graves featuring weapons were completely eschewed in the cemeteries considered. The British absence of martial equipment cannot have been an accident of lower sample sizes, not least in a cemetery as large as Westhampnett with over 150 graves.

Amongst the general patterns, there are signs that local differences in practice could be as large as those at a regional level. This is clearly demonstrated by the disparity between the richly furnished graves at Goeblange-Nospelt and the comparatively impoverished cemetery at Feulen (both Luxembourg). Feulen is a good example of a cemetery with multiple late Iron Age phases that exhibit a strong tendency towards the deposition of different kinds of objects at consistent rates through time, hinting at the maintenance of practices across several generations. Indeed, equivalent continuities over time at other cemeteries, such as the general decline in wheelthrown ceramics at Wederath, underline the scope for localised divergences from bigger universal patterns (e.g. the tendency towards increased standardisation and fewer handmade ceramics). Gell's notion of the inter-artefactual domain is potentially useful for explaining the incremental changes in funerary repertoires within some cemeteries, i.e. the tendency towards regional as well as cemetery-specific combinations of objects as they were routinely placed together in graves. In this regard, cemeteries can be to an extent conceived as having their own distinctive inter-artefactual domains, in which the designs and combinations of objects used in past funerals provided frames of reference for those of the next generation. Such localised inter-artefactual domains would be in effect strengthened in circumstances of low connectivity, in which most artefacts in circulation were made locally, and local and regional frames of reference governing the selections of objects in funerary practice took precedence.

2.4.2 POTTERY IN FUNERARY OBJECTSCAPES, C. 120 – 20 BC

To further explore the changing funerary objectscapes of late Iron Age northwest Europe, this section examines the pottery in more detail, as the most numerous class of surviving material culture in the period. To achieve meaningful comparisons across a wide area, the pottery in question has been examined from the published reports and classified according to a unified system. The main purpose of this classification is to enable broad-brush functional and morphological comparisons, rather than closer typological analysis. This means there may be considerable stylistic variation

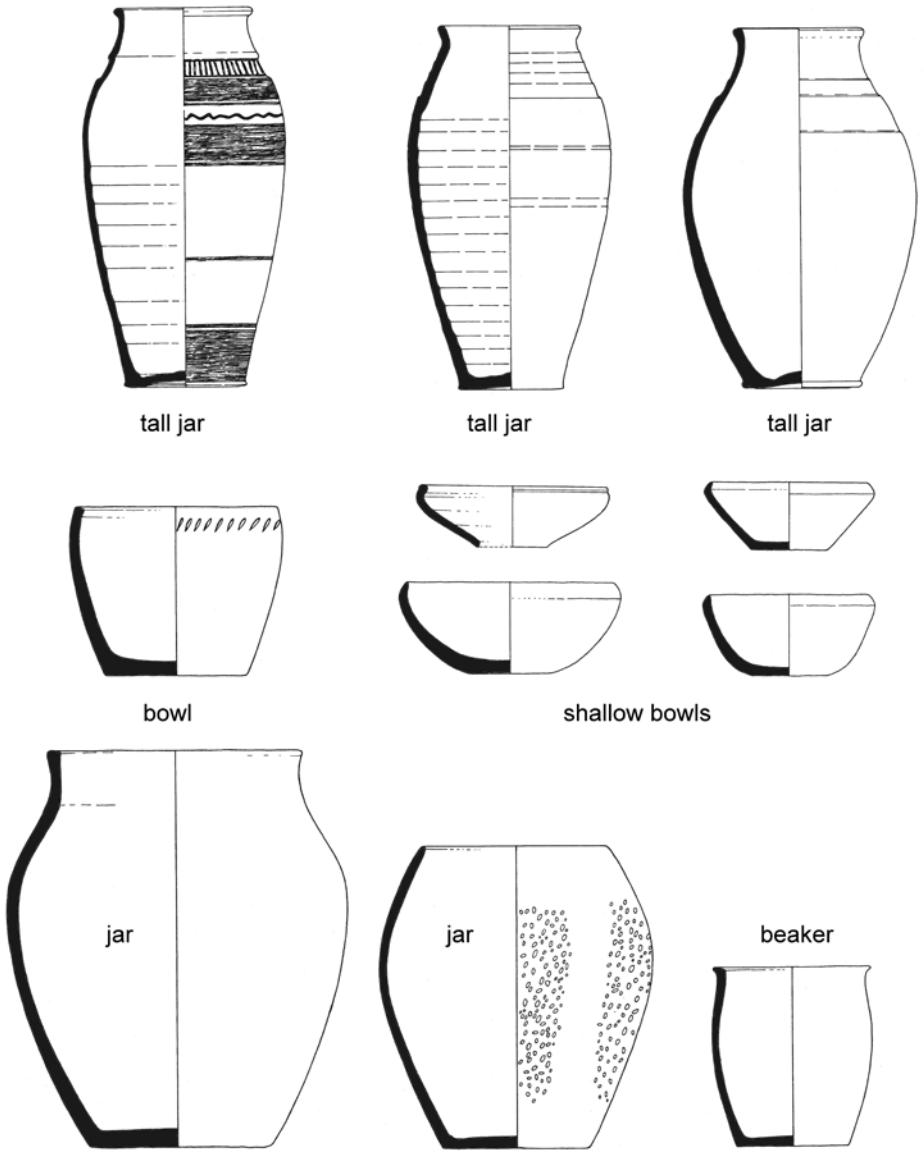


Figure 2.6. Pottery finds from Wederath grave 290 (after Haffner 1971, Taf. 70).

within the various descriptive categories used. For example, a typical 'shallow bowl' from Champagne looks rather different to a 'shallow bowl' from Luxembourg, despite sharing the same basic morphology and profile. To maintain robust results, only cemetery phases with over 25 pottery vessels are included in the tables in this analysis, although individual examples are sometimes taken from smaller cemeteries. Since the focus is on objectscapes rather than funerary practice *per se*, the comparisons include all pottery vessels, and do not omit urns as is sometimes preferred in the study of pottery from cemeteries.

To begin with, it is useful to consider the extent to which pottery in funerary objectscapes of the first century BC was influenced by longer-term trends. In this regard, earlier Iron Age pottery in cemeteries from the mid to late second century BC (La Tène D1a, c. 150-120 BC, and D1b, c. 120-80 BC) is presented in Table 2.6 in terms of a broad classification of pottery shapes. While many of these vessel forms continued to be used well into the first century BC and beyond, such as the high levels of shallow bowls and various jar forms, the most visually striking pottery of the La Tène D1a

La Tène D1		+ Eating					+ Drinking								Commensal services	
Phase	Cemetery	Dishes/Platters	Shallow bowls	Bowls	Basin bowls	Lids	Jars	Pear-shaped jars	Flask-jars	Tall jars	Pedestal vessels	Beakers	Cups	Amphorae	Total	Per grave
D1a	Wederath	0.3	29.0	13.4	0.3	0.3	9.2	3.5	10.8	17.5	1.3	13.7	0.6	-	17	0.24
D1b	Wederath	-	26.6	20.7	0.2	0.5	11.7	3.9	12.9	4.9	0.7	15.8	2.2	-	11	0.09
D1b	Lamadelaine	-	17.9	7.5	-	3.0	22.4	3.0	10.5	-	13.4	4.5	-	17.9	3	0.38

Table 2.6. The percentages of different classes of pottery vessels in the La Tène D1 phases (c. 120-80 BC) at the cemeteries of Wederath and Lamadelaine.

was surely the large tall jar or beaker, which was often painted in multiple colours and elaborately decorated. A couple of examples from Wederath grave 290 illustrate the prominence and quality of this vessel compared with the other ceramic objects in the grave (Fig. 2.6). The decorated tall jar or beaker was essentially one of the principal survivors of the La Tène C of the earlier second century BC,[183] and has no direct ancestor in the pottery repertoires of the later Iron Age – at least in terms of the decorative schemes applied to pottery. Nevertheless, the profile and shape of the tall jar is reminiscent of later fine pottery in the form of pear-shaped jars and pedestal jars, which occur more prominently in funerary pottery assemblages from the La Tène D1b onward (see Table 2.7). Given that the later pedestal jar forms are hypothesised to have functioned primarily as receptacles for drinking alcohol,[184] a possible explanation for the decline of the richly decorated tall jars might be found in shifting priorities within the sphere of reciprocal hospitality and feasting: their decline coincides directly with the appearance of wine amphorae and feasting equipment, which are absent from La Tène D1a graves at Wederath.

Table 2.6 also considers the presence and frequency of 'commensal services' in funerary assemblages, as defined by the presence of at least one extra set of vessels that may have facilitated communal rather than individual consumption. For the late Iron Age, I noted the presence of commensal services if funerary assemblages contain either a) two or more pairs of identical or similarly-styled vessels (e.g. two bowls and two beakers), or b) four or more vessels of the same shape (e.g. four shallow bowls). These minimum criteria provide a consistent means of accounting for funerary object repertoires with some orientation towards communal feasting. Several examples considered so far meet such criteria, including the Baldock Tene grave (based on metal alloy finds), Vieux-les-Asfeld 3 (Fig. 2.2), and Wederath 290 (Fig. 2.6), further underlining the importance of feasting for the assemblages in question. Turning to the incidence of this practice in the La Tène D1 cemeteries in Table 2.6, a steep decline is apparent at Wederath, perhaps coinciding with a reconfiguration of feasting practices related to the demise of the decorated tall jar. While the sample of graves is much smaller at Lamadelaine, there the practice of placing services of vessels in the grave seems more prevalent than at the equivalent phase at Wederath.

Considering the next major period, the La Tène D2a (c. 90/80-50 BC), but for a handful of peculiarities, the picture is again remarkably homogenous (Table 2.7). Among the divergences, the most notable are the complete absence of the shallow bowl form at Westhampnett – a universally popular form in northern Gaul, and the presence of Italian wine amphorae at a select group of sites including

[183] Collis 1984b, 155.

[184] Hill 2002; Pitts 2005a.

La Tène D2a		+ Eating				+ Drinking						Commensal services		
Cemetery	Region	Shallow bowls	Bowls	Basin bowls	Lids	Jars	Pear-shaped jars	Flask-jars	Pedestal vessels	Beakers	Cups	Amphorae	Total	Per grave
Westhampnett	Sussex	-	34.3	-	-	31.4	27.7	0.4	5.8	0.4	-	-	1	0.01
Cambrai	Nord	36.0	16.0	-	-	24.0	-	4.0	20.0	-	-	-	1	0.20
Acy-Romance	Ardennes	39.2	18.9	-	4.1	9.5	4.1	12.2	10.8	-	-	1.4	2	0.13
Ménil-Annelles	Ardennes	28.1	31.6	-	-	19.3	8.8	8.8	3.5	-	-	-	1	0.11
Ville-sur-Retourne	Ardennes	16.7	27.8	-	4.2	16.7	4.2	9.0	20.8	0.7	-	-	5	0.31
Reims	Marne	25.3	3.2	9.5	4.2	9.5	35.8	4.2	-	2.1	-	6.3	-	-
Lamadelaine	Lux.	31.8	15.9	-	1.1	21.6	2.3	4.6	3.4	-	-	19.3	4	0.25
Feulen	Lux.	24.4	24.4	2.2	-	35.6	6.7	2.2	4.4	-	-	-	2	0.22
Wederath	Rhine-P	12.0	21.7	3.3	1.1	15.2	6.5	14.1	16.3	6.5	3.3	-	2	0.04

Table 2.7. The percentages of different classes of pottery vessels in the La Tène D2a phases (c. 90/80-50 BC) at selected cemeteries, with settlement assemblages from Reims.

La Tène D2b		+ Eating					+ Drinking						Commensal services	
Cemetery	Region	Dishes/Platters	Shallow bowls	Bowls	Basin bowls	Lids	Jars	Pear-shaped jars	Flask-jars	Pedestal vessels	Beakers	Cups	Amphorae	Total	Per grave
Swarling	Kent	-	-	15.6	-	3.1	37.5	3.1	3.1	28.1	6.3	3.1	-	1	0.07
Ville-sur-Retourne	Ardennes	6.7	13.3	-	3.3	3.3	60.0	-	6.7	3.3	3.3	-	-	-	-
Reims	Marne	-	22.0	15.4	10.1	3.5	30.4	9.7	4.0	0.9	-	-	4.0	-	-
Lamadelaine	Lux.	-	15.0	7.5	2.5	5.0	22.5	7.5	2.5	-	12.5	-	25.0	1	0.09
Goeb.-Nospelt	Lux.	1.2	18.4	14.9	12.6	1.2	16.1	12.6	13.8	-	6.9	-	2.3	4	0.57
Feulen	Lux.	-	32.9	13.2	-	1.3	27.6	2.6	11.8	1.3	4.0	2.6	2.6	2	0.10
Wederath	Rhine-P	-	20.6	13.2	5.3	1.6	27.5	6.4	6.9	4.2	12.7	1.1	0.5	4	0.07

Table 2.8. The percentages of different classes of pottery vessels in the La Tène D2b phases (c. 60-20 BC) at selected cemeteries, with settlement assemblages from Reims.

Acy-Romance (Champagne-Ardennes), Lamadelaine (Luxembourg), and the Reims *oppidum* (Marne). In terms of practice, the inclusion of services of vessels for communal consumption also appears to be universal, with the highest levels at Ville-sur-Retourne (Champagne-Ardennes) and Lamadelaine, while the phenomenon barely registers at Westhampnett, where pottery vessels were scarcer. The bigger question is surely what to make of the apparent homogeneity in the selection and placement of pottery beyond the various regional divergences.

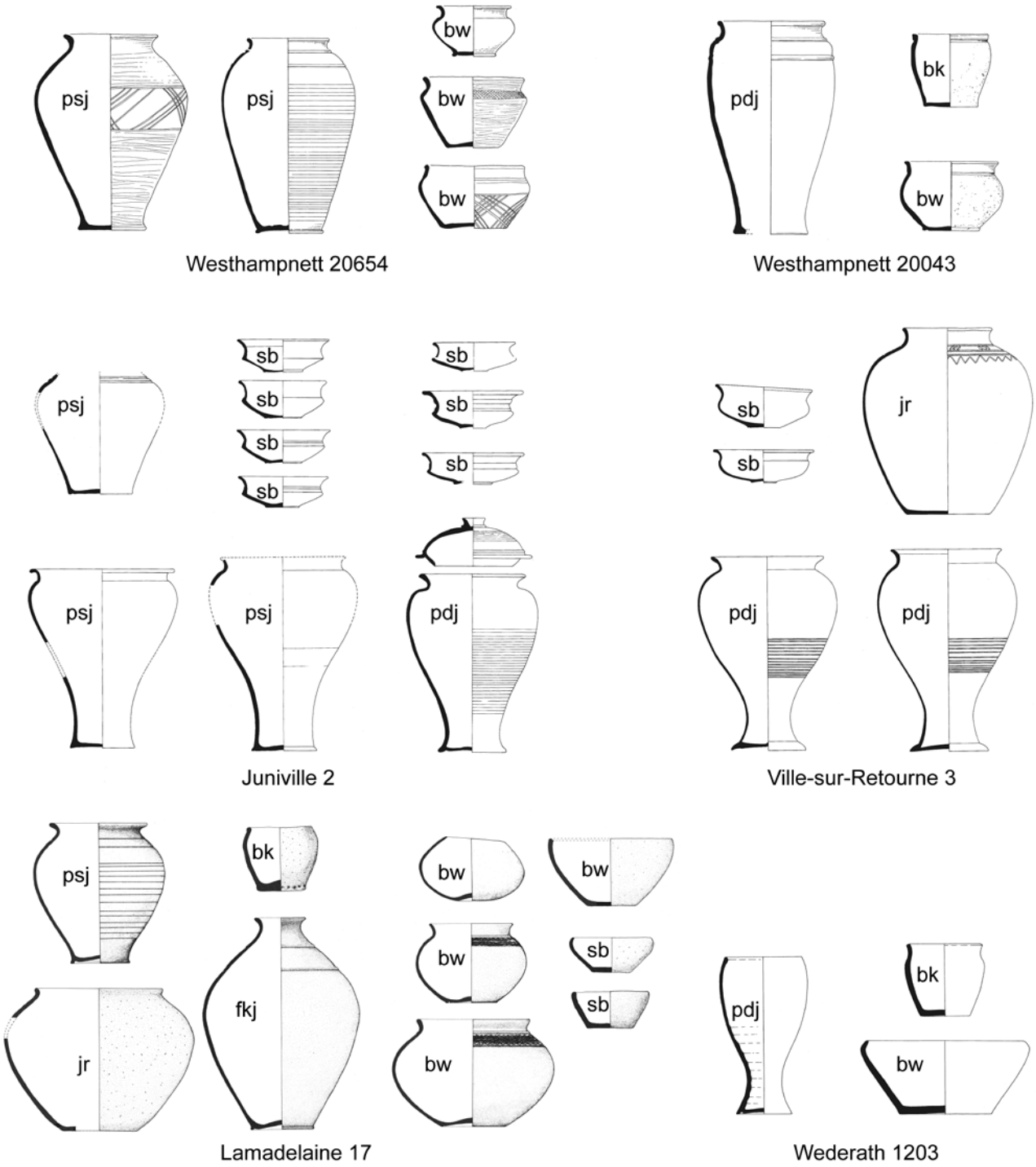


Figure 2.7. A comparison of pottery vessels from six La Tène D2a graves in Sussex, Champagne, Luxembourg, and Rhineland-Pfalz. Legend: bk = beaker, bw = bowl, fkj = flask-jar, jr = jar, pdj = pedestal jar, psj = pear-shaped jar, sb = shallow bowl (after Haffner 1978; Lambot/Friboulet/Méniel 1994; Fitzpatrick 1997; Stead/Flouest/Rigby 2006).

Before evaluating the wider significance of any perceived homogeneity in the pottery placed in La Tène D2a cemeteries, however, it is important to test the basis of the categories I have used to describe the different shapes and styles of pottery in Table 2.7. Do these patterns allow us to speak of a pan-regional inter-artefactual domain for pottery? Put bluntly, do the various shapes of pottery I have called 'shallow bowls' (for example) in various parts of the wider region actually resemble one another? To this

end, Fig. 2.7 illustrates a sample of six pottery assemblages from a series of graves from different regions in late Iron Age northwest Europe – Westhampnett (Sussex), Juniville, Ville-sur-Retourne (both Champagne), Lamadelaine (Luxembourg), and Wederath (Rhineland-Pfalz). A quick glance at Fig. 2.7 underlines the huge diversity underlying the pan-regional classification system adopted. For example, whilst shallow bowls from the Juniville and Ville-sur-Retourne are finely made with carination towards the rim, their equivalents at Lamadelaine and Wederath consist take the form of much simpler shapes in a coarser handmade fabric. The Treveran graves as well as those from Westhampnett all feature several tangibly handmade jar and bowl forms, which appear to be of much cruder manufacture than their equivalents from Champagne. Greater stylistic similarity is apparent in the larger jar forms where present – these are consistently of better quality finish, and less discernibly handmade, as is also the case in some of the examples from Westhampnett. Overall, despite some strong resemblances, this simple visual comparison underlines why any statistical similarities in the proportions of general pottery shapes at a pan-regional level in Table 2.7 can be termed standardisation only in its very weakest sense, i.e. in terms of basic morphology and function, in which equivalent vessel shapes produced a similar range of practical affordances in different localities.[185] These loosely-shared designs and similar rationales for the selection of pots in graves point towards a series of weakly-linked, but otherwise firmly regional inter-artefactual domains.

Moving into the La Tène D2b (c. 60-20 BC), there are again few substantial changes in the morphology and styles of pottery in larger funerary objectscapes (Table 2.8). The floruit of the so-called 'Aylesford culture' in southeast Britain is ably demonstrated in the high levels of pedestal jars at Swarling, whereas the pedestal jar seems to have a waning presence in cemeteries elsewhere in northern Gaul. Here, there are small signs of the growing influence of Mediterranean objectscapes more characteristic of southern Gaul, with small quantities of platters, dishes, and cups becoming more apparent in several cemeteries, in addition to low levels of wine amphorae. At Lamadelaine, the proportion of amphorae seems excessively high at 25 percent. In this case it is important to note that this figure comes from the local practice of depositing a small number of amphora fragments in many graves, rather than whole vessels,[186] which continues to be a much more exclusive phenomenon associated with only the most richly furnished graves. Aside from these divergences, however, the overwhelming picture follows that of the La Tène D2a, with high levels of weaker morphological standardisation at a pan-regional scale.

Since later Iron Age pottery in northwest Europe was largely locally-produced and did not evidently circulate much beyond a small-scale regional level, the absence of stronger forms of standardisation in pottery repertoires is unsurprising, and suggests obstacles to the formation of a genuinely pan-regional inter-artefactual domain at this time. How then, should the weaker morphological standardisation of pottery in cemeteries of the period be interpreted? The most important attributes of the pattern comprise the similarity of pottery repertoires in general, and the similar proportions of different pottery shapes being deliberately placed in graves. Even in cemeteries from southeast Britain, in which the divergences were often at their greatest in pan-regional terms, the shapes of pottery placed in graves still essentially fit within a wider northern European canon. The simplest explanation surely involves some level of connectivity at an inter-regional level, perhaps based on the regular movement of people more so than objects – at one level strong enough to encourage the spread of loosely-shared funerary practices and link a series of regional inter-artefactual domains, but not strong enough to allow the development of a thoroughly-integrated single inter-artefactual domain and the emergence of genuinely pan-regional forms of standardised pottery.

[185] See Swift 2014, 2017 on the concept of affordance and it application to Roman material culture, cf. Norman 1988.

[186] Elsewhere (e.g. Tables 2.10 and 2.11) a distinction is made between the deposition of near complete amphorae and smaller fragments. While basic vessel counts usually produce reliable results, distinct practices such as the deposition of individual amphorae fragments can distort comparisons between cemeteries and graves.

After pottery, the second most numerous class of object deposited in later Iron Age objectscapes in north-west Europe was the brooch or fibula. Unlike the mass of pottery, however, fibulae were much more likely to have been produced to a higher level of serialised standardisation, as well as to circulate more widely at pan-regional scales. Consequently, it is possible to quantify late Iron Age fibulae across Europe using more specific typological categories, rather than adopting a looser classification system based on general morphology as used to compare pottery. Following this approach, Table 2.9 shows the percentages of different types of brooches as classified using Michel Feugère's typology for southern Gaul.[187] This method is not without its problems, however. For the most part, the Feugère typology forms a common reference point for brooches in site reports and corpora for relevant late Iron Age sites across northern Europe,[188] and as such may be considered a convenient descriptive language for the wider region. Nevertheless, it does not offer a comprehensive set of descriptions, and many regional typologies and serialisations feature important absences and divergences. One consequence of this is that stylistic differences recognised as sub-types by Feugère are differentiated more formally in some regional schema. For example, the recent corpus of fibulae from the Netherlands formally differentiates the 'true' Nauheim fibula (Feugère types 5a and 5c) from its derivative (Feugère types 5b and 6b).[189] Likewise, Feugère's type 8 is split into three separate types in the important Titelberg typology from Luxembourg.[190] From these observations it follows that certain brooch types should be best conceptualised in terms of a spectrum with multiple regional variations, rather than rigidly defined types. As such, the data in Table 2.9 have been classified into Feugère's general types, which provides a basis for broad-brush comparisons across different regions while retaining robust categories.

To accommodate a maximum quantity of data and to consolidate sample sizes, Table 2.9 considers fibulae from the full La Tène D2 (c. 90-20 BC) rather than splitting the data into earlier and later phases. While some smaller samples are included, these tend to exhibit patterning that fits with larger assemblages from the same region – the main caveat with these data being that absences of certain types are

Cemetery	Region	Total	F. 1	F. 2	F. 4	F. 5	F. 6b	F. 7	F. 8	F. 9b/14a	F. 10	F. 21	Misc.
Westhampnett	Sussex	37	-	51.4	2.7	5.4	-	-	16.2	-	-	-	24.3
Acy-Romance	Ardennes	25	20.0	-	24.0	48.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	8.0
Juniville	Ardennes	18	-	-	-	83.3	-	5.6	-	-	-	-	11.1
Ménil-Annelles	Ardennes	15	-	-	-	60.0	13.3	-	6.7	6.7	6.7	-	6.7
Ville-sur-Retourne	Ardennes	35	-	-	-	2.9	45.7	28.6	-	-	-	-	22.9
Feulen	Lux.	75	13.3	-	22.7	-	-	32.0	16.0	2.7	-	1.3	12.0
Goeb.e-Nospelt	Lux.	14	-	-	7.1	-	-	42.9	7.1	21.4	14.3	-	7.1
Lamadelaine	Lux.	58	-	31.0	19.0	-	-	15.5	15.5	10.3	6.9	1.7	-
Wederath	Rhine-P	101	15.8	1.0	13.9	1.0	-	16.8	25.7	5.0	1.0	-	19.8

Table 2.9. The percentages of different fibula classes according to Feugère's type-series (1985) in the La Tène D2 phases (c. 90-20 BC) at selected cemeteries.

[187] Feugère 1985.

[188] For example, Gaspar 2007.

[189] Heeren/van der Feijst 2017, 42-46.

[190] Gaspar 2007, 40.

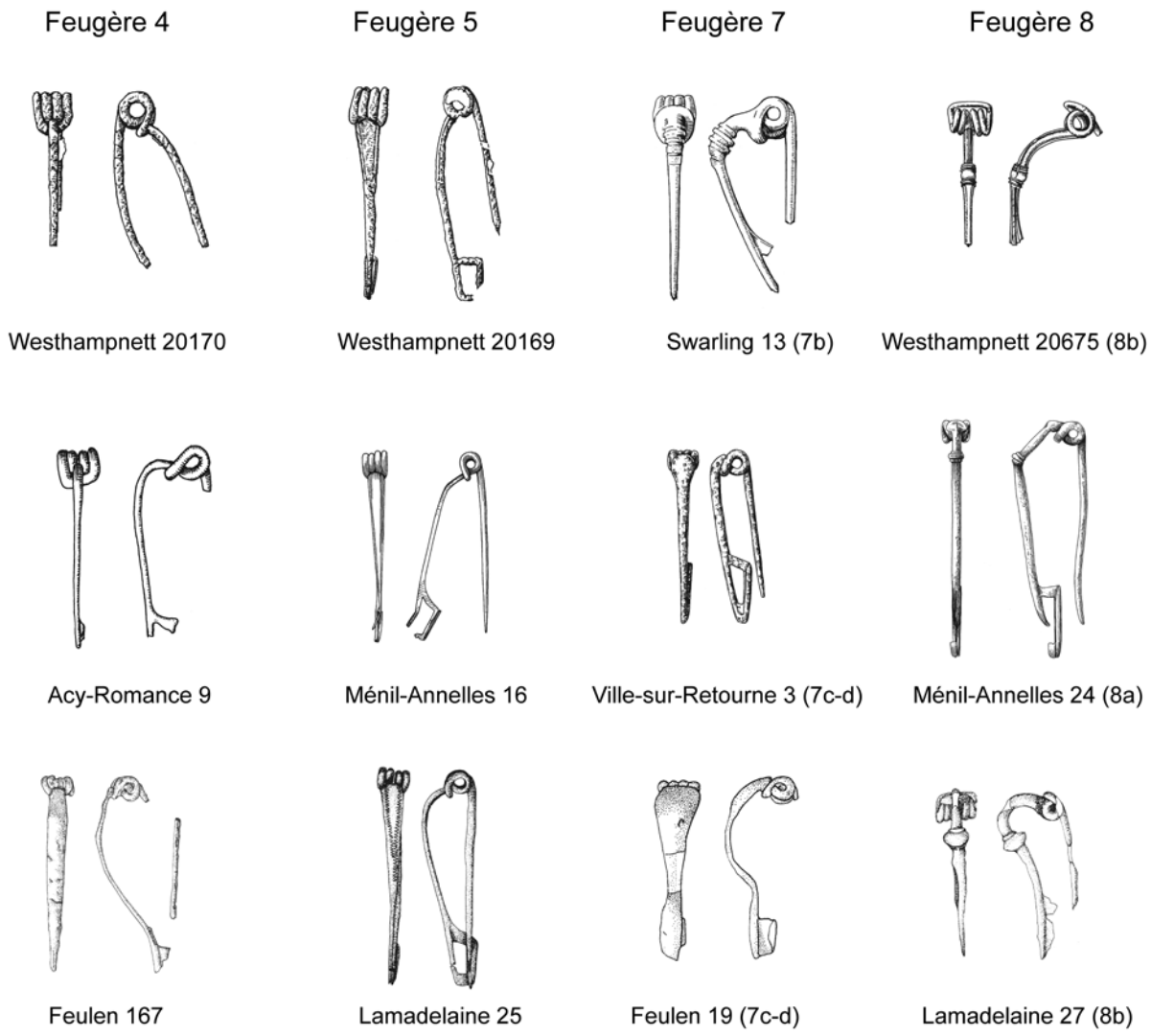


Figure 2.8. A comparison of common fibula types from selected late Iron Age graves in Sussex, Kent, Champagne, and Luxembourg (after Bushe-Fox 1925; Fitzpatrick 1997; Metzler-Zens et al. 1999; Schendzielorz 2006; Stead/Flouest/Rigby 2006).

just as likely to be accidents of the small sample sizes, as representing true lacunae. A great deal of the patterning in Table 2.9 can be accounted for in chronological terms. The cemetery at Westhampnett and the majority of the Champagne graves date to the La Tène D2a, which can be seen in the higher prevalence of Feugère types 1, 2, and 5. Feulen, Lamadelaine, and Wederath similarly have longer sequences and show higher proportions of Feugère types 1 and 2. At the other end of the spectrum, types 9b/14a, 10, and 21 are all later innovations more commonly associated with the Augustan period, with higher levels of particular types at cemeteries in use at the end of the period such as Goeblange-Nospelt.

Beyond basic chronological variations, Table 2.9 also illustrates several broad typologically defined categories of fibulae with pan-regional distributions, notably Feugère types 4, 5, 7, and 8. To give a sense of variation in the appearance of these more widespread types, Fig. 2.8 compares examples of each type selected from cemeteries in southeast Britain, Champagne, and Luxembourg, with a predisposition towards the selection of complete or near-complete examples. This basic comparison essentially illustrates two trends. The first is the overwhelming sense of stylistic unity in some types, especially within Feugère's type 5, the Nauheim fibula, which extends across the whole region. Secondly, while the typological similarities are also evident for all four types, sub-types and regional variation are much more pronounced in

Fig. 2.8 for Feugère's type 7, the so-called 'Schüsselfibel', and Feugère's type 8, even between examples from neighbouring regions in the Champagne-Ardennes and Luxembourg. Whereas the pottery placed in funerary objectscapes in the wider region can only be described in terms of weak morphological standardisation, the fibulae attest to much higher levels of stylistic similarity that might be termed serial standardisation. This kind of serialisation hints at the existence of a more unified pan-regional inter-artefactual domain for fibulae, a situation that must have been more directly dependent on regular connections based on the movement of people and circulating material culture. After all, brooches are much more readily portable and durable, being worn on the human body as pins on clothing, especially compared with bulky and comparatively fragile pottery vessels. At the same time, there is still considerable room for local and regional variation within the parameters of established stylistic canons in fibula design. In this way, aside from occasional imports from the Mediterranean such as Dressel 1 wine amphorae, Iron Age objectscapes still lacked the near identical replication that defines the highest level of standardisation, as we shall encounter in Chapter 3 on Augustan-Tiberian objectscapes.

What was the social impact of serial standardisation in fibulae in late Iron Age objectscapes? At a basic level, it is possible to conceive of a series of loosely shared categories of brooch that were shared by multiple late Iron Age societies, which also included several communities that had not adopted the same kinds of funerary practice at this time. The wearing of typologically similar if not identical fibulae may have aided the mobility of individuals and small groups by minimising visible signs of cultural difference, as well as potentially acting as a limited standard medium for material exchange. As such, any specific divergences in brooch design should be seen against the background of a broader spectrum of loosely shared practices and similar styles of common objects. While temporary alliances and tributary relations may have conceivably helped to connect and integrate some of the Iron Age societies in question, the absence of a single political structure that encompassed the whole region (and beyond) may have deterred or at least slowed the development of even greater levels of standardisation and a truly integrated inter-artefactual domain, at least until the aftermath of Roman conquest and annexation.

2.4.4 RICHLY FURNISHED GRAVES, C. 90 – 20 BC

The analytical emphasis of this chapter so far has been on the placement of objects in funerary objectscapes composed largely of modestly furnished graves from so-called 'community cemeteries'.[191] This section returns attention to the most richly furnished burials such as those at Baldock and Vieux-les-Asfeld, as discussed at the beginning of the chapter. Not only do richly furnished graves provide opportunities to examine larger repertoires of material culture, they may also provide glimpses of more fully-realised images of what mattered in the representation of the deceased by later Iron Age buriers, through the placement of deliberate selections and combinations of objects. To examine the phenomenon of richly furnished graves in more detail, Tables 2.10 and 2.11 contrast a range of examples from the La Tène D2a and D2b periods respectively. Criteria for the selection of graves includes a) the presence of objects that would be typically categorised as 'prestige goods', such as whole wine amphorae, feasting equipment, and alloy vessels; and/or b) a minimum number of 20 objects in total, including commonplace objects such as pottery vessels and fibulae; and/or c) the presence of martial equipment in an assemblage with a minimum number of ten objects in total. Graves meeting these criteria have subsequently been ranked according to the quantities of the following objects, in this order: a) whole amphorae, b) buckets and cauldrons, c) fire dogs, d) other copper alloy vessels, e) copper alloy fibulae, f) iron fibulae, g) pottery vessels, and h) martial equipment. This ranking effectively gives precedence to the objects relating to the

[191] Fernández-Götz 2017, 122.

La Tène D2a		Alloy vessels			Animal offerings			Fibulae		Martial equipment			Wine amphorae		Pottery		Other objects		
Cemetery	Grave	Buckets & cauldrons	Fire dogs	Other	Pig	Fowl	Other	Copper alloy	Fe	Swords	Spears	Shields	Whole	Fragments	Total	Services	Body	Knives	Misc.
Clemency	1			2	X			1					10		34	X			1
Vieux-les-Asfeld	3	2			X	X	4X						2		19	X			5
Baldock	1	3	2	2	X		X						1		0	Cu			
Cambrai	106	2	2		X			1	1						11	X			
Acy-Romance	NM7	2			X			2						1	2		1		1
Acy-Romance	C101	1			X		X	3							14	X			
Lamadelaine	54	1			X	X		1						2	4		1	1	
Thugny-Trugny	16	1			X			1							4	X	4	1	
Westhampnett	20622	1						1							0				
Cambrai	45	1			X				2						2		3	1	
Ville-sur-Retourne	1				X	X		2	2						32	X	1		6
Lamadelaine	3				X	X	2X	2	2	X	X	X		2	7		5	1	10
Juniville	2				X	X	X	1	5						14	X	1		4
Ménil-Annelles	22							1	1		X				6				1
Ville-sur-Retourne	21				X			1		X					8				
Ville-sur-Retourne	10				X	X	X		6						34	X	3	1	5
Feulen	177								4		X				9		1	1	
Ménil-Annelles	23				X	X			2						21	X		3	5
Wederath	627								2		X				7	X			
Wederath	1228								2	X	X	X			3		2		
Wederath	1726								1	X	X	X			5				1
Ville-sur-Retourne	20				X	X				X	X				13	X	4		
North Bersted	1									X	X	X			5	X	1		

Table 2.10. Richly furnished graves of the La Tène D2a (90/80-50 BC) and their contents ranked according to the presence of amphorae and feasting equipment.

organisation of communal feasting, and builds in some of the status indicators that emerged from the preceding analysis of whole cemeteries. By giving martial equipment the least weighting, the ranking makes it possible to test the notion that the presence of weapons correlated with other possible status indicators such as amphorae, feasting equipment, and large quantities of more common items.

After ranking, the richly furnished graves of the La Tène D2a (c. 90/80-50 BC) in Table 2.10 are essentially differentiated into two groups based on the presence (dark grey) and absence (light grey) of specialised feasting equipment and/or whole Italian wine amphorae. The graves in both groups come from a wide range of regions, including southeast Britain, northern France, Champagne, and Luxembourg, and include examples from smaller cemeteries or lone graves not already considered in the preceding analysis, namely Juniville (Champagne), Clemency (Luxembourg), and North Bersted (near Westhampnett, Sussex). The upper-tier of graves, characterised by the presence of feasting equipment, are more consistently provisioned with animal offerings and copper alloy fibulae, whereas martial

equipment is completely absent. In contrast, although weaponry is more common in the lower-tier of graves lacking feasting equipment, the graves with martial equipment are less often furnished with large quantities of other objects. In other words, there appears to be little correlation between the placement of weapons in graves and other indicators of social status. Indeed, while the presence of commensal services is common in the upper and lower tiers of Table 2.10, there is a remarkable lack of overlap between such services and graves featuring weapons. At the same time, several graves in the lower-tier of Table 2.10 feature high quantities of fibulae, animal remains, pottery vessels, and other finds, but otherwise lack weapons. Another striking feature is the dominance of iron fibulae in the lower-tier of Table 2.10, seemingly underlining the exclusive connection between feasting equipment and seemingly higher-status copper alloy brooches.

Piecing together the patterns from Table 2.10, three groups of richly furnished graves emerge. Most spectacular are those which feature equipment for communal feasting, typically alongside copper alloy brooches and animal remains. Complete Italian wine amphorae are exclusively associated with this group, notably at Clemency (Luxembourg), Vieux-les-Asfeld (Champagne), and Baldock (Hertfordshire), underlining the feasting connotations of the associated objects. The absence of weapons in this group seems deliberate given the presence of so many other exceptional objects, particularly in those at the richer end of the spectrum. Nevertheless, it should be noted that other materially rich graves not included in this comparison from the period did occasionally include martial equipment, such as the sword, spear, and helmet combination found with a Dressel 1B amphora at Olewig, near Trier.[192] A second smaller group of graves is well-provisioned in terms of animal offerings, fibulae, larger numbers of pottery vessels, and other small finds, but is lacking in obvious status indicators relating to feasting or warfare. This group relates exclusively to the Champagne cemeteries in the sample of sites considered here. A third group consists of graves with various combinations of swords, spears, and shields, and typically lower quantities of other grave goods such as fibulae, pottery vessels and animal offerings. Like the first group, this one features graves from a wide range of regions. The group includes a lone grave from North Bersted, in the vicinity of the larger contemporary cemetery at Westhampnett. While no weapons were discovered in over 150 graves at Westhampnett, North Bersted features a complete set of sword, spear, and shield, in addition to a helmet, a type which is even scarce on the continent. The North Bersted grave also features two shallow bowls, a pottery shape notably absent at Westhampnett, but widespread in various forms across northern Gaul at the time. Clearly, vessels for individual consumption remained a priority in graves featuring martial equipment.

It does not take much imagination to make the leap from the distinctive groups of object selections in the richly furnished late Iron Age graves, and turn them into different groups of people. The obvious candidates for this are aristocratic feast organisers and their warrior retainers, as compared with the much larger pool of modestly furnished graves from the period that may be similarly interpreted as the graves of base clients who were afforded the privilege of formal burial. Doing justice to this perspective, however, requires closer scrutiny of the surviving cremated human remains for evidence of the age and sex of the deceased, to test for correlations with groups of objects. Unfortunately, the destructive nature of the cremation ritual robs archaeologists of a great deal of vital demographic information for this task, greatly reducing sample sizes for analysis. The problem is also compounded by the absence of osteoarchaeological analysis in older reports, in which assumptions based on the characteristics of the grave goods are used to ascertain the deceased's gender. Abandoning the pursuit of Iron Age identities, it is instead more productive to return to the complex information constituted in Iron Age objectscapes.

Using the same criteria and ranking protocols as in Table 2.10, Table 2.11 surveys the richer graves from the La Tène D2b (c. 60-20 BC). In addition to cemeteries already considered in this chapter, the

[192] Miron 1984.

La Tène D2b		Alloy vessels			Animal offerings		Fibulae		Martial equipment			Wine amphorae		Pottery		Other objects		
Cemetery	Grave	Buckets & cauldrons	Fire dogs	Other	Pig	Other	Copper alloy	Fe	Swords	Spears	Shields	Whole	Fragments	Total	Services	Body	Knives	Misc.
Welwyn	B		1	4								5		2		1		
Welwyn	A		1	3								1		2				3
Goeb.-Nospelt	D			1	X	X	1	3		X		1		31	X	4	1	2
Goeb.-Nospelt	9				X						X	1		11	X	1		
Wederath	25										X	1		8	X		1	1
Tollgate	4312	1		1										2				
Cambrai	107	1			X									5	X		1	
Kelvedon	1			2					X	X	X			2				2
Wederath	77			1			2			X				4				
Wederath	142			1							X			7			1	
Wederath	170						3		X	X	X			6				
Goeb.-Nospelt	C						2	3	X	X				17	X	4		2
Wederath	90						1	1	X	X	X			5				
Lamadelaine	32				X			1		X	X		1	9		1		2
Wederath	805								X		X			6	X	1	1	
Wederath	233								X		X			4		2		

Table 2.11. Richly furnished graves of the La Tène D2b (60-20 BC) and their contents ranked according to the presence of amphorae and feasting equipment.

sample includes the earliest graves of the famous Welwyn tradition (Hertfordshire), in addition to more recently published graves from Tollgate Junction (Kent) and Kelvedon (Essex). In contrast with the earlier first century BC, fewer graves in Table 2.11 meet the criteria for classification as 'richly furnished'. The quantities of objects deposited also tend to be lower, which includes more distinctive kinds of feasting equipment such as buckets and cauldrons. While a general distinction can still be made between graves with feasting equipment and/or amphorae on one hand and those without, the groupings evident in the rich graves of the La Tène D2a are much less clear. For example, multiple Treveran graves with feasting equipment or amphorae also feature martial equipment, a rare association in the preceding phase. Another important feature of Table 2.11 is the dominance of graves from the Luxembourg-Rhineland area, with a secondary emphasis on examples from south-east Britain, including famous examples from Welwyn (Herts.) and more recent discoveries from Essex and Kent. At the same time, there appears to be a closer correlation between the presence of commensal rather than individual services of pottery and the very richest tier of graves.

The overall picture for the La Tène D2b appears to be one of disruption after the much more orderly richly-furnished funerary objectscapes from the first half of the first century BC. The patterns with perhaps the greatest historical significance are the lower rates of object and animal offering depositions in graves with amphorae and feasting equipment, and the increased tendency among the Treveri to include martial equipment in the highest tier of graves. It is tempting to view such changes in the light of the substantial social upheavals caused by Caesar's campaigns in the 50s BC, which entailed massive loss of life

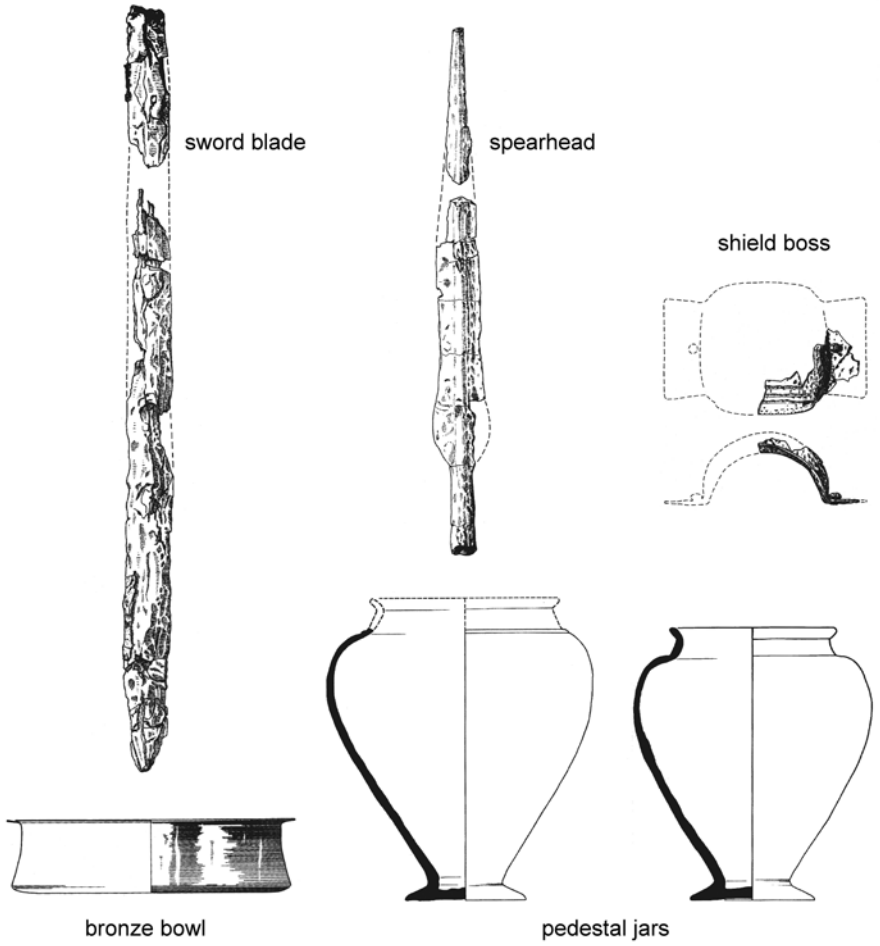


Figure 2.9. Selected finds from the 'Kelvedon warrior' grave, Essex (after Sealey 2007, 6-16).

and the enslavement of large numbers of Gauls, as well as significant plunder of local sources of wealth. Against this backdrop, it is perhaps unsurprising to see renewed and reconfigured practices of funerary display among the Treveri, who at times provided strongholds and manpower for the Roman armies, as well as societies in south-east Britain, who were less directly affected by the wars as those across the Channel.

The main headline to emerge from this analysis of richly furnished graves is surely the regularity in which constellations of certain kinds of objects were repeated in multiple regions and societies, most notably in the first half of the first century BC. Against this backdrop, graves such as the so-called 'Kelvedon warrior' (Fig. 2.9) and the earlier grave at North Bersted may be regarded as extensions of northern Gallic practice, as two of only six examples of the *Dreierausrüstung* (the complete set of sword, spear and shield) in Iron Age Britain,[193] supplemented by appropriate combinations of ceramic vessels. It is unsurprising that the strongest evidence for shared practice at a truly pan-regional scale can be witnessed in the elite sphere. Similar patterning of this kind has a long history, and was even more pronounced in the richly-furnished early Iron Age of the region.[194] It is doubly clear that conspicuous funerary displays of large quantities of objects, coupled with more exclusive varieties rarely found outside the sphere of richly-furnished graves, formed an important strategy within the upper-stratum of many late Iron Age societies of northern Europe. On this point, the question of whether such objects were personal posses-

[193] Sealey 2007, 36.

[194] Fontijn/van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017.

sions, or gifts that reflected wider social networks of the deceased and/or their successors remains open to speculation.

A pertinent feature that marks out what appear to be the upper-tier of late Iron Age graves on a pan-regional level is the exclusive appearance of highly standardised (whole) wine amphorae, various kinds of copper alloy vessels, and a greater predilection for the more standardised forms of other material culture, notably wheelthrown pottery and copper alloy fibulae. While wine amphorae were standardised to a degree that was unmatched in the Iron Age societies of northern Europe, it is unclear whether or not such standardisation formed a crucial part of their desirability, as opposed to their scarce contents. Standardisation among long-distance traded goods like amphorae had obvious advantages in the sphere of horizontal gift exchange between Iron Age elites, helping to break down the obstacles between different local regimes of value, and serving as highly visible symbols of status with an effectively international currency. For these reasons, it is no surprise to see large quantities of similarly standardised fine ware pottery vessels in the richest graves at the very end of the first century BC (examined in Chapter 3), once new items and production methods were introduced to northwest Europe with the advent of the Roman period.

2.5. STANDARDISATION AS INNOVATION IN LATER IRON AGE FUNERARY OBJECTSCAPES

Having scrutinised various aspects of later Iron Age funerary objectscapes, a number of overarching patterns emerge: a general level of pan-regionalism in the rite of placing grave-goods; the repeated associations of objects conveying greater or lesser prestige; conservatism at a cemetery-level on the selection and quantities of certain objects placed with the dead; regional patterns in the selection and rates of deposition of other objects, ranging from pottery and fibulae to martial equipment; and an increased tendency towards more precise forms of standardisation of objects placed in graves, particularly within the most richly-furnished examples. Regionalism is undeniably a major feature of both Iron Age and Roman Europe, a phenomenon that would have been much more apparent, for example, if the whole of the British Isles had been included in this comparison, alongside groups in Gaul and Britain who had not yet chosen to adopt accompanied cremation as the prevailing funerary rite. Such observations recall ongoing debates on the nature of insular late Iron Age visual culture and the extent of meaningful connections with Continental Europe.[195] At the same time, it is important to stress that among the late Iron Age funerary objectscapes considered here, there was an increased tendency towards loosely shared practice, a phenomenon that was intimately connected with the emergence of increased standardisation in material culture across multiple regions. This ranged from increased morphological standardisation among pottery vessels and their specific combinations in graves, to the proliferation of serially standardised fibulae types with wide pan-regional circulations, and the predilection for standardised objects in the richest grave assemblages, which for the first time included identically replicated objects in the form of Mediterranean wine amphorae. As Woolf ably describes, 'local communities distinguished themselves not with distinctive elements, but with **distinctive combinations** produced by bricolage from a common cultural stock' (my emphasis).[196] Largely through the internal dynamics of the societies in question, the Iron Age boom in what can be considered proto-standardised objects set the stage for a more profound revolution in objectscapes at the start of the Roman period, as we shall explore in Chapter 3.

The later Iron Age object-boom did not occur in a vacuum, however, and is likely to have been firmly rooted in combinations of political alliances and expanding networks of kinship and clientship that necessitated increased human mobility and the circulation of material culture at a pan-regional level.

[195] For example, Gosden et al. 2014.

[196] Woolf 1998, 181.

As Roymans puts it, 'clientship relations ran through the small-scale tribal order and gave elite networks a more 'international' character'.[197] It is likely that the extension of clientship and kinship networks, in which various groups were enmeshed (e.g. elites, mercenaries, craft specialists, and slaves) across multiple societies, created the conditions for increased inter-regional connectivity, in turn setting the stage for the beginnings of a pan-regional inter-artefactual domain in late Iron Age northwest Europe. The analysis in this chapter underlines that such a phenomenon was most evident in repertoires of easily portable and durable objects such as fibulae,[198] and less so with bulkier pottery vessels that were easier to produce locally and less likely to circulate at an inter-regional level. In this context, the prominence of objects connected with feasting was also no accident, and highlights the importance of reciprocal hospitality within societies that appear to be increasingly outward looking. Crucially, even when local differences emerged, regionalised patterns were still framed by some reference to much wider social networks and objectscapes.[199] Social practices and styles of objects merged and intermingled to differing degrees, so much so that past generations of archaeologists mistook such patterns for the spread of homogenous ethnic groups. While rejecting the ethnocentrism of such scholarship, it remains the case that broadly shared social institutions, cultural practices, and above all, similar objectscapes governed by linked (but not fully integrated) inter-artefactual domains probably aided the processes by which these societies successfully integrated into the Roman empire, which forms a subject of Chapter 3.

Before our consideration of later Iron Age material culture ends, attention needs to be paid to an elephant in the room: the relative disconnection between the objectscapes examined and the important historical events taking place in the region, namely the dramatic upheaval and immense loss of life caused by Caesar's conquests of 58-50 BC. Aside from infrequent finds of Mediterranean amphorae and shifts in funerary practice associated with the deposition of weapons in the richest tier of graves in some cemeteries, the assemblages examined in this chapter are relatively silent, and do not reveal widespread ruptures in the selection or styles of objects that can be tied to such events.[200] Indeed, it is long-established in scholarship that there is no abundant or consistently recognisable archaeological horizon that can be definitively tied to the Gallic wars period, which tended to leave much more piecemeal remains. Evidence such as the small war-era group of graves at Lamadelaine (ensemble B) is a reminder that many of the societies whose material remains are examined in this chapter were fortunate enough to side with the victors (the Remi and Treveri were at times notable allies of Caesar), or less directly affected by the conflict (such as communities in southern Britain). In contrast, the recipients of more violent forms of conquest and genocide in this period tended to be communities who lacked more formal and archaeologically-recognisable forms of funerary practice, typically coming from the region that later became the northwest of Gallia Belgica and Germania Inferior. Here, archaeological research is beginning to reveal very different kinds of objectscape connected with the violence of Rome and its allies, from the recently discovered *oppidum* of the Aduatuci at Thuin (Hainaut, Belgium) that was seemingly razed by Caesar in 57 BC,[201] to the grisly human remains of the Roman massacre of the Tencteri and Usipetes at the site of Kessel/Lith on the Meuse-Waal river junction.[202] If the impact of Roman conquest on funerary and domestic objectscapes was less immediately spectacular, the same cannot be said of the longer-term changes in the styles and selections of objects that circulated in the region, as the following chapters investigate.

[197] Roymans 1996b, 16.

[198] And probably also coinage. See Creighton 2000, 119, Fig. 4.12 for a demonstration of equivalent patterns in the spread of coin imagery.

[199] Hill 2012, 249.

[200] The scant archaeological evidence associated with the likely landing site for Caesar's invasion of southeast Britain in 54 BC is a case in point (Fitzpatrick 2018).

[201] Roymans et al. 2012, 20-24.

[202] Roymans 2018, cf. Roymans 2004, 103-193, for the extensive publication of this assemblage, which had been originally interpreted as an episode of ritual deposition rather than genocide.

3 The object revolution in northwest Europe

3.1 ROME'S IMPACT IN NORTHWEST EUROPE

This chapter is about a fundamental transformation in the design and circulation of objects at the end of the first century BC in northwest Europe – a change that coincides with the merging of parts of the region into the formal political structure of the Roman empire. A traditional means of approaching this period is to frame it in the events of the surviving textual sources and a historical narrative of conquest and Romanisation, beginning with the battles and campaigns of Julius Caesar in the 50s BC. These events were momentous in both a geo-political sense and in terms of the lives, deaths, and enslavement of thousands of people from a wide transect of the European continent, and as a result have been studied in great depth.[203] Despite the massive upheaval caused by such episodes, their impact on the relationships between people and objects in northern Gaul seems to have been rather minimal, as seen in the previous chapter. For example, it is possible to discern a peak in the practice of depositing weapons and martial equipment in cemeteries roughly contemporaneous with Caesar's campaigns. However, it remains the case that societies continued to select and deposit the same kinds of objects in graves as they had done in the first half of the first century BC. Even at a major stronghold such as the Titelberg (Luxembourg), which seems likely to have provided winter quarters to Roman regiments in the immediate aftermath of the Gallic War period,[204] objects of Mediterranean origin make up a meagre presence in graves of the associated Lamadelaine cemetery: a few wine amphorae fragments, a handful of Republican coins of Hirtius, an Alesia brooch, and a signet ring with the image of a trireme.[205] In essence, aside from the already well-established practice of placing amphorae fragments in graves, these choices seem ephemeral against a backdrop of practices of funerary object selection that were established in the region from the mid second century BC, if not earlier.

Other wide-ranging material changes are visible as a consequence of the Gallic Wars, such as a massive decline in the circulation of gold coinage, which can be explained primarily through the sending of the spoils of conquest to Italy, and to a lesser degree, payments made to Gallic clients in Britain and across the Rhine.[206] However, this kind of change probably impacted mostly on the lives of the tribal aristocracies and their immediate retainers and subordinates, many of whom are likely to have perished in the wars themselves. The real watershed for changing objectscapes in northwest Europe coincided not with Caesar's conquests, but instead with the reorganisation of the Gallic provinces under Augustus from 27 BC.

[203] For the latest revised chronology of events, see Raaflaub/Ramsey 2017.

[204] Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 8.5 describes overwintering at the *oppidum* of Cenabum (Carnutes), which provides an example of a general practice of garrisoning Roman troops in local fortifications. Although not named by Caesar, the Titelberg forms one of the most likely examples of this practice elsewhere, on the basis of the excavation of a possible Roman military establishment in the northwest of the settlement (Metzler 1984; Todd 1985; Fichtl 2000, 152-153; Deru 2016, 13), and the local production of copies of denarii bearing the names of Hirtius and Carrinas, Roman governors in Gaul in 45 BC and 31-30 BC (Roymans 1990, 210).

[205] Metzler-Zens et al. 1999, 299.

[206] Roymans 1990, 117-145.

The Augustan period brought a raft of material changes, including the proliferation *en masse* of large quantities of highly standardised pottery vessels, such as red-gloss Italian-style *terra sigillata* or Arretine ware, smaller quantities of inscribed ACO beakers and other thin-walled pottery from Italy and Lyon, and the regional production of Gallo-Belgic ware,[207] in addition to a range of other new objects including oil lamps, glass vessels, and expressive styles of fibulae. While the agency behind these developments can be debated, it is remarkable how widespread these changes were, affecting rural and fledgling urban communities alike, and extending from prominent societies in northern Gaul such as the Remi and Treveri to the Lower Rhine and even large swathes of southeast Britain, which was not officially annexed by Rome until the mid-first century AD. The changes in this period have been evocatively described by Greg Woolf in terms of the 'Roman cultural revolution in Gaul', in which new forms of settlements, monuments, and mundane goods fostered a shift in everyday Gallic life, and how the Gauls conceived the world and their place in it.[208] In this way, rather than being yet another isolated episode of Romanisation, the changes in Gaul can be understood as an active component of a much bigger phenomenon that saw equivalent developments in political life, art, architecture, and literature in Augustan Rome.[209] Even dynasts from far-flung southeast Britain participated, selecting iconography from the Augustan repertoire for their serial coin images.[210]

Before considering the changes in objectscapes and their implications in more detail, it is necessary to sketch a brief historical background to what has been called the 'Roman cultural revolution', with specific attention to northern Gaul. After Caesar departed Gaul by 50 BC, a series of developing veteran colonies were founded in the far south and on the edges of newly-conquered territory in Gallia Comata (so-called long-haired Gaul) at Nyons, Augst (both Switzerland), and Lyon – the last two coming into being after Caesar's death but seemingly according to his plans.[211] While this left the entirety of the north free of veteran settlements, the placement of colonies effectively covered the invasion route from the Rhine into Italy (or vice versa).[212] At this time it is generally accepted that Rome kept the peace in the north by shoring-up the power bases of the local aristocracy, supported by locally recruited irregular auxiliary units under Gallic command, especially from important allies such as the Remi and Treveri.[213] This fluid situation continued until 27 BC, when Augustus visited Gaul personally at Lyon, leading to the subdivision of Gallia Comata into the provinces of Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Belgica, and coinciding with the onset of the first Gallo-Roman archaeological horizon (GR1, c. 30-15 BC). By this time it is assumed that the main elements of the extensive road network in Gaul as conceived by Agrippa (who held a governorship there in 39-37 BC) were in place, ostensibly for military purposes in the first instance, but presumably also to aid the process of civilian urbanisation.[214] In the north the road network anchored the patchwork of late Iron Age communities into the Roman system, and facilitated the flow of supplies and manpower to Rome's subsequent military build-up along the Rhine.

The importance of Gaul and the task of its organisation is underlined by the frequency of imperial visits in the early Julio-Claudian era – Agrippa in 19 BC, Augustus in 16-13 BC, Tiberius variously in 16 BC, 9-7 BC, 3-5 AD, and 9-11 AD, Drusus in 12-9 BC, and Germanicus in 12-15 AD.[215] Among these dates, a marked change in policy occurred with the beginnings of fresh military operations in Germania under Drusus in 12 BC, coinciding with the start of the second Gallo-Roman archaeological horizon (GR2, c. 15 BC-AD 20). This situation would precipitate the disastrous ambush and loss of three Roman legions at the Teutoberg Forest under Varus in AD 9, and the subsequent creation of a more or less fixed frontier of permanent garrisons along the Rhine under Tiberius, in the aftermath of the campaigns of

[207] Wightman 1985, 48.

[208] Woolf 2001.

[209] Woolf 2001, 175 cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1989, 2008.

[210] Creighton 2000, 80-125; 2006, 14-45.

[211] Drinkwater 1983, 18-19.

[212] ibid, 19.

[213] Roymans 1996b, 20-21.

[214] Drinkwater 1983, 21, 122; Vanderhoeven 1996, 226-229.

[215] Mommsen 1968 [1887], 88.

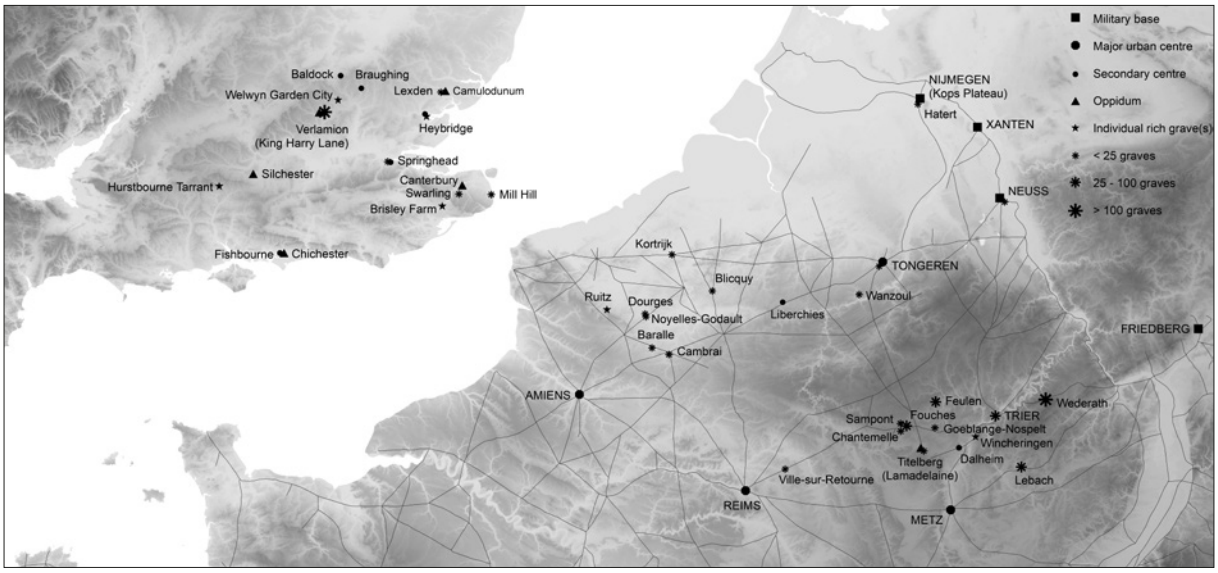


Figure 3.1. The locations of late Iron Age and early Roman cemeteries, graves, and settlements considered in this chapter.

Germanicus in AD 16.[216] The origins of some of the earliest Roman military bases in the region can be confidently dated to the first campaign under Drusus, including Neuss (Novaesium), Xanten (Vetera I), and the command post on the Kops Plateau (at modern Nijmegen), all of which feature in the analysis of archaeological data in this chapter (Fig. 3.1). Early military occupation from the same period is likely to have preceded or coincided with civilian urban foundations at notable locations close to the Rhine, notably at Tongeren and Trier, although both sites lack a direct link between their military and civilian phases.[217] At this time, the most important civilian centres in Gallia Belgica were surely Reims and Trier – Reims is named under Tiberius as the most populous city and the seat of the provincial governors, but as early as the Claudian period Trier is described as the richest city in the region by Mela.[218]

The rapid rise in prominence of Trier fits with the long-held hypothesis of Mommsen that Romanisation was stronger in the east of Belgica, driven by close proximity to military bases on the Rhine, and heavy military recruitment from the lands close to the frontier.[219] More recent archaeological research lends support to this view, with the development of urbanism, villa landscapes, and the distribution of material culture marking a sharp divide between communities undergoing rapid change in northern France, central Belgium, and parts of the German Rhineland, and slower transformation in the southern Netherlands, north and west Belgium, and the Lower Rhine.[220] The extent to which these changes can be attributable to the geography of violent conquest in the Caesarian period, direct or indirect Roman military influence, or indeed the cultural or economic disposition of local communities in the region, are questions that cut to the core of ongoing debates on Romanisation in the region.[221] At the same time, the historical record reminds us not to view these changes as being somehow inevitable, or one-way. While the Varian massacre of AD 9 did not spark widespread unrest in northern Gaul, and the short-lived rebellion in AD 21 of the Gallic noblemen Florus (a Treveran) and Sacrovir (an Aeduan) was ultimately quelled with the support of a Treveran cavalry unit whom Florus failed to win over, these events serve

[216] Roymans 1996b, 21; Willems/van Enckevort 2009, 17-21.

[217] Vanderhoeven 1996, 193-212, 233.

[218] Mommsen 1968 [1887], 93; Wightman 1985, 80.

[219] Mommsen 1968 [1887], 107.

[220] Roymans 1996b, 11.

[221] Useful summaries of changing perspectives on the debate with respect to the region can be found in Blagg/Millett 1990; Metzler et al. 1995; Derks 1998; Woolf 1998; Roymans 1996a; Roymans/Derks 2011.

to underline the tentative nature of Rome's hold over the region.[222] Even if the status of the region as Roman provincial territory was not really threatened, Tacitus is clear that under certain conditions Roman annexation and political absorbtion could still spark violent opposition, namely heavy debts, high interest rates, brutality, and administrative arrogance.[223]

An important perspective on the significance of the various material changes in northern Gaul and the Rhineland may be provided by the situation in southeast Britain. While Britain was not formally part of the Roman empire at this time, the south and east of England witnessed many parallel changes in the aftermath of Caesar's incursions in 55/54 BC, most notably in the period coinciding with the first two Gallo-Roman archaeological horizons (c. 25 BC-AD 20). These changes include the rapid development of territorial *oppida*, shifts in the image content of locally minted coinage, and the growing popularity of styles of funerary practice and imported goods that circulated extensively in northern Gaul.[224] Given the absence of direct evidence for Roman military presence in Britain before the Claudian invasion of AD 43,[225] the material changes of the Augustan-Tiberian period serve to emphasise both the agency of local communities and mobile individuals with little or no connection to the Roman state, as well as the high degree of interconnectedness across northwest Europe at this time.[226] Indeed, the complexity of material changes and interactions in this period was such that it is impossible to attribute them all to a single cause, although several factors loom large, including military presence and recruitment in Gaul, taxation and the local supply of the Rhine army from Belgica, increased political centralisation and the transformation of local elites, the continuity of pre-Roman networks of kinship and clientship, and the creation and extension of road, river, and urban networks.[227]

To maximise the potential of archaeological material culture to shed light on this vital formative period in the history of Roman Europe, a different approach is needed. In many existing studies, objects tend to be scrutinised only insofar of their capacity to act as proxies for more important processes driven by human actors – a perspective in which material culture has a largely passive role as proxy evidence for other phenomena. While this kind of 'representational' perspective is often both valid and an inescapable part of archaeological interpretation, it also arguably offers an incomplete or partial approach to objects as historical evidence.[228] Therefore, rather than making *a priori* assumptions about the capacity of objects to stand as proxies for phenomena such as military presence or Roman versus indigenous identities, this chapter investigates how the innovative designs and changing appearances of new 'things' impacted on the conscious selections of people, and the constitution of new kinds of objectscapes.

[222] Drinkwater 1983, 27; Wightman 1985, 63-65.

[223] Tacitus, *Annales* 3, 40-47.

[224] Creighton 2000; Pitts 2010a.

[225] Nevertheless, Creighton 2001, 2006 makes a plausible case for limited military presence close to the strongholds of British dynasts at Fishbourne and Gosbecks, Colchester.

[226] A notable hypothesis accounting for the sudden appearance of some British *oppida* (especially Silchester, or Calleva Atrebatum) in this period is to cast them as colonial settlements, with their populations coming from northern Gaul or elsewhere in southeast Britain (Fulford/Timby 2000, 563). While closer analysis of some artefact assemblages (Pitts 2014, 154-159) hints at links between Silchester and sites in western Gallia Belgica, this is far from conclusive evidence of migration. As Creighton 2016, 434 puts it 'we can talk of authoritative power, cultural influences, new ways of being, but we cannot be sure of exactly who constructed particular defences or buildings or when, the data cannot sustain it.'

[227] Drinkwater 1983, 128-129; Roymans 1996b, 2011; Vanderhoeven 1996.

[228] For further discussion with respect to Roman archaeology, see Van Oyen/Pitts 2017b.

3.2 THE OBJECTSCAPE AT ROME'S NORTHERN MILITARY COMMAND POST: THE KOPS PLATEAU, NIJMEGEN

To gauge the potential trajectories for material change in northwest Europe at the end of the first century BC, it is instructive to examine the objectscape of one of the first Roman military camps established in the region close to the Rhine river. These bases were of utmost strategic value for campaigns in German territory, in large part due to Rome's inability to overwinter an army across the Rhine.[229] One such base was founded in conjunction with the military expeditions of Drusus c. 12 BC on the Kops Plateau, Nijmegen, and was initially located alongside a larger and slightly earlier Augustan camp at the Hunerberg.[230] The Kops Plateau is a remarkable site in many respects. Although much smaller than the associated legionary camp at the Hunerberg, the Kops Plateau is richer in graffiti on excavated pottery sherds, which often reveal the classic *tria nomina* of Roman citizens.[231] Archaeologically identifiable timber buildings include the *principia* (headquarters building), a large *praetorium* (commander's house), an *horreum* (granary), and a stables complex on the lower slope (Fig 3.2). The *praetorium*, at over 2000m^2 in area, is of exceptional size within such a small fort, offering panoramic views across the river plain between the Waal and the Rhine, and being built within a distinctly Mediterranean tradition, with identifiable rooms such as the atrium, peristyle, and triclinium.[232] The excavators reasonably speculate that such a palatial building accommodated an individual of some standing, most likely a legionary commander, or even at times Drusus himself, as commander-in-chief of the army of Lower Germany (and perhaps later Germanicus and Tiberius).[233] Alongside its legionary population, the Kops Plateau also seems to have provided a home to a series of auxiliary cavalry detachments housed on the lower slopes, as evidenced by extensive finds of cavalry equipment and helmets, some perhaps belonging to the *ala Batavorum* in the Claudio-Neronian period.[234]

Compared with the late Iron Age objectscapes discussed in Chapter 2 – even those from richer funerary contexts – the mass of casually-lost and broken objects excavated on the Kops Plateau is striking in its colour, diversity, and provenance. This is especially true of the pottery from the site, much of which is typical of a military base of late Augustan date, including the large quantities of red-gloss Italian-style *terra sigillata*,[235] and smaller quantities of so-called thin-walled pottery, of northern Italian origin, which was later manufactured at Lyon.[236] Both of these kinds of pottery were produced in a series of vitually-identically standardised types, with some of the more common examples illustrated in Figs. 3.3 and 3.4. Not only were these ceramics produced to a greater level of technical proficiency than contemporary ceramics in late Iron Age Europe (e.g. firing conditions that allowed the mass production of vessels with thinner walls and a more uniformly polished surface), the general morphologies of the vessels are also fundamentally different to the typical jar and beaker dominated pottery used in the northern Gaul for the preceding century. The Italian-style *terra sigillata* repertoire favoured platters, ideal for displaying individual portions of solid food, and smaller bowls and cups, being better-disposed for drinking wine and as sauce-bowls at the table.[237] Analysis of *terra sigillata* at the earliest Rhine military bases indicates that soldiers probably owned a cup and platter for individual use,[238] a pattern seemingly confirmed at the

[229] Drinkwater 1983, 23.

[230] van Enckevort/Zee 1996.

[231] Willems/van Enckevort 2009, 38.

[232] van Enckevort 2004, 108-109.

[233] van Enckevort 2004, 109; Willems/van Enckevort 2009, 38.

[234] van Enckevort 2004, 107, 112; Willems/van Enckevort 2009, 38, 42-43.

[235] See Ettlinger et al. (1990) for the *Conspectus* – the definitive Italian-style *terra sigillata* type-series.

[236] Greene 1979, 2-8; Brulet/Vilvorder/Delage 2010, 300-310.

[237] See Dannell 2006, 2018 for further discussion of *terra sigillata* vessel function.

[238] Von Schnurbein 1982, 132-134; Roymans 2011, 150.

Figure 3.2. The Kops Plateau, Nijmegen, c. 12 BC to AD 70. Labelled buildings: A – praetorium, B – horreum, C – principia, and D – stables. Drawn by Rob Mols, municipality of Nijmegen; courtesy Harry van Enckevort.

Kops Plateau and Neuss where the four most common Italian-style *sigillata* vessels are Conspectus forms 12, 18 (platters), 14, and 22 (cups).

In contrast with the *terra sigillata*, the repertoire of thin-walled pottery is more obviously predisposed towards beakers and cups (Fig. 3.4). Vessels of this fabric and shape are present in much smaller numbers than *sigillata* in military bases like the Kops Plateau, and had more limited distributions across northern Gaul at the time. So-called 'soldier's beakers' as well as the moulded and inscribed ACO forms were evidently produced with a much more rarefied market in mind,[239] one that almost certainly included Roman officers. Roymans suggests that officers would have needed larger sets of fine tableware to throw banquets and symposia vital for the functioning of patronage networks within the Roman military,[240] as social rituals with obvious analogies to the role of feasting in some later Iron Age societies in northern Gaul. Indeed, it is likely that sympotic practices were responsible for the spectacular deposition of large quantities of Italian-style *sigillata*, thin-walled beakers, lamps, and animal and fish remains in a refuse pit from the Kops Plateau's *principia*, dating to the period of Drusus (Fig. 3.5).[241] Compared with contemporary late Iron Age ceramics in circulation in northern Europe, of which a substantial proportion

[239] Brulet/Vilvorder/Delage 2010, 300-310.

[240] Roymans 2011, 150.

[241] van Enckevort/Zee 1996, 53; van Enckevort 2004, 108.

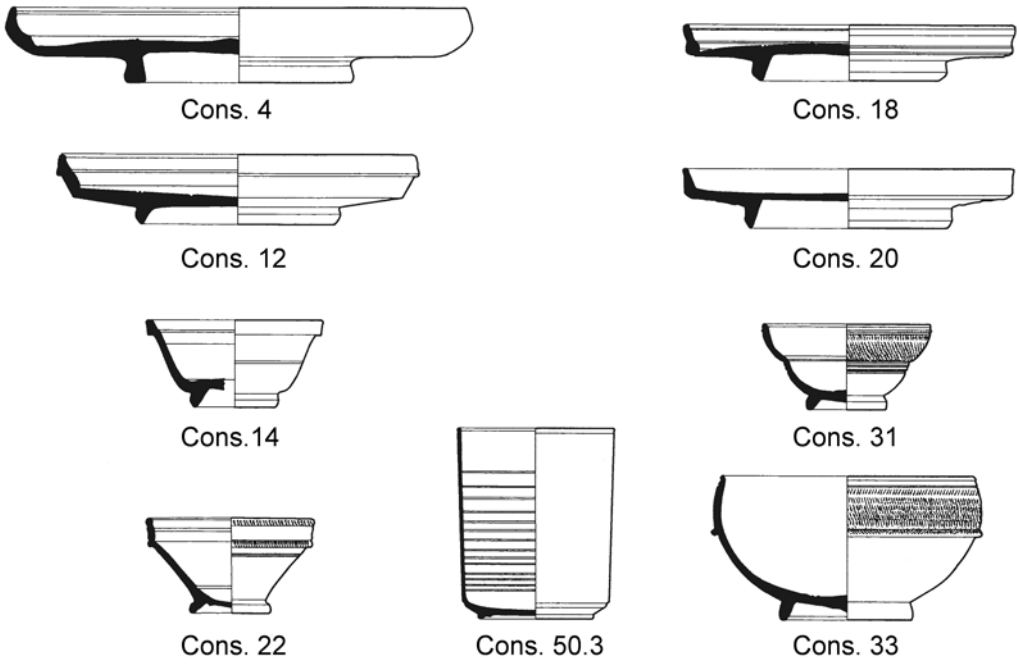


Figure 3.3. Common Italian-style *terra sigillata* vessels (after Brulet et al. 2010, 39).

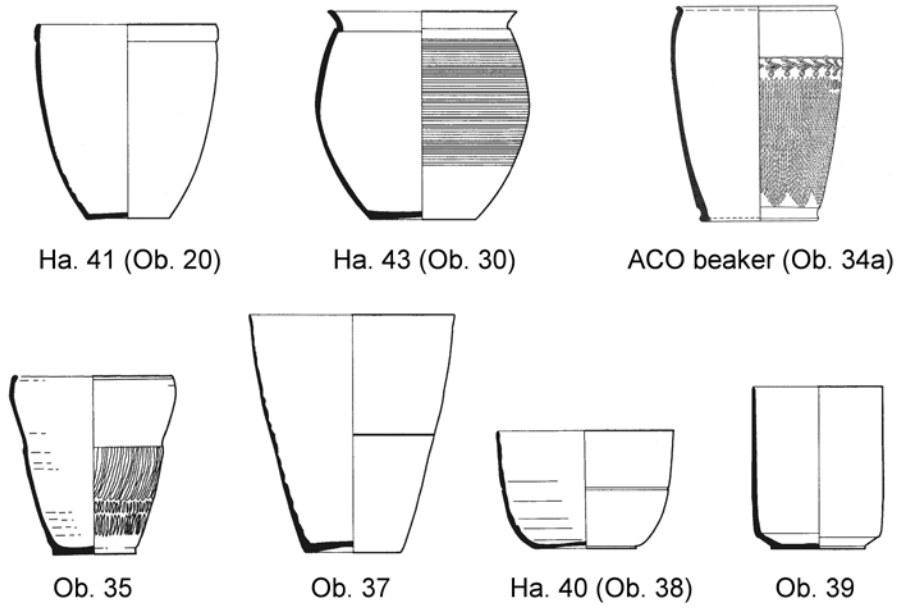


Figure 3.4. Thin-walled pottery vessel forms (after Brulet et al. 2010, 302; ACO beaker after Vegas 1975, Taf. 4).

were crudely fashioned in black-grey fabrics, the feasting ensemble presents a vivid contrast, made up of colourful finely-produced vessels in a more diverse range of forms. Despite the appeal of large quantities of vibrant and rarefied Mediterranean fine wares in locations like the Kops Plateau, it is important to consider that the distribution of these vessels was heavily concentrated at military bases in northwest Europe, especially in the Augustan and Tiberian periods.[242] As such, *terra sigillata* offers limited insights into the ways that objectscapes changed beyond the military sphere in the period.

[242] Roymans 2011, 148-153.

Figure 3.5. Feasting assemblage from latrine pit at the Kops Plateau, including Italian-style *terra sigillata* plates and cups and thin-walled beakers (courtesy Annelies Koster, Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen).

Unlike Italian-style *terra sigillata* and thin-walled wares, there was another repertoire of fine ware pottery that achieved much wider circulation beyond military communities in northwest Europe. This kind of pottery is typically called Gallo-Belgic ware, a collective term that covers a range of fabrics, most notably black-grey *terra nigra* and orange-red *terra rubra*, but also equivalent vessel shapes in pale and creamy-white fabrics. Crucially, Gallo-Belgic wares can be considered among the first locally mass-produced and truly identically standardised pottery vessels made in northwest Europe, emanating from multiple production centres in Gallia Belgica between c. 25 BC and AD 85.[243] Gallo-Belgic wares had a wide distribution that easily outstripped quantities of Italian-style *terra sigillata* in pre-conquest Britain, and were present in large quantities at military and civilian settlements and cemeteries alike in northern Gaul and the Rhineland.[244] While many Gallo-Belgic vessel types derived directly from Italian-style *terra sigillata* forms and even earlier Campanian wares, a roughly equivalent number can be seen as true northwest European innovations, with less direct Mediterranean influence in their design (Fig. 3.6).[245] It follows that an examination of the stylistic genealogy

[243] Deru 1996, 263-317.

[244] The definitive study and type-series for the region is Deru 1996. Pitts 2014; 2017b provides further discussion of the impact of Gallo-Belgic wares at an inter-provincial level.

[245] Deru 1996, 201-208.

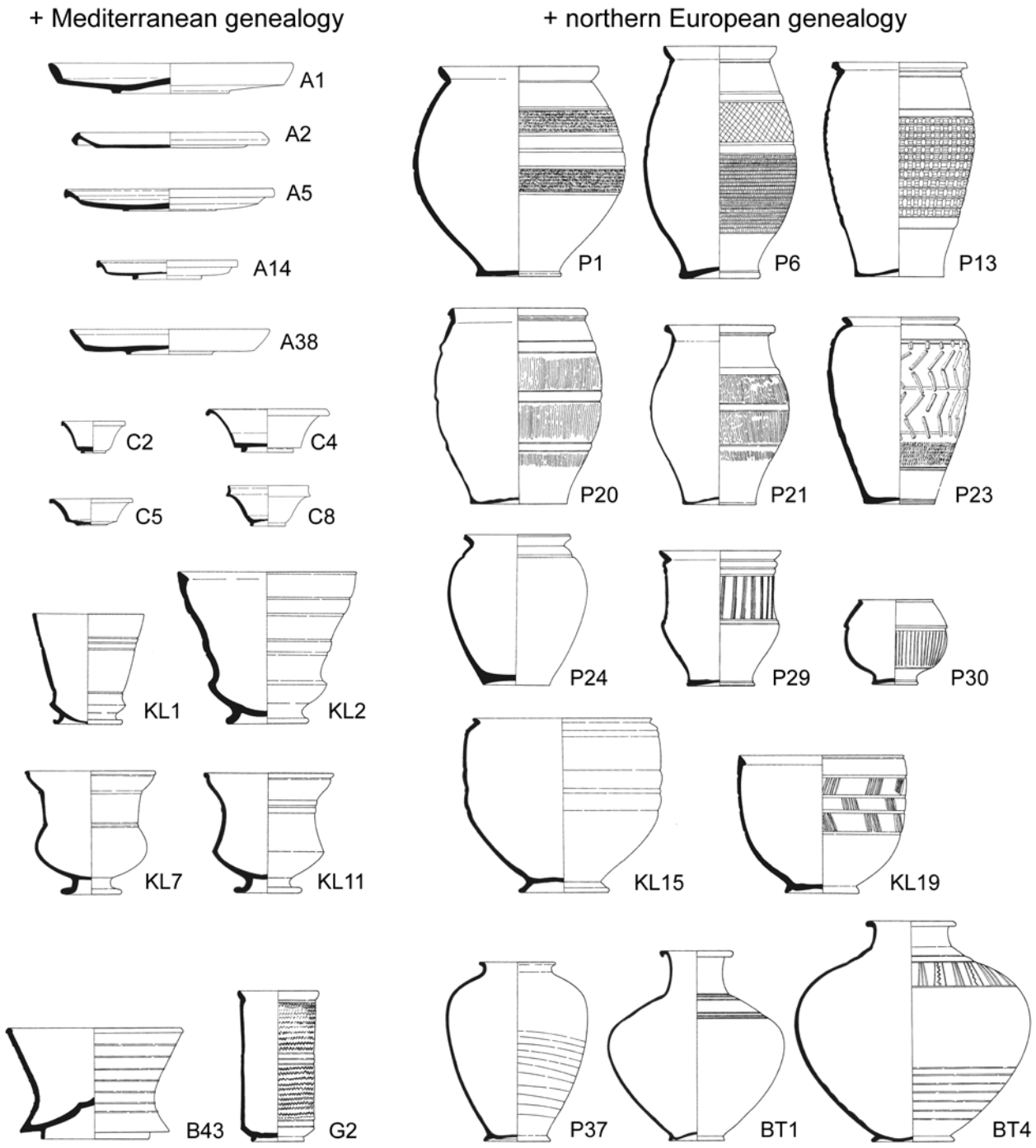


Figure 3.6. Common Gallo-Belgic ware vessel forms, grouped by genealogical influence (after Deru 1996, 30-140).

and distributions of Gallo-Belgic wares can provide a valuable opportunity to investigate the wider impact of objects with pronounced Mediterranean design (i.e. those deriving from Italian-style *sigillata*), alongside local innovations of the region that fused improved methods of firing and mass production with shapes of pottery more consistent with those of later Iron Age objectscapes, i.e. larger beakers and drinking vessels.

It has been long-suggested that Gallo-Belgic pottery production was initiated by Roman military requirements for local supplies that could supplement imports of fine wares from Italy and southern

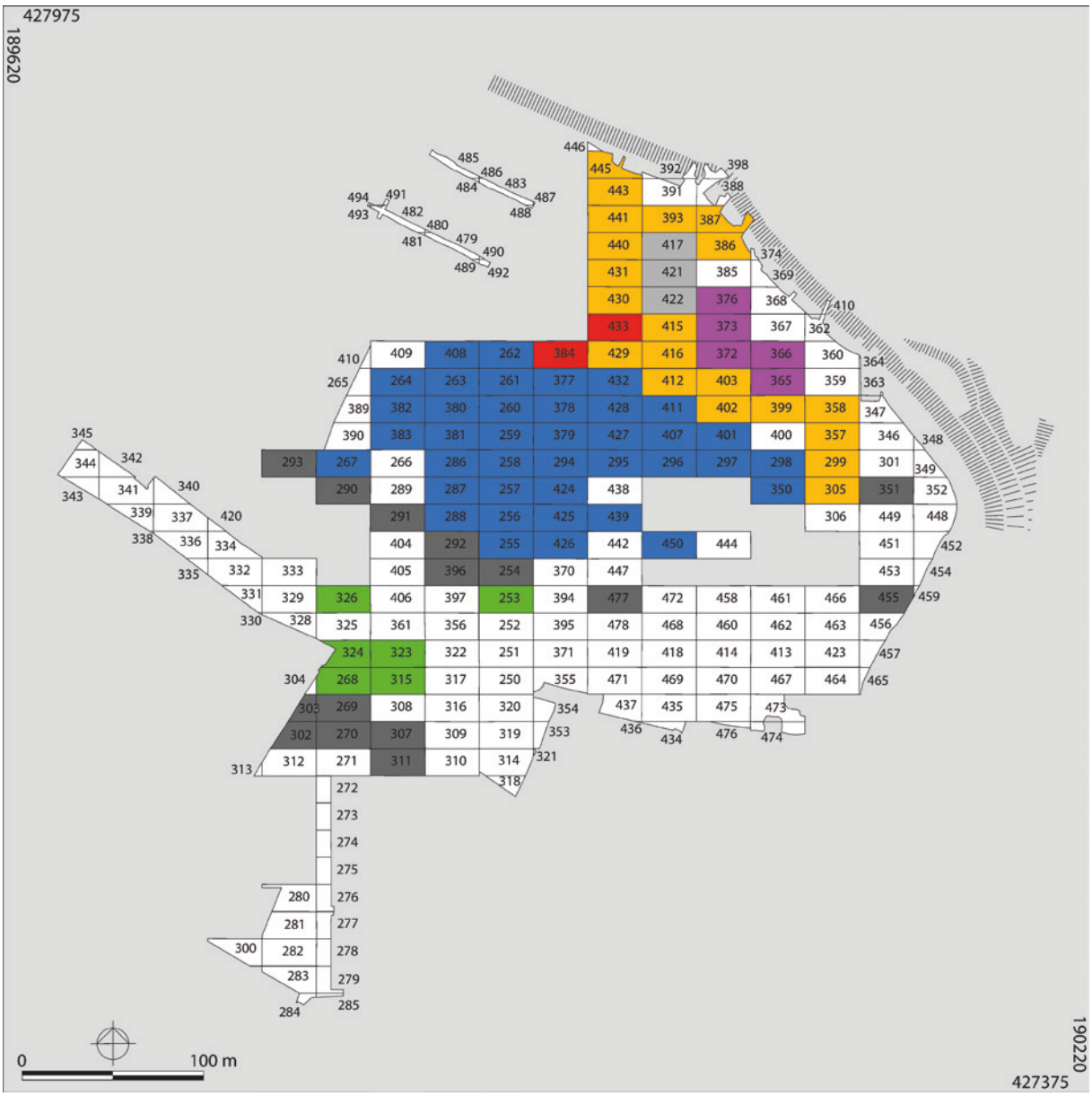


Figure 3.7. The excavated grid at the Kops Plateau, Nijmegen (drawn by Tim van der Weyden, municipality of Nijmegen; courtesy Harry van Enckevort).

Gaul.[246] As such, the Kops Plateau provides an excellent location to examine the early supply and use of Gallo-Belgic wares in a military setting, alongside finds of Italian-style *terra sigillata* and other imported pottery. Before putting the fine ware supply of the Kops Plateau into a wider context by comparing it with other settlements and cemeteries from the region, let us first investigate what exactly these new objects did at the Kops Plateau itself. To this end, it is a great advantage that data from the excavations conducted between 1986 and 1995 by archaeologists of the ROB (Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek) are available in a digital format that permits the analysis of object associations by excavated site area as well as at the level of individual archaeological feature.[247] To explore this rich data-set, I conducted two sets of Correspondence Analysis (CA) on the earliest fine ware assemblages from the Kops

[246] Wightman 1985, 144.

[247] Courtesy Harry van Enckevort and DANS (Data Archiving and Networked Services).

Plateau, one set examining patterns by the excavated grid (Fig. 3.7) outlined in Fig. 3.8, and the other by excavated feature (Fig. 3.9).[248] The simple aim of these exercises is to examine patterns in the disposal of different kinds of pottery, including any spatial variations that might indicate different areas of use in the settlement, as well as any recurrent associations between particular pottery types that may also give away clues about their practical use at the Kops Plateau.

In both sets of CA relating to early fine ware deposition at the Kops Plateau, the pottery types have been colour-coded and labelled to assist the reader in spotting emerging patterns (the lower plots in Figs. 3.8 and 3.9). For fine ware types, *terra sigillata* forms are coloured red, thin-walled wares purple, Gallo-Belgic wares imitating *sigillata* orange, and those with more overt northern European genealogy blue. Likewise, the excavated areas in Fig. 3.7 have been colour-coded as follows: the *principia* (red), *praetorium* (purple), *horreum* (grey), fort northeast of the *via principalis* (orange), fort southwest of the *via principalis* (blue), stables complex (green), and other areas outside the base (black), corresponding to the numbered excavated areas the upper plot of Fig. 3.8. To make sense of both sets of analysis, I describe below the main patterns before considering their implications in more detail.

Turning to the results of the CA by excavated grid area (Fig. 3.8), clear-cut patterns emerge. In the plot dealing with the fine ware types, most Gallo-Belgic forms plot on the right-hand side, corresponding mainly with excavated areas outside the fort and to the southwest of the *via principalis*. Likewise, most Italian-style *terra sigillata* and thin-walled vessel types plot to the left, this time corresponding with the major identified buildings and the associated area to the northeast of the *via principalis*. Indeed, this latter group can be further broken down into upper and lower segments, with most thin-walled ware types occurring towards the upper-left of the plot and corresponding more directly with the *principia* and *praetorium*. Although it is not feasible to individually label all the different contexts, CA of the same data broken down at the scale of individual archaeological feature reveals complementary patterning (Fig. 3.9). This time, the Gallo-Belgic types again appear on the right side of the plot, with a cluster of beaker forms with Gallic genealogy (blue) around the middle of the plot, and Gallo-Belgic platters and bowls imitating *sigillata* forms clustering higher up (orange). While some of the more common *sigillata* forms such as Cons. 18 and 22 are present on the right side of the plot with the Gallo-Belgic wares, most of the Italian-style *sigillata* again plots on the left. Also plotted on the left hand-side of the plot is a cluster of thin-walled ware beakers and cups, mirroring the cluster of Gallo-Belgic drinking vessels to the right.

What can the CA tell us about what fine ware ceramics did at the early Kops Plateau? In the first place, there is a clear spatial concentration of Italian-style *sigillata* and thin-walled wares towards the area of the fort northeast of the *via principalis*, where the *praetorium* is located, and likewise, the Gallo-Belgic wares seem to focus on the area to the southwest of the *via principalis* and areas outside the fort that correlate with evidence for the housing of auxiliary cavalry detachments. At face value these associations seem to confirm basic notions of a hierarchy of pottery use within early Roman military communities, between officers (thin-walled pottery), the rank-and-file (*terra sigillata* platters and cups), and auxiliary troops (Gallo-Belgic wares). However, this kind of representational logic has its limits. The patterns emerging from CA indicate general tendencies, not hard boundaries governing the spatial use of pottery and the disposition of their human users. It cannot be inferred, for example, that auxiliaries only used Gallo-Belgic pottery, and such finds can be taken to locate auxiliaries in Roman military bases, and so on. Indeed, the analysis by archaeological feature suggests that different wares were often thrown away together, such as the big Gallo-Belgic beakers alongside more commonly-available *terra sigillata* types. The

[248] Prior to CA, the data were translated into the overarching system of pottery type-series used in this book to enable inter-regional comparisons. The earliest assemblages were isolated by removing all contexts featuring diagnostically later material, e.g. South Gaulish *terra sigillata*, Lyon ware, and later Gallo-Belgic forms. The results of this exercise are aligned with the findings of Frank Beijaard's MA thesis on the chronology and spatial disposition of ceramic finds from the Kops Plateau (Beijaard 2015).

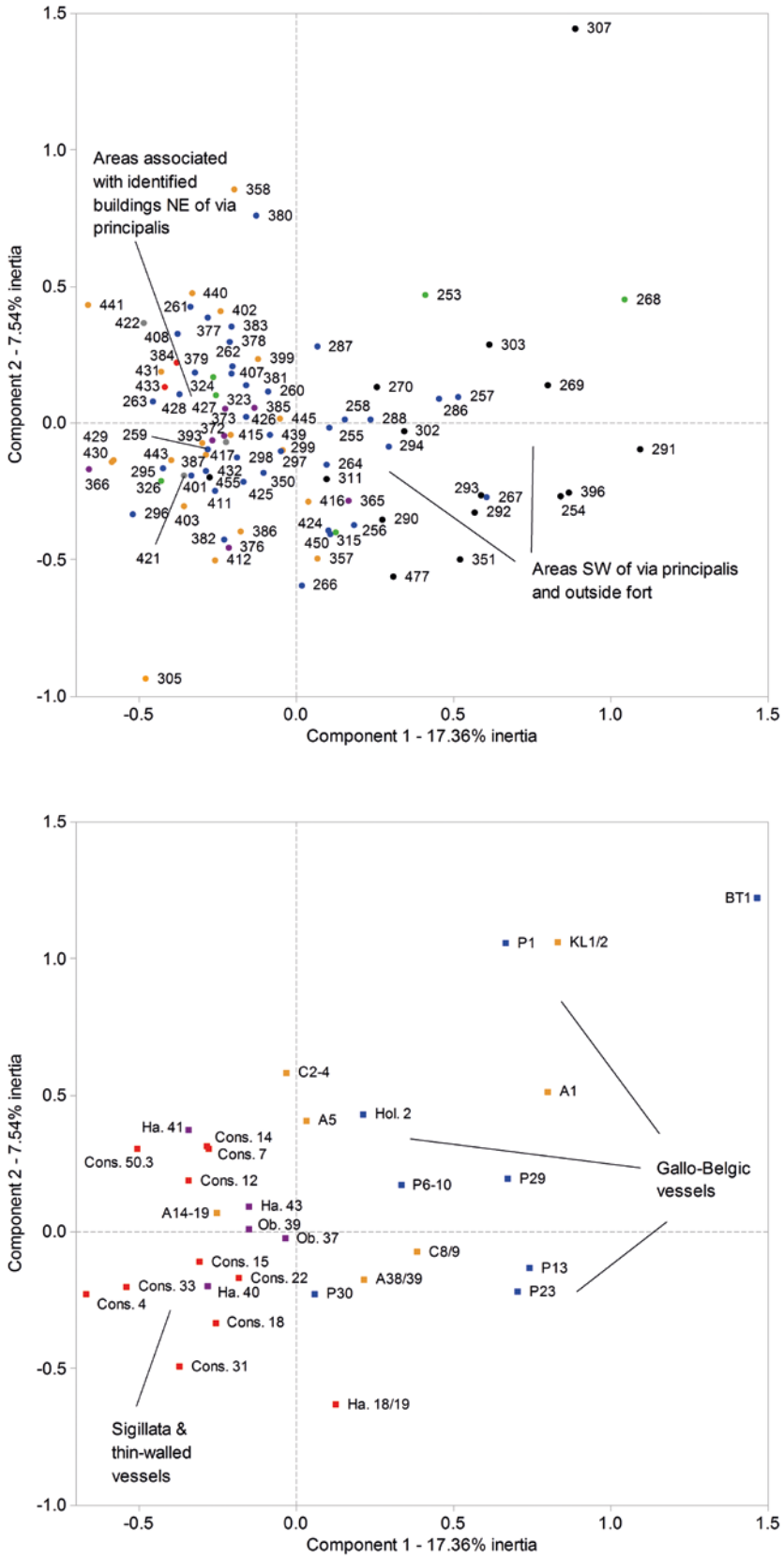


Figure 3.8. Correspondence Analysis of fine ware pottery from the Kops Plateau by excavated area. The upper plot shows patterning by excavated area (matching numbers and colours in Fig. 3.7), with corresponding associations of objects in the lower plot.

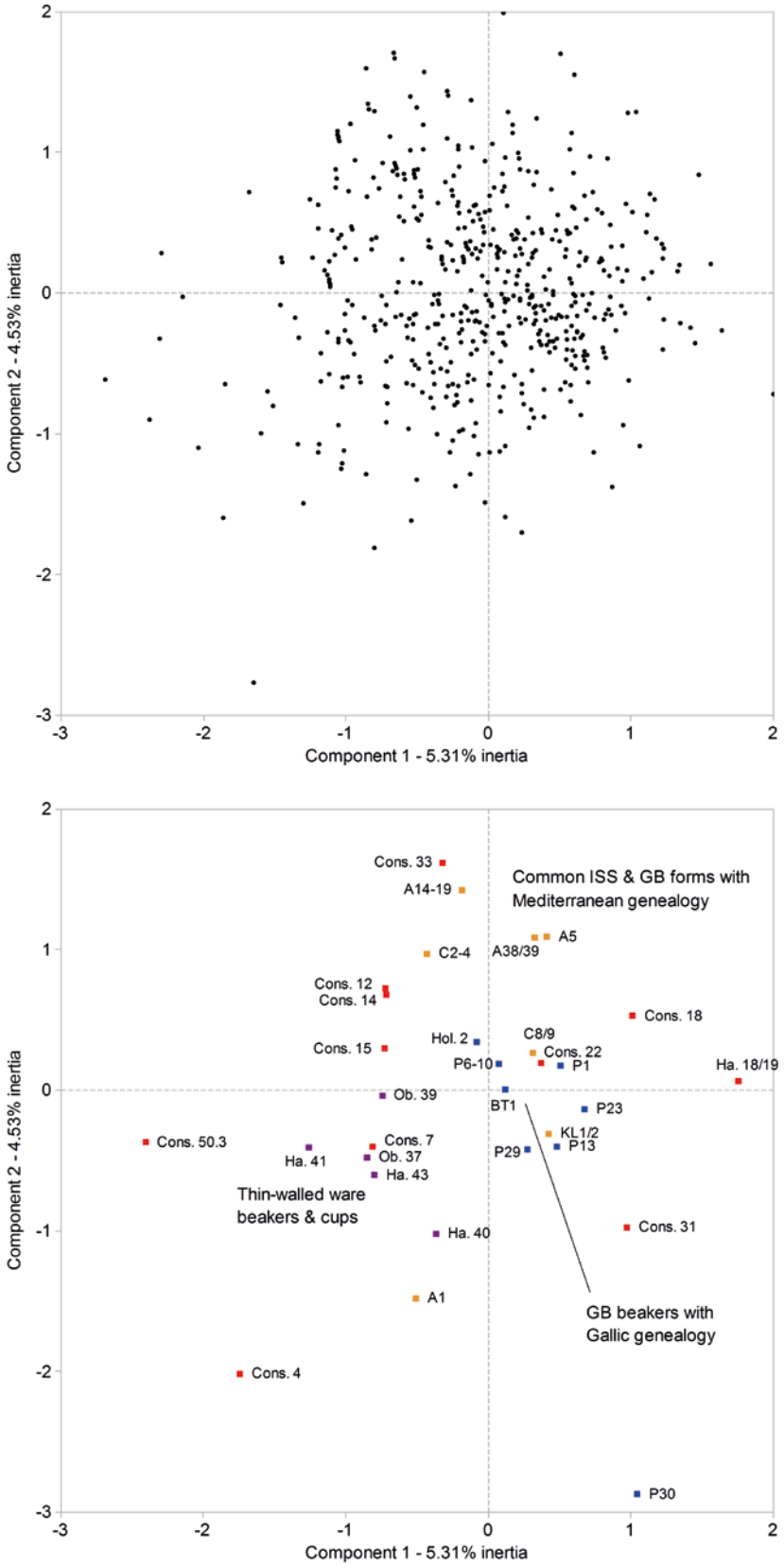


Figure 3.9. Correspondence Analysis of fine ware pottery from the Kops Plateau by excavated feature. The upper plot shows patterning by feature, with corresponding associations of objects in the lower plot.

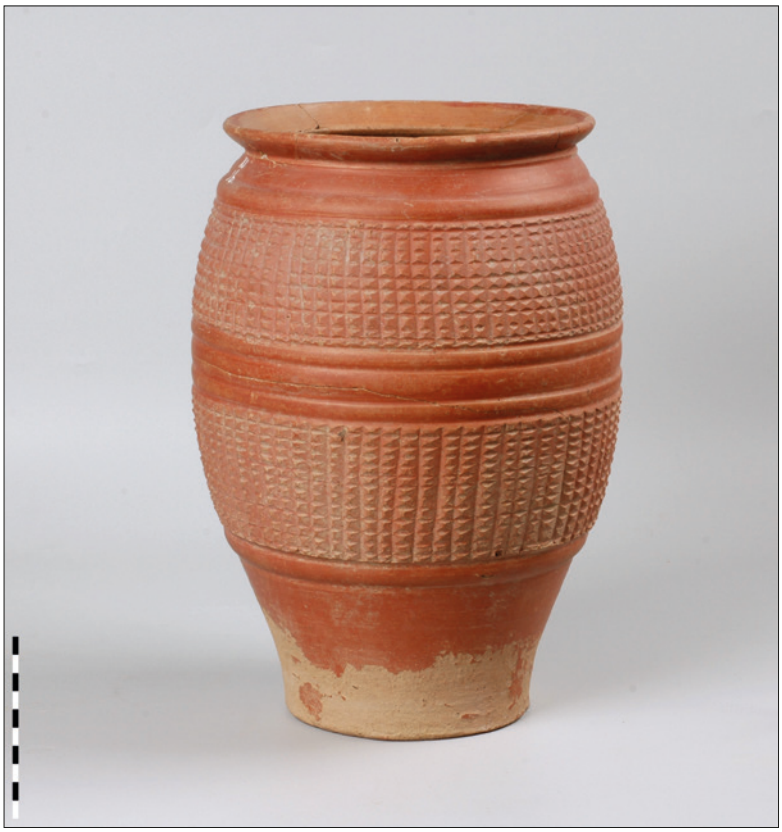


Figure 3.10. *Terra rubra* butt-beaker from Nijmegen (Deru type P18). Courtesy Annelies Koster, Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen.

data analysis therefore suggests a fluid continuum in which different users within the military community were able to select and combine elements from multiple ceramic repertoires, with their choices variously governed by factors of wealth, status, and perhaps most importantly, the material properties of vessels to facilitate certain social practices.

The relationship between pottery and social practice is best informed by analysis considering the deposition of ceramics by individual archaeological feature (Fig. 3.9). While this information confirms the fuzzy social distinction between the different kinds of pottery repertoires in use at the Kops Plateau, it provides tantalising hints of the practices governing the repeated disposal of broken vessels by people within the fort. Two clusters of vessels seemingly associated with drinking emerge, one largely composed of thin-walled ware vessels, the other largely composed of Gallo-Belgic beakers and cups, which in this analysis are plotted separately from the Gallo-Belgic platter forms (variously illustrated in Figs. 3.3, 3.4, and 3.6) This information pertaining to the active roles of objects crucially helps us to move beyond seeing material culture as static markers of social identities alone. The recurrent deposition of certain combinations of beakers and cups underlines the likely roles of these objects as vehicles for commensal practices involving drinking within certain sections of the military community. On the one hand, the recurrent deposition of thin-walled ware vessels typically around buildings such as the *principia* and *praetorium* highlights their likely importance for maintaining patronage networks among the upper echelon of Roman officers at the Kops Plateau (Fig. 3.5). Likewise, the largely separate deposition of bigger Gallo-Belgic beakers is likely to have fulfilled an equivalent function in maintaining clientship webs amongst the *auxilia* at the Kops Plateau, many of whom would have been recruited from communities in the region that placed high value in the role of alcohol consumption (and large drinking vessels) in the context of reciprocal hospitality, as seen in Chapter 2. Indeed, it is probable that as cavalrymen, the *auxilia* at the Kops Plateau would have had high social standing in their home communities, an inference which is underlined by the finding of a *sigillata* platter from the Tiberian period famously inscribed with the Gallic name Ollorix, which translates as 'Great King'.[249]

The very existence of two fundamentally different patterns of vessel disposal, selected from multiple pottery repertoires, reinforces the idea that consumption within military bases is better characterised as a flexible continuum than a single rigid template.[250] The contrast between the two suites of vessels themed by drinking could not be more striking, and speaks volumes on the qualitative and quantitative differences between the associated social practices taking place at the early Kops Plateau – and not least the capacities of liquids involved. While the suite dominated by thin-walled wares conjures a glimpse of the encroaching world of Mediterranean luxury, the contrasting group of Gallo-Belgic beakers instead firmly evokes the funerary objectscapes of the later Iron Age northwest. Some of the equivalent Gallo-Belgic beakers on display in the Valkhof museum in Nijmegen are so large that they raise the possibility of communal use (Fig. 3.10),[251] perhaps in ways analogous to the anthropological models for Gallic feasting discussed in Chapter 2. At the same time, it is important not to underplay the similarities between the two object-suites, which both include the presence of Italian-style *sigillata* vessels and other vessels with Mediterranean genealogy. Indeed, from a longer-term perspective it is more complicated to disentangle the precise stylistic elements of each suite that can be identified as distinctly 'Mediterranean' or 'northern European'. For example, whereas thin-walled north Italian beakers are thought to have incorporated some northern European La Tène influence in their decoration,[252] and cannot be considered 'pure' Mediterranean innovations, the particularisation of elements of the same design in the production of distinctive Gallo-Belgic butt-beakers likewise cannot be classed as an exclusively Gallic development. It is unlikely, however, that pottery users at the Kops Plateau had detailed knowledge of these longer-term object lineages. For the period in question, while Gallic practices and names were seemingly maintained by soldiers recruited into the *auxilia*, patterns in the consumption of everyday objects like pottery vessels highlight a willingness to experiment with what must have seemed to be new material forms and styles. Such innovative changes in the design and use of pottery by local communities are apparent not only from the auxiliaries garrisoned at the Kops Plateau, but also from comparisons with objectscapes from the wider region, to which the attention of this chapter turns next.

3.3 FUNERARY OBJECTSCAPES IN EARLY ROMAN NORTHERN GAUL AND BEYOND

The case-study of fine pottery use at the Kops Plateau effectively illustrates one extreme of a broad spectrum of changing objectscapes in northwest Europe at the end of the first century BC, in this case in relation to the presence of Roman military communities stationed along the Rhine. To gauge a sense of the broader impact of the 'Augustan cultural revolution' on objectscapes in northern Gaul and beyond, this section shifts the focus to the kinds of objects deposited in cemeteries and graves of a wider range of communities and localities. While the end of the first century BC witnessed deep-rooted and widespread changes in the use of material culture, the core elements of late Iron Age funerary practice can be seen to have been largely maintained, in the form of cremations accompanied by deliberately-placed grave goods. Continuity is best demonstrated in the ongoing use of many cemeteries with pre-Roman origins. At the same time, there are signs that the practice of accompanied cremation was starting to be utilised more widely, with several large cemeteries in northern Gaul and southeast Britain being established by or shortly after the beginning of the first century AD.

[249] van Enckevort 2004, 112.

[250] Chiming with the prevailing tendency to view the Roman military as a series of sociologically and culturally diverse communities rather than a monolithic bloc: James 1999; Haynes 1999, 2013; Swan 2009.

[251] Especially Deru form P13-18 (Holwerda 1941, type 3a-b), the most commonly occurring butt-beaker at the Kops Plateau.

[252] Greene 1979, 4.

3.3.1 CHANGING FUNERARY OBJECTSCAPES, C. 25 BC – AD 40

Our initial survey of funerary objectscapes from the early Roman period begins with the territory of the Treveri (southern Belgium, Luxembourg, and west Germany), an area rich in excavated cemeteries from the Iron Age onwards. For an overview of changes in the placement of objects in graves from the Augustan period onward, Tables 3.1 and 3.2 summarise the deposition of common objects such as pottery and fibulae, as well as scarcer objects associated with later Iron Age funerary practice such as martial equipment, and newer forms of objects such as glass vessels and lamps. With the exception of graves from Sampont and Trier St. Matthias,[253] the other cemeteries all contributed data to the equivalent analysis of late Iron Age funerary objectscapes in Chapter 2, and present a useful opportunity to examine issues of continuity and change among the Treveri. Among cemeteries considered previously with late Iron Age phases, the headline changes include modest increases in the numbers of pottery vessels placed in graves, with much higher percentages of wheelthrown vessels (Table 3.1). The same trends typically continue at cemetery phases into the early first century AD (Table 3.2). Another striking change is the sudden appearance of large numbers of fine Gallo-Belgic wares, typically constituting between a third to a half of all pottery in each cemetery in Gallo-Roman horizons 1-2, and increasing again in the following period. By contrast, Italian-style *terra sigillata* and thin-walled wares are absent from most cemeteries, and only reach modest levels (more than five percent of pottery vessels) in the very richest graves from Goeblange-Nospelt and the sample of data from Trier. Other patterns are less pronounced. While numbers of fibulae fluctuate compared with those at equivalent late Iron Age cemeteries, proportions of iron fibulae continue to decline in the early Roman period. The placement of weapons in graves declines at most locations with the notable exception of the aristocratic cemetery of Goeblange-Nospelt, whereas the deposition of low levels of glass vessels and coins becomes a more consistent feature of Treveran funerary practice by the early first century AD.

Taking stock of these general changes, the biggest contrast that comes to mind is the massive disparity between the objectscapes from Treveran cemeteries and those from the Kops Plateau, which was awash with *terra sigillata*. While Treveran funerary practice underwent substantial material changes in this period, most notably through the introduction of large quantities of standardised wheelthrown Gallo-Belgic fine wares, the Treveri evidently only made use of a trickle of Italian-style *terra sigillata* in their funerary rituals, and only again at cemeteries directly associated with the elite (Goeblange-Nospelt) and fledgling urban infrastructure (Trier). At face value, this material inequality constitutes a huge gulf between the objectscapes of Roman military communities and those of the Treveri, who have long been considered as one of the earliest groups in northern Gaul to undergo intensive Romanisation. The high ratios of Gallo-Belgic wares to *sigillata* vessels in Treveran graves call into question the supposition that Gallo-Belgic wares originated to supplement military supplies. If this was the case, civilian communities across northern Gaul must have taken over as the primary market for Gallo-Belgic wares in a comparatively short period of time, i.e. one or two decades.

Turning away from Treveran territory and towards the north and west, comparative patterns can be seen in the earliest phases of a series of new cemeteries at Nijmegen and the environs of Arras, in addition to a small number of graves from Ville-sur-Retourne (Champagne) (Table 3.3). Since the numbers of graves are not high in these cemeteries, it would be unwise to read too much into these data. Nonetheless, a few general contrasts are worthy of further comment. Although most graves are at the later end of the spectrum considered in this chapter (i.e. early first century AD), the earliest cemeteries near

[253] It should be noted that the data examined from Trier, although extensive, does not constitute a full sample of excavated graves, and is based partly on the amalgamation of graves published as separate studies focusing on the presence of glass and lamps (Goethert-Polaschek 1977, 1985) and other selected graves from the period (Goethert-Polaschek 1984).

Southeast Belgica GR1 – 2		Pottery					Fibulae			Martial		Glass		Lamps		Coins	
Cemetery	Graves	Tot.	Per grave	% wheel	% GB	% TS & TW	Tot.	% Fe	Per grave	Tot.	Per grave	Tot.	Per grave	Tot.	Per grave	Tot.	Per grave
Sampont	13	27	2.08	100.0	77.8	-	5	20.0	0.38	2	0.15	0	-	0	-	1	0.08
Fouches	9	23	2.56	87.0	56.5	-	3	33.3	0.33	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Feulen	29	149	5.14	57.0	36.2	-	55	32.7	1.90	3	0.10	0	-	0	-	0	-
Goeb.-Nospelt (GR1)	6	103	17.17	100.0	50.5	6.8	15	-	2.50	9	1.50	0	-	1	0.17	0	-
Lamadelaine	24	151	6.29	97.4	46.4	2.0	26	46.2	1.08	0	-	0	-	0	-	5	0.21
Trier (GR2)	14	58	4.14	94.8	58.6	12.1	5	-	0.36	0	-	1	0.07	1	0.07	0	-
Wederath	222	651	2.93	62.7	40.4	0.2	209	7.2	0.94	29	0.13	0	-	1	0.005	63	0.28
Lebach	15	74	4.93	63.5	54.1	-	8	0.0	0.53	4	0.27	0	-	0	-	1	0.07

Table 3.1. The deposition of pottery vessels, fibulae, martial equipment, and other objects at selected cemeteries in southeast Belgica, c. 30 BC-AD 20.

Southeast Belgica GR2 – R1		Pottery					Fibulae			Martial		Glass vs		Lamps		Coins	
Cemetery	Graves	Tot.	Per grave	% wheel	% GB	% TS & TW	Tot.	% Fe	Per grave	Tot.	Per grave	Tot.	Per grave	Tot.	Per grave	Tot.	Per grave
Sampont	11	35	3.18	94.3	54.3	-	9	-	0.82	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	0.09
Fouches	17	55	3.24	98.2	56.4	-	11	9.1	0.65	0	-	2	0.12	0	-	4	0.24
Feulen	20	100	5.00	81.0	62.0	1.0	17	17.6	0.85	1	0.05	2	0.10	0	-	3	0.15
Trier	22	79	3.59	98.7	51.9	7.6	7	28.6	0.32	1	0.05	10	0.45	17	0.77	7	0.32
Lebach (R1)	20	104	5.20	80.8	42.3	1.0	9	-	0.45	1	0.05	3	0.15	0	-	2	0.10

Table 3.2. The deposition of pottery vessels, fibulae, martial equipment, and other objects at selected cemeteries in southeast Belgica, c. 15 BC-AD 45.

Arras (Baralle, Dourges, and Noyelles-Godault) feature typically higher numbers of pottery vessels per grave than their equivalent Treveran counterparts, whereas the inclusion of pottery at the two Nijmegen cemeteries is noticeably lower. Except for the Ville-sur-Retourne, the other cemeteries in Table 3.3 all feature high-levels of Gallo-Belgic wares, with Italian-style *terra sigillata* only appearing in small quantities at the Tiberian Hunerberg cemetery at Nijmegen, mirroring equivalent patterns among the Treveri.

The contrast between the two Nijmegen cemeteries, and indeed, the patterns of fine ware disposal from the Kops Plateau site at Nijmegen, deserves closer scrutiny. Located to the west of the Augustan legionary fortress on the Hunerberg, the Tiberian-Neronian cemetery originally excavated by the Jesuit Leydekkers at the beginning of the 20th century is considered to have been one of the early cemeteries of the Oppidum Batavorum, the new civilian centre at Nijmegen.[254] However, since the finds evidence and the construction methods used at this settlement are not native to the area, it has been suggested that the first population of the Oppidum Batavorum originally consisted of a mixture Gauls and Italians rather than solely Batavians.[255] This suggestion is further supported by the diversity of finds from the pre-Flavian Hunerberg cemetery. To the southwest of Nijmegen, the Hatert cemetery belongs instead

[254] Willems/van Enckevort 2009, 138-139.

[255] Heeren 2014, 454; van Enckevort et al. 2000, 39-40.

to a small indigenous settlement consisting of a few farmhouses and an enclosed hamlet. The finds from the cemetery at Hatert are typically characterised as lagging behind those of the cemeteries closer to the town and fortresses at Nijmegen.[256] Indeed, the basic comparison in Table 3.3 between the very earliest graves of the Hunerberg and Hatert cemeteries tend to confirm this view, with the eight graves from Hatert being impoverished in terms of numbers of objects per grave compared with other cemeteries from northern Gaul. In contrast, the seven equivalent graves from the Hunerberg cemetery stand out in Table 3.3 for the modest inclusion of Italian-style *terra sigillata* and even a few glass vessels. While it is tempting to view the presence of such finds in connection with the military community at Nijmegen at the time, the low quantities involved suggest a more suitable comparison with the newly founded civilian urban communities at Trier, and in certain respects, perhaps even the aristocratic graves at Goeblange-Nospelt. The material distinction between the Hunerberg and Hatert cemeteries at Nijmegen is an important one. At face value, it appears that the civilian communities from Oppidum Batavorum (Hunerberg) and Hatert both used broadly northern Gallic mortuary rituals, but crucially, the pattern of object selection at the Hunerberg conspicuously drew upon both Roman military and northern Gallic objectscapes, whereas the material culture selections from earliest graves at Hatert appear firmly anchored in the latter alone.

Looking beyond northern Gaul, Table 3.4 summarises patterns in the deposition of objects in cemeteries from southeast Britain, c. 15 BC-AD 40. Since Britain was not formally annexed by Rome at this time, unlike the Gallic territories considered previously, it provides an important control sample for examining the impact of Roman imperialism and military presence in the wider region. The Augustan-Tiberian funerary evidence from southeast Britain is dominated by over 250 graves from the cemetery of King Harry Lane, St. Albans, which was associated with the late Iron Age *oppidum* of Verlamion. Given the contrasting political situation with northern Gaul, the data from King Harry Lane is remarkably alike to those examined from northern Gallic cemeteries, with equivalent rates of brooch deposition, high frequencies of copper-alloy fibulae, relatively high levels of Gallo-Belgic wares, and even the occasional Italian-style *terra sigillata* vessel. While these finds and practices seemingly put the burying community from Verlamion in the same cultural milieu as those across the Channel, closer inspection reveals that, seen in a wider northern European context, the rates of pottery deposition at King Harry Lane are among the lowest from the period, being more akin to the relatively impoverished cemetery at Nijmegen-Hatert, although still exceeding the per-grave numbers for the large early first century BC cemetery at Westhampnett (Chapter 2). Likewise, although King Harry Lane features one of the largest pre-conquest collections of Gallo-Belgic wares in Britain, the proportion of Gallo-Belgic wares in the total pottery assemblage of the cemetery is firmly at the lower end of the northern Gallic spectrum. It is difficult to assess the significance of these discrepancies with cemeteries in Gallia Belgica, in which Gallo-Belgic wares were regional or even local products. Shipping pottery vessels to southern Britain would have surely incurred extra costs due to the sheer distance from source, in addition to any other obstacles associated with trade beyond the empire.[257] Seen in this light, the relatively high proportion of Gallo-Belgic pottery in the earliest phase of King Harry Lane (over a third of all pottery in over 75 graves) underlines the desirability of such objects and the willingness of the buriers to place them with their deceased. Indeed, although the much smaller samples of graves from Mill Hill and Lexden in this period exhibit higher numbers of pots per grave than King Harry Lane, the prevalence of Gallo-Belgic wares in those cemeteries is much lower, despite their closer proximity to the continent.

Another important feature of the early King Harry Lane cemetery is the dip that it experienced in the placement of objects over time, beginning with its second phase in the early first century AD (Table

[256] Willems/van Enckevort 2009, 142-143.

[257] Strabo, *Geographica* 4.5.3 refers to heavy duties on goods shipped both ways between Britain and Gaul in this period, in place of any form of tribute that might have been exacted following a full-scale Roman takeover of the island.

Northern Belgica			Pottery					Fibulae			Glass vs		Coins	
Phase	Cemetery	Graves	Tot.	Per grave	% wheel	% GB	% TS & TW	Tot.	% Fe	Per grave	Tot.	Per grave	Tot.	Per grave
R1	Baralle	13	118	9.08	99.2	67.8	-	6	-	0.05	0	-	1	0.08
GR2-R1	Dourges / Noyelles	9	56	6.22	91.1	66.1	-	3	66.7	0.33	0	-	0	-
R1	Nij.-Hatert	8	19	2.38	84.2	63.2	-	0	-	-	1	0.13	0	-
R1	Nij.-Hunerberg	7	23	3.29	100.0	34.8	8.7	5	60.0	0.71	3	0.43	0	-
GR2	Ville-sur-Retourne	8	36	4.50	86.1	11.1	-	10	40.0	1.25	0	-	0	-

Table 3.3. The deposition of pottery vessels, fibulae, martial equipment, and other objects at selected cemeteries in northern Belgica, c. 15 BC-AD 45.

Southeast Britain			Pottery vessels					Fibulae			Martial equipment		Coins	
Phase	Cemetery	Graves	Tot.	Per grave	% wheel	% GB	% TS & TW	Tot.	% Fe	Per grave	Tot.	Per grave	Tot.	Per grave
GR2	King Harry Lane	76	178	2.34	100.0	36.0	1.1	52	25.0	0.68	0	-	10	0.13
GR2-R1	King Harry Lane	194	292	1.51	100.0	20.5	-	111	18.0	0.57	0	-	0	-
GR1-R1	Lexden	6	45	7.50	100.0	2.2	-	0	-	-	2	0.33	0	-
GR1-R1	Mill Hill	5	16	3.20	62.5	12.5	-	7	-	0.44	0	-	1	0.20

Table 3.4. The deposition of pottery vessels, fibulae, martial equipment, and other objects at selected cemeteries in southeast Britain, c. 25 BC-AD 40.

3.4). One theory to account for this was proposed by Martin Millett, who hypothesised that the grave goods represented the size of the deceased's social network involving both biological family and clients, rather than reflecting their possessions in life. In particular, Millett argued that the decline in grave goods at King Harry Lane reflected a shrinkage in traditional kinship and clientship networks hastened by the rise of a socially disembedded urban society.[258] The main problem with this interpretation is highlighted in Mackreth's revised dating of the site, which places the second phase of graves at King Harry Lane firmly in the pre-conquest period, i.e. predating the origins of the urban settlement of Verulamium that occurred after the Claudian conquest of southern Britain.[259] If a decline in the size of social networks could not be attributed to the rise of urbanism, simpler explanations include a downturn in the wealth of the community at Verlamion, a demise in longer-distance connections with groups in northern Gaul, as well as a shift in this period of Catuvellaunian power from Verlamion (Hertfordshire) to Camulodunum (Essex), the seat of late Iron Age king Cunobelin.

Lastly, Table 3.5 summarises the corresponding rates of animal offerings made at the cemeteries in question at the beginning of the first century AD. These patterns appear to have changed very little from the later Iron Age, with pig being the most common animal species placed in funerary contexts. Most Treveran cemeteries seem to bear witness an increase in the practice of animal offerings in graves in this period, with richer cemeteries like Lamadelaine, Goeblange-Nospelt, as well as Ville-sur-Retourne

[258] Millett 1993, 275-277.

[259] This study follows the revised dating of the King Harry Lane cemetery of Mackreth (2011a, 243-252), which pushes back the dating of all phases by c. fifteen years. The revised chronology is a better fit with equivalent patterns of object deposition in northern Gallic cemeteries.

				Animal offerings (presence per grave)								
Period	**Region**	**Cemetery**	**Graves**	**ALL**	**Pig**	**Sheep/goat**	**Cattle**	**Poultry**	**Horse**	**Dog**	**Deer**	**Rabbit**
GR2-R1	Herts.	King Harry Lane	270	0.01	0.01	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
R1	Pas-de-Calais	Noyelles-Godault	6	0.17	0.17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
R1	Pas-de-Calais	Baralle	13	0.69	0.54	-	0.15	-	-	-	-	-
GR2	Ardennes	Ville-sur-Retourne	8	0.88	0.63	-	-	0.25	-	-	-	-
GR1-2	Lux.	Feulen	29	0.52	0.41	-	0.03	0.03	-	-	-	0.03
GR2-R1	Lux.	Feulen	20	0.60	0.45	-	0.05	0.10	-	-	-	-
GR1-2	Lux.	Lamadelaine	24	1.46	0.83	0.21	0.13	0.21	0.04	0.04	-	-
GR1	Lux.	Goeblange-Nospelt	6	2.17	0.83	0.33	0.33	0.33	-	0.17	0.17	-

Table 3.5. The prevalence of animal offerings per grave (presence/absence) in selected cemeteries, c. 30 BC-AD 45.

(Champagne) continuing to feature a diverse array of non-pig species, with chicken and geese being especially favoured. The general practice of placing animal remains with the dead is least attested at King Harry Lane, where only a handful of graves feature pig remains, but this again is a pattern consistent with the preceding late Iron Age picture from Britain, where animal offerings were less common than in northern Gaul.

Taken together, the funerary objectscapes of the late first century BC and early first century AD feature some striking contrasts, both with each other, and the preceding later Iron Age. Continuity and tradition are most strongly apparent in terms of the funerary rite itself – the same kinds of categories of objects and animal remains were being deposited, in roughly equivalent quantities, with a high degree of consistency at the level of individual cemeteries in which practices can be directly compared with late Iron Age phases. Perhaps the most notable change in social practice is the declining rate of weapon deposition in graves – both in the region in general, and in all but the richest Treveran cemeteries, where the rite was most prevalent. But the most profound changes surely concern the objects themselves. Where comparative data exist, they show that many more objects were being deposited, and perhaps more importantly, that types of (virtually) identical standardised objects constitute the biggest single increase in a given class of objects, in the form of Gallo-Belgic ceramics. At this point it is worth stressing the increased scope for morphological diversity and cultural expression that such standardised objects afforded. Although the word 'standardisation' implies a high degree of sameness, this only applies to the reproduction of an individual shape or style of object. The standardisation of individual pottery and fibulae types was accompanied by a massive proliferation of new circulating designs, so much so that the possibilities for material choices increased exponentially. For a privileged few with wealth or connections, this might have entailed the choice to place an Italian-style *sigillata* cup in the grave or pyre of a close friend or family member. For a much larger group of northern Europeans, the material change would have manifested itself in terms of not simply a choice of whether or not to include Gallo-Belgic ware, but rather a choice from a bewildering number of different types of new vessels, some loosely resembling the kinds of pots that would have been placed in the graves of their ancestors, and others that looked like the very different vessels used in Roman military camps, with an even larger range of possible combinations.

3.3.2 POTTERY IN FUNERARY OBJECTSCAPES, C. 25 BC – AD 40

One of the biggest changes in the funerary sphere at the end of the Iron Age was the sudden increase in the deposition of standardised pottery. To explore this phenomenon in further detail, it is useful to tem-

porarily drop labels like 'Gallo-Belgic' and 'fine wares' and consider the pottery in broader morphological terms. Indeed, Tables 3.1 to 3.4 all show big increases in the proportion of wheelthrown pottery, at over 80 percent in most cemeteries, a trend that was as much about changes in the local production of coarser ceramics as it was about fine wares. Considering the big increases in wheelthrown pottery circulating in northwest Europe from this period onward, I redefined the criteria for recording the presence of commensal services in graves as those featuring standardised vessels only, i.e. that they contain either a) two or more pairs of identically-standardised vessels (i.e. two P1 beakers and two A5 platters), or b) four or more vessels of the same type (i.e. four C8 cups).[260]

Compared with the late Iron Age, the most obvious changes in the deposition of pottery in cemeteries at the end of the first century BC (Tables 3.6 and 3.7) are the provision of three new functional categories – 1) the platter or dish, which encourages the display of solid food; 2) the flagon, essentially a narrow-necked jar with a handle, encouraging the short-term storage of small amounts of liquid, perhaps in a cupboard or as part of a table setting, and the pouring of liquid into smaller vessels using a pronounced spout; and 3) the butt-beaker, a large barrel-shaped beaker, often with decorated bands around the central bulge of the vessel. The nature of these innovations, involving a new design in each of the major functional classes of pottery associated with *consumption* – eating, drinking and pouring – suggests a revolution in dining practices across northwest Europe. The sudden emphasis on platters and flagons, coupled with modest increases in the placement of cups in graves, might be interpreted as a collective push to imitate Roman, or at any rate, higher status dining practice. However, the clear preference for large butt-beakers over cups (the majority of which imitated *terra sigillata* vessels) in most cemeteries underlines that this was very much a revolution conducted on northwest European terms. Indeed, while the earliest butt-beaker designs shared close affinities with late Republican thin-walled beakers (Fig. 3.4), the various Gallo-Belgic butt-beaker types were distinct enough in form and fabric to be classed as genuinely Gallic innovations.[261] In other words, whereas the Gallo-Belgic copies of *sigillata* cups and platters retained Mediterranean shapes, the Gallo-Belgic butt-beaker was more thoroughly particularised as a product rooted in northwest European objectscapes.

The synchronous rise of platters, flagons, and butt-beakers across so many cemeteries in a wide area is remarkable, as illustrated in Fig. 3.11 by the ceramic contents of grave 202 from King Harry Lane in south-east Britain, which features an example of each of the new vessel forms. While such synchronicity was in part driven by the distribution of the Gallo-Belgic ware repertoire, which comprised large quantities of platters and butt-beakers, the full extent of the spread of new forms must have relied upon significant levels of local production. The tripartite change was inevitably accompanied by declines in the selection of other ceramics. The various popular forms of late Iron Age shallow bowl, which in the Treveran tradition continued to be handmade at this time, are much less prominent in the first two Gallo-Roman phases (Table 3.6) and begin to disappear completely in some cemeteries by the mid-first century AD (Table 3.7), most likely due to their replacement by the new platters and dishes. Ceramic lids also decline steeply over the same period, a change perhaps betraying changes in cooking practice, assuming people did not simply use the new platters and dishes to replace lids in functional terms.[262] There are also fewer jar forms in general. The late Iron Age pedestal jar seems to have been replaced functionally by the butt-beaker as the drinking vessel of choice. Not all later Iron Age vessels were replaced, however. What I have consistently described as 'flask-jars' in this study were successfully incorporated and standardised in the Gallo-Belgic ware repertoire, although their distribution is more particularised than other vessel forms, with a strong predilection evident at cemeteries from Pas-de-Calais (Table 3.7). A locally-produced British example of this form is illustrated in Fig. 3.11.

[260] cf. Pearce 2013, 133, who defines a funerary service of *terra sigillata* on the basis of six vessels.

[261] Deru 1996, 203-206.

[262] It is not uncommon to find dishes and platters placed as lids over jars in funerary contexts in the early Roman period, suggesting the possibility of a multi-functional use for such vessels.

GR1 – 2		+ Eating				+ Drinking							Commensal services		
Cemetery	Region	Dishes/ Platters	Shallow bowls	Bowls	Lids	Jars	Flask-jars	Flagons	Pedestal vs	Beakers	Butt-beakers	Cups	Amphorae	Total	Per grave
King Harry Lane	Herts.	15.7	1.1	3.4	0.6	15.2	1.1	9.6	9.6	0.6	35.4	6.2	1.7	0	-
Lexden	Essex	-	-	6.7	6.7	4.4	2.2	6.7	17.8	2.2	6.7	4.4	42.2	0	-
Mill Hill	Kent	-	6.3	37.5	-	12.5	6.3	6.3	12.5	-	12.5	6.3	-	0	-
Ville-sur-Retourne	Ardennes	19.4	-	27.8	-	38.9	2.8	2.8	2.8	-	5.6	-	-	0	-
Feulen	Lux.	6.3	19.4	12.5	1.4	18.1	6.9	6.9	0.7	1.4	22.9	0.7	2.8	0	-
Fouches	Lux.	8.7	13.0	-	-	8.7	4.3	17.4	-	13.0	34.8	-	-	0	-
Sampont	Lux.	29.6	11.1	3.7	-	11.1	14.8	-	3.7	3.7	14.8	3.7	3.7	0	-
Lamadelaine	Lux.	15.9	10.6	3.3	1.3	21.2	9.3	1.3	1.3	2.6	12.6	2.6	17.9	3	0.13
Goeb.-Nospelt	Lux.	22.3	15.5	2.9	-	17.5	3.9	10.7	-	3.9	17.5	-	5.8	3	0.50
Wederath	Rhine-P	5.2	12.1	11.2	0.5	18.9	5.4	10.3	1.5	5.2	25.7	3.4	0.6	1	0.005
Trier	Rhine-P	20.7	8.6	1.7	-	5.2	8.6	10.3	10.3	1.7	15.5	17.2	-	1	0.07
Lebach	Saarland	17.6	9.5	18.9	-	13.5	6.8	5.4	1.4	-	17.6	9.5	-	0	-

Table 3.6. The percentages of different classes of pottery vessels in the GR1-2 phases (c. 30 BC–AD 20) at selected cemeteries.

GR2 – R1		+ Eating				+ Drinking							Commensal services		
Cemetery	Region	Dishes/Platters	Shallow bowls	Bowls	Lids	Jars	Flask-jars	Flagons	Pedestal vs	Beakers	Butt-beakers	Cups	Amphorae	Total	Per grave
King Harry Lane	Herts.	12.3	-	6.8	0.7	36.6	6.5	5.8	4.8	0.3	23.2	2.7	-	0	-
Nij.-Hunerberg	Gelderland	17.4	-	17.4	-	26.1	-	13.0	-	-	13.0	13.0	-	0	-
Nij.-Hatert	Gelderland	15.8	-	5.3	-	15.8	5.3	15.8	-	-	36.8	5.3	-	0	-
Dourges / Noyelles	Pas-de-Calais	16.1	12.5	16.1	-	14.3	10.7	5.4	-	7.1	10.7	7.1	-	2	0.22
Baralle	Pas-de-Calais	22.0	14.4	6.8	-	5.1	22.0	3.4	0.8	10.2	8.5	6.8	-	3	0.23
Fouches	Lux.	18.2	-	7.3	-	23.6	7.3	7.3	10.9	3.6	18.2	1.8	1.8	0	-
Sampont	Lux.	11.4	2.9	5.7	-	25.7	17.1	14.3	5.7	2.9	14.3	-	-	0	-
Feulen	Lux.	15.0	-	9.0	-	21.0	5.0	13.0	7.0	1.0	25.0	4.0	-	2	0.10
Trier	Rhine-P	21.5	1.3	-	-	24.1	3.8	16.5	1.3	-	20.3	10.1	1.3	0	-
Lebach	Saarland	16.3	4.8	8.7	1.0	15.4	3.8	28.8	-	-	7.7	13.5	-	2	0.10

Table 3.7. The percentages of different classes of pottery vessels in the GR2-R1 phases (c. 15 BC–AD 45) at selected cemeteries.

In addition to the bigger synchronous changes in pottery selected for disposal at funerary contexts, several specific changes deserve further comment. An important late Iron Age practice was the inclusion of wine amphorae in the richest tier of graves, a phenomenon illustrated in Table 3.6 in the earliest Gallo-Roman phases in multiple cemeteries from the territory of the Treveri (Feulen, Sampont, Lamadelaine, Goeblange-Nospelt, and Wederath), as well as the Catuvellauni in Britain (King Harry Lane and Lexden). At the same time, the associated practice of placing services of vessels for communal consumption is more restricted to the wealthier Treveran cemeteries, such as Lamadelaine and especially Goeblange-Nospelt. However, Table 3.7 shows that these practices all but ceased in the cemeteries in question by the early-mid first century BC. If funerary objectscapes changed radically in this period, a small change such as the decline in the placement of amphorae and commensal services in graves also hints at the transformation of the roles of objects in social mechanisms such as clientship, as well as more general strategies for elite display. The new repertoires of standardised ceramics conjured an air of urban sociability that probably had substantial appeal to a Gallic aristocracy that found itself in a new competitive social environment governed by Roman *mores* and standards of taste.[263] Although this did not quite spell the end of older feasting practices, as seen in the reappearance of commensal services in graves in the Pas-de-Calais region, against this new cultural backdrop, it is easy to imagine how it came to be undesirable to place amphorae in the richest graves, as huge storage vessels crudely fashioned for long-distance durability rather than the sophisticated dinner-party. Further evidence for this kind of shift in attitude might be seen amongst the newly urbanised sections of Treveran society, especially among the earliest graves sampled from the fledgling centre of Trier, which stand-out from the rest of the region according to several indicators, including high percentages of platters and cups (Tables 3.6 and 3.7), and unrivalled quantities of glass vessels and oil lamps (Table 3.2).

The sum of these changes in ceramics entailed a huge shift in the appearance of funerary objectscapes, which were largely composed of pottery in both the Iron Age and early Roman periods. The loose 'morphological standardisation' describing the similar appearance of different regional pottery repertoires from funerary contexts in the late Iron Age was swept away by the selection of virtually identically replicated standardised pottery designs with different shapes and more specific functional affordances. Although associated with the onset of the Roman period, the use of Mediterranean techniques of pottery production and the spread of vessel designs that imitated Mediterranean styles, describing this change as Romanisation is an oversimplification, glossing the complexities of material changes and the agency behind them. A more sensitive concept that captures the sum of these synchronous material changes in northwest Europe is the notion of an 'Augustan cultural revolution', as achieved through a combination of top-down processes (i.e. Roman imperialism) together with bottom-up trajectories in the entanglement of humans and things in a plethora of increasingly connected regions and localities.

To better explain the higher incidence of new styles of standardised objects in Augustan-Tiberian northwest Europe, it is useful to return to Gell's notion of the inter-artefactual domain.[264] Although later Iron Age objectscapes were gradually moving towards increased standardisation, the absence of identical pan-regional standards in object design, especially pottery, pointed to the existence of a series of loosely-linked inter-artefactual domains across northwest Europe, rather than a single integrated domain. Two key Augustan developments irrevocably changed this situation, encouraging the introduction and circulation of truly standardised objects, as well as their embedding in local productions and social practices. The first was the renewed Augustan interest in building up Gallia Belgica as a Roman province, which crucially led to the creation of new urban centres and an integrated road network, which improved internal connections as well as those with the rest of the Roman empire. These changes would have

[263] See Pearce (2015) on the increased importance of 'urban sociability' as a driving force in the selection of objects in early Roman graves from northwest Europe. Bourdieu (1984 [1979]) provides the classic study of the articulation of 'taste' in modern France.

[264] Gell 1998, 216.

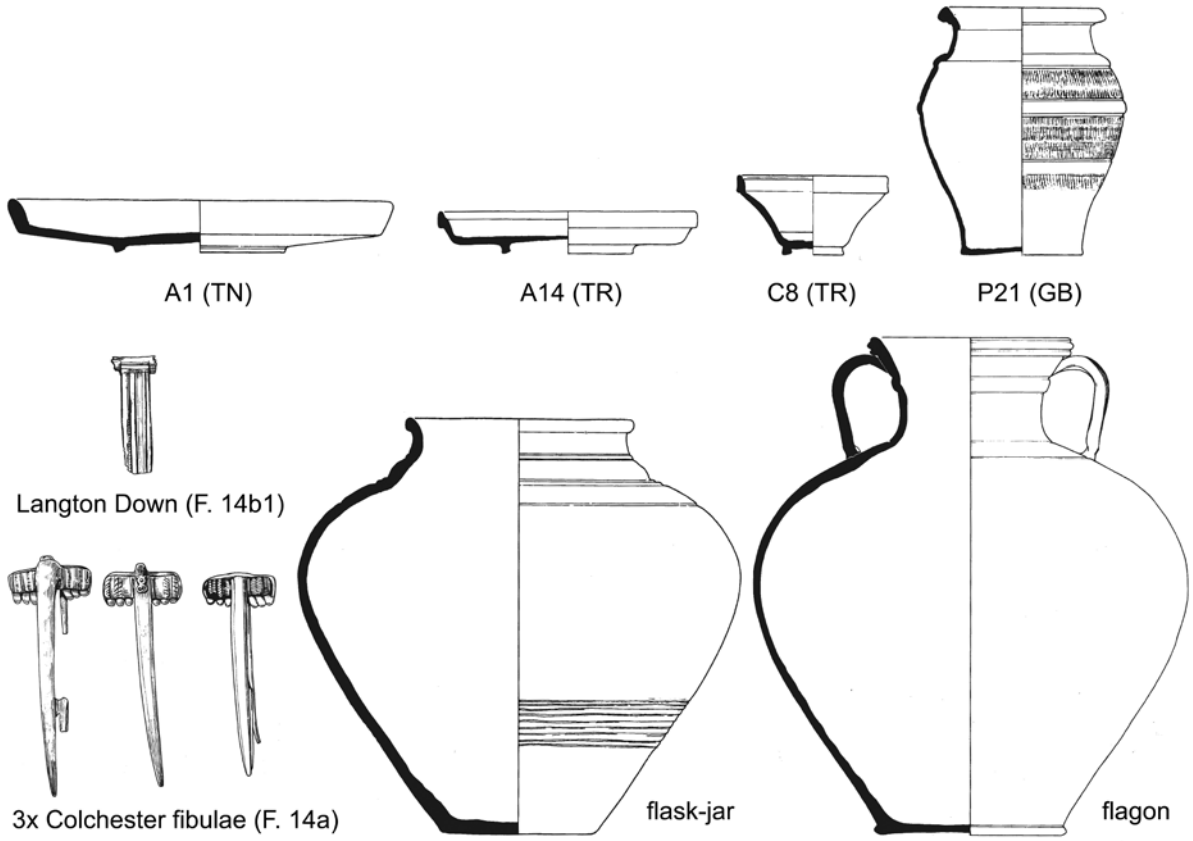


Figure 3.11. Finds from grave 202 at King Harry Lane, St. Albans (after Stead/Rigby 1989, 323, Fig. 125).

encouraged objects of all kinds to be increasingly evaluated against circulating standardised designs at a pan-regional level, facilitating the creation of a single inter-artefactual domain that spanned most of northwest Europe with stronger connections to that of the Mediterranean world. The second development was the establishment of multiple military communities along the Rhine such as the Kops Plateau. Here, distinct new objectscapes and the circulation of standardised objects beyond the military sphere massively extended the range of material forms in the increasingly unified inter-artefactual domain of northwest Europe. Indeed, the emergence of Gallo-Belgic pottery can be considered a consequence of this newly extended inter-artefactual domain, drawing closely on designs from both military objectscapes and those of later Iron Age northwest Europe.

3.3.3 RICHLY FURNISHED GRAVES, C. 25 BC – AD 40

Richly furnished graves offer a sensitive barometer of changing priorities in the selection of objects from an extended and increasingly unified inter-artefactual at the beginning of the Roman period. The more precise dating afforded by the frequent deposition of standardised objects in graves allows the period to be broken down into three constituent phases: c. 30-15 BC (Table 3.8), 15 BC-AD 20 (Table 3.9), and AD 20-45 (Table 3.10). The inclusion of graves in these tables is based on a minimum number of 20 objects, or the selection of 'prestige' objects such as amphorae, weapons, glass, alloy, or *terra sigillata* vessels with a total assemblage size no smaller than ten items. To highlight patterns of object selection, the tables have been sorted according to equivalent criteria used in consideration of the richly furnished late Iron Age graves in Chapter 2: the presence of amphorae, feasting equipment, glass vessels, copper alloy versus iron fibulae, the total number of pottery vessels, and the presence of martial equipment.

The first two phases of richly furnished graves are dominated by burials from Treveran and Catuvellaunian territory (Tables 3.8 and 3.9), where later Iron Age practices of grave furnishing appear to have thrived the most into the early Roman period. Unsurprisingly, it is the graves from the earliest Gallo-Roman horizon that resemble later Iron Age practices most closely, with an upper-tier of graves characterised by the inclusion of whole amphorae, feasting equipment, services of pottery for communal consumption, and copious quantities of animal remains (Table 3.8). These graves include three from the aristocratic cemetery of Goeblange-Nospelt, each of which includes either Italian-style *terra sigillata* or thin-walled pottery, the Lexden tumulus in Colchester, famous for its silver medallion of Augustus, in addition to graves from Welwyn Garden City and Wincheringen, the latter dominated by Gallo-Belgic wares (Fig. 3.12). Another notable element of the top tier of rich graves is the sex of their occupants. Whereas the occupants of Goeblange-Nospelt A and B appear to have been male, the graves from Wincheringen and Goeblange-Nospelt 14 both feature the remains of osteologically-identified adult females. While lacking martial equipment, the selections of objects in the latter graves were firmly drawn from the same repertoire suitable for the graves of high-status males, with the implication that gender was not an especially significant determinant of the appearance of funerary objectscapes in this period. At the same time, a sub-tier of rich graves featuring martial equipment is much less discernible in this phase compared with those of the late Iron Age (Tables 2.10 and 2.11), potentially indicating a shift away from the martial ideology that seemingly governed a large sub-section of late Iron Age Treveran funerary practice. Indeed, beyond the upper echelon of richest graves, the next tier of burials is largely defined by raw numbers of pottery vessels and fibulae.

The rich graves considered from the second Gallo-Roman horizon (Table 3.9) lack the same level of ostentatious wealth disposal as seen in earlier graves such as Goeblange-Nospelt B or Welwyn Garden City. The richest burial defined by the same criteria is from Elms Farm, Heybridge (Essex, UK), featuring three wine amphorae and a large quantity of widely-circulating pottery. Feulen grave 80 featured a dedicated rectilinear timber burial chamber and included a more varied range of finds, but this time the amphorae are of type Dressel 7-11, containing Spanish fish sauce, not wine. This is a curious selection in a richly-furnished early Roman grave, and follows similar inclusions in graves from Goeblange-Nospelt in the preceding phase. Was this further evidence of aspirations towards a Mediterranean-inspired dietary shift among the Treveran elite, or were the vessels selected simply on the basis that they had a similar shape to amphorae that circulated in the Iron Age containing wine? Neither explanation is implausible in this transitional period. Outside these two graves, however, the range and quantities of objects in Table 3.9 are unexceptional by the standards of the late Iron Age. A few Treveran graves from Wederath and Feulen contain weapons, but otherwise the associated objects are unremarkable. A couple of graves from Trier (Valeriusstrasse) and King Harry Lane (346) each contain a rare Italian-style *sigillata* vessel, whose correlation with larger numbers of other grave inclusions seems to confirm the higher value of such ceramics outside military contexts.

The suddenly muted nature of the richest grave assemblages in the second Gallo-Roman horizon points to a watershed moment in the relationship between objects and humans in funerary contexts. The close link between the very richest graves and the placement of whole amphorae and communal feasting equipment, which dated back to the era preceding the interventions of Julius Caesar, was finally broken. While opportunities for elite display and investment may have shifted beyond the funerary sphere towards fledgling urban centres, the selection of objects for deposition in graves appears less governed by social hierarchy compared with the later Iron Age. Echoes of late Iron Age practices certainly remain, including the presence of amphorae, martial equipment, and animal offerings in some grave assemblages, but these practices occurred with demonstrably less frequency than before. At the same time, new opportunities were offered by a new range of standardised ceramics and fibulae, which increasingly dominate the richest graves without the obvious emergence of a new tier of burials that was equivalent to the very richly furnished graves from the preceding period, such as Goeblange-Nospelt B or the Lexden tumulus.

GR1		Alloy vs		Animal offerings		Fibulae		Martial			Amphorae			Pottery				Other objects					
Cemetery	Grave	Buckets & cauldrons	Other	Pig	Other	Copper alloy	Fe	Swords	Spears	Shields	Fish sauce	Wine	Fragments	Gallo-Belgic	Sigillata / TW	Total	Services	Coins	Lamps	Mirrors	Body	Knives	Misc.
Lexden	tumulus		1									19		1		23					1		14
Welwyn Garden City	[1]		4		X					X		5				41	X				3		1
Goeb.-Nospelt	B	3	6	X	4X	1		X	X	X	2	2		30	1	45	X		1		5		1
Wincheringen	[1]	2	1	X		6						1		18		21	X			1	1	2	1
Goeb.-Nospelt	A		4	X		5		X	X	X		1		8	5	29	X				3	1	2
Goeb.-Nospelt	14	1	8	X	4X	9					1			11	1	18	X			1	1		3
Lamadelaine	47		1		X		1							5		7							2
Lexden	1		1													7				1			
Lamadelaine	53			X		4							3	8		17	X	1					
Wederath	671					1			X					1		10							2
Wederath	678					1			X	X				1		6						2	1
Wederath	670					1								2		6		3					1
Lamadelaine	8			X	3X								3			13		4				1	

Table 3.8. Richly furnished graves of the GR1 phase (c. 30-15 BC) and their contents ranked according to the presence of amphorae, feasting equipment and other objects.

The full extent of the transformation of the richest tier of graves by the early-mid first century AD is well-illustrated by Table 3.10. This group of graves comprises a more diverse geographic sample than those considered previously, including graves from Baralle (Pas-de-Calais), Nijmegen-Hunerberg, and the large military base at Neuss (Novaesium, North Rhine-Westphalia). For the first time, none of the graves contain complete amphorae, although buckets in graves from Lexden and the Hurstbourne Tarrant tumulus (Hampshire) suggest that a semblance of late Iron Age feasting practice was being maintained in parts of southern Britain. In a similar vein, Feulen 118 and Baralle 7 both contain communally-oriented services of pottery, alongside pig remains and alloy vessels. Whereas most graves contain quantities of Gallo-Belgic pottery, as seen in the previous two phases, fibulae are scarce for the first time, and the inclusion of martial equipment in the richest graves appears to have been virtually eliminated. The clearest indication of the direction of cultural change is a cluster of five graves highlighted in the middle of Table 3.10, each containing at least one glass vessel. This group includes graves associated with the military base at Neuss (329) and new urban foundations at Trier (1910-937) and Nijmegen-Hunerberg (87), graves which variously include objects such as oil lamps and *terra sigillata* vessels. If elements of the Gallo-Belgic ware repertoire offered a semblance of urban sociability, then *terra sigillata* and especially lamps and glass vessels seem to have constituted the basis of a more exclusive and urban-focused style of consumption. This new constellation of objects drew heavily on military objectscapes, such as those encountered at the start of this chapter at the Kops Plateau, but it need not have been adopted exclusively by people connected to the military, or even urban communities. It did, however, form the basis of new inter-provincial objectscapes that were increasingly disembedded from older regional late Iron Age traditions across northwest Europe.

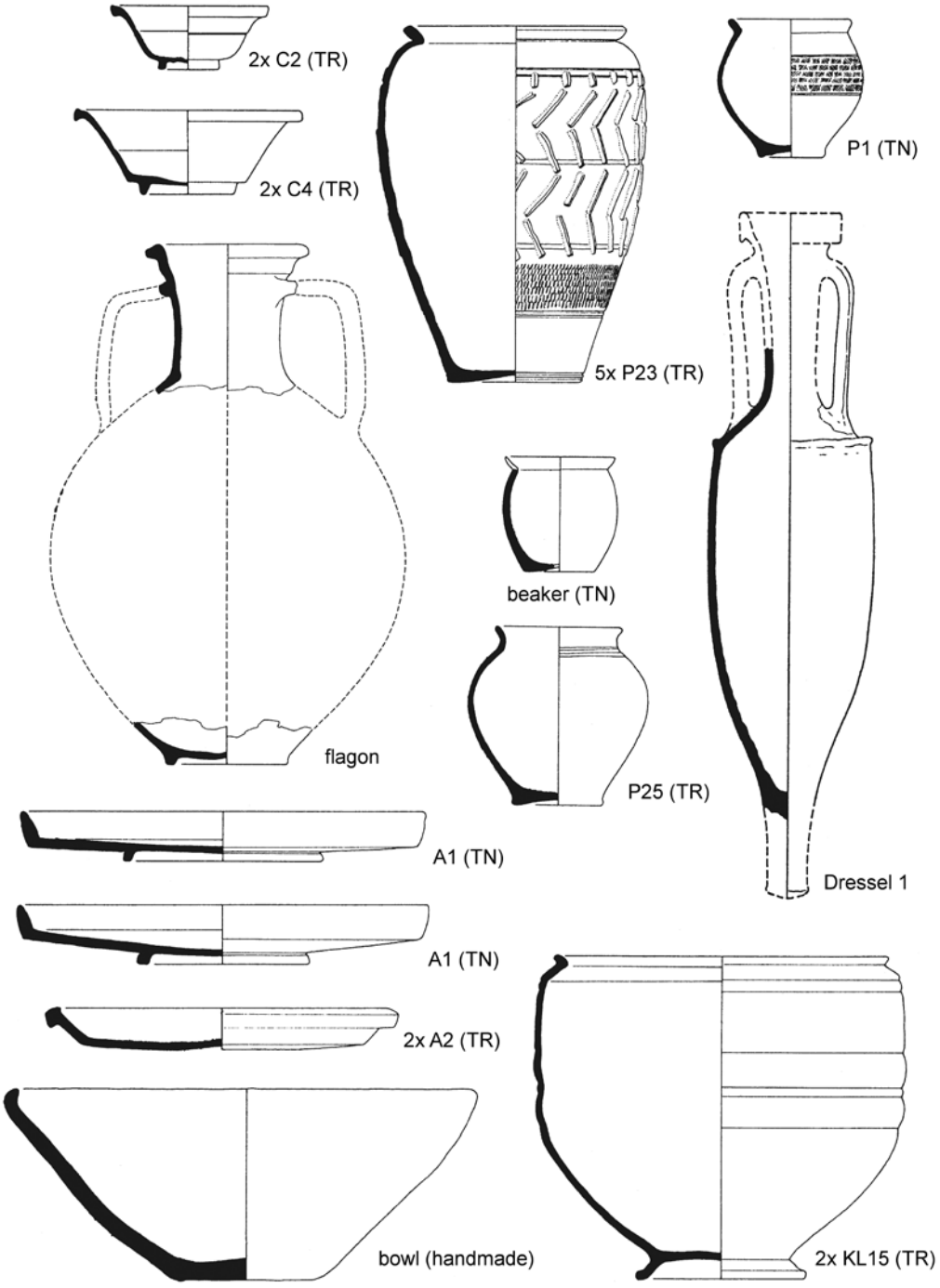


Figure 3.12. Pottery from the rich Augustan woman's grave from Wincheringen, Rhineland-Pfalz (after Metzler et al. 1991, 135, Fig. 100).

The richest graves underline that changes from the Augustan period onward cannot be solely characterised in terms of an extended pan-regional inter-artefactual domain. While new standardised objects featured prominently in the graves in question, their appearance coincided with deep-rooted shifts in funerary practice, including conscious changes in the selection of some objects and not others (i.e. the deposition of dedicated feasting equipment and weaponry). Was there a relationship between the changing appearances of objects and changing cultural practice? The old paradigm of viewing shifts in material

GR2		Alloy vs	Animal offerings		Fibulae		Martial equipment		Amphorae		Pottery				Other finds				
Cemetery	Grave		Pig	Fowl	Copper alloy	Iron	Spears	Shields	Fish sauce	Wine	Gallo-Belgic	Sigillata / TW	Total	Services	Coins	Mirrors	Body	Knives	Misc.
Heybridge	15417									3	6		25	X					
Wederath	666				4					1			2		1		1		
King Harry Lane	272				1					1			1						
Feulen	80	2	X	X	7+2	2		X	2		1		7			2		1	
King Harry Lane	325	2			1						5		7			1			3
Trier Valeri-usstrasse	1928				2						7	1	11	X				2	1
King Harry Lane	346				1						3	1	10						1
Feulen	117		X		1	2	X				6		7				3		1
Wederath	163					1	X	X			1		6		1		1		
Wederath	697					1	X	X			2		2		1		2		

Table 3.9. Richly furnished graves of the GR2 phase (c. 15 BC-AD 20) and their contents ranked according to the presence of amphorae and other objects.

R1		Alloy vs		Animal offerings		Fibulae		Martial	Pottery				Other finds					
Cemetery	Grave	Buckets & cauldrons	Other	Pig	Other	Copper alloy	Fe	Spears	Gallo-Belgic	Sigillata / TW	Total	Services	Coins	Lamps	Glass	Body	Knives	Misc.
Hurstbourne-Tarrant	[1]	1				1			5		13					1		
Lexden	10.3	1									3							
Feulen	118		1	X					8		11	X	2			2		1
Baralle	7		1	X					6		11	X				1		
Nij.-Hunerberg	8		1						1		2							1
Nij.-Hunerberg	87		1							2	3				1			
Neuss	329					2			4	1	7				3			
Lebach	178								2		6				3			1
Trier-St. Matthias	1910-937						2		4		7		1	1	1			
Feulen	115					2			4		6				1		1	
Lebach	4					3		X	2		7					1		
Baralle	27			X	X	1			7		16		1			2		

Table 3.10. Richly furnished graves of the R1 phase (c. AD 20-45) and their contents ranked according to the presence of selected objects.

culture as (only) representative of human decision making undoubtedly casts these changes as ideologically motivated, i.e. as conscious decisions to 'become Roman', and adopt 'Roman' cultural practices. However, the idea of an extended inter-artefactual domain raises the possibility that the raft of material changes instead increased the scope for the adoption of new social practices, informing conscious selections in a more organic, bottom-up fashion. The new kinds of standardised objects were defined by styles, colours, and finishes that marked them out from their Iron Age counterparts, but they also entailed different material affordances (e.g. fragility, capacity) that would have affected practical use. Such affordances created new possibilities for shifts in cultural practice, potentially easing the way for the blending of styles of consumption from the Roman military sphere with Gallic forms of display, as seen to different degrees in the richer graves from Goeblange-Nospelt and Trier.

3.4 STANDARDISED OBJECTS AND THEIR CIRCULATIONS, C. 25 BC – AD 40

A major characteristic of the funerary and settlement assemblages at the end of the first century BC is the proliferation of large quantities of highly standardised objects, particularly ceramics, but also fibulae. This section takes a closer look at the standardised objects themselves, in terms of both the innovative new types of objects that came into existence in this period, and their circulation among a wider range of cemeteries and settlements in northwest Europe.

3.4.1 STANDARDISED FIBULAE IN SETTLEMENTS AND CEMETERIES, C. 25 BC – AD 40

At the end of the Iron Age, sweeping changes in the mass production and deposition of brooches in various contexts have been characterised as a 'fibula event horizon'.[265] One aspect of this material change as discussed in Chapter 2 was the increased 'serialised standardisation' in fibula design across northwest Europe and beyond, seemingly underpinned by an increasingly connected pan-regional inter-artefactual domain. Although seldom identical, recognisable styles of brooches were being manufactured and worn among multiple late Iron Age communities, a phenomenon undoubtedly aided by high rates of human mobility, which assisted the circulation of fibulae as worn dress accessories. However, it was the onset of the Augustan period that saw more substantial changes in the production and circulation of new fibulae, a change that was synchronous with major changes in pottery consumption in the region. While the same kind of serial standardisation persisted in brooch production, a new pluralism of innovative fibulae emerged that were outwardly larger and more decorative than the simpler designs of the later Iron Age. These substantial developments in shape and relief decoration of brooches were accompanied by a general shift in metal content from bronze to brass, perhaps selected for its golden appearance.[266] The new styles of fibulae seem to have been deliberately designed to be more visually expressive in terms of shape and colour, especially in contrast with their Iron Age predecessors, which by contrast look simpler and more inherently functional.

The innovative types of fibulae to appear in northwest Europe that broadly correspond with the Augustan age include the distinctive Kragenfibel (Feugère 10), the Simple Gallic brooch (Feugère 14a) and its British derived form known as the Colchester brooch, the more expressive Langton Down (Feugère 14b1), Thistle (Feugère 19), and Rosette (Feugère 20) types, and the hinged Aucissa brooch

[265] Jundi/Hill 1998.

[266] Bayley/Butcher 2004, 207; Creighton 2000, 42.

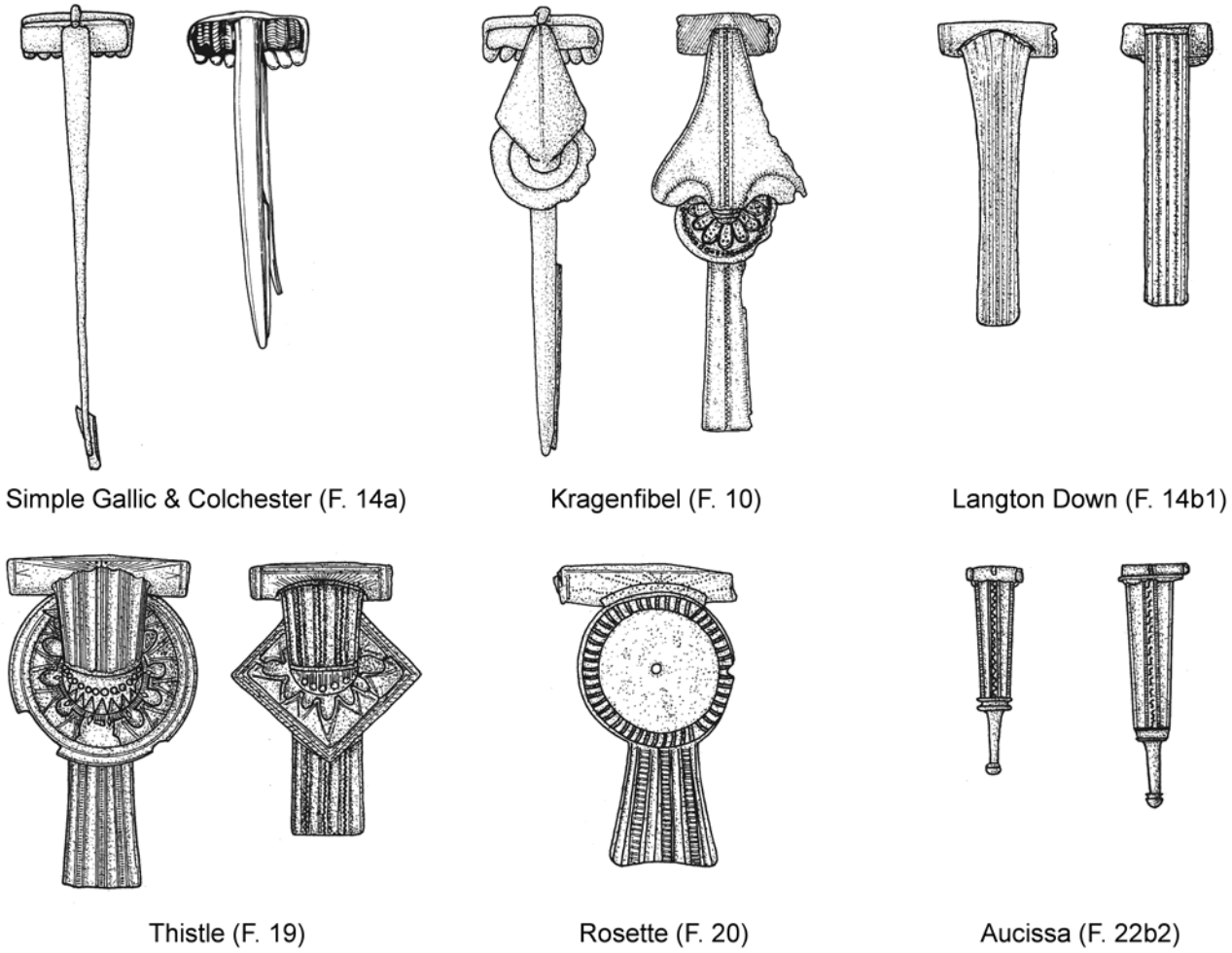


Figure 3.13. New fibula types of the Augustan-Tiberian period in northwest Europe (after Gaspar 2007, Taf. 28-64).

(Feugère 22) (see examples illustrated in Fig. 3.13). These new designs and their variants make up a large component of brooch assemblages from settlements and cemeteries from the period. Recent research has explored the extent to which fibula types correlated with different kinds of archaeological site and context, as a potential means of shedding light on the identities of their wearers.[267] While distinctive patterns often emerge, the results of these studies ultimately caution archaeologists against making simple representational associations between categories of objects and aspects of group identity, such as military/civilian, Roman/native, gender, or by tribal affiliation. Nevertheless, it remains common for researchers to consider several of the types introduced around the Augustan period to be assigned to fixed gender categories – the Aucissa as a legionary brooch worn by men, and the Kragenfibel, Thistle/Rosette and Langton Down for women.[268] While these associations are based on a combination of funerary evidence, discrepancies between brooches lost at military bases and *oppida*, and their representation on scarcer funerary reliefs, for every fibula type there are plentiful examples that contradict the notion of brooches carrying fixed gender associations.[269] Unfortunately, too small a proportion of the graves in excavated

[267] Eckardt 2005; Carr 2006; Pitts 2010a, 2014; Heeren 2014.

[268] For example, Martin-Kilcher 1993; Hanel 1995, 44.

[269] Allison 2013, 71-77 provides an excellent critical summary of these discussions, although prefers to make cautious connections between gender and certain brooch types. Foster 1993 shows that the Colchester, Thistle, and Langton Down brooches were common to male and female graves alike in the King Harry Lane cemetery. For further discussion on gendered finds in Roman archaeology see Allason-Jones 1995.

cremation cemeteries of the late Iron Age and early Roman periods can be reliably sexed using modern osteological methods, constituting a major obstacle to better understandings of the relationship between gender and objects in this period. However, even if sex identifications were made more reliable, there are still large hurdles to overcome in distinguishing what may be considered the possessions of the deceased from grave offerings made by the deceased's extended social network.

To make better sense of the distribution of new brooch types introduced in this period, it is important to think in less representational terms at the outset (i.e. not assuming fibula types had discrete social meanings) and examine what the objects *did*. Following this line of thought necessitates a more nuanced approach to the evidence, by first contextualising data at an inter-provincial scale of analysis (considered next), and secondly paying close attention to micro-scale contextual associations and relationships with other fibulae types, and crucially, other objects (in the final section of this chapter).

Comparing brooch assemblages at an inter-provincial scale is a task beset by many problems. Setting aside resolvable matters such as typological concordance and sufficiently-large sample sizes, another sizeable obstacle is posed by chronology. At one level, well-dated grave assemblages often form tightly-defined chronological packages, but the challenge is to find enough grave assemblages from a given phase to build up robust groups of brooches from multiple locations. Larger fibula collections are typically published in long lists for whole sites or regions, and tend to be broken down typologically rather than by discrete phases based on independent chronological information.[270] To maximise the potential of archaeological data in the form it is routinely published, a compromise approach is used here, drawing upon both fibulae from well-dated cemetery contexts, and those from larger brooch corpuses from excavated settlements. Fig. 3.14 presents the results of a broad-brush comparison of the relative proportions of the five broad typological categories of new fibulae introduced in this period. This excludes other kinds of brooches from the period, including surviving late Iron Age designs and styles, although these are re-included in more detailed analysis later in the chapter. The main reason for undertaking a selective comparison is largely chronological. Since the brooches in question are understood to have circulated mainly in a short and well-defined period (c. 25 BC – AD 40/60), examining only the types in question provides an elegant means of isolating a large group of Julio-Claudian fibulae within larger corpuses.

A quantitative comparison of new types of brooches introduced at the start of the Roman period in northwest Europe reveals some striking circulation patterns (Fig. 3.14). From a methodological perspective, the first general feature to note is the similarity of fibula ratios drawn from settlements and cemetery contexts in the same region, most notably between the King Harry Lane cemetery and nearby settlements in Hertfordshire such as Baldock and Braughing, and between the Titelberg settlement and graves from Wederath and west Luxembourg (from the cemeteries of Fouches, Chantemelle, and Sampont). Although based on selective data, such findings vindicate the use of smaller samples of brooches from well-dated grave groups for comparative purposes. Otherwise, aside from the more regionalised distribution of the Kragenfibel, the other types of brooches considered all achieved pan-regional distributions, albeit with differing degrees of intensity in some localities. The most striking patterns comprise a) the massive dominance of the Aucissa brooch at two Rhine military establishments, the Kops Plateau (Nijmegen) and Vetera I (Xanten), b) the restricted focus of the Kragenfibel at Treveran settlements and cemeteries, with a trickle of examples beyond this core area, and c) the broad homogeneity of assemblages from settlements and cemeteries from southern Britain, where the Colchester brooch dominates most locations.

Considering the patterns from Fig. 3.14, the most striking is the dominance of the Aucissa brooch at the two military bases sampled. While a military association is understandable when faced with such evidence, it is not a compelling explanation for the wider distribution of the type, even factoring in

[270] Bayley/Butcher 2004; Gaspar 2007; Mackreth 2011a, 2011b; Heeren/van der Feijst 2017. Many of the recent corpuses include detailed contextual information on the find-spots of the brooches.

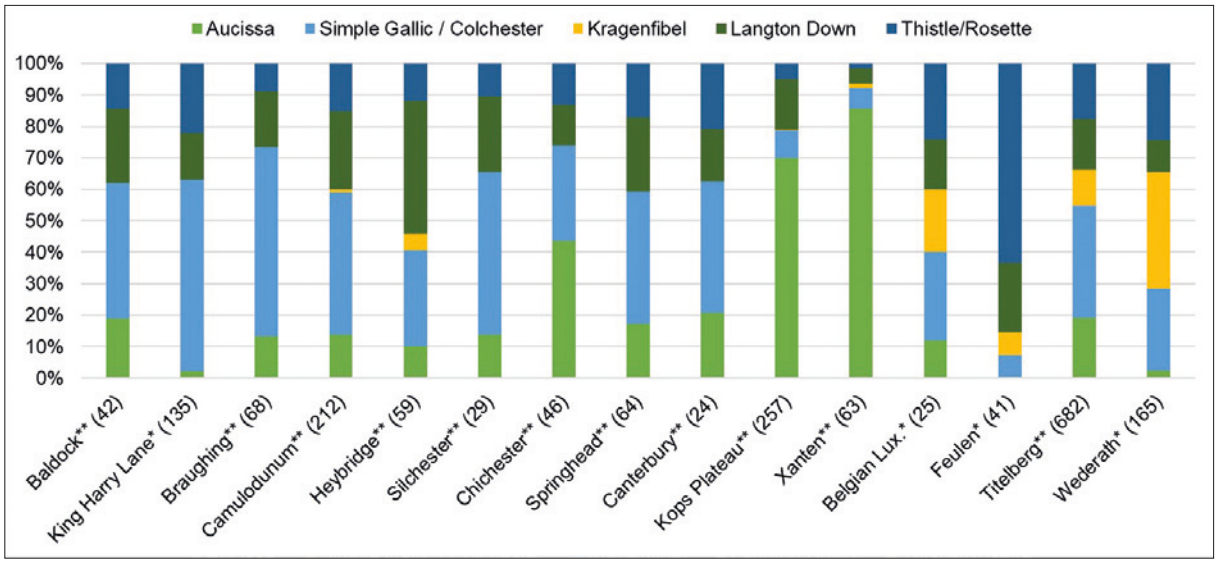


Figure 3.14. A comparison of the ratios of five brooch types at selected locations from northwest Europe (total nos. in brackets, *denotes cemetery data, **denotes data from larger corpuses).

phenomena such as casual loss by military personnel. A more useful perspective is provided by comparing the distribution of the Aucissa fibula with that of Italian-style *terra sigillata*. Both are dominant elements in the objectscapes of early Roman military bases in the vicinity of the Rhine, and both have much fainter distributions beyond the military sphere in northern Gaul and southern Britain. From this perspective, although both Aucissa brooches and Italian-style *terra sigillata* can be considered to have formed part of a constellation of objects associated with the Roman military, there was nothing to stop parts or individual components of this package being adopted beyond military societies, and indeed, merged within different repertoires of objects. Turning the pattern on its head, it is the low levels of *other* new kinds of fibula at the Kops Plateau and Vetera I that are potentially more revealing. While local communities across northern Gaul were willing to select objects from multiple repertoires of the period (including objects predominantly used by soldiers), by contrast, military communities seem much more closed to making equivalent selections from objects circulating in Gaul. Many factors could account for this, including perceptions of superior status, the state-sponsored supply of military bases, and the need to maintain cohesion and unity in early military communities.[271]

The second striking feature from Fig. 3.14 is the near exclusive concentration of the Kragenfibel at cemeteries and settlements associated with the Treveri. Although finds of this brooch-type can be seen in settlements and cemeteries beyond Treveran territory, the numbers are very small.[272] The limited circulation of this type is difficult to explain at face value, since it frequently occurs with other serially standardised fibula types introduced in this period that have a much wider distribution, such as the Langton Down and Thistle. As discussed in the following section, similar distribution patterns centred on Treveran territory are also apparent for certain types of Gallo-Belgic pottery vessels. Such co-occurrences again encourage us to think more in terms of the dynamic emergence of regionalised objectscapes referencing a broad pan-regional inter-artefactual domain, rather than forcing individual object-types to fit cultural labels. The Kragenfibel's discrete distribution does raise the question of whether it was used to signal Treveran tribal affiliation. While this suggestion is certainly possible, it is important to bear in mind that the Treveri also used

[271] James 1999.

[272] Including those in Fig. 3.12, the database for this project features only fourteen examples outside Luxembourg and Rhineland-Pfalz, although the list of locations spans the rest of northern Gaul and southeast Britain.

many other fibula types with less regionalised associations, which massively out-number the deposition of the Kragenfibel, even factoring in the possibility that the Kragenfibel was used by exclusively by women.

Looking to the margins of the Kragenfibel's distribution, alongside a couple of finds from military bases and more predictable deposition in the cemeteries of neighbouring Gallic communities (including Blicquy and Baralle to the northwest, and Ville-sur-Retourne and Ménil-Annelles in Champagne), a striking concentration exists across the Channel in Essex, at the Camulodunum *oppidum* and the secondary centre of Heybridge. The Kragenfibel brooches from pre-conquest Essex all travelled far beyond what might be considered normal trajectories for objects of this type. Although the numbers are small (5 examples), given the Kragenfibel's strong distributional inertia in the period, such finds add weight to the possibility of direct connections between the Treveri and the Catuvellauni during the pre-conquest period in Britain. The similarity of Catuvellaunian and Treveran funerary practices and objectscapes has already been remarked on in this chapter, particularly in relation to the richest tier of graves, and most likely hints at close ties based on clientship or kinship.

Leaving aside the idiosyncratic patterns generated by military communities and the Kragenfibel, the biggest pattern in the data in Fig. 3.14 comprises the widespread uptake and deposition of the other new kinds of fibulae introduced in this period. Most communities in the region seemingly had access to the Simple Gallic/Colchester, Langton Down, Thistle, Rosette, and even the Aucissa, hinting at the existence of extensive distribution networks that had little difficulty in moving large numbers of brooches, including to a large swathe of southeast Britain that was beyond Roman imperial territory at this time. While this broad-brush comparison has been useful to build up knowledge about the wider circulations of new kinds of brooches, it is difficult to be more specific on the nature of the connections involved, or indeed the question of what these objects did. A fundamental question that is difficult to address is the extent to which brooches travelled with people (worn) or as items for exchange (unworn). The broad-brush patterns, do, however, support the existence of a more strongly-constituted pan-regional inter-artefactual domain for fibulae in this period. Such a phenomenon is exemplified by the multi-regional production of serially-standardised fibulae such as the 'Simple Gallic' brooch, variants of which were crucially manufactured in large quantities in southern Britain as the Colchester brooch.

3.4.2 Standardised ceramics in settlements and cemeteries, c. 25 BC – AD 40

As demonstrated by the Kops Plateau case-study and the overview of general changes in funerary objectscapes above, a defining feature of the Augustan-Tiberian period in northwest Europe was the massive proliferation of a multiplicity of types of identically standardised fine ware pottery. This section scrutinises the wider distribution of various shapes and styles of pottery in more detail at both cemeteries and settlements, beginning with so-called Arretine ware or Italian-style *terra sigillata*.

Figs. 3.15 and 3.16 break down the supply of Italian style *sigillata* by broad shape classes and the most commonly occurring individual types, respectively, at twelve settlements drawn from the wider study region. Significantly, no cemeteries produced enough vessels to warrant inclusion. Although the raw numbers of vessels varied substantially, there are no obvious variations in the ratios of different shapes and types of vessels received by different regions or types of settlement. Platters and cups dominate all site assemblages, with the types most commonly favoured at military sites like the Kops Plateau, Neuss, Xanten, and Friedberg (Conspectus forms 12, 14, 18 and 22) being the most common vessels at civilian centres and *oppida*. This lack of variation is unsurprising. If supply was channelled through military bases and major new cities in the first instance, then what was available beyond this sphere could only exist as a subset of imperial provision. This would not rule out the selective uptake of Italian-style *sigillata* by local communities if certain vessel functions were preferred (e.g. drinking vessels), but such patterns do not emerge. *Terra sigillata* may have been so scarce outside military bases and new urban centres that local communities were willing to

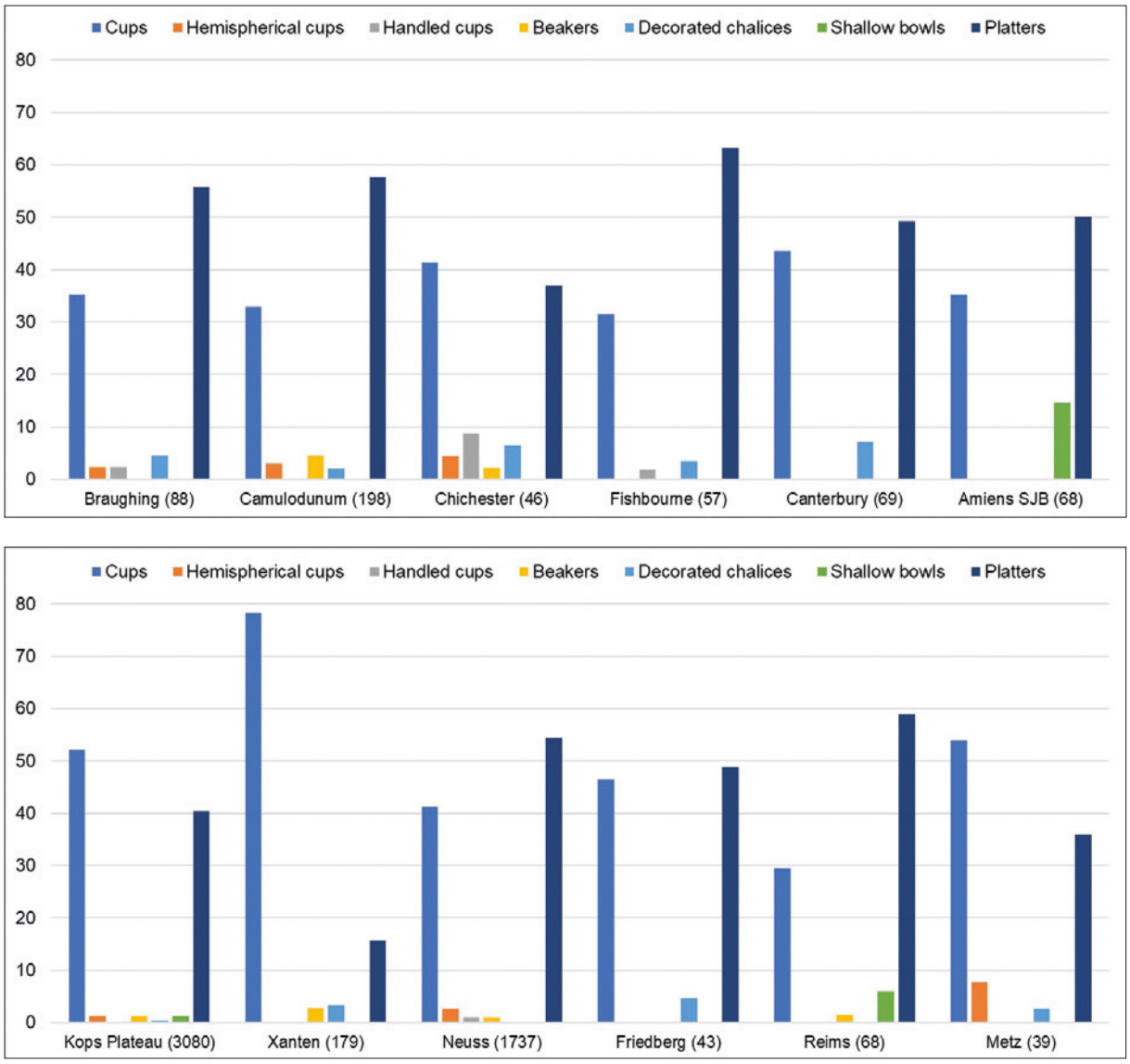


Figure 3.15. The relative proportions of vessel shapes in Italian-style *terra sigillata* at selected sites (total nos. in brackets).

make use of whatever they could come by, suggesting it was *terra sigillata* as a category that they were most interested in, rather than specific shapes. The fact that all the major shapes of Italian-style *terra sigillata* are imitated in commonly available Gallo-Belgic fabrics supports this interpretation.

A more revealing insight into the supply of Italian-style *sigillata* and thin-walled wares is provided by Fig. 3.17, which compares quantities of the red-gloss table ware against Gallo-Belgic vessels that directly imitate *sigillata*, by general vessel shape, at a wider selection of settlements and cemeteries. Gallo-Belgic vessels that do not directly imitate Italian-style *terra sigillata* forms are considered separately in Fig. 3.18. Three groups of sites emerge from this analysis: a) sites with a known or suspected military presence, characterised by higher proportions of Italian-style *sigillata* than their Gallo-Belgic imitations – including the Kops Plateau, Friedberg, and Tongeren; b) new civilian centres receiving modest quantities of Italian-style *sigillata* – including Metz, Reims, Liberchies, Dalheim, and selected grave assemblages from Trier; and c) cemeteries featuring little or no Italian-style *sigillata* – variously drawn from the tribal territories of the British Catuvellauni, the Gallic Atrebates, and the Treveri. From a British perspective, it is interesting to note that pre-conquest assemblages from Verulamium (Prae Wood) and Braughing appear to fit the general pattern of supply for

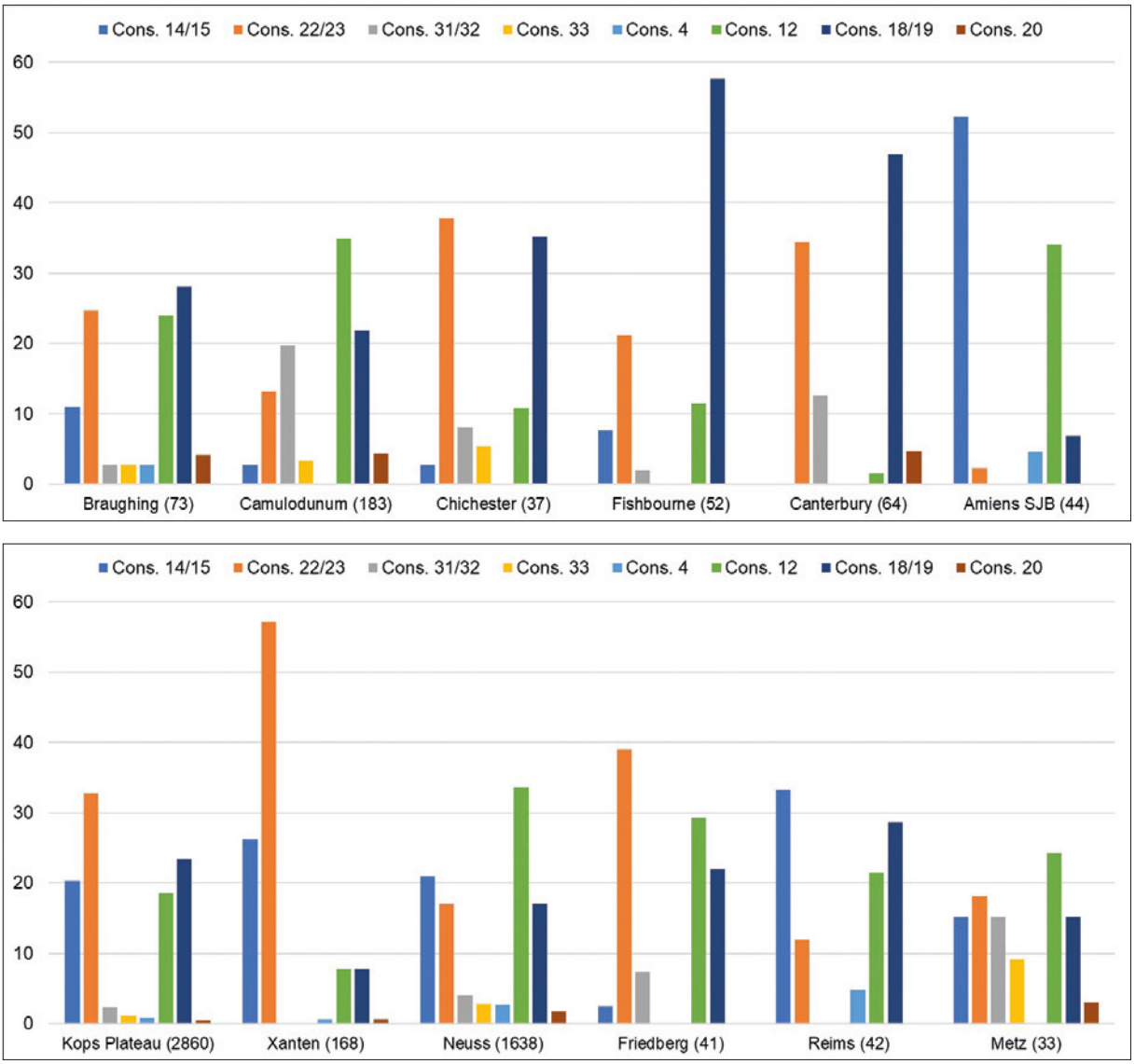


Figure 3.16. The relative proportions of the eight most common Italian-style *terra sigillata* types at selected sites (total nos. in brackets).

civilian centres in northern Gaul prior to equivalent urban development in Britain, whereas Fishbourne instead falls into the military bracket. While the idea of a site in pre-conquest Britain being classed alongside military sites from the vicinity of the Rhine may seem unusual, it must be remembered that Fishbourne is a site of exceptional status. Even before the Claudian conquest and the construction of a palatial complex in the later first century AD at Fishbourne, the site is likely to have been an important centre for the British Atrebates, a period when the idea of a pre-conquest Roman military presence has been suggested.[273]

Returning to the general picture, other important distinctions emerge from Figs. 3.17 and 3.18. Most cemeteries and settlements tend to receive more Gallo-Belgic platters and butt-beakers than cups. The butt-beaker is best characterised as a hybrid of large Gallic drinking shapes with stylistic attributes of late Republican thin-walled beakers. As a general category of object, the distribution of the butt-beaker soon became universal across the study area. Large numbers are found at *oppida* and new civilian centres, as well as early military bases like the Kops Plateau, where high quantities imply

[273] Creighton 2001; 2006, 54-61.

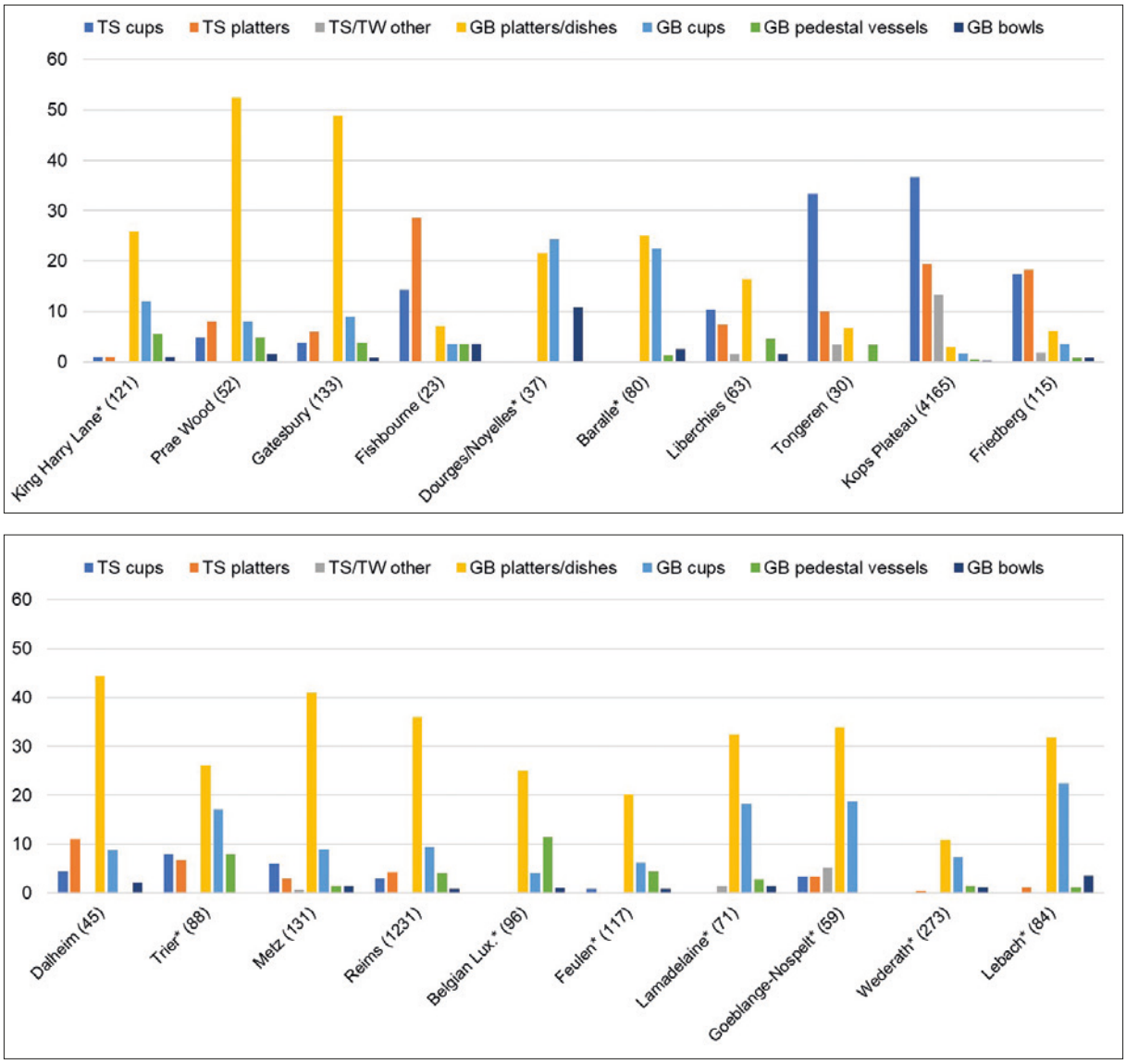


Figure 3.17. The relative proportions of vessel shapes in fine wares of Mediterranean genealogy at selected sites (total nos. in brackets, *denotes cemetery data).

the use of these vessels was not solely confined to auxiliary soldiers. At the same time, civilian centres and cemeteries in northern Gaul typically receive a larger number of different shapes and types of Gallo-Belgic pottery with northern European as opposed to Mediterranean genealogy, especially compared with military bases and sites in southern Britain. These patterns suggest that if military establishments constituted primary markets for Italian-style *sigillata* and thin-walled pottery, civilian communities in northern Gaul were the primary markets for a significant majority of Gallo-Belgic wares. Indeed, it is notable that some morphological classes in Gallo-Belgic ware with Gallic genealogy, such as jars and flask-jars,[274] are completely absent from Britain, while the same vessels feature prominently in the cemeteries of the Gallic Atrebates (e.g. Baralle, Dourges and Noyelles-Godault) just across the Channel. Except for an important type of butt-beaker produced in large quantities (Cam

[274] In French and Belgian literature, what I have termed flask-jars are referred to as bouteilles (bottles) (Tuffreau-Libre 1980, 109-115; Deru 1996, 136-149).

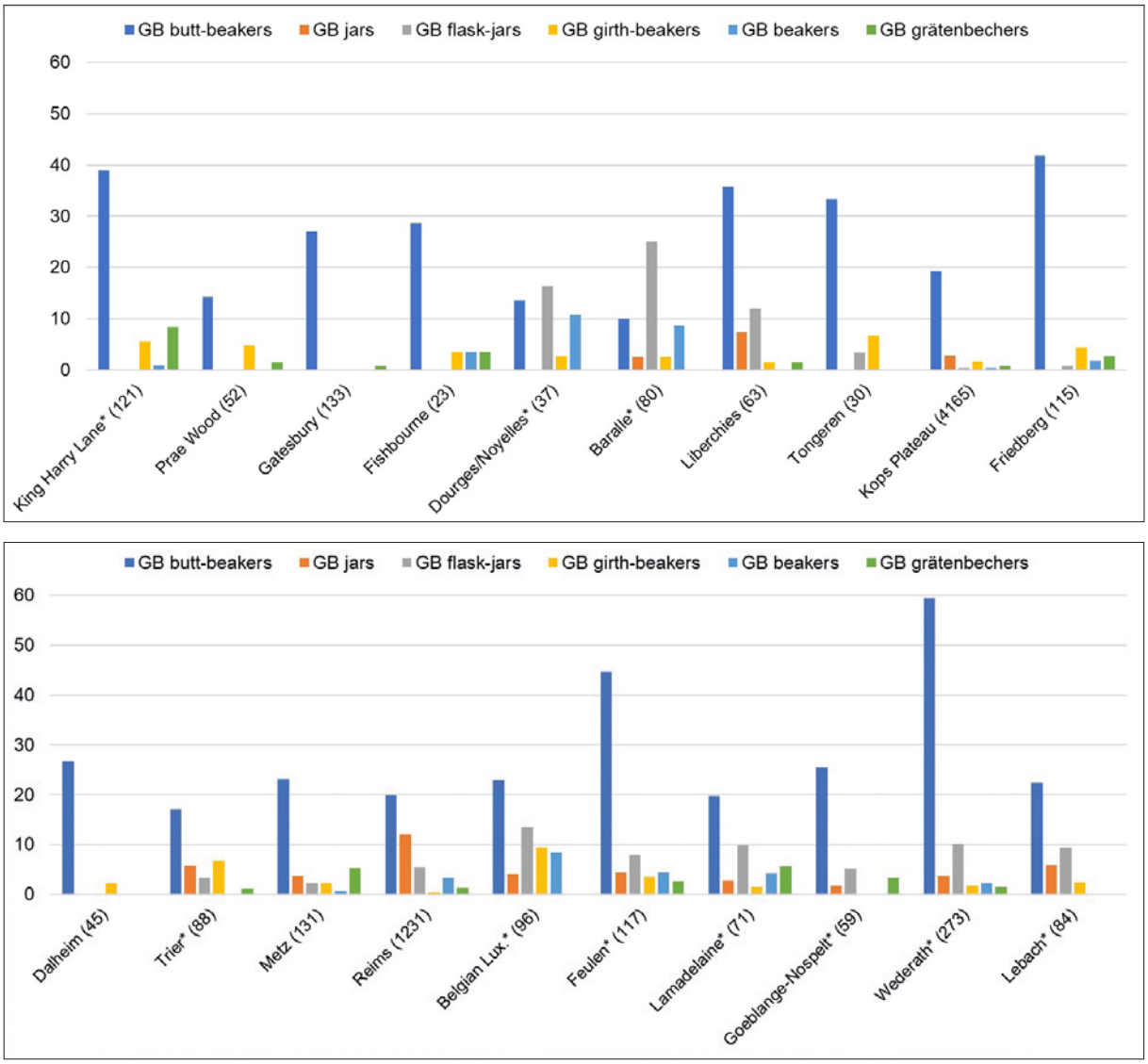


Figure 3.18. The relative proportions of vessel shapes in Gallo-Belgic fine wares of northwest European genealogy at selected sites (total nos. in brackets, *denotes cemetery data).

113 or P21), Gallo-Belgic wares were not produced in Britain, where the repertoire largely consists of common forms with universal distributions across Gallia Belgica.

So far, the comparison of standardised circulating pottery vessels in this section has highlighted a basic correspondence between the variable ratios of Gallo-Belgic wares and Italian-style *terra sigillata* and the perceived status of different types of settlements. At the same time, specific evidence for different Gallic communities preferring certain combinations of Gallo-Belgic ware shapes has emerged, in both funerary and settlement contexts. While these comparisons produce consistent and robust patterns, the evidence is still only scrutinised in a broad-bruch manner. One way to delve deeper is to consider specific vessel types, as with the fibulae in the previous section and the most common Italian-style *sigillata* vessels in Fig. 3.16. Unfortunately, there are simply too many different Gallo-Belgic types to do justice to comparing them in this way. Instead, to get a sense of the levels of diversity that exist within these standardised objectscapes, Fig. 3.19 breaks down the largest category of Gallo-Belgic vessels – the butt-beaker – into its constituent types, and compares the circulation of

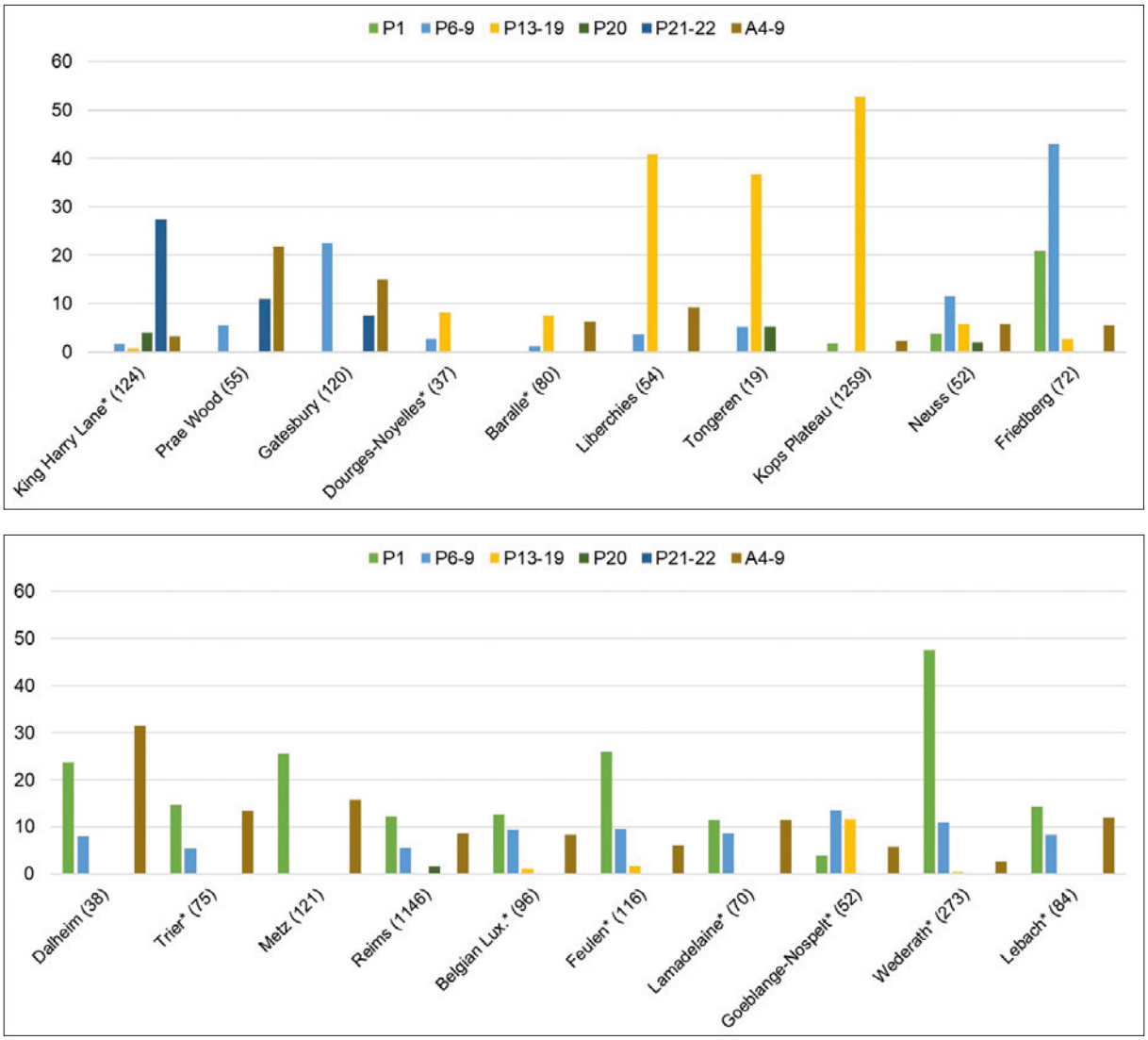


Figure 3.19. The relative proportions of different butt-beaker types at selected sites, compared with levels of universally circulating Gallo-Belgic A4-9 platters (total nos. in brackets, *denotes cemetery data).

types.[275] The most common and universally-distributed Gallo-Belgic platter types (A4-9) are included as a control sample.

The results of comparing the circulations of different types of butt-beaker (Fig. 3.19, illustrated in Fig. 3.20) clarify the patterns emerging from the preceding section on brooches. At one level, types such as the P6-9 butt-beaker and the A4-9 platter are present at almost every site compared in the analysis, in much the same vein as fibulae types such as the Langton Down and Thistle. Other butt-beaker forms, however, behave more like the Kragenfibel. The P1 butt-beaker in particular follows the Kragenfibel most closely with a distribution concentrating on Treveran settlements and cemeteries, but petering out along the Rhine to the point that it is absent from the majority of locations in northwest Belgica, and missing completely from southern Britain.[276] Likewise, the P13-19 series of butt-beakers dominates northwest

[275] Pitts 2017b provides a preliminary comparison along these lines using a smaller dataset spanning the period c. 25 BC-AD 70.

[276] Deru 1996, 247, Fig. 112 confirms these distributions.

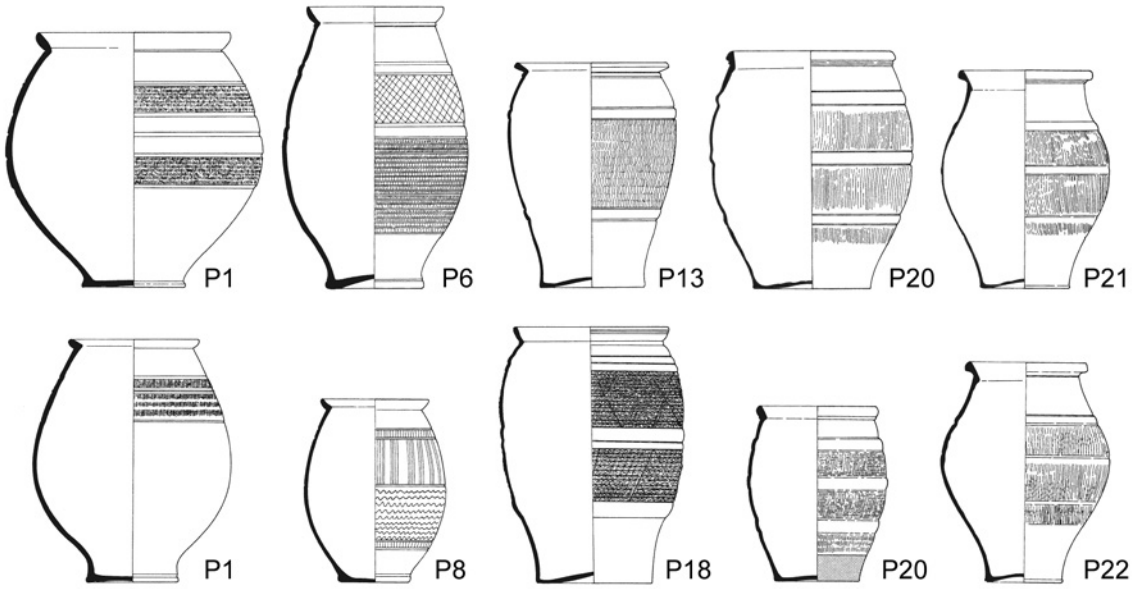


Figure 3.20. Common Augustan-Tiberian butt-beaker types (after Deru 1996, 98-110).

Gallia Belgica up to the Kops Plateau where it occurs in large numbers, but outside this area finds are scarce. Finally, large numbers of P21 butt-beakers circulate predominantly in Britain, underlining the likelihood that the form was produced somewhere in the vicinity of Colchester,[277] perhaps as a separate branch of Gallic production located in the Amiens-Senlis region, where the type is also common.

Why did some styles of butt-beakers and brooches dominate regional objectscapes but fail to travel over longer distances, while other Gallo-Belgic vessels and fibulae achieved more universal circulation? To answer this question, it is noteworthy that all the butt-beaker types with pronounced regional distributions shared some characteristics with the universal types, but less so with each other.[278] It thus follows that the regionally-specific butt-beaker types (i.e. P1, P13-19, and P21-22) were locally innovative objects that make collective reference to a shared universal style maintained by circulating objects with which they shared a mutual dependency. Put differently, at a pan-regional level the various locally-innovative butt-beaker forms can be considered as serial deviations of a universal canon. The same observation can be made of the Kragenfibel fibula, as a distinct local innovation that nevertheless shared some common features with the other new Augustan brooches, referencing and simultaneously constituting part of a shared milieu, with its design actively informed by a geographically extensive inter-artefactual domain.[279]

The crucial point to take away is that individual types rarely came into being in isolation, and need to be understood as components of bigger complexes of related objects that were linked by style and social practice. In this way, even objects and types with pronounced localised distributions could still be intimately part of bigger pan-regional phenomena. The general pottery category of the 'butt-beaker' was in fact constituted of multiple distinct styles that each had regionalised (and occasionally pan-regional)

[277] For a summary of the debate, see Pitts 2014, 2017b. While the excavators of Camulodunum (Hawkes/Hull 1947; Niblett 1985) believed the form must have been produced locally due to the large quantities at Colchester, others have suggested a continental source is more likely owing to the quality of the vessels surpassing anything made in Britain before the Claudian conquest. While the type occurs in quantity at Amiens (Ben Redjeb 1985), it does so in different fabrics to those in Britain, and is absent from the continental funerary assemblages examined in this study. These patterns reinforce the likelihood of an independent British source to the one at Amiens, while raising the possibility that potters from Belgica were involved in taking the design to Britain.

[278] Pitts 2017b, 59.

circulations. Considering the illustrations of butt-beakers in Fig. 3.20 compared with the general Gallo-Belgic repertoire in Fig. 3.6, the regional serialisation of the butt-beaker stands in stark contrast to the identical standardisation among Gallo-Belgic wares derived from *sigillata* types, which in turn tended to have more universal distributions. These observations further underline the connection between objects with regionally-rooted distributions and lower levels of standardisation, as seen more clearly in later Iron Age objectscapes in Chapter 2. The manner of the butt-beaker's serialisation, the regional distribution of many of its individual types, and the vessel's inherent connection to the remnants of later Iron Age practices of feasting and alcohol consumption all provide useful clues as to its prominence in funerary objectscapes across northwest Europe, as the following section examines in closer detail.

3.4.3 STANDARDISED OBJECTS IN FUNERARY OBJECTSCAPES, C. 25 BC – AD 40

The aim of this section is to move beyond the exploration of object variability at the level of settlements and cemeteries as separate containers, and to consider the more dynamic roles of objects in individual instances of deposition, at a pan-regional scale. The resulting analysis focuses on the movement of new types and styles of standardised object alongside other forms of material culture in funerary contexts from multiple connected societies in northwest Europe in the period c. 25 BC-AD 40. To do so, I use the same methodological approach as applied to the contextual associations of fine wares at the Kops Plateau, to explore patterns of object selection in over 600 graves simultaneously. The emerging patterns are explained step-by-step below. Further details of the compilation and interpretation of Correspondence Analysis (CA) are discussed towards the end of Chapter 1 (1.6.3).

The results of CA on 630 Augustan-Tiberian graves are presented in Fig. 3.21. The upper-plot, which displays the disposition of graves according to their contents, is colour-coded to give a general sense of the regional provenance of the graves, since the sheer number of graves makes it impossible to label each one clearly. The exception to colour-coding by region concerns a group of cemeteries that consistently stood out from others in their respective regions in their use of material culture. This 'deterritorialised' group in blue typically comprises cemeteries connected to military bases (Neuss) or early urban centres (Trier and Nijmegen-Hunerberg) that tended to feature combinations of objects more consistent with the objectscapes seen at places like the Kops Plateau, e.g. Italian-style *terra sigillata*, thin-walled wares, Aucissa brooches, oil lamps, and glass vessels.[280] The lower-plot, which displays the disposition of object-types according to their occurrence in different graves, is likewise colour-coded, making distinctions between Italian-style *sigillata* (red), Gallo-Belgic ware types with Mediterranean (orange) and northern European genealogy (blue), other objects with Mediterranean genealogy (purple), and other categories of objects (black). Larger categories of standardised objects are broken down into their constituent types, provided each type contributed a minimum of ten objects to the overall sample. Scarcer types with fewer than ten examples have been merged to form more robust units for analysis, such as Italian-style *sigillata* platters. The data for this comparison includes a handful of graves from cemetery phases that are too small (i.e. with fewer than five graves from the period) to be compared alongside larger cemetery phases earlier in this chapter.

[279] For an equivalent concept, see Versluys 2015a, 154-158 on *koine*, as a universal stylistic repertoire that could be differentially particularised in local contexts in given historical moments, cf. Hölscher 2004 [1987] on a semantic system of Roman art, which outlines similar phenomena. Poblome et al. 2017 further discuss *koine* in the context of pottery studies.

[280] The analytical designation of graves from these cemeteries as a single group was a decision informed by draft attempts at CA, in which graves from these sites routinely clustered together.

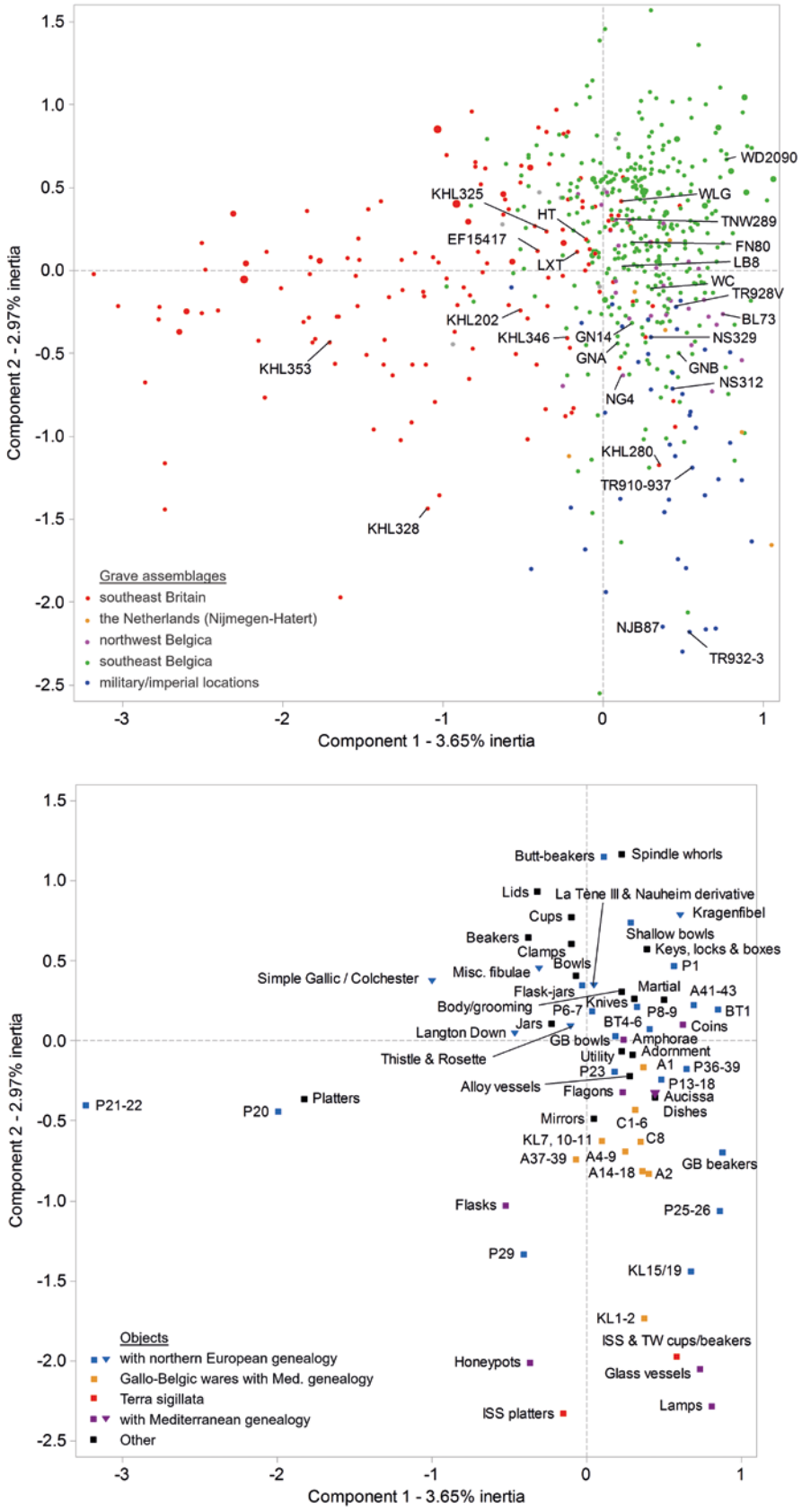


Figure 3.21. Correspondence Analysis of the contents of 630 graves from northwest Europe, c. 25 BC to AD 40. The upper plot shows patterning by grave, with corresponding associations of objects in the lower plot.

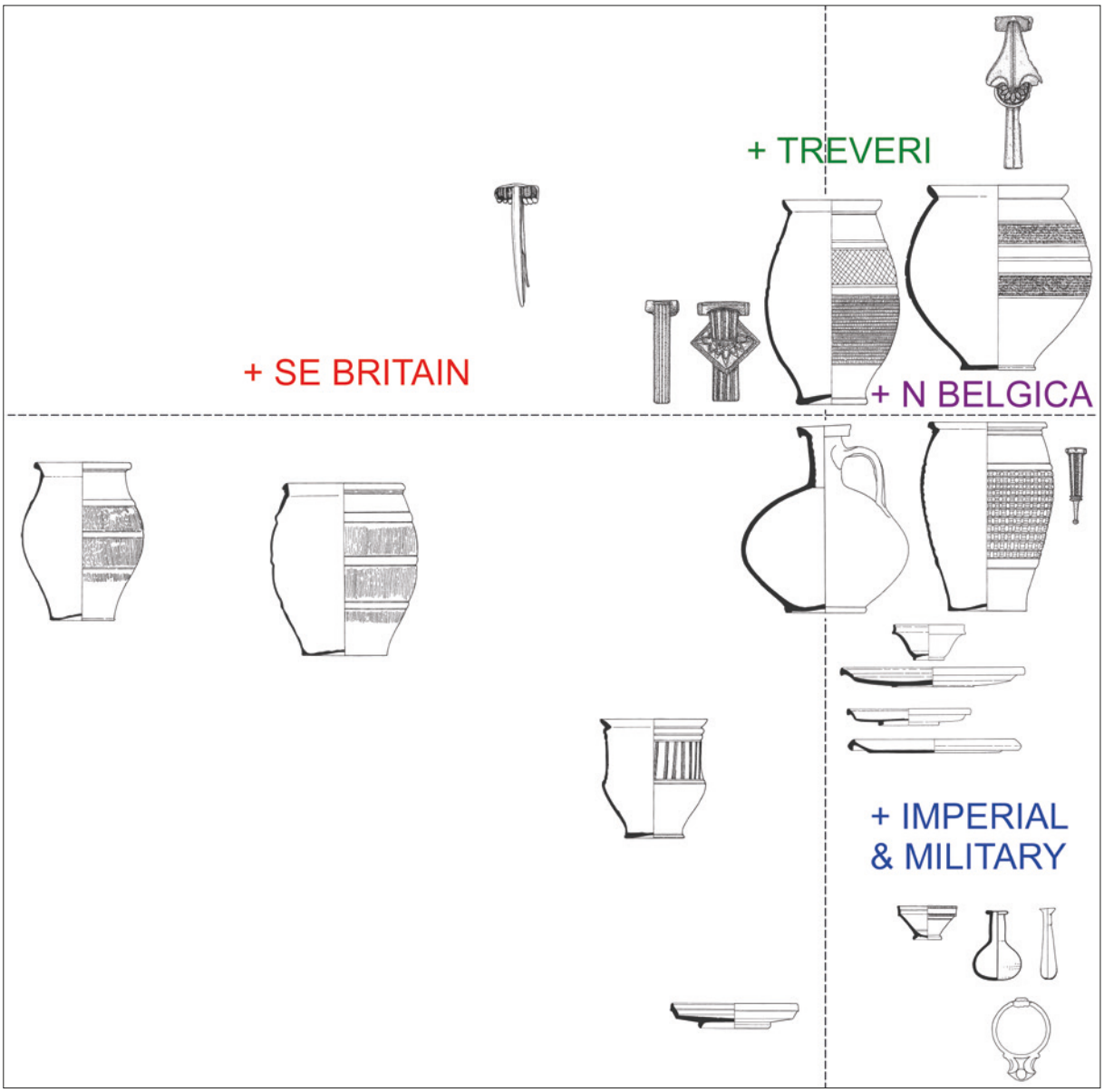


Figure 3.22. Interpretive schematic of Fig. 3.21. Positions of selected objects are approximate.

To help make sense of the CA, the interpretive schematic in Fig. 3.22 summarises the key findings of Fig. 3.21 in terms of the positions of common object types. In general terms, the upper-plot of Fig. 3.21 can be characterised by overlapping clusters of graves of the same colour, which can be interpreted in a similar fashion to a Venn diagram. Non-overlapping areas of colour indicate graves characterised by regional combinations and styles of objects – most notably to the left of the plot (graves from southeast Britain, in red), and the upper-right (Treveran graves, in green). Similarly, the clustering of graves in blue, from Trier, Nijmegen-Hunerberg, and Neuss, supports the categorisation of the object-selections in these cemeteries as belonging to a more deterritorialised imperial style of consumption. Graves plotted at the interfaces where the clusters of coloured points overlap are more likely to feature combinations of objects that drew upon repertoires of objects with wider circulations across northwest Europe. A good example of this is the less distinct cluster of magenta graves (from northwest Belgica) at the interface of the green (southeast Belgica) and blue (deterritorialised imperial) dominated parts of the plot (centre-right, Fig. 3.21).

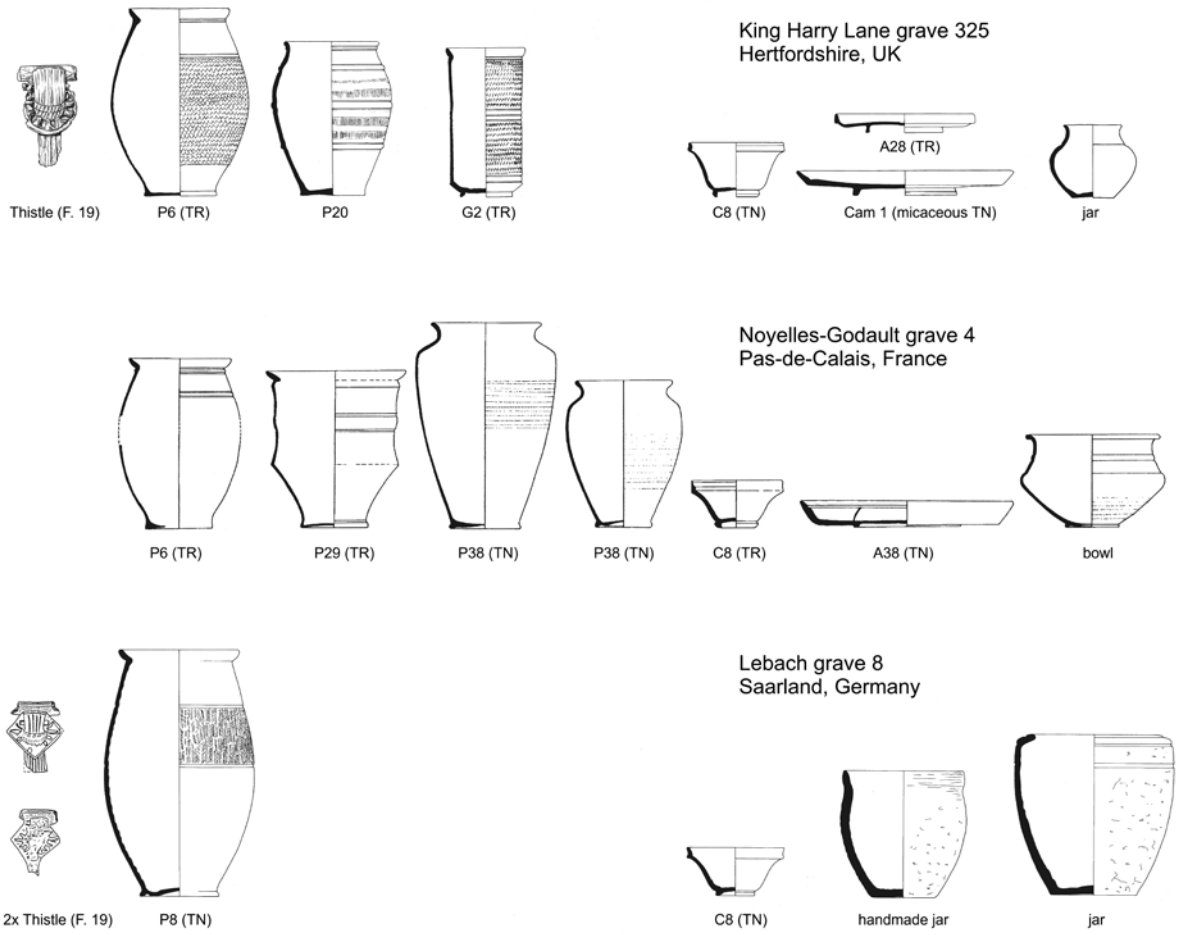


Figure 3.23. The contents of selected graves Fig. 3.21, highlighting selections of objects with trans-regional circulations. King Harry Lane objects after Stead/Rigby 1989, 365, Fig. 157; Noyelles-Godault objects after Bastien/Demolon 1975, 13, Fig. 11; Lebach objects after Gerlach 1976, Taf. 9.

To understand the basis of this rich continuum of graves, which involves combinations of distinct local and pan-regional funerary object selections, we must turn to the lower graph in Fig. 3.21, which outlines the corresponding disposition of object types and styles. Here, the number of object types that effectively differentiate the various overlapping regional clusters of graves varies tremendously. The non-overlapping parts of the cluster of green graves from Treveran territory corresponds to a large group of objects in the upper-right quadrant of the plot, including the Kragenfibel brooch, a series of Gallo-Belgic pottery types with northern European genealogy, including the P1 and P8-9 butt-beakers and the BT1 flask-jar, as well as locally-made butt-beakers and shallow bowls, martial equipment, knives, and other finds such as spindle whorls, and those relating to bodily grooming, and security. This strongly Gallic-inspired group of objects extends in a continuum of graves that gradually turns to red on the left of the plot, taking in a range of coarse pottery types and universally circulating standardised forms such as the P6/7 butt-beaker and the Thistle/Rosette, Langton Down, and Simple Gallic/Colchester fibulae types. The positions of these objects in the CA plot suggests an equal likelihood of deposition in graves from southeast Britain or southeast Belgica. The non-overlapping group of red graves from southeast Britain is ultimately distinguished largely on the basis of one object-type,[281] the P21-22 butt-beaker (Cam 113) that evidently did not circulate much beyond Britain but was the most frequently-occurring individual object type in British cemeteries such as King Harry

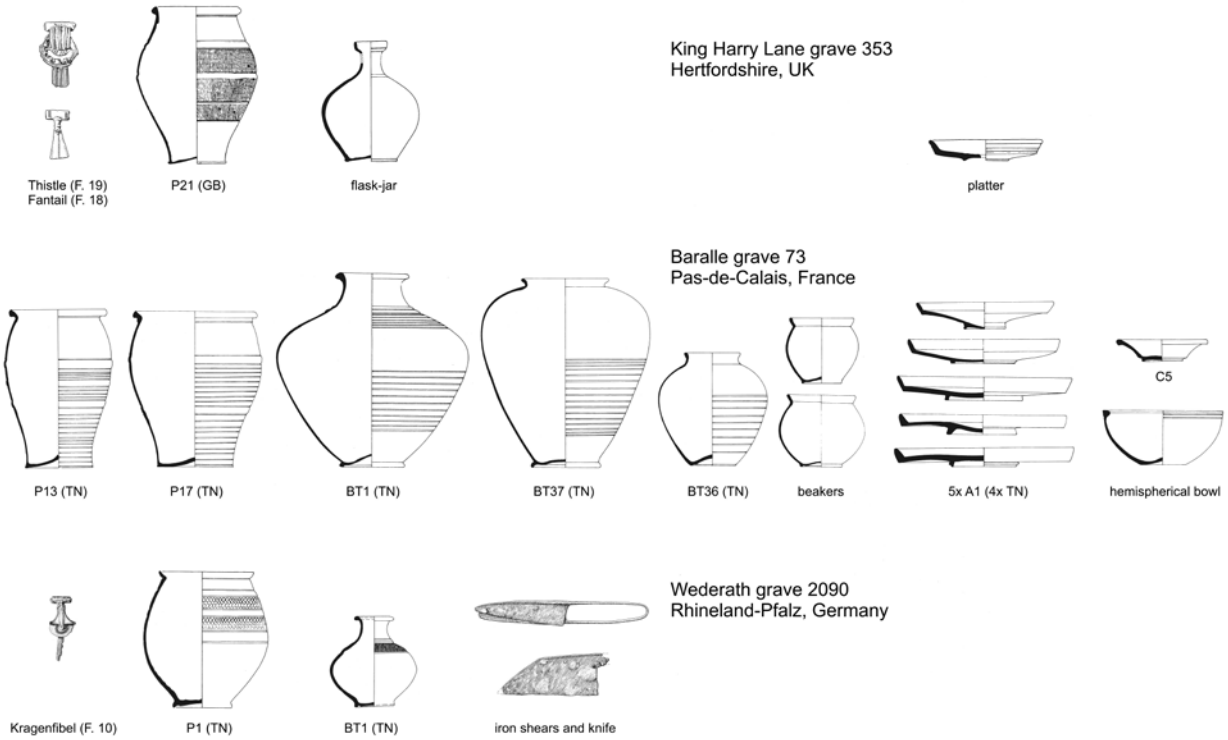


Figure 3.24. The contents of selected graves from Fig. 3.21, highlighting selections of objects with regional circulations. King Harry Lane objects after Stead/Rigby 1989, 373, Fig. 161; Baralle objects after Hosdez/Jacques 1989, 114-6; Wederath objects after Cordie-Hackenberg/Haffner 1997, Taf. 568.

Lane. The patterns of object selection in the British graves can be viewed largely as part of the same milieu as those of the Treveri, distinguished only by a British particularisation of a universal category of circulating object, the butt-beaker. Also participating in this shared milieu is the smaller cluster of magenta graves overlapping with the green of the Treveri, which corresponds, among other objects, with certain Gallo-Belgic types with more northern European genealogy, most notably the P13-18 butt-beaker and the P36-39 jar.

So far, I have outlined patterns from Fig. 3.21 that fall within a pan-regional milieu of object selection that seemingly owed more to northern European objectscapes than those of the Mediterranean. Participating local communities such as the Treveri, Catuvellauni, and Gallic Atrebates each drew from a continuum of objects with largely northern European genealogies, including many that were identically standardised and circulated at a pan-regional level, and some that were serially standardised and had distinct local circulation patterns. Importantly, the latter category involved large numbers of Gallo-Belgic butt-beakers, which were produced in innovative local styles in each of the regions in question. To aid the reader, examples of grave assemblages from the overlapping and non-overlapping clusters of graves are illustrated in Figs. 3.23 and 3.24 respectively. The graves in Fig. 3.23, from King Harry Lane (Herts., UK), Noyelles-Godault (Pas-de-Calais, France), and Lebach (Saarland, Germany), are drawn from central parts of the CA plot, and all feature common standardised objects such as the P6-8 butt-beaker, the C8 cup, and the thistle brooch. The striking similarity of aspects of their object repertoires is remarkable, despite being drawn from different

[281] And to a lesser extent, the P20 butt-beaker and coarse platter forms.

locations from southeast Britain, northwest and southeast Belgica. In contrast, Fig. 3.24 illustrates the regionally-rooted selections of standardised material culture from various regionally-dominated non-overlapping parts of the CA plot. Despite such regionalism, the three graves in question from King Harry Lane (Hertfordshire), Baralle (Pas-de-Calais), and Wederath (Rhineland-Pfalz) nonetheless give a strong sense of belonging to a shared milieu of object selection, with similarly-styled (if regionally-distinct) butt-beakers, flask-jars, and fibulae constituting defining features of each grave assemblage.

To understand the patterns, it is useful to return to Gell's conception of the inter-artefactual domain in which the appearances of objects are shaped by formal stylistic relationships with other objects in the same style. The regional styles of butt-beaker and equivalent vessels appear as independent synchronous local developments, albeit inspired by the universal circulation of the general Gallo-Belgic ware repertoire. Evidently, several local communities across the wider region had a particular affinity for universal styles of butt-beaker (the P6-7) and expressive new brooches, and created variants for their own usage that were simultaneously informed by, and part of, the pan-regional inter-artefactual domain. Since these regional patterns typically correlate with groupings such as the Treveri and the Catuvellauni, it is tempting to see them as conscious politically-informed choices to maintain tribal identities amidst the widespread changes brought about by Roman imperialism. However, this standpoint is undermined in the CA plot by a lack of clear 'cultural' boundaries and high degrees of overlap in the selection of common standardised objects. For example, while the P13-18 series of butt-beaker had a circumscribed distribution in northwest Belgica, it was favoured among multiple tribal territories, including those of the Gallic Atrebates, Nervii, Menapii, Tungri, and Batavi. At one level, such regionally distinct styles of standardised objects may have served to heighten a sense of cultural distance between the communities using and not using them. Seen in a wider context, however, this observation should be set against the overwhelming similarities in the patterns of deposition of standardised objects across multiple neighbouring Gallic and British societies.

In contrast with the broad spectrum of new standardised objects favoured by northern Gallic and southern British communities, a series of very different patterns of object selection correspond with the cluster of blue graves in the lower-right corner of Fig. 3.21. The extremes of this distribution match with oil lamps, glass vessels, Italian-style *terra sigillata*, thin-walled wares, and a type of handled coarse jar called a 'honeypot', with example graves illustrated in Fig. 3.25. While these are all scarce objects in the funerary sphere of northwest Europe at the time, their correlation with graves from Trier, Nijmegen-Hunerberg, and Neuss is striking – a series of locations that might be described as belonging to an emerging imperial milieu within northwest Europe. Moving towards the upper-end of this imperial spectrum, the area where blue graves intermingle with the colours of various regional traditions closely corresponds with a continuum of ten Gallo-Belgic vessel types (orange) that directly imitate *terra sigillata* forms, in addition to other conspicuous new styles of objects such as mirrors, Aucissa brooches, flagons, and amphorae. This pattern underlines the tendency of communities associated with the development of major new urban infrastructure at Trier and Oppidum Batavorum (Nijmegen), as well as military bases, to consistently select objects with Mediterranean genealogy – even if they were made locally to less technologically exacting standards. Although objects of Mediterranean design were evidently preferred, the presence of butt- and girth beakers in illustrated graves from Neuss and Trier in Fig. 3.25 highlights the fluidity of object selection, and the lack of clear boundaries between traditionally perceived cultural groups. If the appeal of the butt-beaker amongst local communities was linked to its role as a capacious drinking vessel that was well-suited to late Iron Age feasting practices, the same vessel form was still occasionally used in funerary rituals connected to both military camps and fledgling urban environments.

The application of CA to multiple grave assemblages in this manner lays bare general trends and the complexities of individual examples. In this regard, another useful exercise is to pick out richly furnished graves that typically attract more scholarly attention and examine how they fit into bigger patterns. In this

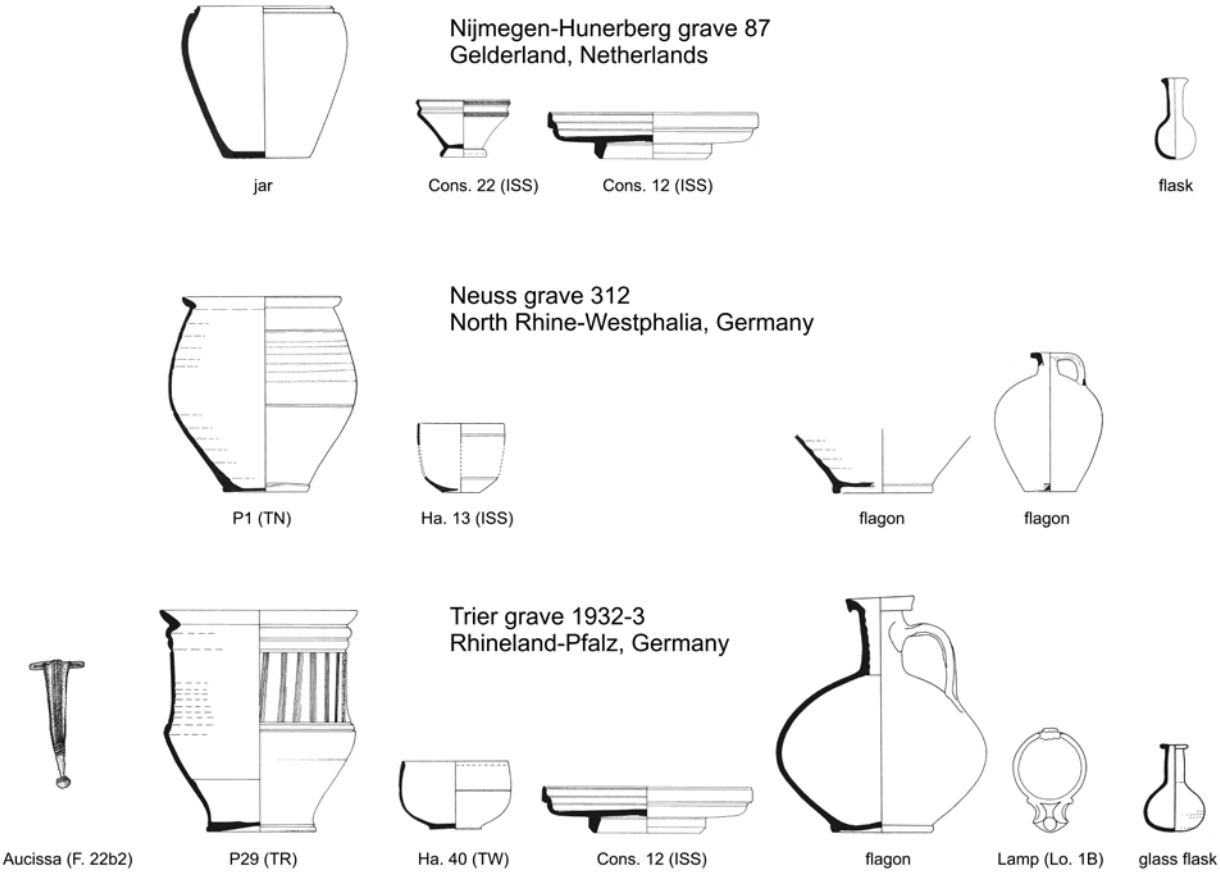


Figure 3.25. The contents of selected graves with 'imperial' associations in Fig. 3.21. Nijmegen-Hunerberg objects reconstructed from standard typologies; Neuss objects after Müller 1977, Taf. 64; Trier objects after Goethert-Polaschek 1984, 209-216.

way, it is noteworthy that the richest graves in the aristocratic cemetery at Goeblange-Nospelt (GNA, GNB, and GN14) all plot at the interface of the Treveran and 'imperial' clusters of graves. These positions in the CA plot are very much the product of object selections that drew upon a combination of Treveran and imperial objectscapes, as manifested in northwest Europe. Unsurprisingly, these graves have attracted attention for the presence of finds of Roman military equipment, and hint at links between the Treveran elite and military service in the *auxilia*. Not all Treveran rich graves fit the same pattern, however: the woman's grave at Wincheringen (WC), for example, is plotted closer to the Treveran end of the spectrum, with large numbers of Gallo-Belgic platters, Grätenbechers, and pedestal bowls (Fig. 3.12). Rich graves from other regions display similar variability. From southeast Britain, equivalent graves all plot towards the centre of the graph, indicating better access to a wider range of object-types with pan-regional circulations than their more modestly furnished British counterparts. The rich grave from Welwyn Garden City (WLG) even plots within the green (Treveran) cluster of the graph, again highlighting shared practices in the selection of objects between the Treveran and Catuvellaunian elite. In the same area of the CA plot, similar patterns can be seen in the close plotting of three graves from tumuli – Lexden, Essex (LXT), Hurstbourne Tarrant, Hampshire (HT), and Tongeren, Limburg (TN289). Indeed, the object-selections in these graves appear to be firmly ensconced in locally-derived pan-northern European traditions. Each gives pride of place to at least one distinctive butt-beaker vessel, and other pottery of northern European genealogy.

3.5. STANDARDISED OBJECTS IN THE INTER-ARTEFACTUAL DOMAIN

The application of multivariate statistics to the objectscapes of the Kops Plateau and hundreds of grave assemblages from the region greatly helps to clarify the complexities of object circulation and selection in early Roman northwest Europe. By focusing on recurring associations of objects in a spectrum of discrete and overlapping packages, it has been possible to go beyond making simple correlations between individual object types, settlements, and social groups, and instead shed new light on an increasingly stylistically-extended and geographically-integrated inter-artefactual domain. While the spectrum is undeniably complex, it is possible to describe two major pan-regional constellations of standardised objects that emerged in this period. The most strikingly alien of these to the region correlated with military bases and newly established urban centres, which exhibit the hallmarks of the first of truly deterritorialised imperial styles of consumption. In contrast, while demonstrably part of the *same* inter-artefactual domain, another pan-regional constellation of objects tended to be associated with older Iron Age *oppida* and rural cemeteries across northern Gaul and the Rhineland, and even extending beyond the imperium to southeast Britain. It is understandable how in certain cases, approached impressionistically and without considering the complex continuum of material choices across northwest Europe, that such differences may be mischaracterised in terms of artificially bounded 'Roman versus native' identities. It is crucial, therefore, to stress both the high degree of overlap between these different styles of consumption: even the military command post at the Kops Plateau was a voracious consumer of large Gallo-Belgic butt-beakers, whereas objects that closely imitated Italian-style *terra sigillata* were consciously placed in large numbers within the most impoverished rural cemeteries in northern Gaul.

The idea of a newly vigorous and geographically-extensive inter-artefactual domain offers exciting explanatory potential, not least for the proliferation of new styles of standardised objects in the early Roman period. At a basic level, this is attested in the sudden rise to prominence of standardised objects in assemblages in both settlements and cemeteries, in which Mediterranean imports tended to feature minimally, but had a much more profound impact as stylistic models for large quantities of regionally-produced objects, such as Gallo-Belgic pottery vessels. In a more active and complex fashion, the inter-artefactual domain can also help to account for the emergence of a series of regionally distinct standardised objects, such as the Colchester and Kragenfibel brooches, and various forms of popular butt-beaker. These important innovations are difficult to envisage without the pan-regional circulation of equivalent standardised objects in the same style, on which the regional variations were stylistically dependent. From an even wider-angled perspective, it is surely the case that the complex material interactions scrutinised in this chapter reflect but one extreme of an even bigger inter-artefactual domain (or *koine*) of innovative styles and objects that came into being in the early Roman world, often described in shorthand as the Augustan cultural revolution. The idea of a revolution, however, reminds us of the transitory nature of the material world. Objectscapes are the product of momentary interactions between humans and objects, and as such are a far cry from the fossilised archaeological cultures that were fashionable at the start of the 20th century. As Gell suggests, culture is as much the product of changing objectscapes as it is the driving force behind their constitution. Objectscapes then, are actively informed by the many kinds of circulating object that make up the inter-artefactual domain in a given time and place. No object exists in a vacuum without some form of dependency on other objects – as prototypes, production tools, and as parts of suites that facilitate specific social practices, from early Roman grave ensembles to the Chinese porcelain tea services discussed at the start of this book.

Gell's inter-artefactual domain raises exciting possibilities for explaining the proliferation of standardised object repertoires from the end of the first century BC onwards. However, there are limits to the explanatory power of this concept. Phenomena such as the sharp decline in the deposition of weaponry, hand-made pottery, and animal offerings in graves, and the largely entrenched conscious selections of

military versus local communities, are at once the product of conscious human decision making, and decisions that were informed by shifting cultural practices. For example, it is highly likely that the appearance of *terra sigillata* and glass vessels in funerary repertoires was informed by factors such as state involvement in supply, which increased the availability of *sigillata* for military and urban communities. This phenomenon in turn must have depended on *terra sigillata* and thin-walled wares being considered essential in the lives (and deaths) of a significant proportion of officers, soldiers, and civil servants.[282] Such human-object entanglements were prerequisites, for example, to facilitate socially significant commensal practices that produced distinctive feasting remains at the Kops Plateau (Fig. 3.5). Likewise, it took conscious decisions for communities outside the imperial sphere to break with old traditions. For people used to hand-made pottery, the suitability of such objects would be evaluated in an entirely new light against a rapidly-evolving inter-artefactual domain in which imitations of *terra sigillata* were suddenly prevalent. In this way, the appearance of new varieties of standardised objects presented a structured series of new options without dictating the final choices made by people. What is less clear, however, is the impact of the profusion of novel object selections over longer periods of time. Did the Augustan boom in standardised objects influence longer-term patterns in the appearance of objectscapes, and the trajectories of associated social and cultural practices? To address this question more thoroughly, Chapters 4 and 5 explore the legacy of the Augustan object revolution in the early Roman northwest, as underpinned by an ever-evolving inter-artefactual domain.

[282] As argued by Fulford 2018, 322 for *terra sigillata*. The existence of state-sponsored supply systems for *terra sigillata* is further supported in the extensive data of Willis 2005, 2011 for Britannia. Likewise, Foy 2018, 293-294 asserts that the supply of glass vessels containing aromatic and pharmaceutical substances, such as phials and unguentaria, was subject to imperial intervention. For the opposing view that *sigillata* was not subject to military supply systems, see Mees 2018.

4 Objectscapes, cityscapes, and colonial encounters

4.1 CLAUDIAN CONQUEST, COLONIES, AND CITYSCAPES

By the early first century AD, objectscapes across northwest Europe had been revolutionised by the spread of dramatically new *standardised* things. The proliferation of these new objects was a consequence of surges in inter-regional connectivity linked to multiple phenomena: Roman conquest, military presence, the development of provincial infrastructure, and the expansion of clientship and kinship networks that connected the late Iron Age societies of northern Gaul and beyond. One expected effect of such increases in connectivity might be to see new standardised objects such as amphorae and Italian-style *terra sigillata* achieve wide circulation in northwest Europe. But this is not what happened – at least not straight away. The first standardised pottery vessels to achieve deep social penetration in the Augustan-Tiberian period were in fact regionally-produced Gallo-Belgic wares, whereas *terra sigillata* did not attain equivalent levels of circulation beyond military and urban spheres until the late first century AD. Instead, arguably the most important impact of increased connectivity in the Augustan-Tiberian period was the geographical and stylistic extension of a *single* inter-artefactual domain across a large part of northwest Europe. It was this development that informed the innovative Gallo-Belgic ware repertoire (for example), which drew influence in equal measure from Roman military objectscapes and those connected to the late Iron Age societies of the region. Indeed, the combination of increased connectivity and a single extended inter-artefactual domain helps to explain why Augustan-Tiberian objectscapes from southern Britain closely resemble those across the Channel, even though Britain was not formally part of the Roman empire at the time.

Against the backdrop of a fundamentally new inter-regional system of human and object relations that emerged at the start of the first century AD, this chapter considers how the situation developed into the Claudio-Neronian era (archaeologically, c. AD 40-70). The Claudian period brought sweeping changes to northwest Europe, including the conquest and annexation of southeast Britain by four legions from AD 43, the resulting reorganisation of Roman military forces in the Rhineland, and fresh impetus to the development of monumentalised cityscapes in Gallia Belgica. In terms of urban development, the era is notable for the foundation of veteran colonies at Colchester (Colonia Claudia Victricensis, AD 49) and Cologne (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium, AD 50), the laying-out of new street grids at Bavay, Tongeren, London, and St. Albans, and likely elevation of Trier (Augusta Treverorum) to colonial status, coinciding with the extension of the city's street grid.[283] While many of these developments can be traced to the intervention of the Roman state, recent narratives make room for the agency of local and indigenous communities in the determination of urban topography and society.[284] Studied appropriately, material culture has great potential to bring new insights to these debates.[285] In particular, exploring the objectscapes associated with developing cityscapes provides ample scope to examine the trajectories of the nascent imperial objectscapes observed in Chapter 3 at a number of military bases and fledgling urban foundations, such as at Nijmegen and Trier. How were new imperial objectscapes constituted, and

[283] Wightman 1985, 58, 66; King 1990, 157-158. For British developments, Creighton 2006; Pitts 2014.

[284] Millett 1990; Creighton 2006.

[285] Pitts 2014.

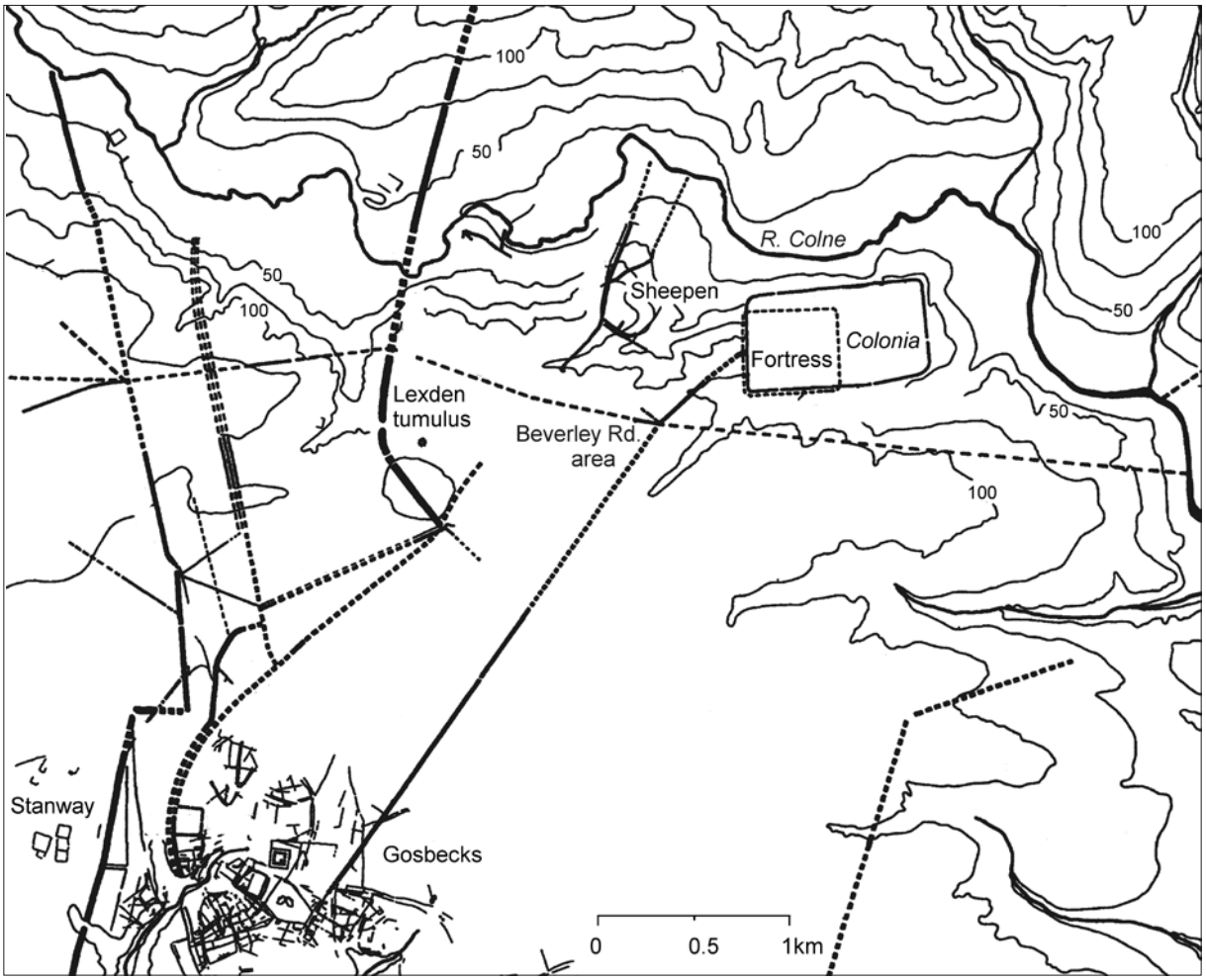


Figure 4.1. Late Iron Age to early Roman Colchester, showing the locations of major sites discussed in this study (after Baggs et al. 1994, 4, Fig. 3).

what was their relationship with the remnants of regionally-rooted objectscapes linked to later Iron Age practices and rural societies? Did the expansion of Roman provincial society produce objectscapes of more universal appearance, or did new colonial relations and confiscations create new inequalities in the distribution and use of material culture?

4.2 OBJECTSCAPES AT CLAUDIO-NERONIAN COLCHESTER: CAMULODUNUM AND COLONIA CLAUDIA VICTRICENSIS

With several decades of published excavations from multiple sites and cemeteries, and a historical timeline of early development illuminated by the writings of Tacitus, Colchester is one of the best locations to investigate what objects did in a colonial scenario in the northwest Roman provinces.[286] Colchester's pre-Roman settlement – the invasion objective of Claudius in AD 43 – was the *oppidum* of Camulodunum, consisting of a multi-focal settlement enclosed to the west by a series of substantial dykes thought

[286] For an overview, see Crummy 1997.

Figure 4.2. The tombstone of Marcus Favonius Facilis, Colchester (RIB 200). Courtesy Glynn Davis, Colchester and Ipswich Museum Service.

to have originated around 25 BC. The chronology of these origins is far from certain, and rests largely on the inscription 'CAM' on the late first century BC coins of the dynast Tasciovanus, and the dating of the Lexden tumulus to c. 15-10 BC (an exceptionally rich grave considered in Chapter 3).[287] Needless to say, by the time of the Claudian conquest, Camulodunum was a flourishing centre with intensive settlement and continental trade links evident at Sheepen, located behind a dyke at Camulodunum to the west of the invasion-era Roman fortress and *colonia* (Fig. 4.1). The Sheepen site continued in use into the immediate post-conquest period. Analysis of the archaeological finds suggests the presence of at least one military compound, existing alongside the remaining inhabitants of the *oppidum*. These developments at Sheepen were contemporary with the establishment of the nearby fortress (AD 44-9) and its succeeding veteran colony (from AD 49).[288] Other important locations from the early post-conquest period within the Camulodunum *oppidum* include the Stanway cemetery and Gosbecks complex to the southwest of the *colonia*, both of which were associated with the Catuvellaunian aristocracy.[289] As we shall see, the objectscapes from these locations differ markedly from those of the fortress and *colonia*, to which can be added a rich but patchily published cemetery from the vicinity of Beverley Road (Fig. 4.1).[290] Not only are the objects from the Beverley Road cemetery qualitatively different from other graves from Colchester and early Roman Essex, they also feature a number of exceptional burials, including the tombstone and associated objects from the grave of Marcus Favonius Facilis, centurion of *Legio XX Valeria Victrix* (Fig. 4.2).

The objectscapes from Colchester in the first two decades after conquest arguably surpass any other location in Britain at the time in terms of their richness and variety. The Sheepen site at Camulodunum received substantial quantities of amphorae, Italian-style *sigillata*, and Gallo-Belgic wares in its pre-conquest phase, in the manner of other *oppida* in southeast Britain. After Roman annexation Colchester was awash with the latest standardised objects that were circulating in cities and military bases across the Channel, including new South Gaulish *terra sigillata* and Lyon ware pottery. These innovations can be genealogically connected to equivalent repertoires and objects of the preceding Augustan-Tiberian

[287] Crummy et al. 2007, 455, cf. Hawkes/Crummy 1997, 174-178. The small cemetery at Lexden features graves that are likely to have been earlier than the Lexden tumulus, raising the possibility of a community at Camulodunum as early as c. 50 BC.

[288] Perring/Pitts 2013, 231-235.

[289] Creighton 2006, 130-135.

[290] Published by May 1930 as part of the Joslin Collection, cf. Crummy 1997, 108-109 who links the cemetery to the population of the *colonia*. The rich 'Child's grave' (grave 3) was subsequently published more extensively by Eckardt 1999.

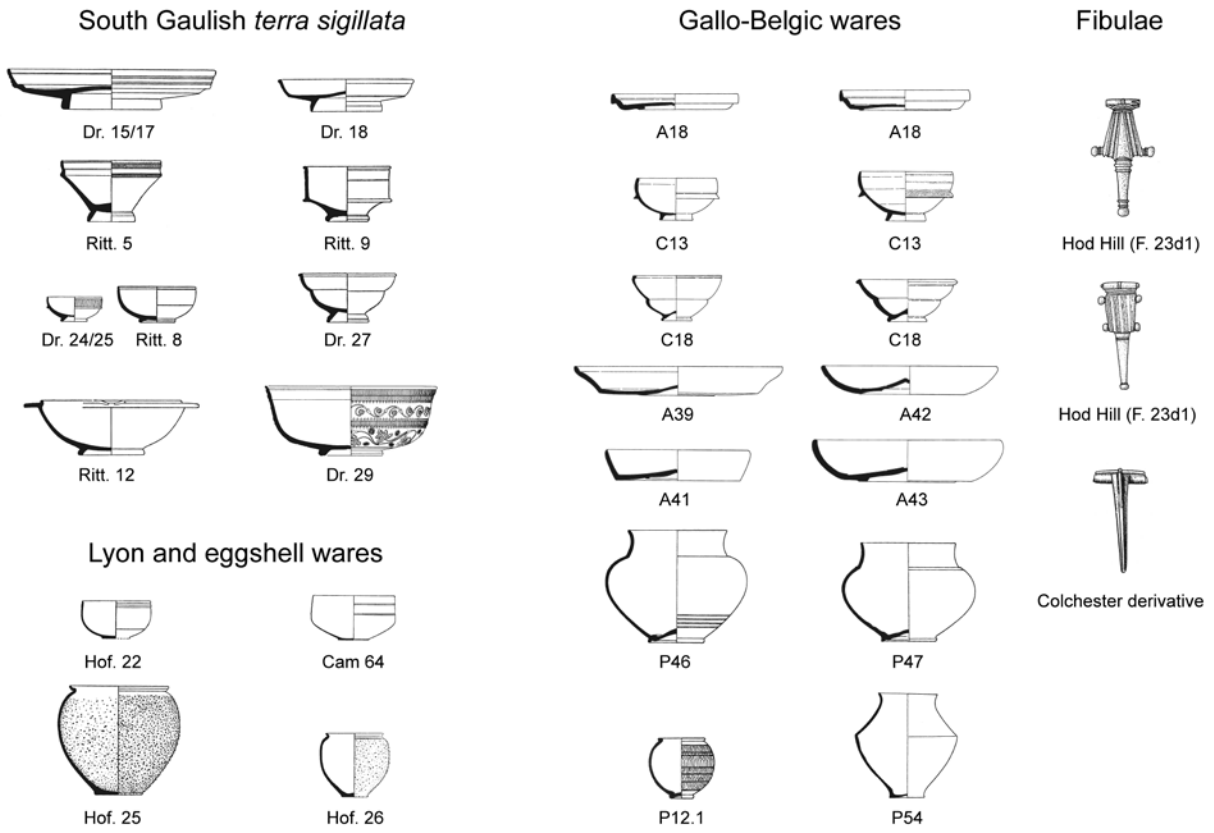


Figure 4.3. Claudio-Neronian objects, including common South Gaulish *terra sigillata* vessels, Lyon and Gallo-Belgic ware, and new forms of fibulae (after Hawkes/Hull 1947, Pl. 39-55; Deru 1996, 40-130; Gaspar 2007, Taf. 73-75).

Site	Aucissa	Hod Hill	Colchester	Colchester derivative	Langton Down	Rosette / Thistle	Nauheim derivative	Plate	Misc.	Total
Essex rural funerary	1	-	7	1	1	2	1	-	1	14
Stanway funerary	-	2	-	1	3	1	-	4	-	11
Camulodunum*	24	23	86	19	50	26	16	25	10	279
Gosbecks	1	3	2	11	1	3	1	4	3	29
Sheepen I	2	1	2	-	-	1	-	1	-	7
Sheepen I.1 [military compound]	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3
Sheepen I.2	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
Sheepen II	1	3	4	-	-	1	-	-	2	11
Sheepen III-VI	-	2	1		2	-	-	1	-	6
Sheepen total*	6	7	11	3	4	6	1	4	2	44
Colonia Victricensis*	7	28	15	23	-	3	24	6	2	108

Table 4.1. The numbers of selected fibula types at different locations from Claudio-Neronian Colchester. *Denotes larger assemblages spanning multiple periods. Assemblages associated with military presence and veteran colony are highlighted in grey.

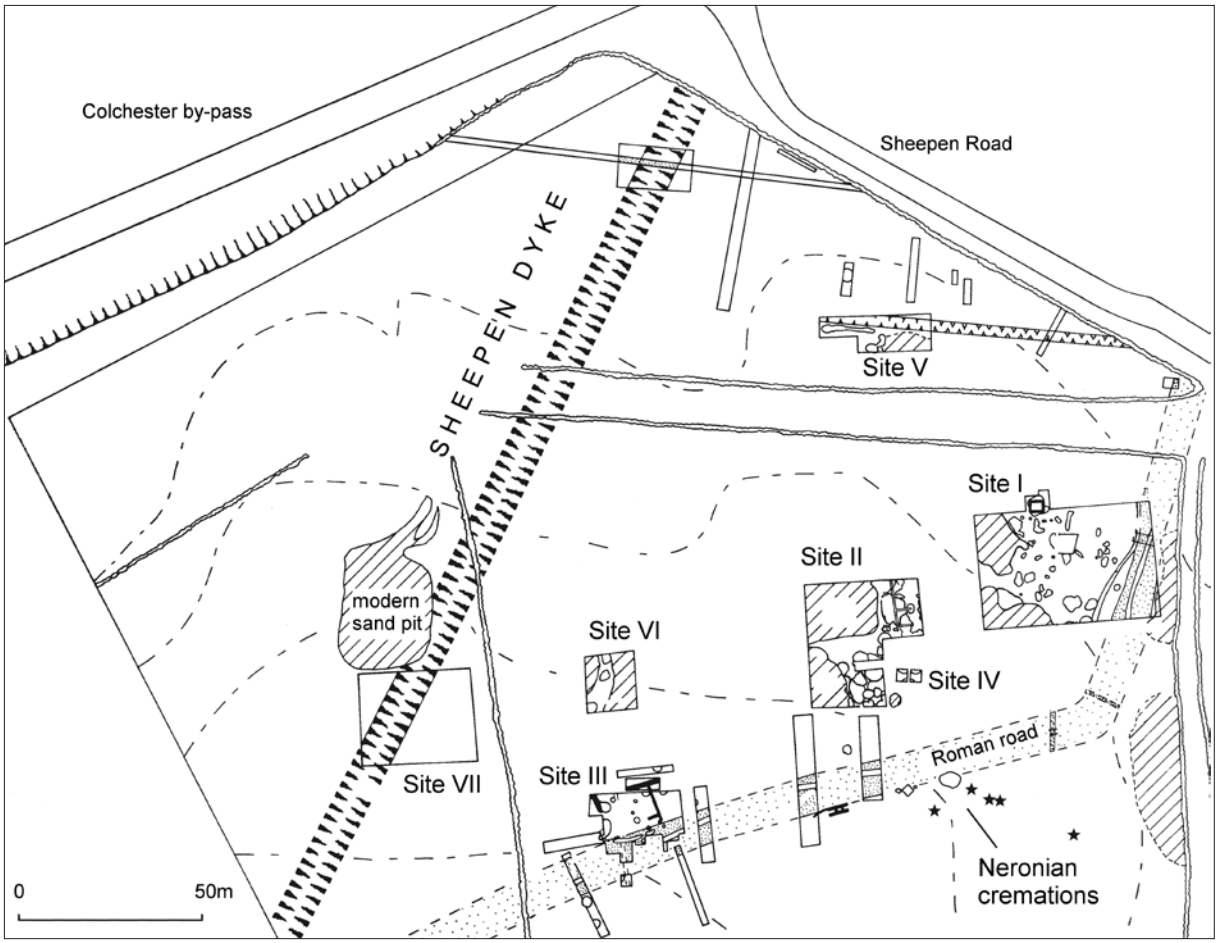


Figure 4.4. Sheepen, Camulodunum, showing excavated areas and graves (after Niblett 1985, 4, Fig. 3).

period. South Gaulish *terra sigillata*, largely produced at La Graufesenque near Millau, came to take over from Italian-style *sigillata* in northwest Europe at this time, where it occurred in greater quantities and achieved deeper social penetration than its predecessor. Whereas the range of plain forms in South Gaulish *sigillata* closely resembled the Italian-style *sigillata* repertoire, innovations of the period included the elaborately decorated Drag. 29 bowl forms (Fig. 4.3). In a similar vein, so-called Lyon ware largely replaced the more varied repertoire of thin-walled ceramics for a more rarefied market linked to officers in the Roman military,[291] with Claudio-Neronian forms typically consisting of decorated hemispherical cups (Hofheim 22) and roughcast beakers (Hofheim 25).

Another new kind of object introduced to Colchester in the Claudian period was the so-called Hod Hill fibula (Fig. 4.3), a hinged brooch that was genealogically derived from the standardised Aucissa brooch, albeit with much greater serial diversity in its appearance and metallic composition.[292] Like its predecessor, which continued to circulate extensively in the Claudio-Neronian period, the Hod Hill has a strong disposition towards urban and military locations in southeast Britain,[293] although the pattern is less pronounced in northern Gaul. The advent of the Hod Hill brooch at Colchester was accompanied by a major regional innovation in fibula design in the form of the Colchester derivative brooch. This development essentially involved turning the British Colchester brooch, itself a close derivative of the Simple Gallic brooch, into

[291] Willis 2003.

[292] Bayley/Butcher 2004, 152-153.

[293] Pitts 2014.

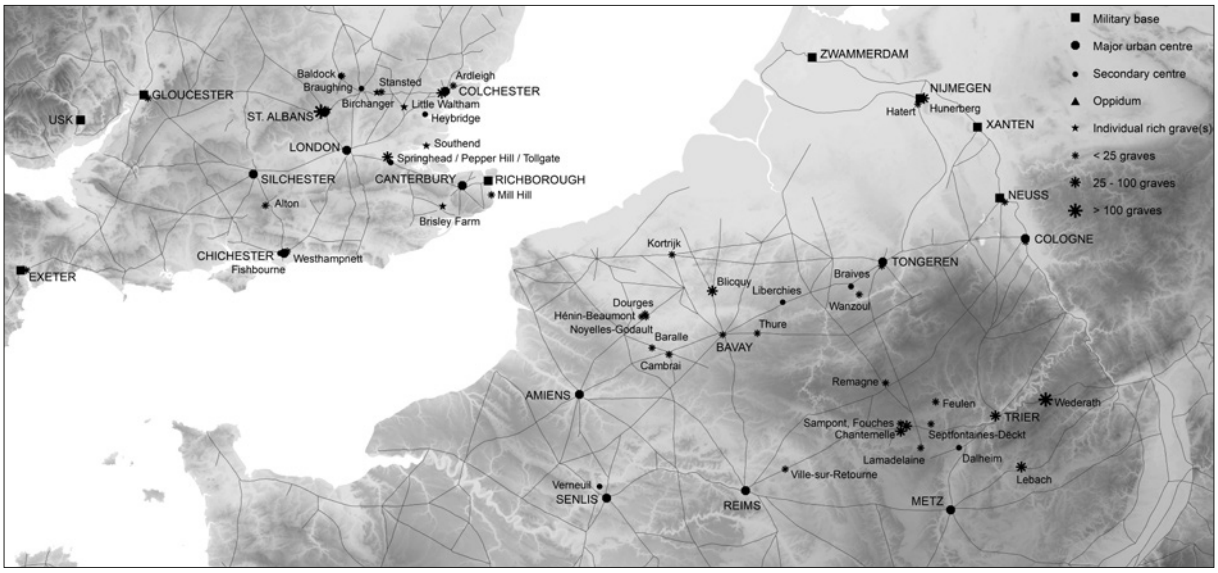


Figure 4.5. The locations of Claudio-Neronian cemeteries, graves, and settlements considered in this chapter.

a two-piece fibula that occurred in a range of distinctive variants, often with regionalised distributions.[294] The Colchester derivative form was so distinct that it has been used in combination with other classes of evidence to track the movement of British-recruited auxiliaries in continental Europe.[295] As such, the arrival of the Colchester derivative brooch presents a clear example of how an extended inter-artefactual domain could inform the production of innovative material forms that took their initial inspiration from circulating non-local designs, in the first place with the advent of the Colchester brooch, and the subsequent emergence of more distinct regional styles with the creation of the Colchester derivative series.

Having briefly introduced some of the newer forms of material culture at Claudio-Neronian Colchester, we now turn our attention to the objectscapes around the city and its surrounds. The marked disparity between mid-first century AD assemblages associated with the *oppidum* (Camulodunum), and those from the fortress and *colonia*, is well-documented.[296] Aspects of this discrepancy are illustrated in Table 4.1, which compares aggregate quantities of brooches from major excavations at Camulodunum with those from sites associated with the fortress and *colonia*, in addition to a list of smaller assemblages from around Colchester. The collection amassed by Hawkes and Hull from Camulodunum in 1930 is characterised by large numbers of distinctive older brooch types, such as the Colchester, the Langton Down, and the Thistle/Rosette. The same forms are virtually absent at locations associated with Colonia Victricensis, where Hod Hill, Colchester derivative, and Nauheim derivative brooches dominate. Since the latter types are all later, it is reasonable to assume that the differences between the two assemblages might be a factor of chronology, especially considering that the Camulodunum assemblage includes considerable quantities of pre-conquest material. For this reason, also included in Table 4.1 are several smaller assemblages that can be more confidently attributed to the Claudio-Neronian period. These include material excavated from the vicinity of Gosbecks, the Sheepen site excavated by Niblett, the aristocratic cemetery at Stanway, and a handful of graves from the wider hinterland of Colchester, including Birchanger and Stansted.

[294] Bayley/Butcher 2004, 155-157.

[295] Ivleva 2011, 2012.

[296] Bidwell/Croom 1999; Pitts/Perring 2006; Willis 2011, 181; Perring/Pitts 2013.

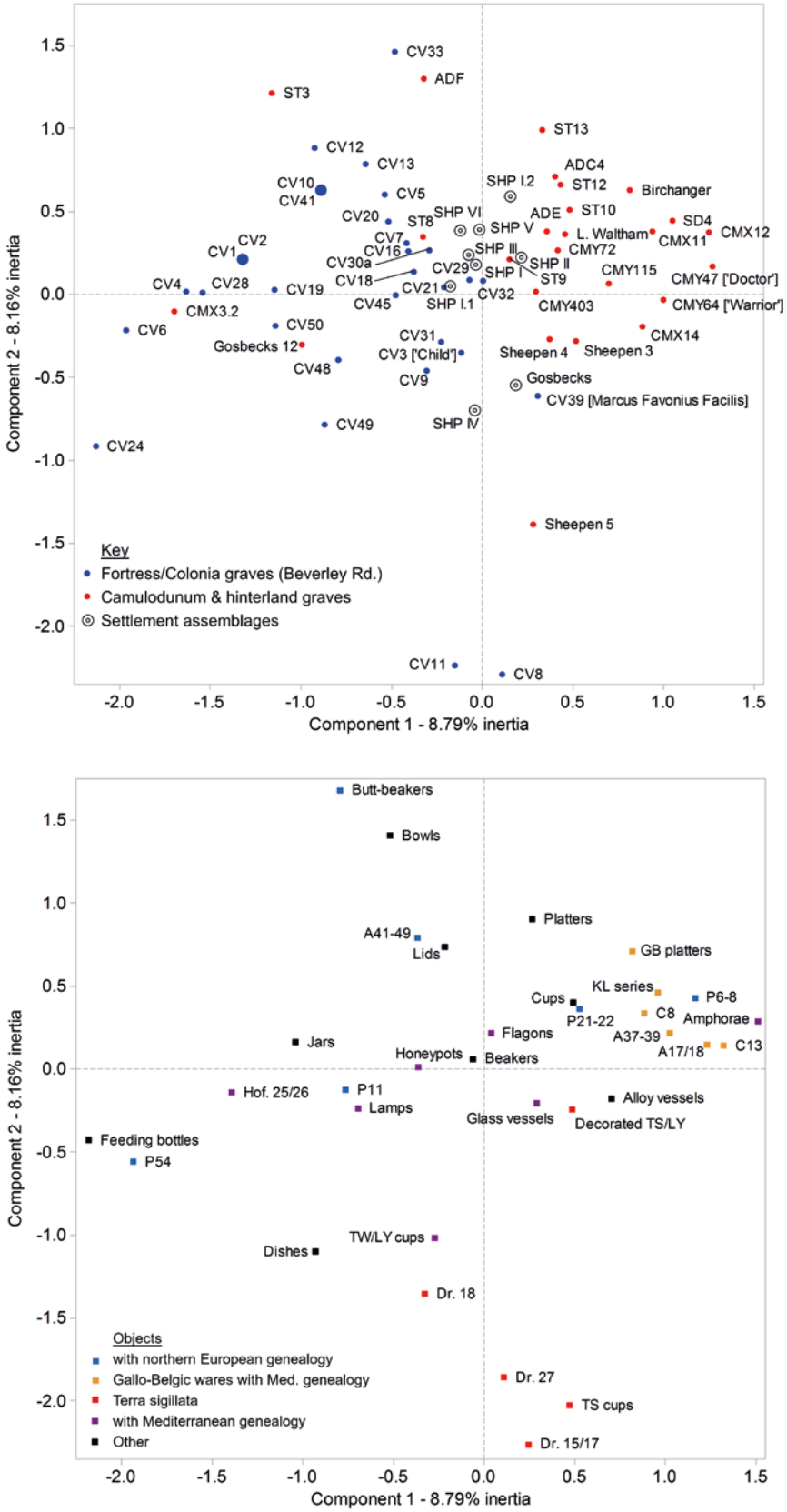


Figure 4.6. Correspondence Analysis of pottery, glass and alloy vessels at selected Claudio-Neronian graves from Colchester and Essex, with data from the Sheepen and Gosbecks settlements included as supplementary points. The upper plot shows patterning by labelled grave, with corresponding associations of objects in the lower plot.

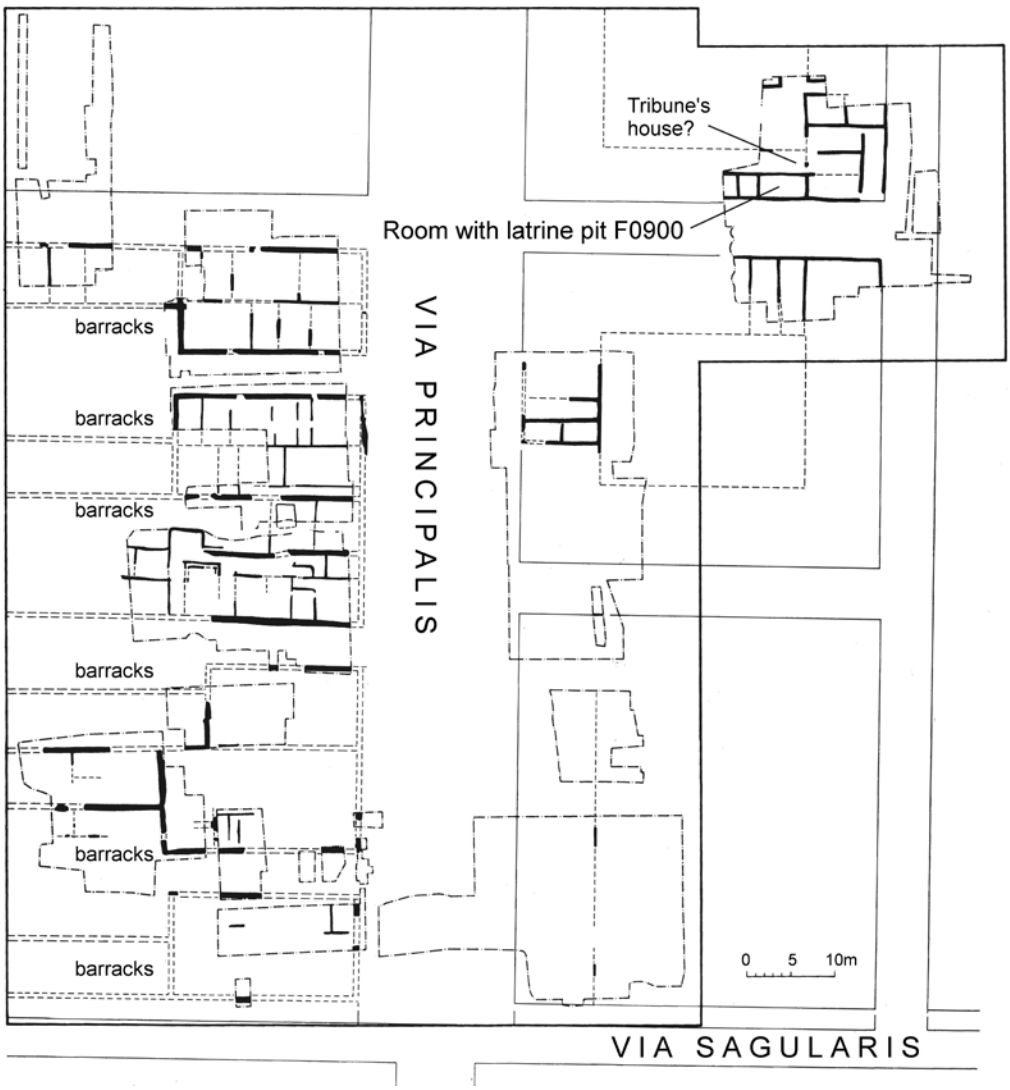


Figure 4.7. The Roman fortress at Culver St., Colchester, highlighting the latrine (F0900) in the postulated tribune's house (after Crummy 1992, 22, Fig. 3.2).

Considering the smaller but closer-dated brooch assemblages in Table 4.1, most locations fall within the same broad profile of fibula deposition characterised by the Camulodunum sequence rather than that of the fortress and *colonia*. This pattern is strongest among the group of brooches from rural Essex cemeteries, where the Colchester brooch dominates. However, the situation is less clear-cut at Stanway, Gosbecks, and Sheepen, where modest numbers of Hod Hill and sometimes Colchester derivative brooches are more pronounced. The proposed military compound at Sheepen only produced three stratified fibulae. While the types in question support the thrust of general patterns, they do not provide enough evidence to confirm the associations outright. Likewise, only one grave from the Beverley Road cemetery dating to the Claudio-Neronian period featured brooches. Such absences from military and colonial contexts, however, are very much in-keeping with funerary practice at equivalent locations elsewhere in northwest Europe, in which the practice of depositing brooches was becoming less frequent, as we shall explore later in this chapter.

To shed further light on the material differences between the fortress, *colonia* and continued activity within the old late Iron Age *oppidum* at Colchester, we must instead consider the more substantial ceramic evidence from the settlements and cemeteries in question. Previous comparisons of pottery disposal

between sites associated with the *colonia* and the Sheepen site,[297] as well as sub-sites at Sheepen,[298] reveal two broad constellations of artefacts that seem to have predisposed towards fundamentally different cultural practices. On the one hand, the evidence from the fortress and *colonia* is unsurprisingly dominated by suites of *terra sigillata*, supplemented by Lyon ware, oil lamps,[299] and an ample provision of Mediterranean amphorae. These concentrations of imported material culture are almost certainly a product of state-sponsored supply that accompanied investment in Claudian military and urban infrastructure in Britain, as supported by the rarity of the same combinations in Colchester's hinterland at the time.[300] Aside from new forms of *terra nigra* flanged cups (Cam 58, Deru C13) and dishes (Cam 16, Deru A41-43) that were common on Claudio-Neronian military and urban sites in Britain,[301] Gallo-Belgic wares are scarce in this colonial repertoire.

Only a short distance away at Sheepen, however, the equivalent suites of vessels are instead dominated by Gallo-Belgic wares, supplemented by large numbers of locally-made butt-beakers. While Sheepen imported considerable quantities of *terra sigillata*, the deposition of this material in the various tightly-defined chronological phases between the Claudian invasion and the Boudican revolt was much less likely to form a discrete package in the manner of a modern *china* service,[302] at least outside the possible military compound in site I.1 (Fig. 4.4.). The striking difference between the large drinking vessel and Gallo-Belgic ware suite at Sheepen and the dining-oriented *sigillata* ensembles at the fortress and *colonia* is reinforced by the evidence of animals consumed at both sites, with large numbers of cattle overshadowing other species at the *colonia*, and higher proportions of pig at Sheepen.[303] Taken together, these patterns seemingly illustrate two very different communities engaged in competing consumption practices. Crucially, while both styles of consumption seemingly looked towards the continent for inspiration, one was predisposed to military garrisons in the Rhineland and the other towards civilian societies in Gallia Belgica.

While based on solid data, the patterns described above are heavily dependent on the hastily excavated Sheepen site, which yielded few structures and identifiable buildings to clarify the nature of the activities taking place. A more compelling approach to untangle the artefactual patterns is to examine the interface of objectscapes with people, by bringing together some of the disparate funerary evidence from Claudio-Neronian Colchester and Essex. To this end, Fig. 4.6 displays the results of Correspondence Analysis of the objects placed in 56 graves from the vicinity of Colchester. The graves include those from the Beverley Road cemetery that was closely associated with the new veteran colony, the rich Catuvellaunian cemetery at Stanway, a handful from Sheepen, Gosbecks, and Lexden, and those from cemeteries from the wider Essex region, including Ardleigh, Birchanger, Little Waltham, Southend, and Stansted (see Fig. 4.5. for the locations of these sites). The graves from these various sites have been coloured in Fig. 4.6 according to their perceived connection to either the *oppidum* (red, including hinterland graves) or veteran colony (blue, exclusively from Beverley Road). Furthermore, pottery assemblages from the settlements at Gosbecks and Sheepen have been included in the analysis as supplementary data to compare patterns in the selection of objects between the realm of everyday life and the funerary sphere.[304]

[297] Pitts/Perring 2006.

[298] Pitts 2010b; Perring/Pitts 2013, 231-235.

[299] Eckardt 2002, 33-69.

[300] Perring/Pitts 2013, 244-247.

[301] Timby 1987; Pitts 2014.

[302] Pitts 2005b.

[303] Pitts 2010b, 139, Fig. 5. Animal bone data drawn from Niblett 1985 (Sheepen) and Luff 1993 (Colchester) respectively.

[304] In this method, supplementary data (from the settlements) is compared with the main body of data (the funerary assemblages) without affecting the disposition of the graves and associated objects. Any patterns in material culture are entirely subject to the main body of data, and the supplementary data are subsequently compared against this fixed matrix. For further details see Pitts 2010b; Perring/Pitts 2013, 231-242. This method provides a basis for comparisons to be made in CA between data-sets that share some overlapping elements but cannot normally be directly compared due to factors such as differing methods of quantification, and the absence of some categories of objects.

Considering the patterns in Fig. 4.6, and starting with the upper plot showing the disposition of graves, a strong distinction emerges between graves from Stanway and rural Essex (red, to the right) and those from the Beverley Road cemetery (blue, to the left). These patterns seemingly underline fundamentally different preferences in the selection of objects by the veteran colonists and pre-existing community in and around Camulodunum. More specifically, turning to the lower plot in Fig. 4.6, the graves associated with the Catuvellauni correspond with a cluster of Gallo-Belgic vessels of Mediterranean genealogy (orange) in addition to universally circulating (P6-8) and locally-manufactured butt-beakers (P21-22). In contrast, the graves associated with the veteran colony (blue) correspond to a looser cluster of objects, including Lyon ware vessels, oil lamps, Gallo-Belgic beaker forms P11 and P54, 'honeypot' jars, feeding bottles, and Gallo-Belgic dishes (A41-49). Crucially, since *terra sigillata* was placed in both groups of graves, the common *sigillata* vessels are situated at the interface of these groups, towards the bottom of the lower plot, where they correspond with a couple of graves from Beverley Road with especially rich *sigillata* services (CV8 and CV11). A smaller group of graves linked with this cluster corresponds to glass, alloy vessels, and decorated *terra sigillata*, including a handful from Sheepen found near the road to the *colonia*, and the objects associated with the tombstone of the Roman centurion Marcus Favonius Facilis [RIB 200]. In short, these associations mirror the distinctions seen in Chapter 3, with selections of objects in graves associated with the veteran colony fitting a 'deterritorialised' imperial style of consumption, and the choices of the Catuvellauni echoing those made a generation earlier at King Harry Lane, as well as rural cemeteries across Gallia Belgica.

A strong characteristic of the patterns in Fig. 4.6 is the recurrent combination of certain kinds of objects. For example, even though some of the richer graves at Stanway and Sheepen contained glass vessels and *terra sigillata*, the consistent selection of Gallo-Belgic vessels and butt-beakers aligned them with Catuvellaunian graves, as opposed to graves associated with the veteran colony, where glass and *terra sigillata* were more common. Another important feature of these patterns is absence. Older styles of Gallo-Belgic vessels are virtually absent from the Beverley Road cemetery, and Lyon ware is likewise missing from Stanway and contemporary graves in rural Essex. Although it is possible to speak of a single inter-artefactual domain at this time, these patterns suggest that in new colonial scenarios, certain kinds of objects circulated within the confines of largely segregated communities. An exception is cremation 12 from Gosbecks, a grave marked by a late Iron Age square enclosure that includes an imitation Lyon ware cup made in Colchester, and is thus plotted amidst the blue area of Fig. 4.6. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the settlement assemblages from Sheepen included in this analysis are mostly plotted at the interface of the two clusters of graves, where a less-segregated pool of commonly circulating objects was present in multiple areas. Only Sheepen area IV (consisting of a couple of archaeological features with lots of Lyon ware, *terra sigillata*, and Rhodian amphorae), the bigger assemblage from Gosbecks, and to a lesser extent Sheepen compound I.1 (associated with military occupation) are more clearly plotted towards the military-colonial end of the spectrum in Fig. 4.6.

Perhaps the clearest example of the phenomenon in which objects have strong representational characteristics is provided by the finds associated with the tombstone of the centurion Marcus Favonius Facilis. These consist of a lead *ossuarium*, a glass phial, and most notably an Italian eggshell thin-walled hemispherical cup (Cam. 64, Fig. 4.3).[305] The long-distance connections of this grave ensemble have been illuminated by geological analysis of the tombstone, which reveals it to be made of Lothringer Freestone, with a military-controlled source in Gallia Belgica (Norroy-les-Pont-á-Mousson, Moselle) that was used at bases on the Rhine, including Neuss,[306] where Facilis would have been previously stationed as a

[305] For inclusion in Fig. 4.6, this vessel was lumped with the similarly shaped Lyon ware hemispherical cup, Hof. 22, which in turn is considered to have a strong correlation with the officer class in the Roman military, Steve Willis pers. comm.

[306] Hayward 2006.

member of *Legio* XX.[307] In this context, it is significant that Neuss is the only other site in the project database in which examples of the Cam 64 eggshell cup have been identified (Fig. 4.3).[308] Another tantalising insight to the highly-specific biographical trajectory of this rare vessel is its appearance in no less than eleven examples in a timber-lined latrine pit (F0900) from a building at Culver Street in Colchester, which has been interpreted as the house of a tribune during the fortress phase of the settlement (Fig. 4.7).[309] The exceptional nature of this assemblage, which also contains plenty of amphorae, *terra sigillata* fragments, and local colour-coated ware imitations of the Hof. 22 Lyon ware cup, echoes the spectacular feasting assemblage from the military headquarters building at the Kops Plateau, considered in Chapter 3 (Fig. 3.5), which also included several Italian thin-walled drinking vessels.

The example of the Cam 64 cups associated with the Facilis monument and the possible tribune's house at Colchester showcase the capacity of material culture to shed light on the long-distance movement of individual people. Nevertheless, occurrences such as this are the exception rather than the norm, even at Colchester. The typologically similar Cam 62 (Hof. 22) hemispherical Lyon ware cup is present in two other graves from Beverley Road and one from Gosbecks (an imitation in Colchester colour-coated ware), underscoring the connection of these graves to the community of veteran colonists. Even Lyon ware cups, however, are relatively scarce in funerary contexts. Other potential indicators of the military or colonist population at Colchester, such as Lyon ware beakers, oil lamps, glass, and *terra sigillata* each only occur in a handful of graves at Beverley Road, where assemblages are far from uniform. One unifying feature, however, is the tendency for suites of objects placed in the grave to cater for a single individual.[310] In contrast, the graves associated with the Catuvellauni were more likely to include multiple Gallo-Belgic vessels, often arranged in terms of commensal services composed of pairs of butt-beakers, platters, or cups. Graves from Sheepen (grave 3), Lexden (grave 14), and most notably the rich 'Doctor' and 'Warrior' graves at Stanway all meet the criteria for featuring communally-oriented suites of pottery. Only two graves from Beverley Road meet such criteria, most notably grave 8 which featured a service of twelve *terra sigillata* plates and cups. The other grave from Beverley Road that meets the criteria does so on the basis of pairs of Lyon ware cups, decorated flagons, and glass flasks. It is the 'Child' grave (3), whose assemblage features combinations of vessels that conjure an image of a more rarefied drinking ritual. Despite the richness of these finds, the assemblage featured only a single *sigillata* platter to eat from, which recalls the single cup (however elegant) placed with the burial ensemble for Marcus Favonius Facilis. These depositional tendencies seemingly underline a more individualised pattern of commemoration associated with Colchester's military and colonial communities, in contrast with the continued importance of commensal feasting in Catuvellaunian funerary practice.

As the Facilis monument and its object associations demonstrate, there are clear connections between the material culture of Colchester's fortress and *colonia* and the previous base of *Legio* XX at Neuss. Other links to the Rhineland and northern Gallia Belgica can be illuminated by looking closer at the circulations of some of the more distinctive objects found in the Beverley Road cemetery. For example, ceramic feeding bottles occur in five of the graves at Beverley Road, including the exceptionally rich 'child grave' (CV3), for which concentrations at locations such as Nijmegen and Cologne have been

[307] On the movements of *Legio* XX, see Hassall 2000; Manning 2000.

[308] Filtzinger 1972, 26, Taf. 41, 15-16. For further discussion of this type, see Greene 1979, 75-84; van Enckevort 2009, 118-119. Originating near Turin, N. Italy, hemispherical cups in black eggshell ware have a very sparse distribution in northwest Europe, being focused on military bases in the Tiberian-Neronian period.

[309] Doherty 2013, 111; Crummy 1992, 50-53; Cool 2006b, 97.

[310] Gilmour 2017 observes the selection of Lyon ware vessels in funerary contexts from Britain appears deliberately oriented towards individual consumption, perhaps with direct connotations as the deceased's cup or beaker.

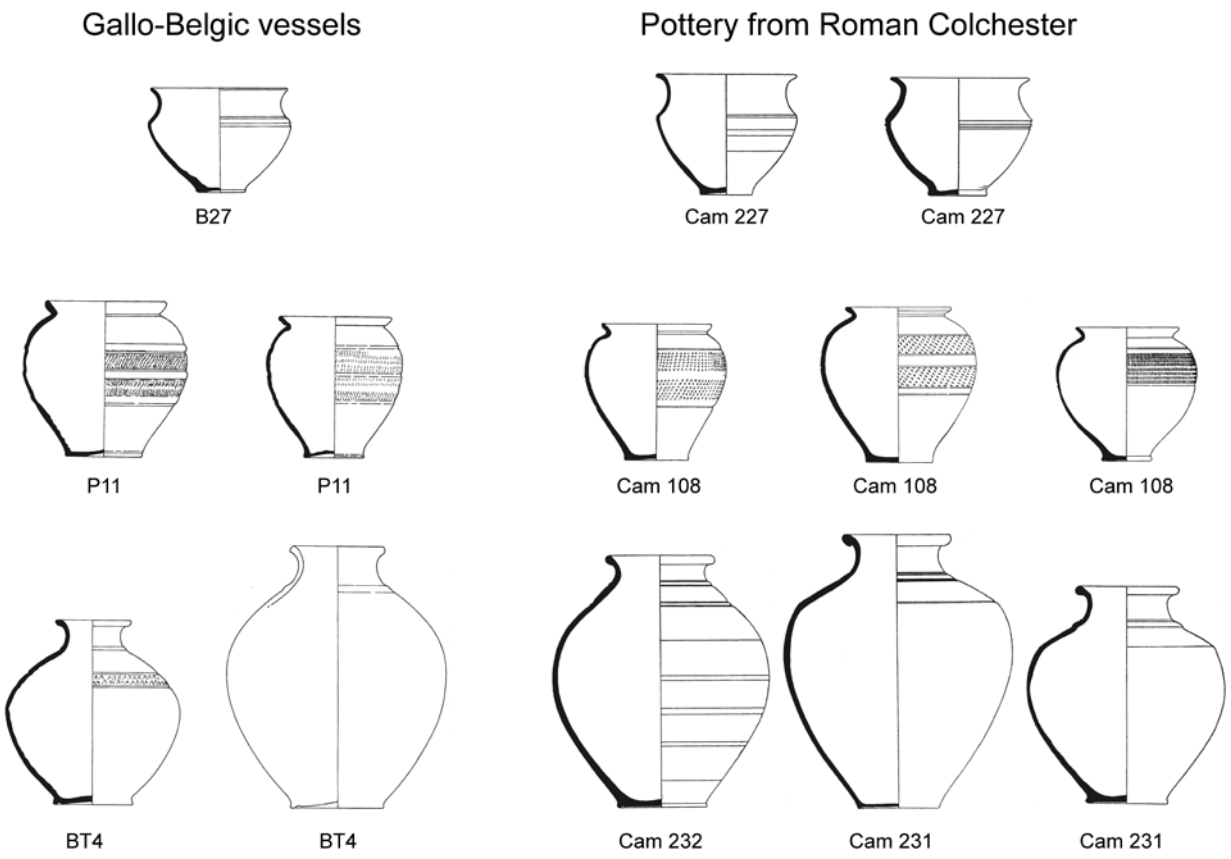


Figure 4.8. Selected Gallo-Belgic vessels and their equivalents from Claudio-Neronian Colchester (after Deru 1996, 76-140; Hawkes/Hull 1947, Pl. 56-79).

noted, but are otherwise tremendously scarce in Britain and large parts of northern Gaul.[311] Likewise, Eckardt comments that the exceptionally large collection of pipeclay figurines in the so-called 'Child's grave' is only paralleled in Britain at the military base at Usk, the next destination of *Legio* XX after it left Colchester.[312] Another distinctive vessel that occurs in five graves at Beverley Road is the P11 butt-beaker (Cam 108; Fig. 4.8). While it is impossible to tell from the drawings and photographs of the original publication whether this type and other vessels at Beverley Road are of imported or locally manufactured varieties, the appearance of the beaker forms at Colchester is strikingly similar to a range of examples from northern Gaul, where production is evidenced at Amay (Liège, Belgium, in the tribal territory of the Tungri).[313] The significance of these specific links is further explored below as the assemblages from Colchester are considered in their wider pan-regional contexts.

The case-study of Claudio-Neronian Colchester sheds considerable light on the objectscapes associated with two very different communities. While some elements appear diametrically opposed, such as the contrast between Lyon ware, oil lamps, and graves associated with the veteran colony, and the butt-beakers, Gallo-Belgic wares and assemblages connected to the Catuvellauni, other elements overlapped, such as the use of *terra sigillata* and glass, neither of which could be exclusively associated with

[311] Eckardt 1999, 71. Only three other Claudio-Neronian graves in the project database featured equivalent vessels, including one from Nijmegen-Hunerberg (65), and examples from Pepper Hill, Kent (grave 1078), and Sampont, Belgium (grave 106).

[312] Eckardt 1999, 79.

[313] Deru 1996, 265.

one or other community. Indeed, while a handful of richer graves at Stanway and Sheepen included glass and *terra sigillata*, these objects nevertheless supplemented rather than replaced locally favoured butt-beakers and Gallo-Belgic ware services. Even in colonial contexts in which sharp divides between packages of material culture used by segregated populations may seem inevitable, repertoires of objects were not bounded, and instead should be considered as parts of a single continuum that encompassed multiple communities in a highly connected environment. The objects with distinctive biographical pathways that illuminated the movements of *Legio* XX and incoming veteran colonists formed only a tiny proportion of material culture used in funerary contexts. More productive insights come from examining the ways in which multiple funerary assemblages were deliberately constituted, which reveal faultlines not only in the types of objects selected, but also the implications of such selections for social practice. An important pattern seems to have been the Catuvellaunian predilection for placing whole services of vessels in graves (often with provision for larger drinking vessels), seemingly to facilitate communal consumption for two or more individuals. By contrast, the graves associated with the veteran colony are much more individualised in the combinations of vessels selected, and typically lack large drinking vessels. Entrenched differences between colonial and Catuvellaunian objectscapes not only reflected prevailing variations in social practice between the two communities, but also actively reinforced such distinctions through the fundamentally different affordances of the objects favoured in each location.

4.3 FUNERARY OBJECTSCAPES IN CLAUDIO-NERONIAN NORTHWEST EUROPE

Just how distinctive were the contrasting and styles of object disposal in the military and early colonial phases at Colchester? In this section emphasis returns to the bigger picture of funerary objectscapes from northwest Europe. To this end, the Claudio-Neronian period offers the single best opportunity to compare the contents of grave assemblages at a pan-regional level, with 985 graves included in the project database for this comparatively short era. As with the preceding chapters I shall begin by exploring the inclusion of objects in funerary assemblages at a cemetery-level, before addressing ceramic assemblages and the richest tier of graves in more detail.

4.3.1 CHANGING FUNERARY OBJECTSCAPES, C. AD 40 – 70

Beginning with southeast Belgica, the area corresponding to the tribal territory of the Treveri, Table 4.2 illustrates general patterns in the deposition of objects at several cemeteries. According to most indicators, the deposition of objects in this region is remarkably consistent with those of the preceding Augustan-Tiberian period (contrast Tables 3.1 and 3.2), with numbers of objects per grave, the inclusion of Gallo-Belgic wares, fibulae, and coins occurring at equivalent levels. Pronounced changes affecting most cemeteries include the increased deposition of *terra sigillata* and glass vessels. While the quantities involved are never large (always less than ten percent of a given cemetery assemblage), South Gaulish *sigillata* was much more widely dispersed among Treveran rural cemeteries compared with earlier Italian-style *sigillata*. The general shift away from late Iron Age objectscapes is further emphasised by shrinking proportions of handmade pottery and a decreasing incidence of weapon-burial, which was only maintained at cemeteries with a long-established history of the practice, at Wederath and Lebach. Otherwise, all cemeteries are dominated by Gallo-Belgic vessels as the fine wares of choice. The funerary assemblages from Trier maintain their regional distinctiveness, with much higher levels of glass and Lyon ware than any other cemetery. Although glass and *terra*

Southeast Belgica		Pottery						Fibulae			Glass vs		Martial equipment		Lamps		Coins	
Cemetery	Graves	Tot.	Per grave	% hand.	% GB	% TS	% Lyon & TW	Tot.	Per grave	% Fe	Tot.	Per grave	Tot.	Per grave	Tot.	Per grave	Tot.	Per grave
Remagne	11	29	2.64	-	41.4	6.9	-	7	0.64	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Sampont	20	78	3.90	-	62.8	5.1	-	11	0.55	18.2	2	0.10	1	0.05	0	-	0	-
Fouches	25	73	2.92	-	76.7	2.7	-	18	0.72	11.1	2	0.08	0	-	0	-	8	0.32
Chantemelle	29	81	2.79	-	40.7	2.5	-	3	0.10	66.7	2	0.07	0	-	0	-	0	-
Feulen	18	106	5.89	10.4	63.2	2.8	-	6	0.33	16.7	5	0.28	0	-	2	0.11	0	-
Sept.-Dëckt	6	12	2.00	-	75.0	-	-	1	0.17	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Trier	69	186	2.70	-	37.1	6.5	2.2	9	0.13	11.1	43	0.62	0	-	66	0.96	22	0.32
Wederath	187	500	2.67	9.8	42.8	1.4	0.2	151	0.81	12.6	8	0.04	5	0.03	0	-	127	0.68
Lebach	58	321	5.53	19.0	42.4	4.7	-	23	0.40	-	6	0.10	6	0.10	0	-	3	0.05

Table 4.2. The deposition of pottery vessels, fibulae, glass vessel, martial equipment, lamps, and coins at selected cemeteries in southeast Belgica, c. AD 40-70.

sigillata vessels appear to have an increasingly democratised distribution, the continued concentration of Lyon ware at Trier, now almost certainly of colonial status itself, recalls similar levels amongst the veteran colony at Colchester.

Moving to consider northwest Belgica and the Rhineland, Table 4.3 presents a much longer list of funerary assemblages than those considered in Chapters 2-3. Where comparisons with the preceding Tiberian period are possible at cemeteries like Baralle, Dourges, Noyelles-Godault, the Hunerberg, and Hatert (both Nijmegen; compare Table 3.3), the cemeteries in question generally follow equivalent trajectories to those examined from southeast Belgica, with the consistent deposition of pottery, Gallo-Belgic wares, and fibulae, and for an equivalent sub-set of cemeteries, glass vessels, with corresponding declines in the deposition of martial equipment and handmade pottery. Likewise, coins and *terra sigillata*, if not glass vessels, are much more prevalent in low quantities at a wider range of cemeteries. Indeed, *sigillata* is especially common in cemeteries associated with military bases (Neuss) and major developing cities (Nijmegen-Hunerberg and Tongeren), although lower-levels should also be noted (Cologne) along with absences (Bavay). The deposition of Lyon ware and oil lamps follows a similar profile to previously discussed cemeteries at Colchester and Trier, only occurring in cemeteries with higher levels of *terra sigillata*: Tongeren, Nijmegen, and Neuss, in addition to Bavay and Cologne. These patterns underline the signature roles of Lyon ware and oil lamps as constituents in emerging imperial styles of consumption in this period, in which state-supply looms large as an explanatory factor. Another aspect of this pan-regional phenomenon are the lower levels of Gallo-Belgic wares in military and major urban cemeteries (at less than 33 percent) in Table 4.3. The percentage of Gallo-Belgic wares in cemeteries considered from civilian and rural locations in northern Gaul in this period seldom drop below 40 percent in most cases.

Turning our attention to southern Britain (Table 4.4), only the King Harry Lane cemetery permits comparisons with the preceding period, where funerary assemblages from the Claudio-Neronian period are remarkably like their pre-Claudian counterparts in virtually every respect (Table 3.4). The other Claudio-Neronian cemeteries from Britain exhibit much greater diversity, however. Although the samples of graves are relatively small, it is noteworthy that Gallo-Belgic wares reach their highest levels in Britain in Essex, in the locations scrutinised in the Colchester case-study at the start of this chapter. The same vessels are much scarcer at the Beverley Road cemetery (Colonia Victricensis); they are also absent from the military-associated cemetery at Wotton (Gloucester) and the first phase of a large new cemetery

NW Belgica & Rhine		Pottery						Fibulae			Glass vs		Martial equipment		Lamps		Coins	
Cemetery	Graves	Tot.	Per grave	% hand.	% GB	% TS	% Lyon & TW	Tot.	Per grave	% Fe	Tot.	Per grave	Tot.	Per grave	Tot.	Per grave	Tot.	Per grave
Kortrijk	23	80	3.48	13.8	38.8	6.3	-	13	0.57	15.4	0	-	1	0.04	0	-	6	0.26
Dourges / Noyelles	9	44	4.89	13.6	63.6	-	-	7	0.78	28.6	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Blicquy	29	111	3.83	0.9	49.5	1.8	-	14	0.48	7.1	1	0.03	0	-	0	-	3	0.10
Baralle	18	102	5.67	-	53.9	2.9	-	21	1.17	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	0.11
Cambrai	10	41	4.10	4.9	70.7	-	-	10	1.00	-	0	-	1	0.10	0	-	0	-
Bavay	13	70	5.38	-	58.6	-	1.4	8	0.62	-	3	0.23	0	-	0	-	5	0.38
Thure	5	16	3.20	-	87.5	6.3	-	6	1.20	16.7	0	-	0	-	0	-	4	0.80
Tongeren	6	16	2.67	-	12.5	31.3	6.3	2	0.33	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	0.17
Nij.-Hatert	21	46	2.19	17.4	19.6	2.2	2.2	3	0.14	100.0	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Nij.-Hunerberg	84	402	4.79	-	30.1	16.4	6.2	23	0.27	56.5	23	0.27	0	-	24	0.29	7	0.08
Neuss	23	147	6.39	-	12.2	17.7	8.2	6	0.26	-	12	0.52	0	-	8	0.35	6	0.26
Cologne	7	25	3.57	-	32.0	4.0	-	2	0.29	-	3	0.43	0	-	0	-	0	-

Table 4.3. The deposition of pottery vessels, fibulae, glass vessel, martial equipment, lamps, and coins at selected cemeteries in northwest Belgica and the Rhineland, c. AD 40–70.

at Pepper Hill (Kent). *Terra sigillata* appears to fill this void, occurring at high levels by northern Gallic standards at Beverley Road and Wotton, as well as various graves associated with Camulodunum. The deposition of lamps and Lyon ware likewise correlates closely with military and colonial-linked graves from Colchester and Gloucester, closely aligning them with the imperial styles of consumption witnessed much more prominently at military bases and major civilian centres across northwest Europe from the Claudian period. This was not the only pan-regional pattern of funerary object selection, however, as demonstrated by the much higher rates of Gallo-Belgic ware and fibulae deposition in cemeteries associated with the post-conquest Catuvellauni at King Harry Lane, Stanway, and throughout Essex.

While it is possible to delineate 'imperial' funerary objectscapes in the series of tables examined so far, the same broad-brush analysis also reveals fuzzy patterning that reminds us that we are very much dealing with a wide and continuous spectrum of objects selections, rather than bounded cultural groupings. The lower prevalence of Lyon ware at seemingly indigenous cemeteries outside major urban developments at Colchester (an imitation Lyon ware cup in Colchester colour-coated ware at Gosbecks) and Nijmegen (the rural Hatert cemetery, Table 4.3) underscores the ability of objects to move beyond perceived cultural boundaries. The presence of such objects in the cemeteries in question is likely to have been influenced by their proximity to nearby cities. While the Hatert site appears more peripheral than Gosbecks and Camulodunum, a factor linking the selection of Lyon ware, *terra sigillata*, and glass in these locations is the incorporation of the objects in question into pre-existing funerary practices, rather than the replacement of older customs of mortuary display in a wholesale manner. Although we might interpret such a phenomenon as the 'particularisation of the universal' or glocalisation, re-orientating standardised circulating objects to suit local contexts, it was at the same time part of a crucial process by which regional inter-artefactual domains with different histories and origins were coalescing, and creating new possibilities for the appearance of repertoires of material culture in future generations.

Compared with a picture in which the latest circulating standardised objects were slowly incorporated within northern European objectscapes, other changes in the funerary sphere were more dramatic. One

Britannia		Pottery						Fibulae			Glass vessels		Martial equipment		Lamps		Coins	
Cemetery	Graves	Tot.	Per grave	% hand.	% GB	% TS	% Lyon & TW	Tot.	Per grave	% Fe	Tot.	Per grave	Total	Per grave	Total	Per grave	Tot.	Per grave
Wotton	6	11	1.83	0	-	18.2	-	0	-	-	14	2.33	0	-	1	0.17	0	-
King Harry Lane	158	280	1.77	0	18.6	1.1	-	72	0.46	11.1	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Stansted	8	30	3.75	0	20.0	-	-	10	1.25	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Essex rural	7	33	4.71	0	39.4	-	-	4	0.57	-	1	0.14	0	-	0	-	0	-
Camulodunum	10	41	4.10	0	41.5	17.1	2.4	0	-	-	8	0.80	0	-	0	-	1	0.10
Stanway	6	37	6.17	0	56.8	5.4	-	11	1.83	-	5	0.83	2	0.33	0	-	0	-
Beverley Rd. (Col.)	31	137	4.42	0	14.6	16.1	5.1	6	0.19	-	13	0.41	0	-	5	0.16	39	1.22
Pepper Hill	50	89	1.78	0	-	5.6	-	2	0.04	-	1	0.02	0	-	0	-	0	-

Table 4.4. The deposition of pottery vessels, fibulae, glass vessel, martial equipment, lamps and coins at selected cemeteries in southern Britannia, c. AD 40-70.

of the strongest features to emerge from contrasting the deposition of objects in funerary contexts from southern Britain to southern Belgica and the Moselle is the substantial decline of distinctive late Iron Age practices, such as weapon burial, and the inclusion of handmade pottery and iron brooches. Also undergoing a decline was the striking pre-conquest practice of deliberately placing animal remains in funerary contexts, either as ritual offerings or the remains of funerary feasts (Table 4.5). Whereas many northern Gallic cemeteries in the late Iron Age and Augustan-Tiberian periods included animal remains in roughly every other grave on average (compare Tables 2.5 and 3.5), by the Claudio-Neronian period the overall rate drops to below one in three graves on average for most cemeteries for which data are available. Although pig was still the species of choice, the decline of the practice in general hints at the weakened role of commensal feasting as an arena for social competition and display. One reason for this is surely the new impetus given to urbanisation in northern Gaul, the Rhineland, and Britain, as evidenced by the creation or elevation of new colonial centres at Colchester, Cologne, and Trier, in addition to the resurgent urban development at centres such as Bavay and Tongeren. While not all claims to status needed to be made in an urban setting, a pervading sense of 'urban sociability' is increasingly prevalent in funerary objectscapes in this period.[314]

How should the general shift towards the selection of urban-oriented objects in funerary contexts be best explained? This development need not be driven exclusively from the top-down. After all, most cities in the northwest provinces at this time must have been somewhat shabby and partially-built affairs compared with their monumentalised heydays in the second century AD. The sweeping nature of major changes in the selection of objects across the wider region is therefore better understood as a bottom-up development. An increasingly extended and integrated inter-artefactual domain promoted the addition of a glut of new circulating styles to local repertoires, in media such as *terra sigillata*, just as, for example, Gallo-Belgic ware production incorporated Italian-style *terra sigillata* designs in the previous generation. Further impetus to produce objects suitable for urban markets would have been reinforced by basic imperial extractive mechanisms like taxation. As we shall see in Chapter 5 on Flavian developments, it is highly likely that there was a new economic imperative for rural communities to produce objects that fulfilled requirements at the 'urban-style' end of the newly extended inter-artefactual domain, perhaps in response to the new stimulus of taxation and the demands of new

[314] Pearce 2015.

			Animal offerings (presence per grave)			
Region	**Cemetery**	**Graves**	**ALL**	**Pig**	**Cattle**	**Chicken**
Hertfordshire	King Harry Lane	158	0.02	0.01	0.01	-
Kent	Pepper Hill	50	0.12	0.08	-	0.04
Luxembourg	Feulen	18	0.33	0.33	-	-
Nord	Bavay	13	0.08	0.08	-	-
Nord	Cambrai	10	0.20	0.20	-	-
Pas-de-Calais	Baralle	18	0.44	0.39	0.06	-
Pas-de-Calais	Noyelles-Godault	7	0.29	0.29	-	-
West Britain	Gloucester	6	0.17	0.17	-	-

Table 4.5. The prevalence of animal offerings per grave (presence/absence) in selected cemeteries, c. AD 40-70.

urban markets.[315] These new productive activities would have allowed rural communities to generate monetary income, and/or to pay taxes directly in the form of tax-in-kind.[316]

4.3.2 POTTERY IN FUNERARY OBJECTSCAPES, C. AD 40 – 70

How did Claudio-Neronian developments such as the wider dispersal of *terra sigillata* impact on selections of pottery placed in funerary contexts? As demonstrated in Chapter 3, the fundamental era for watershed change in the deliberate deposition of ceramics in funerary contexts commenced from the Augustan period onward, even taking in communities in southeast Britain that were not formally part of the Roman empire at the time. While Claudio-Neronian changes to the types and combinations of ceramics selected to accompany the dead were less pronounced, the period nevertheless contributes a much larger corpus of data concerning graves from multiple regions and associated kinds of settlement. Indeed, if the main qualitative shift in funerary practice was achieved at the beginning of the first century AD, it was surely the Claudio-Neronian period that bore witness to the biggest expansion and local embedding of these new selections across multiple territories.

Perhaps the strongest evidence for continuity in the inclusion of different functional classes of pottery in funerary contexts is evident in southeast Belgica, a region that includes several cemeteries that had been in use from the Augustan period if not earlier: Sampont, Fouches, Feulen, Trier, Wederath, and Lebach (compare Table 4.6 and Tables 3.6 to 3.7). Although these cemeteries display remarkable consistency in the proportions of different pottery shapes deposited, there are a few subtler changes that deserve further comment. If the Augustan object revolution manifested itself in the proliferation of platters (eating), flagons (storage and pouring of liquids), and butt-beakers (consumption of liquids, typically in large quantities), all these elements continued to feature strongly in most Claudio-Neronian cemeteries. Likewise, ceramic forms associated with Iron Age practices such as lids and shallow bowls continued their slow decline. Against this background of continuity of Augustan-Tiberian trends, a significant shift is hinted at by decreasing proportions of butt-beakers in all the funerary assemblages that allow comparisons with the preceding period. In contrast, a corresponding increase in cups can be clearly seen in most assemblages. The implied replacement of butt-beakers by cups is an important pattern, and

[315] For the classic big picture 'tax and trade' model of the Roman economy, see K. Hopkins 1980, 1983, 2002.

[316] Pitts 2008; Perring/Pitts 2013.

SE Belgica	+ Eating					+ Drinking									Commensal services	
Cemetery	Platters & dishes	Shallow bowls	Bowls	Mortaria	Lids	Jars	Flask-jars	Flagons	Honeypots	Pedestal vs	Beakers	Butt-beakers	Cups	Amphorae	Total	Per grave
Remagne	20.7	-	10.3	-	-	17.2	6.9	20.7	-	-	13.8	3.4	6.9	-	0	-
Sampont	19.2	-	9.0	-	-	12.8	2.6	15.4	-	9.0	5.1	10.3	16.7	-	1	0.05
Fouches	23.3	-	1.4	1.4	-	15.1	6.8	9.6	1.4	8.2	11.0	8.2	13.7	-	0	-
Chantemelle	8.6	2.5	6.2	-	-	21.0	4.9	28.4	-	3.7	13.6	2.5	8.6	-	0	-
Feulen	24.5	1.9	3.8	0.9	-	16.0	2.8	18.9	0.9	1.9	1.9	17.9	8.5	-	1	0.06
Sept.-Dëckt	41.7	-	-	-	-	16.7	-	8.3	-	8.3	8.3	8.3	8.3	-	0	-
Trier	24.2	-	0.5	-	0.5	24.7	1.1	28.5	1.1	-	4.3	3.8	11.3	-	0	-
Wederath	8.4	4.0	7.4	0.2	0.8	14.2	2.0	26.4	1.4	1.6	8.8	11.6	12.8	0.4	0	-
Lebach	19.0	7.8	8.1	0.3	0.3	19.6	4.4	22.1	1.6	1.9	2.2	6.2	6.2	0.3	0	-

Table 4.6. The percentages of different classes of pottery vessels in the Claudio-Neronian phases (c. AD 40-70) at selected cemeteries from southeast Belgica.

one that likely reflects a shift away from later Iron Age practices that emphasised large drinking vessels towards vessels better suited to consumption in urban contexts. In a related pattern, it is also noteworthy that Trier appears much less distinct than it was in the Augustan-Tiberian era, with the rest of the region seemingly catching up with its higher levels of flagons and cups. Another important observation is that the declines in shapes associated with later Iron Age practices coincide with the virtual disappearance of patterns of deposition associated with communal rather than individual consumption.

Many of the changes apparent in southeast Belgica resonate with equivalent funerary objectscapes from northwest Belgica and the Rhineland (Table 4.7), where cemeteries permitting comparisons with the preceding period (Baralle, Dourges, Noyelles-Godault, Nimegen-Hatert, and Nijmegen-Hunerberg) all underwent declines in the deposition of butt-beakers. A corresponding rise in the selection of cups is likewise evident in several cemeteries, most notably those connected to military bases (Neuss) and major civilian centres (Nijmegen-Hunerberg and Bavay), which were also more likely to feature higher levels of flagons, typically in double-digits (also Cologne and Nijmegen-Hatert). In contrast with southeast Belgica, however, the placement of suites of vessels suitable for communal consumption is more common, especially associated with developing civilian centres at Nijmegen (Hunerberg cemetery), Bavay, and Tongeren. Other regional trends include the preference for bowls in cemeteries from the area roughly corresponding to modern Belgium, including Kortrijk, Thure, Tongeren, and Remagne (the latter in Table 4.6), corresponding with the tribal territories of the Menapii, Nervii, and Tungri, and the modest inclusion of mortaria and lids at Neuss and Cologne. While lids were an important feature of later Iron Age funerary assemblages, their appearance alongside the mortarium, a vessel classically associated with the introduction of Romanised styles of preparing food,[317] is suggestive of the emergence of patterns of object selection connected to frontier communities of the Rhine region.

[317] For an alternative view, concerning evidence from second century rural sites in Britannia, see Cool 2004. Residue analysis suggests the vessel is less easily associated with the adoption of new food commodities as opposed to new ways of preparing food, being used for both animal and plant-based meals (Cramp/Evershed/Eckardt 2011).

NW Belgica & Rhine	+ Eating									+ Drinking					Commensal services	
Cemetery	Platters & dishes	Shallow bowls	Bowls	Mortaria	Lids	Jars	Flask-jars	Flagons	Honeypots	Pedestal vs	Beakers	Butt-beakers	Cups	Amphorae	Total	Per grave
Kortrijk	21.3	6.3	27.5	-	1.3	23.8	-	5.0	-	-	6.3	5.0	3.8	-	0	-
Dourges/Noyelles	15.9	9.1	9.1	-	-	18.2	11.4	6.8	-	-	2.3	9.1	18.2	-	1	0.11
Blicquy	32.4	3.6	9.9	-	0.9	36.9	0.9	3.6	-	-	9.0	0.9	1.8	-	0	-
Baralle	15.7	7.8	7.8	-	-	21.6	32.4	2.0	-	2.0	3.9	2.0	4.9	-	1	0.06
Cambrai	17.1	7.3	7.3	-	-	43.9	9.8	4.9	-	-	2.4	2.4	4.9	-	0	-
Bavay	32.9	-	1.4	-	-	21.4	1.4	18.6	-	-	1.4	1.4	21.4	-	2	0.15
Thure	18.8	-	18.8	-	-	31.3	-	6.3	-	-	12.5	6.3	6.3	-	0	-
Tongeren	12.5	-	25.0	-	-	6.3	12.5	18.8	-	-	25.0	-	-	-	2	0.33
Nij.-Hatert	8.7	-	8.7	-	-	13.0	4.3	30.4	-	2.2	30.4	-	2.2	-	0	-
Nij.-Hunerberg	17.9	0.2	5.7	-	1.0	22.4	2.0	18.2	1.7	-	10.4	1.0	19.4	-	12	0.14
Neuss	10.9	-	5.4	2.7	4.8	17.7	1.4	28.6	0.7	-	13.6	0.7	13.6	-	3	0.09
Cologne	12.0	-	4.0	4.0	4.0	20.0	-	20.0	-	4.0	8.0	8.0	8.0	8.0	0	-

Table 4.7. The percentages of different classes of pottery vessels in the Claudio-Neronian phases (c. AD 40-70) at selected cemeteries from northwest Belgica and the Rhineland.

To complete our survey, Table 4.8 outlines data concerning the shapes of pottery deposited in Claudio-Neronian cemeteries from Britain. Only King Harry Lane provides a direct comparison with the preceding era, with few substantial changes to report. The diagnostic Augustan indicators (platters, flagons, and butt-beakers) show modest increases, for the first time bucking the continental trend to see reduced emphasis on butt-beakers in this period. The only way this could be achieved was through local production, which accounts for over 60 percent of the 81 butt-beakers deposited in the cemetery's Claudio-Neronian phase (not including the fine white wares characterised as imports but of likely British manufacture). Looking beyond King Harry Lane, it is notable that other Catuvellaunian cemeteries also tended to feature higher levels of butt-beakers than their continental counterparts in Belgica. Stansted and the amalgamated graves from Camulodunum and rural Essex all exhibit percentages well into double-digits.

Another long-established practice that all but disappeared in northern Gaul is the rite of placing amphorae in graves, vessels which again appear with prominence in graves at associated with Camulodunum, specifically two graves from Stanway (containing garum and wine in the graves of the 'doctor' and 'warrior' respectively) and a grave from Lexden (containing an older Dressel 1 wine amphora and a Haltern 70 amphora that probably contained a fruit syrup known as *defrutum*). Despite the persistence of this practice, it would be inaccurate to portray the Catuvellauni as conservative their selection of ceramics. Not only did the richer Catuvellaunian graves feature large quantities of new classes of objects like *terra sigillata* and glass vessels, they also embraced the contemporary continental practice of placing cups in funerary contexts, often as part of services of vessels geared towards communal rather than individual consumption. Indeed, the proportions of cups in graves from Camulodunum, Stanway, and rural Essex are among the highest levels in all the cemeteries surveyed, as is the prevalence of including commen-

Britannia	+ Eating					+ Drinking									Commensal services	
Cemetery	Platters & dishes	Shallow bowls	Bowls	Mortaria	Lids	Jars	Flask-jars	Flagons	Honeypots	Pedestal vs	Beakers	Butt-beakers	Cups	Amphorae	Total	Per grave
Wotton	18.2	-	18.2	-	-	27.3	-	27.3	-	-	9.1	-	-	-	0	-
King Harry Lane	13.6	-	3.9	-	0.7	24.6	7.5	7.9	1.8	1.1	2.5	30.0	5.4	1.1	0	-
Stansted	30.0	-	6.7	-	-	13.3	3.3	6.7	-	3.3	6.7	16.7	13.3	-	0	-
Essex rural	18.2	-	6.1	-	3.0	3.0	-	18.2	-	3.0	-	27.3	21.2	-	1	0.14
Camulodunum	19.5	-	-	-	-	12.2	4.9	14.6	-	2.4	2.4	14.6	24.4	4.9	2	0.20
Stanway	30.6	-	2.8	-	-	-	-	16.7	-	2.8	2.8	5.6	33.3	5.6	2	0.33
Beverley Rd. (Col.)	12.4	-	5.1	0.7	1.5	21.2	9.5	19.0	2.9	-	10.2	4.3	12.4	-	2	0.06
Pepper Hill	22.5	-	3.4	-	1.1	14.6	6.7	22.5	-	2.2	22.5	4.5	-	-	0	-

Table 4.8. The percentages of different classes of pottery vessels in the Claudio-Neronian phases (c. AD 40-70) at selected cemeteries from southern Britannia.

sal services in graves.[318] Taken together, the use of amphorae, glass, *sigillata* vessels, and the emphasis on cups and commensality highlights the emergence of a distinctive Catuvellaunian style of consumption that simultaneously drew upon combinations of objects variously associated with late Iron Age British, northern Gallic, and Roman military practices.

Outside Catuvellaunian territory, very different patterns of ceramic selection are apparent in other British cemeteries. Butt-beakers are scarce at Beverley Road (associated with the veteran colony at Colchester), and at Pepper Hill, a new cemetery established close to the road from London to Canterbury. The butt-beaker is completely absent from the military cemetery at Wotton, Gloucester. All three of these cemeteries feature high-levels of flagons, in keeping with equivalent military and colonial funerary objectscapes on the continent. Other glimpses of transplanted practices from the Rhineland are provided by the small but significant inclusion of mortaria, lids, and honeypots in the Beverley Road cemetery from Colchester, which evoke equivalent patterns from Cologne and Neuss. Only a couple of graves at Beverley Road included suites of pottery vessels geared towards communal consumption, and this practice was otherwise absent at Wotton and Pepper Hill, where the rate of pottery deposition was much lower than in cemeteries near Colchester.

To take stock of the changes in the deposition of pottery vessels in Claudio-Neronian cemeteries, we must contrast universal developments with regional divergences. The most powerful general trend is surely the continuation of patterns in object selection that originated in the Augustan period, with platters, flagons, and butt-beakers still dominating most funerary contexts. In the Claudio-Neronian period, the main twist to this phenomenon is the gradual replacement of the large butt-beaker with an emphasis on smaller cup forms. Even in Catuvellaunian southeast Britain, where increased levels of butt-beakers buck this trend, the increases in cups are just as pronounced. From an instrumentalist perspective, the rise

[318] Willis 2011, 220-221 likewise recognises a predilection for *terra sigillata* cups in Essex in data from rural settlements.

of the cup, either as a drinking vessel or as a sauce bowl for the table, and the corresponding decline of the butt-beaker, as a vessel ostensibly well-suited to late Iron Age feasts involving large quantities of alcohol, are sure indicators of a steady 'civilising process' taking place across northwest Europe, hand-in-hand with the spread of Roman urbanism.[319] While this interpretation may well apply to funerary contexts, we must be cautious in assuming it to be universal, or to mirror changes taking place in everyday life. Considering the general rise of the cup, it is important to point out that increasingly available *terra sigillata* cup forms did not occur in sufficient enough quantities to account for the bigger phenomenon. Most cups in Claudio-Neronian funerary assemblages were instead manufactured in the Gallo-Belgic fabrics of *terra nigra* or *terra rubra*, even surpassing the numbers of cups made in local coarse wares.

Coinciding with the universal changes discussed above, we must now consider the implications of regional deviations in funerary practice involving ceramics, such as the increased deposition of bowls in northern Belgica, and the continued local predilection for butt-beakers, amphorae, and communally-oriented vessel services in graves of the Catuvellauni in Britain. The emergence of innovative styles of bowl in northern Gaul can be associated most closely with societies that underwent slower political integration into the Roman empire, including cemeteries from Kortrijk (the Menapii), Blicquy and Thure (the Nervii), Tongeren (the Tungri), and Remagne (at the northern limit of Treveran territory), all located some distance away from the major urban centres at Trier, Reims, and Amiens, as well as the Rhine frontier nexus. Likewise, the Catuvellauni, who clung to their butt-beakers at a time when other Gallic communities were losing interest in the vessel, had only recently been conquered in the 40s AD. From such a perspective, it is not difficult to construct narratives in which regional patterns in the deposition of objects, especially those with northern European genealogy, such as bowls and butt-beakers, or associations with Gallic practices, such as the deliberate inclusion of amphorae and commensal services, might reflect cultural resistance or the re-assertion of local identities.[320] Such an explanation appears at face value to be especially compelling for the Catuvellauni, who were experiencing colonial domination for the first time. However, we must be careful in placing too much reliance on power relations to understand material-cultural patterns, since this runs the risk of misconstruing true extent of domination and subordination in the absence of more detailed evidence.[321] This is especially true since the societies in question all had little compunction to deliberately place objects in the graves of their deceased that were more commonly used by their perceived oppressors, i.e. objects associated with veteran and military communities, such as *terra sigillata*, glass, and even coarse ware vessels like flagons. The significance of such regional idiosyncrasies is explored further in the following sections that consider the emergence and distribution of innovative standardised objects in closer detail.

4.3.3. RICHLY FURNISHED GRAVES, C. AD 40 – 70

To gain further insights into the practices of object selection in Claudio-Neronian cemeteries in northwest Europe, we turn our attention to the richest-furnished tier of graves. Criteria for the inclusion of graves in this comparison are as follows: single assemblages of grave goods with a minimum of 20 items, or graves with ten or more grave goods that included at least one of the following 'prestige' objects: alloy vessels, amphorae, or martial equipment (objects all favoured in rich late Iron Age graves), glass vessels, Lyon ware, and lamps (categories of objects popularised in the Roman era). Unlike the preceding era,

[319] Elias 2000 [1939]; cf. Cool 2006a, 158-164, who sees the increased use of cups by communities in southeast Britain as a phenomenon that was first established among the Catuvellaunian aristocracy.

[320] For example, Hingley 1997.

[321] Thomas 1991, 83-84.

Cemetery	Grave	Alloy vs	Animal offerings	Fibulae		Martial	Pottery							Other finds					
				Copper alloy	Fe		Amphorae	Honeypots	Gallo-Belgic	Sigillata	Lyon ware	Total	Services	Coins	Lamps	Glass	Mirrors	Body	Misc.
Beverley Rd. (Col.)	Child*	1						2		1	3	12	X	36	1	2			24
Neuss	286								1	2	3	13			1				
Neuss	431									1	2	7		1	1	1	1	1	
Nij.-Hunerberg	66				1				6		2	12	X		1				
Nij.-Hunerberg	2									7	1	10	X		1	2	1		3
Nij.-Hunerberg	52								2	6	1	13			1	1			
Neuss	271									3		6	X	1	1	5			
Nij.-Hunerberg	37*			3						4		8	X		1	2	1	3	1
Nij.-Hunerberg	3*								8			10			1	2			1
Feulen	87							1	7			13			1	2		1	5
Nij.-Hunerberg	89								4	1		9	X		1	1			
Trier	932-1								3	1		9			1	1			
Trier	904-19								4			9		1	1	1		1	
Nij.-Hunerberg	24								4			8			1	1			
Nij.-Hunerberg	81*	1							6	4		12	X		1				
Feulen	85		X						5	1		9			1			1	
Neuss	203								7			19	X		1				
Nij.-Hunerberg	16				2				4			7			1				
Exeter	362									10	1	14	X	1		4			2
Bavay	107*			1					5		1	8	X			1			
Neuss	313*			3						7	1	13	X						
Nij.-Hunerberg	4*	1							3	5	1	13	X						
Trier	907-6								2	1	1	8		1					1
Sheepen	3								5	2		8	X			3			
Stanway	War-rior*	2		2		2	1		10	1		14	X			3		2	3

Table 4.9. Richly furnished graves of the Claudio-Neronian period (c. AD 40-70) and their contents ranked according to the presence of lamps, Lyon ware, glass vessels, and *terra sigillata*. *Denotes graves also appearing in Table 4.10.

in which Italian-style *terra sigillata* was comparatively scarce in funerary contexts, the inclusion of South Gaulish *sigillata* was not included as a criterion since so many graves featured *sigillata* in this period. However, since these criteria generated over 50 graves, I subdivided the initial list into two separate groups of richly furnished graves ranked by different criteria: the first with the hierarchy lamps > Lyon ware > glass vessels > *terra sigillata* vessels (Table 4.9), and the second with the hierarchy amphorae > alloy vessels > copper alloy fibulae > Gallo-Belgic vessels (Table 4.10). While arbitrary, the two different ranking principles offer a means of distinguishing surviving later Iron Age practices from those more influenced by the waxing military and urban sphere.

As seen in the previous chapter, at the end of the Tiberian period, the late Iron Age practice of placing amphorae and feasting equipment in rich funerary contexts had all but ceased in northern Gaul, with echoes of the rite continuing in southeast Britain (Table 3.10). At the same time, a new tier of rich graves emerged that was increasingly characterised by the presence of *terra sigillata*, glass vessels, and lamps, as well as the absence of feasting equipment, weapons, animal remains, and fibulae. Tables 4.9 and 4.10 reveal the increased maturity and divergence of these developments into the Claudio-Neronian period. Table 4.9 underlines the extent to which the inclusion of Lyon ware, lamps, glass, and *terra sigillata* vessels

Cemetery	Grave	Alloy vs	Animal offerings	Fibulae: Copper alloy	Martial	Pottery: Amphorae	Honeypots	Gallo-Belgic	*Sigillata*	Lyon ware	Total	Services	Other finds: Coins	Lamps	Glass	Mirrors	Body	Knives	Misc.
Folly Lane	Shaft	1			1	6		3	16		47	X							5
Stanway	War-rior*	2		2	2	1		10	1		14	X			3		2		3
Stanway	Doctor	2		2		1		10	1		14	X					10	1	23
Lebach	112					1		4			10								
Tollgate	6260	3	X	1			1	9			18	X							5
Tollgate	6635	2	X	1				1	1		14	X							3
Alton	2	2	X						3		29	X			2		2	1	3
Beverley Rd. (Col.)	9	1		6				2	2		8				2				1
Nij.-Hunerberg	81*	1						6	4		12	X		1					
Nij.-Hunerberg	4*	1						3	5	1	13								
Beverley Rd. (Col.)	Child*	1					2		1	3	12	X	36	1	2				24
Stanway	72			4+2 Ag							3				1		1	1	0
Bavay	93		X	4				9			14	X	1		1				
Nij.-Hunerberg	37*			3					4		8	X		1	2	1	3		1
Neuss	313*			3					7	1	13	X							
Lebach	182			2				7			10		1		2				
Neuss	357			2					2		6		1		2				
Wederath	1021			2					1		6		1		1				
Lebach	62			2			2				7		1		1		1	1	0
Bavay	107*			1				5		1	8	X			1				
Wederath	2215			1	2			1	2		6		2		1		1		1
Feulen	98							9			11	X			1				
Nij.-Hunerberg	3*							8			10	X		1	2				1
Nij.-Hunerberg	49						2	8	4		17	X	2		1	1	1		2
Lexden	14							8	2		12	X			1				

Table 4.10. Richly furnished graves of the Claudio-Neronian period (c. AD 40-70) and their contents ranked according to the presence of amphorae, alloy vessels, copper alloy brooches, and Gallo-Belgic wares. *Denotes graves also appearing in Table 4.9.

co-occurred in funerary contexts, with an overwhelming emphasis on military and urban cemeteries. Only two graves in Table 4.9 came from non-urban contexts (both from Feulen, Luxembourg), with two more linked with the pre-conquest landscape at Camulodunum (Sheepen 3 and the Stanway 'warrior'), with the rest from Nijmegen-Hunerberg (ten examples), Neuss (five), Trier (two), Bavay (one), Beverley Road (one), and the Exeter fortress (one). While fibulae are scarce in this group of graves, it is noteworthy that most assemblages still featured Gallo-Belgic wares, which tended to outnumber *terra sigillata* with a few exceptions. Clearly, even though *sigillata* and glass vessels were more widely available in the Claudio-Neronian period, the inclusion of so many Gallo-Belgic vessels in some of the richest graves from military and urban cemeteries highlights their continued social desirability. Collectively, this group underlines the Claudio-Neronian spread of thoroughly deterritorialised object selections of imperial character in the funerary sphere.

In contrast, Table 4.10 lists rich graves ranked according to the survival later of Iron Age practices, including the presence of amphorae, alloy vessels, and fibulae. The richest three graves, from Stanway, Camulodunum, and Folly Lane, Verulamium, closely evoke late Iron Age practices at face value, with all three burials located within rectilinear enclosures, and including whole amphorae and alloy vessels.

Figure 4.9. A reconstruction of grave 6260 at Tollgate junction, Kent (copyright Oxford Archaeology, drawn by Peter Lorimer).

Two of the three feature martial equipment (a spearhead and shield-boss with the Stanway warrior, and chainmail at Folly Lane). At the same time, however, none of these graves is thoroughly representative of late Iron Age practice. While the Folly Lane shaft grave included an iron fire-dog and a butt-beaker, its pottery assemblage was not only dominated by *terra sigillata*, but also functional emphasis on platters and small cups, suggesting a seismic shift away from late Iron Age feasting- and large drinking vessel dominated repertoires. Likewise, while the Stanway graves included a bronze spouted-strainer bowl similar to that found in the rich Augustan grave at Welwyn Garden City (in the Doctor's grave) and a butt-beaker (in the Warrior's grave),[322] their pottery repertoires were also dominated by platters and cups, with a fish-sauce amphora, a decorated *sigillata* bowl, a host of medical instruments (Doctor), a bronze *patera*, and three glass vessels (Warrior) underlining just how far removed Catuvellaunian object-selections had become from those of the later Iron Age. Indeed, the Stanway warrior was one of a handful of graves occurring in both Tables 4.9 and 4.10, highlighting the increasing degree of overlap between the object selections of the surviving pre-Roman aristocracy and burgeoning urban and military communities. From this perspective, the presence in the Folly Lane shaft grave of an imitation Lyon ware beaker and a plethora of cavalry equipment highlights further connections with the military sphere.[323]

Looking beyond the uppermost richest graves in Table 4.10, the list of cemeteries represented is much less urban or military dominated compared with those in Table 4.9, with thirteen as opposed to four graves from non-urban cemeteries, including Lebach (Saarland), Tollgate Junction (Kent), Alton (Hamp-

[322] Spouted strainer bowls are rare vessels, occurring in copper-alloy and pottery variants, with connotations with the consumption of Celtic beer in Catuvellaunian territory in the Augustan-Claudian period (Sealey 1999, 117-124; Pitts 2005a). The closest Continental parallel is from the rich Tiberio-Claudian grave of Hellingen B in Luxembourg (Reinart 1995, 41-43), which seemingly serves as further evidence for close ties between the Treveri and Catuvellauni in the early first century AD.

[323] Niblett 1999, 165; Creighton 2006, 49; Pitts 2014, 160-161.

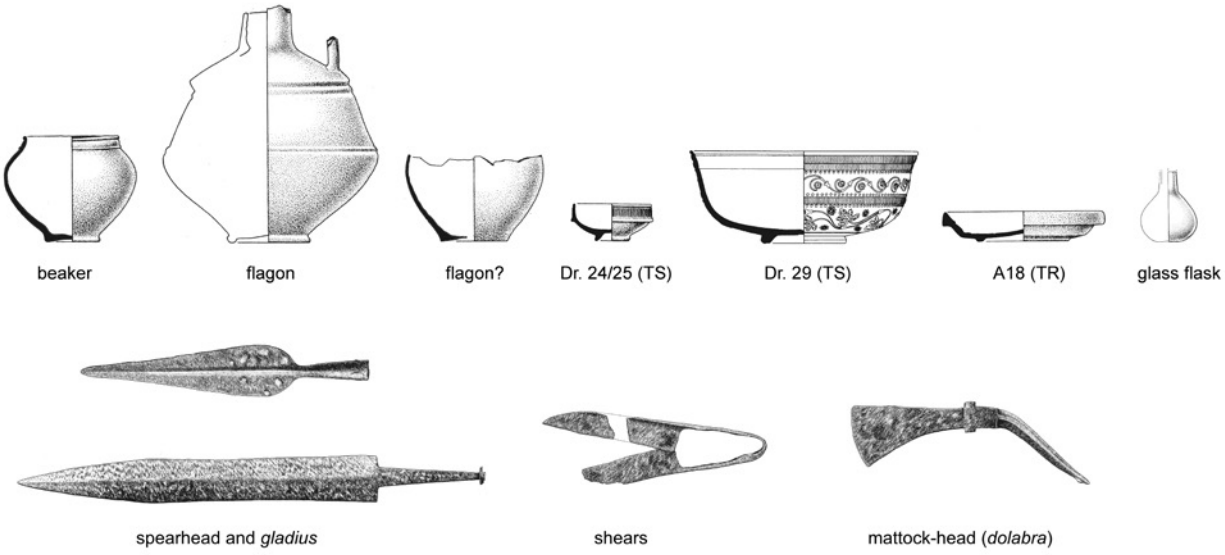


Figure 4.10. Selected finds from Wederath grave 2215 (after Cordie-Hackenberg/Haffner 1997, Taf. 604-5).

shire), Feulen (Luxembourg), Wederath (Rhineland-Pfalz), and Stanway (Essex). It is striking to note the frequent occurrence in Table 4.10 of not just fibulae, alloy vessels, and Gallo-Belgic wares, but also coins, *terra sigillata*, and glass vessels. These finds point to the merging of imperial patterns of object selection with the regional objectscapes that had been transformed at the end of the Iron Age. For example, a service of Gallo-Belgic vessels in grave 6260 at Tollgate Junction had originally been placed on a small table in the grave in a manner that recalls the equivalent image of silver vessels on a table painted on the tomb of Vestorius Priscus in Pompeii (see artist's reconstruction in Fig. 4.9).[324] To modern eyes this act of deposition appears to be a deliberate and conspicuous attempt to display civilité in a funerary context. However, the presence of the small table laden with fine pottery vessels forms a marked contrast with other inclusions in the grave, not least a large butt-beaker and the remains of a pig's head, both recalling later Iron Age sensibilities that still had a prevailing influence in the selection of objects in the graves of the local aristocracy.

Another striking example of a grave-suite that at face value belonged to the new deterritorialised imperial milieu is Wederath grave 2215. The grave in question is often treated as the final resting place of a returning Treveran auxiliary soldier, in large part due to the presence of a short sword resembling a Roman *gladius*, as well as a spearhead and a mattock (*dolabra*) (Fig. 4.10).[325] Military equipment aside, the other object selections in this grave are certainly atypical for a Claudian grave from Wederath. A combination of objects more commonly observed in imperial settings at the time, comprising two *terra sigillata* vessels (a Dr. 24/25 hemispherical cup and a Dr. 29 decorated bowl) and a glass flask are extraordinary in this context, since *sigillata* and glass vessels occur in only six and eight of 187 graves respectively at Wederath in this period (i.e. three to four percent of graves). However, while the distinctive regionally-rooted butt-beaker form is absent from the grave, other selections are more firmly anchored in local traditions and objectscapes, such as a copper alloy fibula. Graves with weapons also have a long lineage going back to the end of the second century BC at Wederath, of which grave 2215 is one of the last examples. At the same time, none of the graves from definitive Roman military cemeteries examined in

[324] Allen et al 2012, 480-481.

[325] Schumacher 1989; Haynes 2013, 255-6, cf. Wells 1999, 120, discussing a similar grave at Wederath, 1344.

this study contain military equipment, including Neuss, Exeter, and Wotton – the only place it occurs is in the idealised representation of a centurion on the tombstone of Marcus Favonius Facilis (Fig. 4.2).

Taken together, the precise combinations of objects replicating those in military objectscapes, their alien-ness at Wederath, merged with other distinct aspects of Treveran practice such as weapon burial, raise several possibilities. One is that the individual buried in grave 2215 was a returning auxiliary, perhaps a member of the *ala Treverorum*. Another is that ex-*auxilia*, or other people with links to urban society at nearby locations like Trier were present in the burying community at Wederath. Ian Haynes similarly raises the possibility of alternative interpretations, pointing out that although rare, the suite of objects in grave 2215 at Wederath is paralleled in similar combinations in other contemporary graves in the cemetery, including grave 1026, which lacks weapons but likewise features a Dr. 24/5 *sigillata* cup and a glass flask.[326] Such are the limitations of taking a representational approach to material culture in funerary contexts, as a basis of reconstructing the identities of the deceased. In this instance, what matters most are the combinations of objects in the grave, which serve to provide an excellent illustration of the evolution of Treveran funerary practices and objectscapes, which were becoming increasingly and intimately inter-connected with those from across northwest Europe. In this case, the selection of objects in grave 2215 shows how a series of very specific elements of imperial objectscapes were re-particularised to align with the distinctive logics of Treveran funerary practice.

Taking stock of the richer Claudio-Neronian graves in Tables 4.9 and 4.10, it is abundantly clear that no one class of object or social practice can consistently separate funerary object selections used by the old late Iron Age aristocracy, military groups, or new urban populations. Objects were selected from circulating repertoires that were increasingly available to people across a larger span of northwest Europe after the Claudian conquest of Britain, accentuating the existence of intra-cultural connectivity between southern Britannia, Gallia Belgica, and what would soon be called Germania Inferior. Indeed, some of the better-known examples in which objects have been used by archaeologists to identify the graves of tribal elites and Roman soldiers have been shown to be problematic. If distinctions and boundaries in the selection and use of material culture existed at the end of the Iron Age, they were in a state of flux by the Claudio-Neronian period, at least when it came to richly-furnished graves. Although huge gulfs and inequalities still existed, not to mention blockages in the flows of objects and styles available to some communities, at the level of the very richest graves the spread of objects like *terra sigillata* and glass vessels increasingly transcended divides that have plagued modern scholarship, such as military and civilian, urban and rural, and Roman and 'native'.

New funerary practices and patterns of object selection were far from unified, however. There is a strong sense that the distinctive late Iron Age aristocratic feasting repertoire, including amphorae, buckets, cauldrons, and the deliberate inclusion of large quantities of animal remains, had virtually disappeared in northern Gaul by the middle of the first century AD. Although practices involving the provision of larger drinking vessels and animal offerings continued, these were subdued compared with those of previous generations. If such later Iron Age practices existed at all they were more typically associated with more modest graves in less urbanised contexts. Indeed, while the inclusion of amphorae in exceedingly rich graves from Folly Lane and Stanway clearly evoked older aristocratic practices amongst the Catuvellauni, their collective assemblages drew heavily on new cups and platters that were another world away from the feasting equipment placed in graves at Baldock and Vieux-les-Asfeld before the campaigns of Julius Caesar in the 50s BC (Chapter 2). It is from this perspective that we should view the high prevalence of communally-orientated suites of pottery vessels in Tables 4.9 and 4.10. At one level, this practice well-served the needs of the last generation of the late Iron Age aristocracy in Britain, where older-styles of feasting evidently remained an important means of articulating status in the decades after Roman con-

[326] Haynes 2013, 255.

quest. At the same time, services of pottery geared towards communal consumption were also favoured in urban-associated cemeteries in northern Gaul, such as the contemporary cemetery from the Oppidum Batavorum at Nijmegen (Hunerberg). While it is possible that the motivation for placing such combinations of pottery was similar to that of the Catuvellauni, the practice nevertheless could have been equally suitable in an urban setting, especially for social climbers who needed to offer reciprocal hospitality to important patrons and select clients.

4.4 STANDARDISED OBJECTS AND THEIR CIRCULATIONS, C. AD 40 – 70

If funerary objectscapes in Claudio-Neronian northwest Europe can be characterised by increasingly deterritorialised patterns of object selection, what happened to the form and appearances of standardised objects themselves? As we have seen, some distinctive classes of objects with northern European genealogy and regional patterns of circulation, such as the butt-beaker, were being deposited in graves less frequently by the middle of the first century AD. At the same time, while cups imitating *terra sigillata* forms had limited impact beyond cemeteries connected to major urban centres and military bases in the Augustan-Tiberian period, they had become more common in Claudio-Neronian funerary objectscapes. South Gaulish *terra sigillata* and glass vessels were found more often in graves well-beyond the military and urban sphere. Was this inexorable Romanisation at work, or something very different?

4.4.1 STANDARDISED FIBULAE IN SETTLEMENTS AND CEMETERIES, C. AD 40 – 70

By the Claudio-Neronian period, the 'fibula event horizon' was entering its final phase – a phenomenon that saw the proliferation of multiple innovative and outwardly visible standardised brooch types from the end of the second century BC onwards. But for a handful of sites in northern Gaul, such as Baralle, most cemeteries previously considered in Chapter 3 feature declines in the rate of deposition of brooches per grave, with the collective figure for all cemeteries surveyed in this study dropping from 0.87 in the late Iron Age, to 0.76 in the Augustan to pre-Claudian period, and falling to a new low of 0.46 in the Claudio-Neronian era (Table 1.1). While these figures are affected by uneven sampling and cannot be considered representative of the entire region, they nevertheless provide useful short-hand figures for the declining rate of brooch deposition at the cemeteries in this study. Why did such a marked drop in brooch deposition occur in the Claudio-Neronian period, before entering terminal decline in the Flavian period, when the figure more than halved again (0.22)? A study addressing the bigger phenomenon of changing brooch use in Britain and the near continent by Hilary Cool and Mike Baxter confirms these patterns, asserting that attention should be focused on understanding a corresponding 'fibula abandonment horizon'.[327]

To shed further light on the decline of fibulae in northwest Europe, Fig. 4.11 examines the ratios of five major standardised brooch types that circulated in the Claudio-Neronian period. Except for the Hod Hill brooch, which constitutes one of the last major brooch innovations with pan-regional distribution in this study, the other designs had been introduced around the Augustan period, as considered in Chapter 3. Three principal patterns emerge from this comparison. The first and most striking concerns the older Rhine military bases at Xanten (Vetera I) and the Kops Plateau (Nijmegen), which are dominated by Aucissa brooches, despite the relatively low presence of the newer Hod Hills. While every effort was made to select brooches from contexts characterised by the presence of Claudian and later material culture (e.g. South Gaulish *terra*

[327] Cool/Baxter 2016, 94-95.

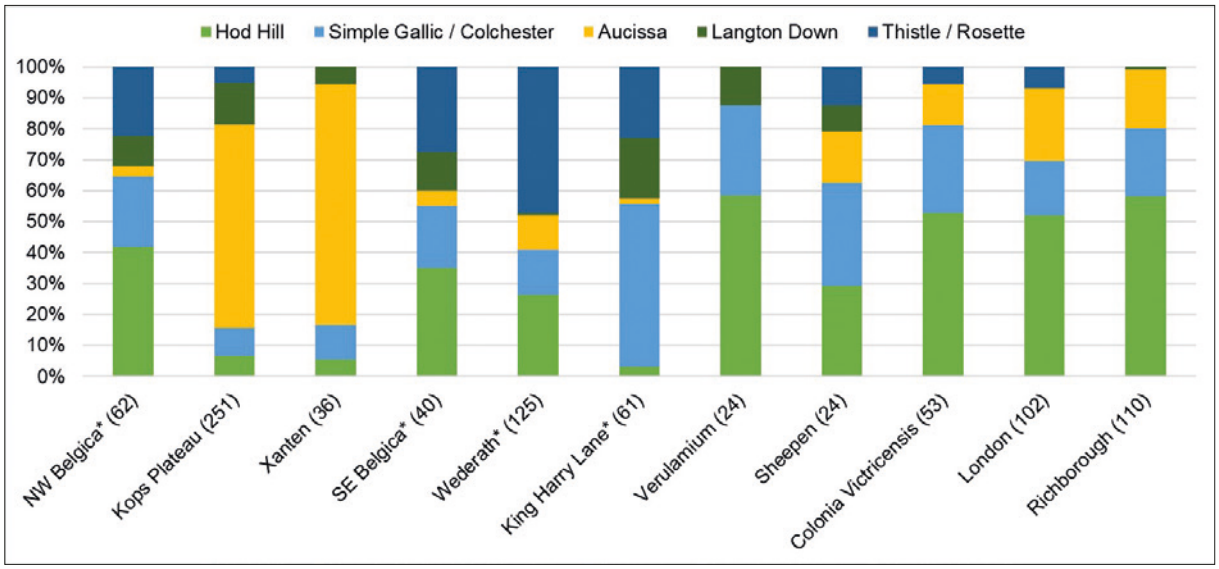


Figure 4.11. The ratios of five standardised brooch types at selected locations from Claudio-Neronian northwest Europe (total nos. in brackets, *denotes cemetery data).

sigillata and Lyon ware), these patterns seem to be a product of the longer use-lives and residuality of Aucissa brooches in military contexts, with the majority at the Kops Plateau coming from contexts with Claudio-Neronian material. Beyond these two settlements, ratios of Aucissa brooches are highest at locations in Britain connected with the Roman military, most notably Richborough, Colonia Victricensis, and London (pattern two). At these locations as well as the new city of Verulamium, the newer Hod Hill brooch, itself deriving from the Aucissa, features more prominently than any other brooch in the comparison.

Elsewhere, Hod Hill and to a lesser extent Aucissa brooches continued to be deposited in funerary contexts in northern Gaul and southern Britain, with the strongest ratios being found in an amalgamated group of cemeteries from northwest Belgica, comprising Baralle, Bavay, Blicquy, Cambrai, Dourges, Hénin-Beaumont, Noyelles-Godault, Kortrijk, and Thure, and the weakest from last major phase of the King Harry Lane cemetery at St. Albans. Despite such disparities, the third major pattern from Fig. 4.11 is the high degree of consistency in the deposition of fibulae at cemeteries associated with civilian and rural locations throughout northwest Europe. These contexts featured much higher levels of Langton Down, Thistle, and Simple Gallic brooches than assemblages associated with new urban centres in Britain and military bases. But for its slightly higher ratios of Aucissa brooches, the fibula assemblage from Claudio-Neronian Sheepen fits the same broad spectrum. Indeed, it is remarkable how much the composition of brooch assemblages from new urban foundations at Colchester and St. Albans differ from their counterparts at nearby sites associated with late Iron Age *oppida* at Sheepen (Colchester) and especially King Harry Lane (St. Albans). While a similar phenomenon to the deposition of older Aucissa brooches at the Kops Plateau and Xanten may well account for the higher levels of equivalent older forms at Sheepen and King Harry Lane, we know at least at Colchester that many of the material differences can be accounted for by the contrast between the practices of the veterans at Colonia Victricensis and the remnants of the Catuvellauni. Equivalent pronounced differences at St. Albans, as witnessed in the use of fibulae and fine ware ceramics, raise the possibility that a proportion of the first urban dwellers at Verulamium were not drawn from the local region.[328]

[328] Since direct evidence for a colonial settlement at Verulamium is lacking, a wholesale shift in the selection and use of material culture accompanying the foundation of the city remains a possibility. Pitts 2014, 159-162 summarises the evidence and provides an alternative interpretation for the origins of Colchester, London, and St. Albans in the late 40s AD.

Taken together, the patterns in the deposition of brooches in Fig. 4.11 can be variously accounted for in terms of a) longer-use lives and residuality among older settlements and cemeteries, b) the movement of the Roman military and its role in the development of new urban centres in Britain, and c) the survival of later Iron Age practices of brooch deposition in funerary contexts. Against this backdrop, the beginnings of a 'fibula abandonment horizon' in the Claudio-Neronian period are probably best linked to the decline of fundamentally late Iron Age styles of brooch use. If the Hod Hill series of brooches is considered the most innovative style of fibula that achieved pan-regional circulation at this time, its genealogical links to the Aucissa brooch, a type favoured by military communities, and continued connection with military and colonial locations in Britain, are abundantly clear. However, if the Hod Hill was a brooch favoured within imperial objectscapes, it was never really prioritised in the list of objects deposited in cemeteries associated with military bases or major urban centres, unlike the Aucissa. Brooches of any type became rare inclusions in early Roman funerary contexts linked to major centres, as clearly demonstrated from the Augustan period onward in Chapter 3. Also contrasting markedly with the host of other new material forms introduced to northwest Europe, including *terra sigillata* and glass vessels, brooches were evidently no longer prioritised for inclusion in status-charged funerary rituals. If fibulae had lost the power and allure that was part and parcel of social display in late Iron Age Europe, it was only a matter of time before the fibula abandonment horizon was in full swing. As Cool and Baxter point out, brooch-wearing does not seem to have been common in Italy itself.[329] This should not mean, however, we must interpret the decline of fibulae as somehow inevitable as part an old-fashioned core-periphery dynamic, with change spreading outward from the centre of the empire. As the analysis so far in this book makes clear, there is little evidence for the simple wholesale replacement of objects with northern European genealogy by those from Italy, or anywhere else in the Mediterranean. In this case, however, by evaluating this phenomenon against the backdrop of an extended empire-wide Claudio-Neronian inter-artefactual domain, the styles of fibulae in question are likely to have stood out as regionally-rooted products of the 'barbarian' northwest, and would have done little to convey cultural sophistication in societies that increasingly strived to mirror the urbanised world of the Mediterranean – at least in the sphere of funerary display.

4.4.2 Standardised ceramics in settlements and cemeteries, c. AD 40 – 70

One of the greatest material changes of the Claudio-Neronian era in northwest Europe was the massive proliferation of *terra sigillata* pottery manufactured in southern Gaul. While many of the vessel shapes closely mirrored earlier designs in Italian-style *sigillata*, the new repertoire featured several innovations, including richly decorated bowls (Drag. 29) and cylindrical drinking vessels (Drag. 30). Fig. 4.12 illustrates the percentages of the basic vessel shapes in the new *terra sigillata* repertoire at several settlements and cemeteries from Claudio-Neronian Britannia, Gallia Belgica, and the Rhineland. While this list of sites is conditioned by locations that received ample quantities of *sigillata*, it is otherwise notable how homogenous the *sigillata* supply was in terms of the functional affordances of its various vessels. As with Italian-style *sigillata* (compare Fig. 3.15), the South Gaulish ware repertoire in the north was dominated by platter and cup forms. However, the new range of red-gloss fine wares also appears more morphologically diverse, with greater proportions of both decorated bowls (i.e. Drag. 29s) and hemispherical cups (forms Drag. 24/5 and Ritt. 8). Although some patterns emerge from Fig. 4.12 that suggest deeper-rooted cultural or social differences, these are few. The obvious case is the well-documented case-study from Colchester, where a predilection for decorated bowls at Colonia Victricensis serves to underline differ-

[329] Cool/Baxter 2016, 88.

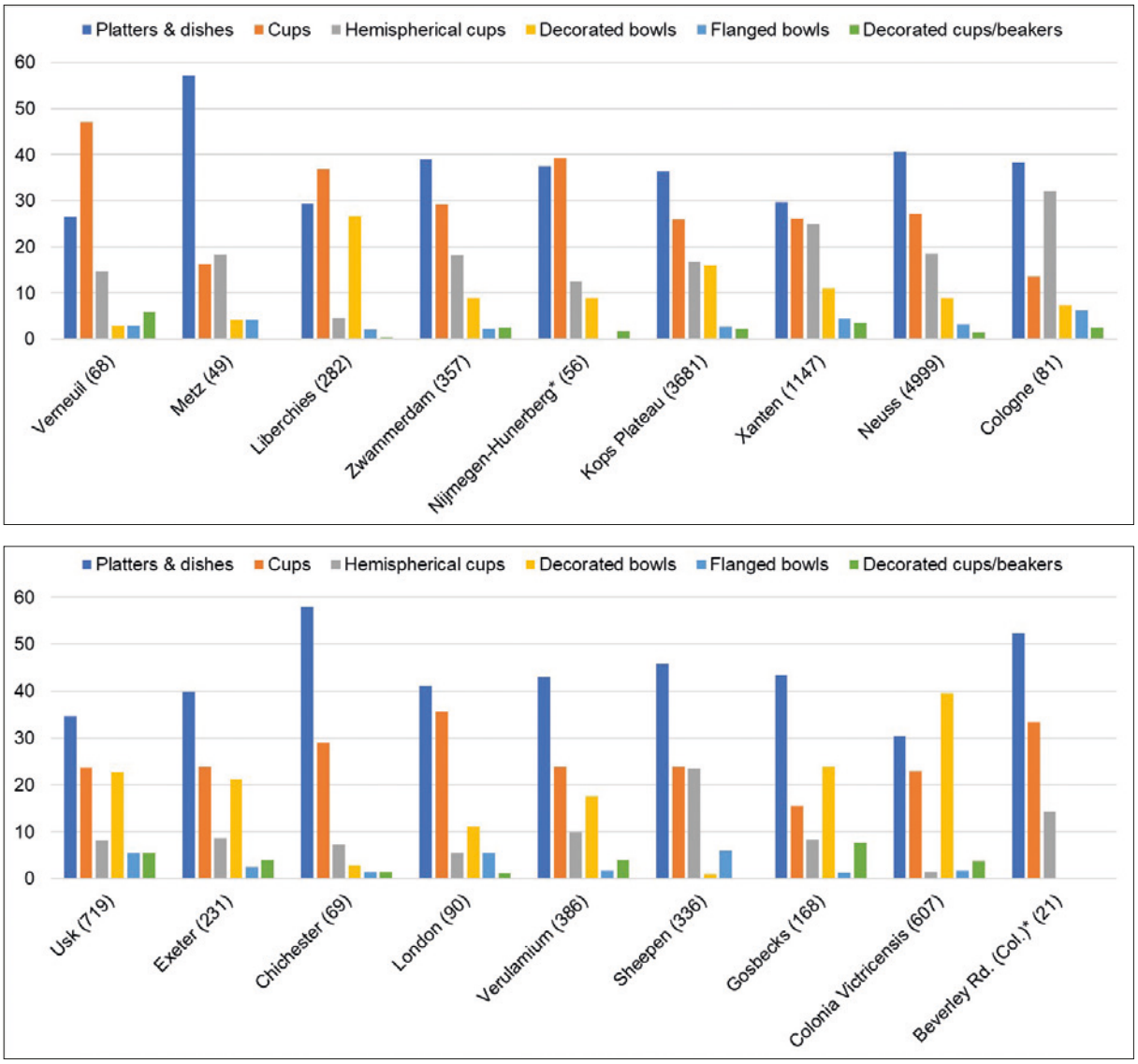


Figure 4.12. The relative proportions of vessel shapes in Italian-style *terra sigillata* at selected sites (total nos. in brackets, *denotes cemetery data).

ences with the nearby Sheepen site, where such vessels are virtually absent.[330] A more complex picture is presented when the data are broken down into the ten most common *terra sigillata* types in Fig. 4.13, but this essentially confirms the same patterns, including the distinction between Sheepen and Colonia Victricensis.

The overwhelmingly homogenous Claudio-Neronian supply of *terra sigillata* in northwest Europe is surely testament to the productive capabilities of the southern Gallic kilns and the seemingly universal appeal of *sigillata* so far from its source. To get a better sense of the social uptake of South Gaulish *sigillata*, a more useful approach is to compare its relative occurrence alongside equivalent fine wares, such

[330] The high proportions of decorated *terra sigillata* at Colonia Victricensis strongly align with equivalent patterns from later extra-mural settlements outside military bases in Britain, where decorated vessels are proportionately more common than in forts and fortresses (Willis 2011, 212-213). Such patterns hint at shared cultural preferences of civilian communities with strong connections to the military, as part of broader deterritorialised imperial styles of consumption.

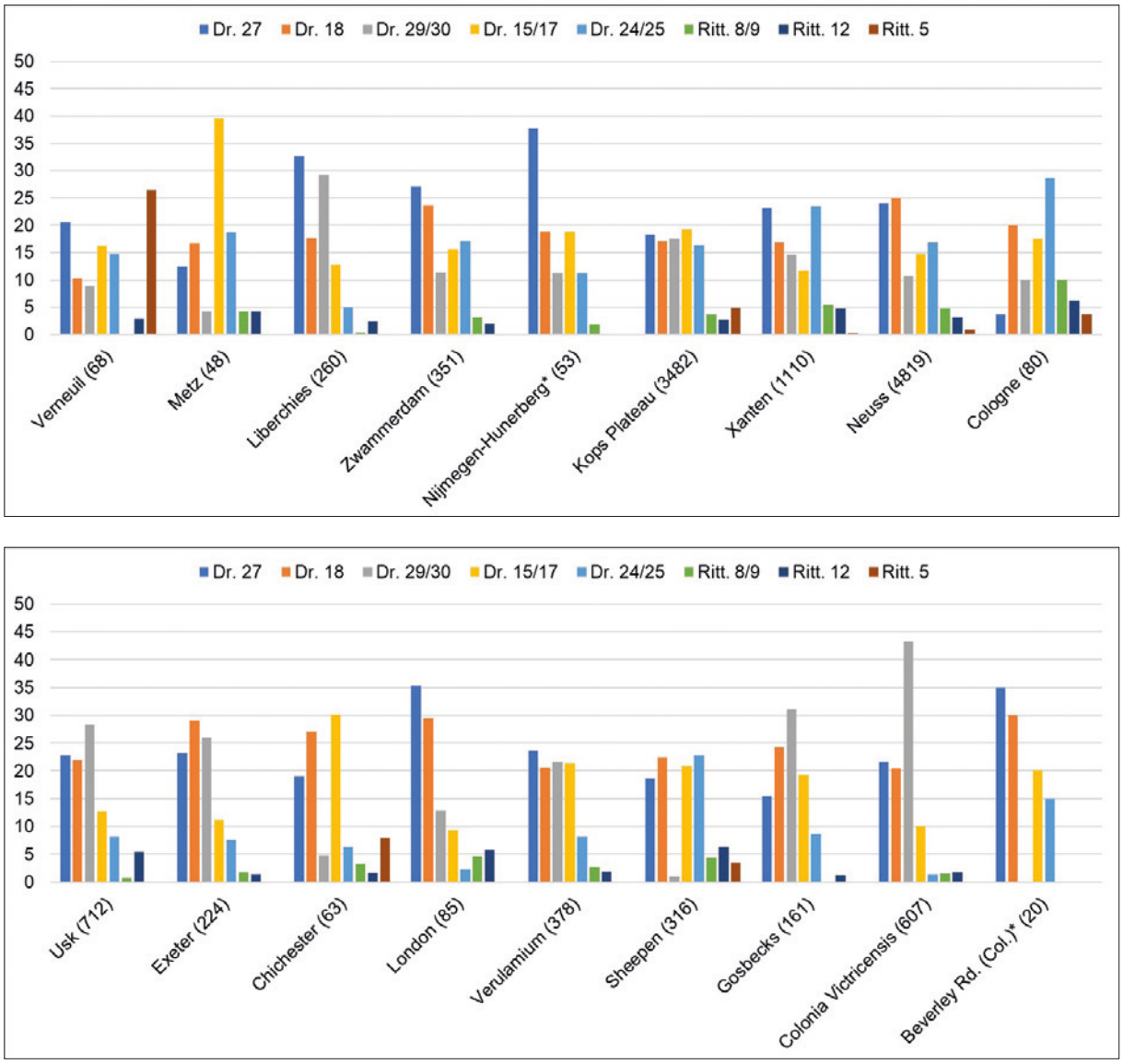


Figure 4.13. The relative proportions of the eight most common Italian-style *terra sigillata* types at selected sites (total nos. in brackets, *denotes cemetery data).

as Gallo-Belgic and Lyon wares. To this end, Fig. 4.14 first compares the proportions of basic fine ware vessel shapes with Mediterranean genealogy across a wide range of Claudio-Neronian settlements and cemeteries. In contrast to considering the *terra sigillata* on its own, the results of this comparison convey much greater variability. Three main groups of sites can be identified in Fig. 4.14 on the basis of differing fine ware supplies: a) high levels of *terra sigillata* and moderate levels of Lyon ware (in excess of five percent), most notably at major Rhine centres such as Neuss, Cologne, and Nijmegen (the Hunerberg cemetery), and military and colonial settlements in Britain, especially Colonia Victricensis, the associated Beverley Road cemetery, and the Exeter fortress; b) moderate-high levels of Gallo-Belgic wares and moderate-high levels of *terra sigillata*, as seen at major and secondary civilian centres in Britain and northern Gaul; and c) high levels of Gallo-Belgic wares and low levels or an absence of *terra sigillata* and Lyon ware, typically seen at the majority of cemeteries from Belgica as well as those from Britain (King Harry Lane and an amalgam of cemeteries from Camulodunum).

Figure 4.14. The relative proportions of vessel shapes in fine wares of Mediterranean genealogy at selected Claudio-Neronian sites (total nos. in brackets, *denotes cemetery data).

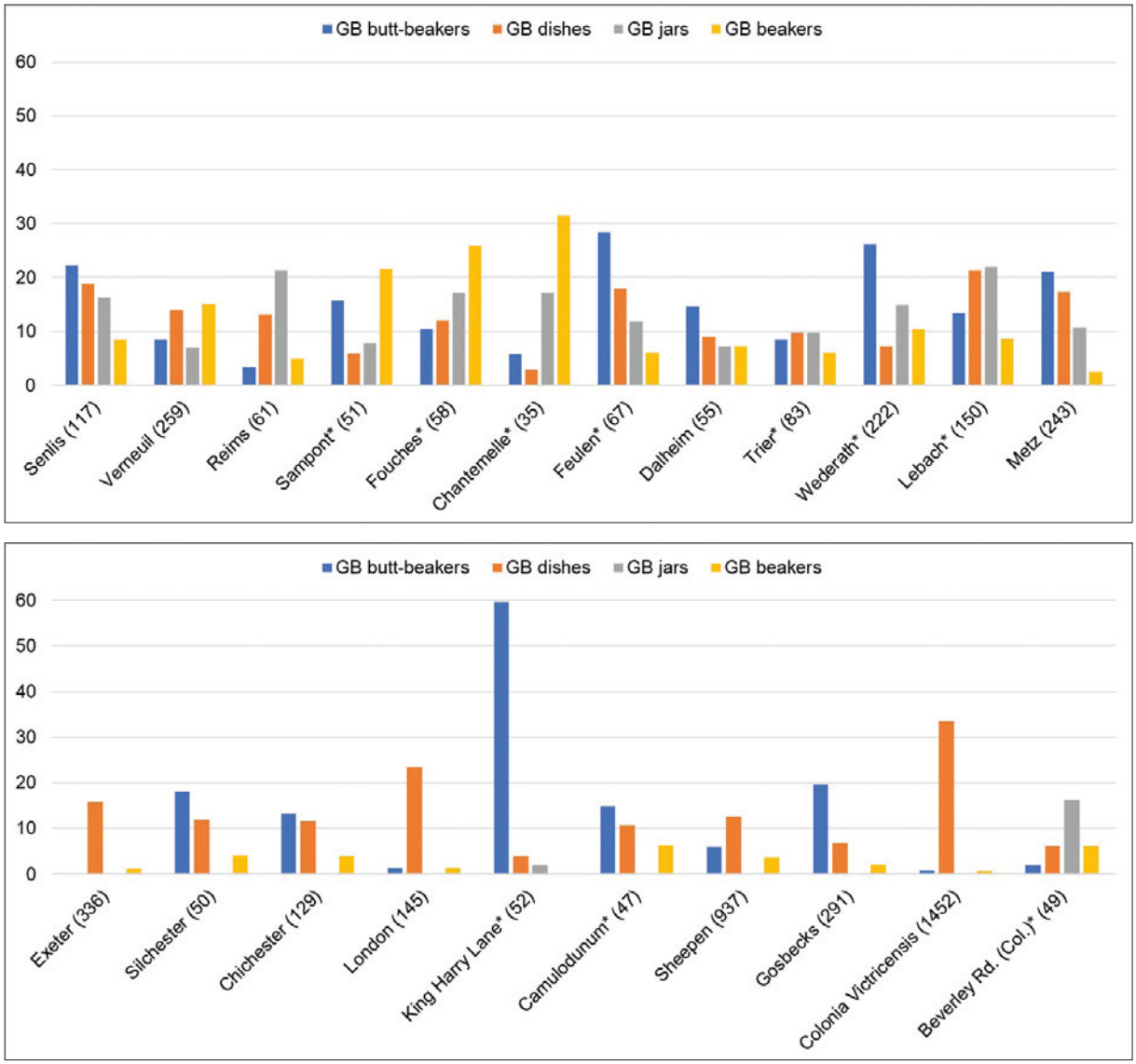


Figure 4.15. The relative proportions of vessel shapes in Gallo-Belgic wares of northern European genealogy at selected Claudio-Neronian sites (total nos. in brackets, *denotes cemetery data).

In effect, the major differences in the relative proportions of different fine ware ceramics in Fig. 4.14 appear to be strongly governed by overarching inequalities produced by larger-scale supply systems. Whether the result of state-sponsored provisioning or the pulling power of military and veteran markets, communities associated with military and colonial infrastructure along the Rhine nexus and its British extensions has access to disproportionately higher levels of Lyon ware and *terra sigillata*. Occasionally this pattern of consumption extended into the sphere of civilian centres in situations dictated by favourable connectivity, in locations such as Tongeren, and at a micro-level, Sheepen at Colchester. However, many otherwise important civilian centres towards the interior of northern Gaul seemingly fall into a separate category, being more dependent on regionally produced Gallo-Belgic wares, such as Senlis, Reims, Metz, and the cemetery outside Bavay. If *terra sigillata* had become universally available, its distribution was less intense towards the interior of Gaul. It is likely that the main blockages to the flows of *sigillata* and glass vessels were economic rather than cultural, since most cemeteries in northern Gaul still included low levels of *sigillata*, and indeed, Gallo-Belgic wares that imitated *sigillata* continued to be widely popular.

To complete our overview of fine ware supply, it is instructive to examine the pottery vessels that may be considered innovations of the region, typically in Gallo-Belgic ware (Fig. 4.15). Whereas the supply of fine wares with Mediterranean genealogy appeared to be largely governed by geographies of imperial power and connectivity, fine wares with Gallic genealogy reveal regionally-rooted consumption patterns, highlighting differences in social practice between cemeteries and communities. The most striking patterns include the strong predilection for Gallo-Belgic beakers in each of a group of cemeteries west of Arlon (Sampont, Fouches, and Chantemelle), and the even more pronounced favouring of Gallo-Belgic jar-forms in a series of cemeteries in the territory of the Gallic Atrebates and Nervii (Dourges, Noyelles-Godault, Blicquy, Baralle, Cambrai, and to a lesser extent Bavay). Elsewhere, butt-beakers are favoured at many localities in southeast Belgica and sites with pre-conquest origins in Britain (e.g. King Harry Lane, Camulodunum, Gosbecks, Silchester, and Chichester). Lastly, while military and colonial sites tended to receive lower proportions of fine wares with northern European genealogy, a preference for Gallo-Belgic dishes is evident at several such locations, including Neuss, Colonia Victricensis, Exeter, and London. These patterns serve to reinforce the notion that an object's genealogy often had a more substantial bearing on distribution patterns than that of its fabric or origin of production, a factor that is too often overlooked in macro-studies of the economics of fine ware pottery and long-distance trade.[331]

If the diversity of the consumption of Gallo-Belgic wares with Gallic genealogy in Fig. 4.15 highlights the various regionally-anchored elements of the northwest European inter-artefactual domain, it also permits some revealing comparisons between consumption practices in several important locales. For example, at Nijmegen, assemblages from the Kops Plateau military base continue to feature large quantities of butt-beakers. While many of these vessels are likely to be residual survivals from the older phase of the fort, the patterns closely resemble those from the nearby developing city at Tongeren. However, unlike the Kops Plateau, the same butt-beakers are much scarcer in contemporary graves at the Hunerberg cemetery associated with Oppidum Batavorum at Nijmegen. While butt-beakers were evidently circulating in many settlement contexts at this time, the data attest to deliberate avoidance in the funerary objectscapes of Nijmegen-Hunerberg, which in this period were even more strongly aligned to imperial patterns of object selection. A similar situation can be seen at Colchester. While locations and cemeteries associated with the Camulodunum *oppidum* still favoured butt-beakers (especially the Gosbecks settlement and an amalgam of cemeteries including Stanway, and Lexden), assemblages from Colonia Victricensis and Beverley Road emphasise entirely different combinations of vessels. Indeed, the profile of fine wares at Beverley Road is wholly unique in a British setting, closely mirroring the selection of pottery at cemeteries such as Nijmegen-Hunerberg, Neuss, and Bavay, as well as various other cemeteries in northwest Belgica in Fig. 4.15, underscoring its status as a cemetery used by the earliest military and colonial communities at Colchester.

So far, the broad-brush analysis of standardised fine wares in this chapter serves to underline the continued sensitivity of Gallo-Belgic wares to distinctive regional styles of consumption, as well as their influence on the development of imperial objectscapes more generally. A more nuanced means of looking at what Gallo-Belgic wares were doing at an inter-regional scale is to compare the distribution of individual vessel types, rather than general morphological categories. This kind of analysis can shed light on the extent to which regional preferences for certain shapes were driven by local innovations (as with the case of butt-beakers in the Augustan-Tiberian period), or more universal styles that were selected indiscriminately across different local contexts (such as Gallo-Belgic platter forms A5-9). To this end, Fig. 4.16 presents the results of comparing Gallo-Belgic assemblages from a wide range of settlements and cemeteries from across the study region using Correspondence Analysis, comparing pre-Claudian assemblages examined in the previous chapter (denoted by a 2) with those from the Claudio-Neronian period (denoted by a 3). Sites in the upper CA plot are colour-coded, noting distinctions between southern Britain (red), northwest Belgica (magenta), southeast Belgica (green), southwest Belgica (black), and

[331] For example, Bonifay 2018; Fulford 2018.

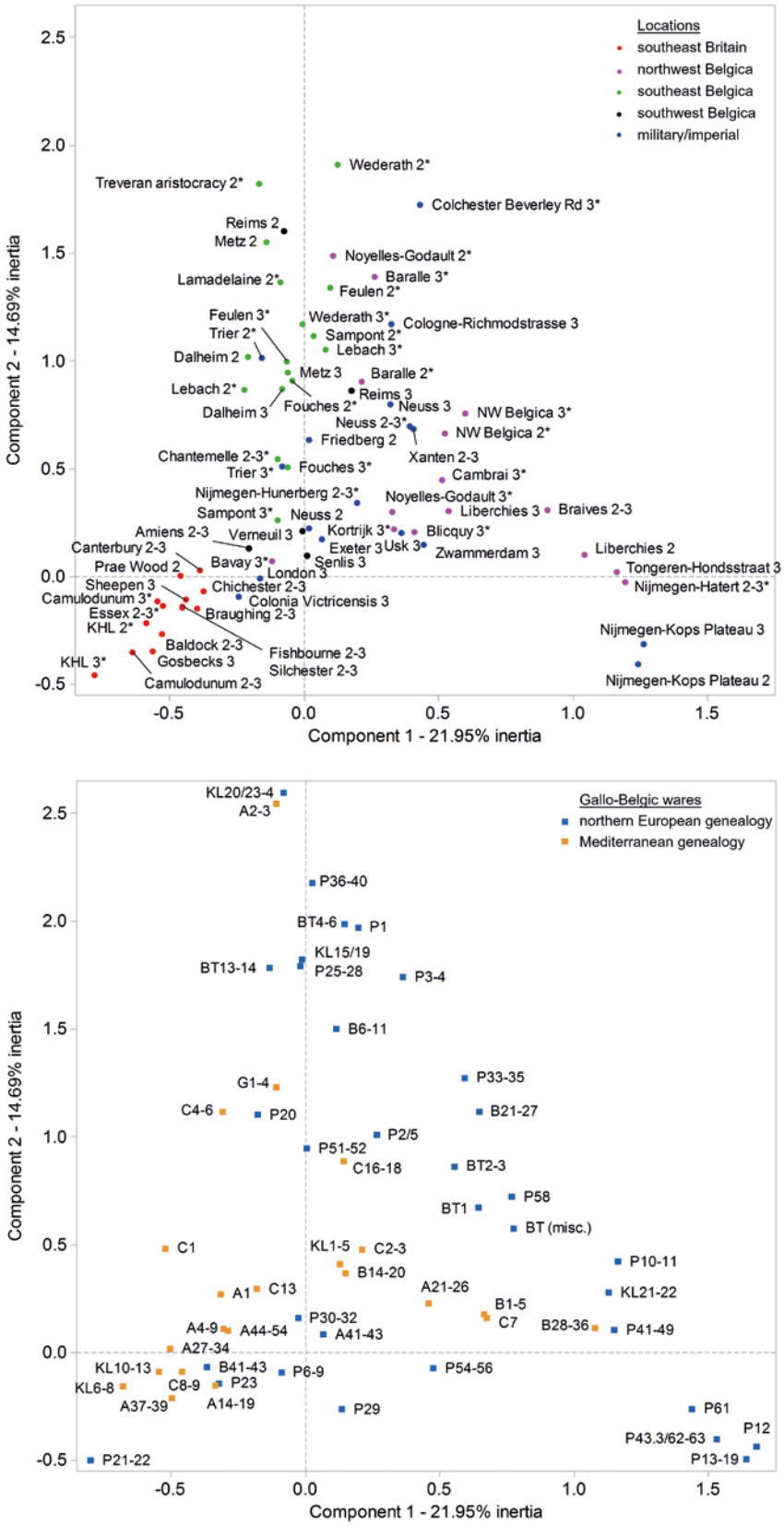


Figure 4.16. Correspondence Analysis of Gallo-Belgic ware assemblages at selected cemeteries and settlements from northwest Europe, c. 25 BC-AD 70. The upper plot shows patterning by location (*denotes cemetery data, 2 = pre-Claudian, and 3 = Claudio-Neronian), with corresponding associations of Gallo-Belgic vessel types in the lower plot.

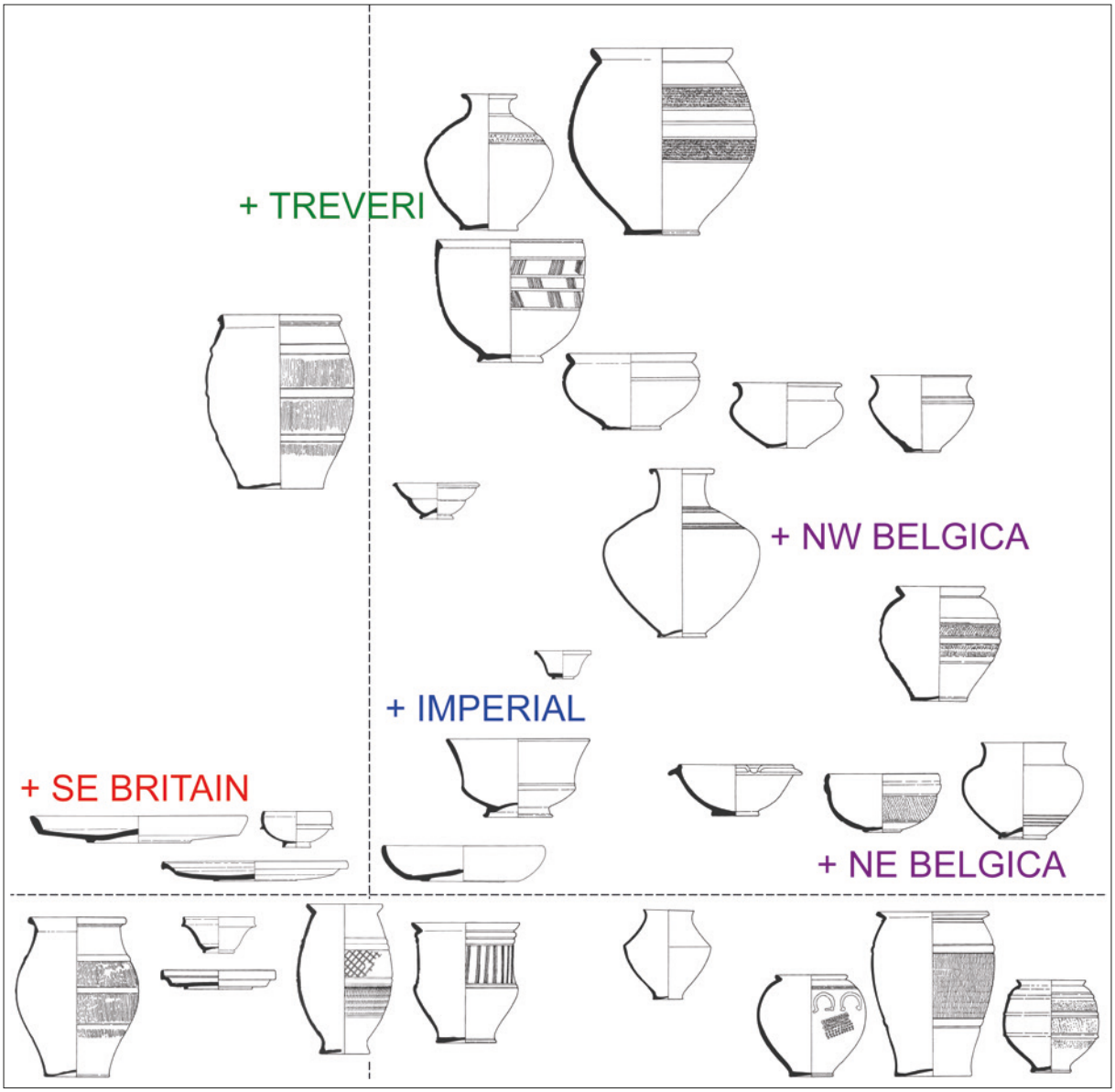


Figure 4.17. Interpretive schematic of Fig. 4.16. Positions of selected vessels are approximate.

locations characterised by imperial patterns of object selection (blue). Likewise, Gallo-Belgic ware types in the lower CA plot are colour-coded according to their genealogy, highlighting differences between vessels with Mediterranean lineage (orange) and northern European design (blue).

Several important general patterns emerge from the CA of the 68 period assemblages compared in Fig. 4.16 (see also interpretive schematic Fig. 4.17, showing the principal vessel types). Beginning with the upper plot, and discounting the distribution of blue points, three non-overlapping clusters of colour indicate regional patterns of consumption in southeast Britain (lower-left), southeast Belgica (upper-left), and northwest Belgica (upper-right), with a further cluster of sites from Nijmegen (lower-right). Whilst the continental clusters all correspond with vessel types with mainly northern European genealogy, showing a clear correlation between the production and consumption of regionally-rooted vessel types, the British cluster instead corresponds with vessels of predominantly Mediterranean genealogy. Southeast Britain stands out because it was largely reliant on imports of Gallo-Belgic ware, favouring universally circulating designs that tended to imitate *sigillata*. An exception to this pattern is the P21-22 butt-beaker, plotted to the extreme bottom-left of the CA plot. As set out in Chapter 3, it is unclear whether the

P21-22 was produced exclusively in western Belgica around Amiens and Senlis (both plotted close to the British cluster in Fig. 4.16) or at a location near to Colchester, which seems the more likely source of most British finds. This type dominated first century AD repertoires of Gallo-Belgic wares in Britain, where large quantities of coarse ware variants were also produced. Indeed, a major factor determining regional distinctiveness in Fig. 4.16 is the production of regional butt-beaker variants, which exhibit clear regional circulations in northwest Belgica and the Lower Rhine (P10-11, P12, P13-19) and southeast Belgica (P1, P3-4), echoing similarly significant patterns in the production and serialisation of Augustan-Tiberian butt-beakers discussed in Chapter 3.

Supplementing the major patterns governed by regionally-rooted butt-beaker designs, Fig. 4.16 also demonstrates how by the time of the Claudio-Neronian period many other varieties of regionally-rooted Gallo-Belgic wares were circulating in northwest Europe, including flask-jars (BT forms), bowls (B), and jar and beaker forms (the P40-61 series), corresponding largely with locations from northwest Belgica (magenta). In contrast, the new Gallo-Belgic flanged hemispherical cup form (C13, deriving from the Drag. 24/5 *sigillata* cup), has a firmly de-regionalised position at the plot centre, highlighting its universal selection in assemblages across the wider region. These patterns serve to emphasise the importance of genealogy in what Gallo-Belgic wares did, with vessels with northern European lineages tending to be firmly anchored in regional patterns of circulation (at the plot extremes), and those drawing heavily on Mediterranean designs having much more universalised distributions, with a tendency to concentrate at locations more strongly associated with an imperial milieu.

In contrast with the regionally-driven clusters in Fig. 4.16, settlements and cemeteries associated with military and colonial communities are plotted much more diffusely, albeit with a predisposition towards the central space of the CA plot. This distribution befits the highly-connected and deterritorialised nature of imperial objectscapes, occurring at locations characterised by the highest levels of human mobility in this period. Indeed, the upper-right quadrant of the CA plot displays considerable overlap between funerary assemblages from northwest Belgica, and assemblages sites of military and colonial status in the Rhineland (i.e. Zwammerdam, Nijmegen-Hunerberg, Xanten, Neuss, and Cologne) as well as early military and colonial sites in Britain known to have been founded by communities previously stationed on the Rhine (Beverley Road and Usk – *Legio* XX, from Neuss, and Exeter – *Legio* II, from Strasbourg).

Delving deeper into the patterning of cemeteries from military and colonial locations in Fig. 4.16, it is noteworthy that a number of these tend to overlap with northern Gallic cemeteries, and correspond more directly with vessels of northern European genealogy, most notably at Cologne (Richmodstrasse), Beverley Road (Colchester), and the Kops Plateau (Nijmegen). Aside from the Kops Plateau, where higher levels of vessels with Gallic genealogy might be expected to relate to the presence of *auxilia*, such patterns are surprising, since most sites with military and colonial origins seem to instead show a predilection for Gallo-Belgic vessels with *Mediterranean* genealogy (centre to upper-right of Fig. 4.16). Is it coincidental that the sites from the imperial milieu that favoured vessels of Gallic genealogy were both veteran colonies founded within a year of each other, in AD 49 at Colonia Victricensis (Beverley Road cemetery) and AD 50 at Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (Cologne-Richmodstrasse)? These patterns probably serve to highlight the mixed populations of these newly founded centres,[332] casting veteran colonies less as islands of ex-pat Italians, but rather as nodes for diaspora communities from across Gaul. In this way, the make-up of Gallo-Belgic ware assemblages seems to differentiate veteran colonies from regular military bases, as locations that fostered the spread of Gallic innovations within imperial object repertoires.

[332] Riedel 2000 discusses evidence for the presence of migrants from Reims in the cemetery of Cologne St. Gereon dating to the period of the *colonia*'s foundation. The Remi were one of several Gallic communities attested epigraphically at Cologne in the first century AD, in addition to the Treveri, Nervii, and communities from the Lower Rhine and Britain (Carroll 2006, 224-227).

The overarching patterns in Fig. 4.16 present a neat visual summary of the dynamics among Gallo-Belgic ware objectscapes in the first half of the first century AD. Whereas vessels with northern European genealogy are firmly anchored in their areas of production in northwest and southeast Gallia Belgica, those with Mediterranean genealogy correlate most closely with locations in the military-imperial milieu, and non-producing parts of southeast Britain. The CA plot also makes clear the vital role of military bases and coloniae throughout the region in connecting and integrating the various regional parts of a broader Gallo-Belgic ware inter-artefactual domain. To explore aspects of this phenomenon in more detail, the following section considers the extent to which auxiliary recruitment amongst societies in northern Gaul contributed to the fusion of imperial and regional styles of consumption.

4.4.3 THE IMPACT OF GALLIC MIGRATION AND AUXILIARY RECRUITMENT ON IMPERIAL OBJECTSCAPES

While northwest Belgica was a supplier of Gallo-Belgic wares to Rhine military sites and veteran colonies, we know that the same region also provided substantial numbers of soldiers for Roman military forces through the mechanisms of auxiliary recruitment. If the movement of people from northern Gaul was a factor in deterritorialising assemblages from Beverley Road (Colchester), Usk, Exeter, and Cologne in Fig. 4.16, then auxiliary recruitment presents a plausible historical mechanism for this situation to have come about. Table 4.11 sheds further light on this connection, detailing high levels of auxiliary recruitment in the same parts of northern Gaul that produce similar Gallo-Belgic funerary objectscapes to military and colonial locations in the Rhineland and Britain, most notably the Batavi (eight cohorts and one *ala*; Nijmegen-Kops Plateau), the Ubii (two cohorts; Cologne), the Nervii (five cohorts; Bavay, Blicquy and Thure), the Menapii (one cohort; Kortrijk), and the Tungri (one *ala* and four cohorts; Tongeren and Braives).

Was the phenomenon of auxiliary recruitment a major factor driving the apparent merging of objectscapes from northern Gaul with those of some military and colonial locations? There are certainly several instances whereby objects with discrete patterns of production and distribution in northern Gaul have military or colonial associations elsewhere in the study area. For example, cemeteries from northwest Belgica feature the highest continental levels of Hod Hill brooches in Fig. 4.11, a brooch type synonymous with military communities in Britain. Likewise, some of the other distinctive pottery vessels from the Beverley Road cemetery at Colchester, including the P11 butt-beaker, P54 biconical beaker, and B21-27 bowl, are plotted in the same area of the CA plot in Fig. 4.16 that corresponds with locations in northwest Belgica (vessels illustrated in Fig. 4.8). This all helps to build the case for specific connections between material practices in northwest Belgica and distinctive patterns of object selection in military bases and veteran colonies in Britain and on the Rhine, supported by historically-attested patterns of military recruitment in Belgica and the corresponding stationing of ethnically-recruited units elsewhere in northwest Europe. These patterns provide glimpses into how auxiliary recruitment might have had a direct impact on the constitution of imperial objectscapes in the Roman northwest, as conduits linking the regionally-evolving objectscapes of northern Gaul with the largely Mediterranean-inspired objectscape of urban centres and military bases along the Rhine-Channel nexus.

To examine the basis of some object-configurations potentially related to auxiliary recruitment from northern Gaul, Fig. 4.18 considers the prevalence of new styles of Gallo-Belgic bowls at selected settlements and cemeteries, with examples illustrated in Fig. 4.19. The emergence of these new bowl styles as a general category is attested at both military bases and the cemeteries of northern Gallic communities known to have contributed significant numbers of auxiliary soldiers in this period. Most assemblages compared in Fig. 4.18 are dominated by higher ratios of universally circulating platter and cup forms introduced into the comparison as control indicators (A14-19 and C8 respectively), especially from

Community	Alae	Cohortes	Other unit	No. of soldiers
Batavi	1	8	Imperial bodyguard	5000
Canninefates	1	1		1000
Sugambri, later Cugerni		4		2000
(Baetasii)		1*		500
Ubii		2		1000
(Sunuci)		1*		500
Treveri	2			1000
Aresaces		1		500
Vangiones		1*		500
Tungri	1	4		2000
Friviavones		1*		500
Menapii		1*		500
Morini		1*		500
Nervii		5*		2500
Total	**5**	**31**	**1**	**18,500**

Table 4.11. Pre-Flavian auxiliary recruitment from northern Gaul, after Roymans 1996b, 22, Table 1. *Denotes units known from the late first and early second century AD from Britain, but probably of pre-Flavian origin.

southeast Britain and southeast Belgica. Against this backdrop, the assemblages from Usk and Exeter feature a striking resemblance to Xanten, Neuss, and Cologne, which are all dominated by higher ratios of Gallo-Belgic bowl forms, being entirely unlike other Gallo-Belgic assemblages from Britain. It is noteworthy that the vessels preferred at Usk and Exeter are all forms with Mediterranean genealogy. Gallo-Belgic types B14-20 imitate the decorated *sigillata* bowl Drag. 29, types B1-5 imitate the plain Ritt. 12 *sigillata* bowl, and types B28-36 imitate the hemispherical Drag. 37. In contrast, the most favoured Gallo-Belgic bowl types in in northwest Belgica and the Rhineland, this time with northern European genealogy, the B21-27, did not appear to travel in quantity to the corresponding military bases in Britain. A significant exception to this pattern constitutes the small numbers of B27 bowls found at Colchester's *colonia* as form Cam 227 (Fig. 4.8),[333] in addition to three further examples from grave 33 at Beverley Road. While the numbers are small, the presence of these objects add further weight to the close connections already observed between Colchester's veteran colonists and Neuss, where the type is known to have been manufactured (illustrated in Fig. 4.19).[334] Without more data, we can only speculate on the likely directionality of such movements. However, given their northern European genealogy, it is possible that the production of these vessels at Neuss was influenced by auxiliary recruitment from northwest Belgica and the Rhineland, where equivalent finds occur in funerary contexts, notably at Kortrijk and Nijmegen-Hatert.[335]

While the evidence of distinctive Gallo-Belgic bowls potentially offers glimpses of some specific connections between military bases in Britain and on the continent, and between northern Gallic communities and specific military and colonial locations, the numbers of vessels involved are often small. This

[333] Hawkes/Hull 1947, 262; Bidwell/Croom 1999, 477. The date-range for this type is Neronian to the early second century AD, raising the possibility that the date of grave 33 at Beverley Road could be a few decades later.

[334] Filtzinger 1972, Taf. 30; Deru 1996, 300-301.

[335] The graves in question are Kortrijk 10 (Claudio-Neronian) and Hatert 415, 419 and 422 (all Flavian).

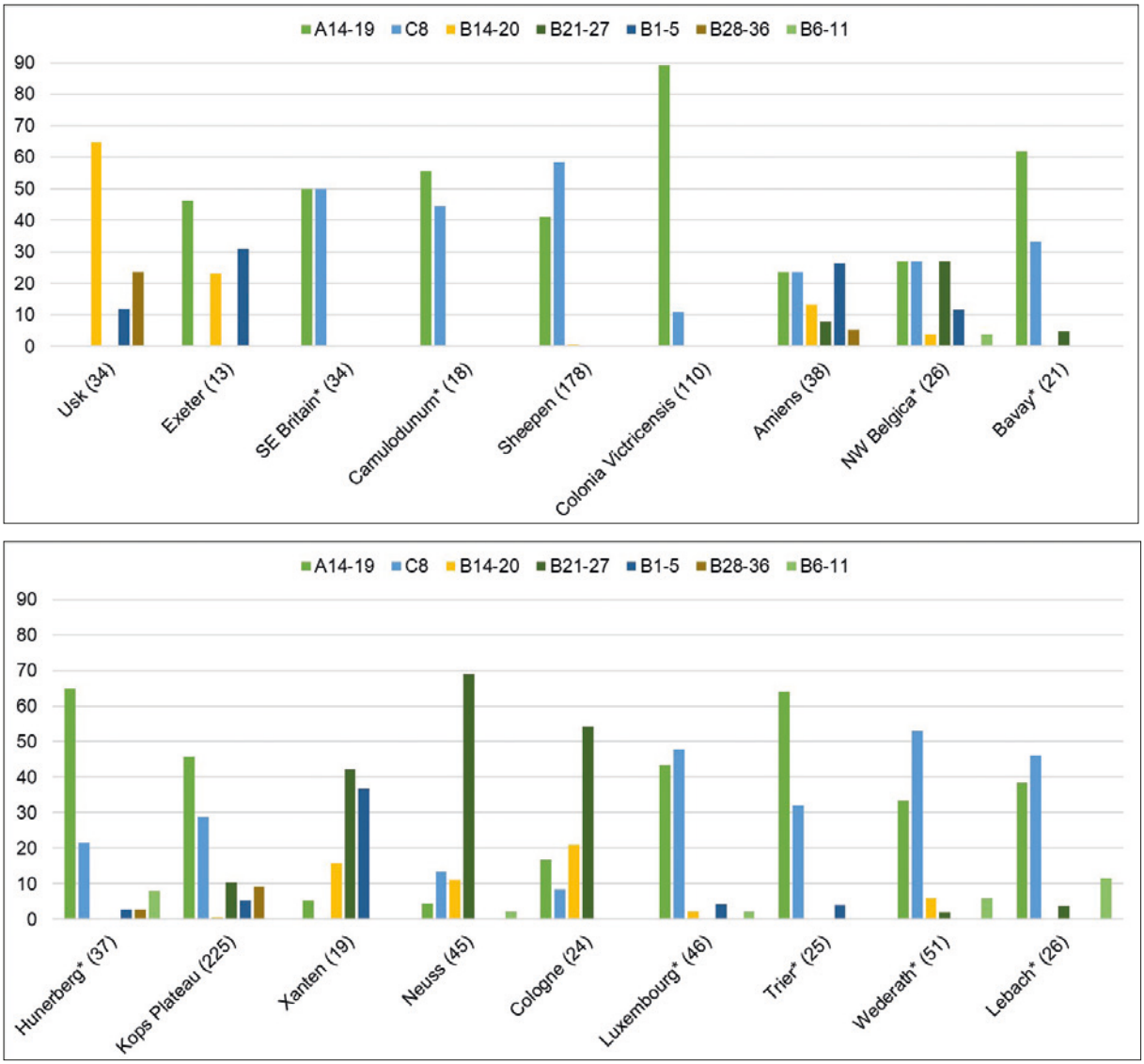


Figure 4.18. The relative proportions of Gallo-Belgic bowl types at selected sites, compared with levels of universally circulating A14-19 Gallo-Belgic platters and C8 cups (total nos. in brackets, *denotes cemetery data).

suggests that, rather than constituting a regular supply or institutionalised practice within the units in question, Gallic auxiliaries and civilians in the military community instead carried the pots with them, most likely for culinary purposes, or as keepsakes from their homelands.[336] This begs the question of whether the wider impact of auxiliary recruitment from northern Gaul on imperial objectscapes in the Roman northwest can be further qualified.

On the basis of observations already made in this chapter, it is possible to determine a list of object types that have strong associations with military and colonial centres. By scrutinising the assemblages in further detail, it should be possible to separate out more 'imperial' combinations of objects from those with specific links to Gallic societies, which might be related to the phenomenon of auxiliary recruitment from those areas. A list of objects with strong connections to military and colonial establishments variously comprises Lyon ware beakers and cups, decorated *terra sigillata*, Gallo-Belgic bowls, glass ves-

[336] For further discussion, see Swan 2009; Fulford 2010; Nesbitt 2016, 234-236.

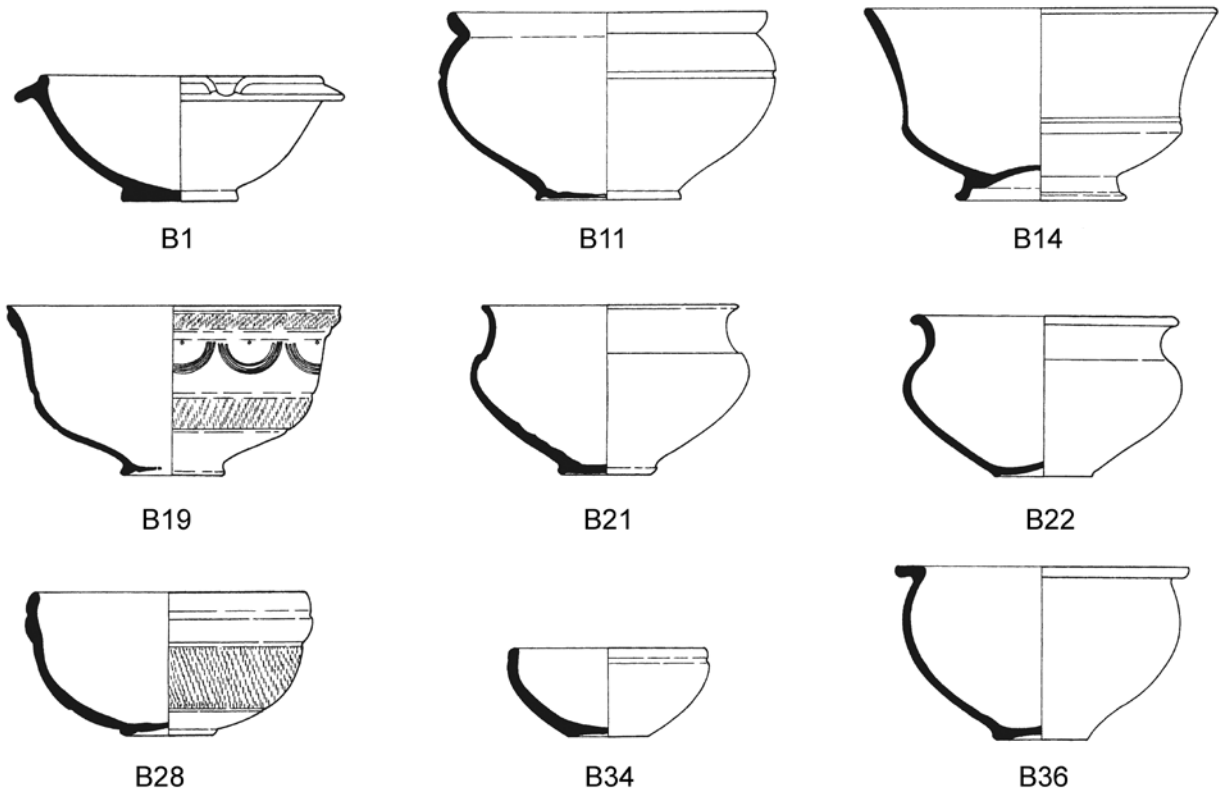


Figure 4.19. Claudio-Neronian Gallo-Belgic bowl types (after Deru 1996, 68-80).

sels, lamps, coarse ware lids, mortaria, and so-called honeypots. Other objects can be added to this list, including Roman military equipment, tripod bowls,[337] and melon beads, the latter pictured on the Flavian cavalry relief of Titus Flavius Bassus at Cologne.[338] The prevalence of graves with elements of such an imperial repertoire of objects is predictably highest at Neuss, followed by Beverley Road and Nijmegen-Hunerberg (both over 50 percent of Claudio-Neronian graves), with a large gulf separating the other cemeteries where the same indicators are present in less than 25 percent of graves (Table 4.12). Isolating individual grave assemblages with one or more of these indicators produces a long list. To first separate what might amount to the more general imperial combinations of objects, Table 4.13 lists graves flagged according to the presence of objects with strong representational links to military and colonial communities, and then ranked according to the quantities of the most widely-circulating objects, in the order: a) military equipment, b) Lyon ware and eggshell ware cups, c) Lyon ware beakers, d) lamps, e) decorated *terra sigillata*, f) glass phials, g) plain *sigillata*, and h) coins. Predictably, the top 25 graves outlined in Table 4.13 are dominated by graves from cemeteries associated with military and colonial locations, highlighting a high degree of shared practice in the deposition of combinations of objects at Nijmegen-Hunerberg, Neuss, Beverley Road (Colchester), and to a lesser extent Trier St. Matthias. Only the pair of weapon-graves from Wederath stand out in this group as having potential connections with the *auxilia*.

More promising evidence for the impact of auxiliary recruitment on imperial objectscapes is provided in Table 4.14. This time the ranking of the same list of graves with military and colonial indicators is repeated based only on the quantities of Gallo-Belgic bowls and flask-jars. While the distribution of the bowl types in question tends to be more universal across northern Gaul and the Rhine (Fig. 4.19), flask-jars have a much stronger correlation with civilian locations in northwest Belgica. As a result, graves

[337] Swan 2009, 14-65.

[338] Bishop 1988, 71; CIL XIII 8308.

Cemetery	Region	Total graves	Imperial repertoire	Percentage
Neuss	North Rhine-Westphalia	23	20	87.0
Beverley Rd. (Col.)	Essex	31	18	58.1
Nij.-Hunerberg	Gelderland	85	47	55.3
Feulen	Luxembourg	18	4	22.2
Cambrai	Nord	10	2	20.0
Lebach	Saarland	58	9	15.5
Bavay	Nord	13	2	15.4
Baralle	Pas-de-Calais	18	2	11.1
Wederath	Rhineland-Pfalz	187	19	10.2
Fouches	Luxembourg	25	2	8.0
Chantemelle	Luxembourg	29	2	6.9
Sampont	Luxembourg	20	1	5.0
Kortrijk	West Vlaanderen	23	1	4.3
King Harry Lane	Hertfordshire	158	5	3.2
Blicquy	Hainaut	33	1	3.0
Pepper Hill	Kent	50	1	2.0

Table 4.12. The prevalence of graves featuring objects associated with a military/imperial repertoire in northwest Europe in the Claudio-Neronian period (c. AD 40-70).

associated with military and colonial sites are in the minority in Table 4.14. The specific combination of Gallo-Belgic bowls and flask-jars is most closely associated with cemeteries of the Gallic Atrebates (Baralle, Cambrai, Noyelles-Godault, and Hénin-Beaumont) (see links between types from Colchester and the continent in Fig. 4.8). Three graves from Beverley Road (Colchester) are present in this list. Two include both distinctive categories of vessels (graves 12 and 13), alongside grave 33 which includes three B27 bowls of Gallic genealogy. The transplanting of such resolutely northern Gallic selections of objects in the context of the cemetery associated with Colchester's veteran colony is highly suggestive of a direct link with auxiliary recruitment from northern Gaul, possibly the Nervii, Menapii, or Tungri. While this link should not come as a big surprise,[339] it presents a new slant on the micro-historical scenario of Colchester at this time. Rather than dealing with the old categories of Roman and native, close analysis of the evidence reveals distinctions between the Catuvellaunian elite, who had long modelled their strategies of funerary display on those of the Treveri, in southeast Belgica, and the incoming colonists, whose commemorative material practices looked instead to the communities of the Rhine frontier, and to a lesser extent (paradoxically), to less developed Gallic societies in northwest Belgica.

How significant was the influence of auxiliary recruitment from northern Gaul on the development of imperial objectscapes in the Claudio-Neronian period? The patterns emerging from the analysis in this chapter, as seen most clearly in the case of object selections made in the cemetery of Colonia Victricensis at Colchester, only concern a minority of graves. While auxiliary recruitment is well-documented historically in this period and thus presents an attractive explanatory model, we should also bear in mind other possibilities could account for the presence of such apparently alien objects, such as the movement

[339] Swan 2009, 36-37 notes 'there is stronger evidence for the possible presence of Gauls at Colchester than at any other military / urban site in the province apart from London.'

Cemetery	Grave	Military equipment	Melon beads	Coins	Glass phials	Glass vs	Lamps	Hof. 22	Hof. 25/26	Decorated TS	Plain TS	GB bowls	Honeypots	Mortaria	Flagons	Lids
Wederath	1344	2		1											1	
Wederath	2215	1		2		1				1	1				2	
Beverley Rd. (Col.)	Child			36		2	1	2	1	3	1		2		1	
Nij.-Hunerberg	60							2								
Nij.-Hunerberg	17							2								
Neuss	286						1	1	2	1	1				3	1
Neuss	431		1	1	1		1	1	1		1				2	
Nij.-Hunerberg	7						1	1	1		1					
Neuss	282						1	1	1					1	3	
Nij.-Hunerberg	74							1	1							
Nij.-Hunerberg	2				2		1	1		1	6				1	
Trier	909-114				1		1	1							2	
Nij.-Hunerberg	114				1		1	1								
Nij.-Hunerberg	43						1	1							1	
Trier	905-68						1	1								
Neuss	313							1		3	4				3	1
Beverley Rd. (Col.)	MFF				1			1								
Nij.-Hunerberg	4							1			5				1	
Beverley Rd. (Col.)	11							1			4					
Nij.-Hunerberg	86							1			3	1			2	
Trier	907-6			1				1			1				3	
Neuss	267			1				1							2	
Nij.-Hunerberg	68							1							4	
Neuss	345							1								
Neuss	428							1								

Table 4.13. The selected contents of graves featuring objects with strong representational associations with military and colonial communities. Graves from cemeteries lacking direct military and colonial associations are highlighted in grey.

of civilians attracted by the possibilities of beginning new lives in major new cities, as well as the unofficial wives and families of soldiers and veterans. Auxiliary recruitment is one of many ways in which objects made in northern Gaul could have impacted on the objectscapes of military and colonial communities, as seen previously with the supply of Gallo-Belgic wares to the Kops Plateau command post (Chapter 3).

Cemetery	Grave	Coins	Glass phials	Lamps	Lyon ware	Plain TS	B1-5	B6-11	B14-20	B21-27	B28-36	GB bowls	BT1-4	Honeypots	Mortaria	Flagons	Lids
Beverley Rd. (Col.)	33									3		3				1	
Thure	39	2					2					2					
Beverley Rd. (Col.)	12							1				1	3		1		1
Hénin-Beaumont	1476					5			1			1	1			1	
Noyelles-Godault	21						1					1	1			1	
Beverley Rd. (Col.)	13										1	1	1			1	
Baralle	10									1		1	1				
Cambrai	108									1		1	1				
Nij.-Hunerberg	81			1		4	1					1					
Neuss	293-4								1			1				4	1
Nij.-Hunerberg	86				1	3		1				1				2	
Lebach	185					1				1		1				1	
Trier	1910-932			1		1	1					1				2	1
Lebach	93							1				1		1		3	
Nij.-Hunerberg	50		1			2		1				1				1	
Feulen	151							1				1				1	
Bavay	69									1		1				2	
Lebach	153							1				1				2	
Baralle	14	1								1		1				1	
Wederath	1296	1							1			1				1	
Wederath	1842	3						1				1					
Wederath	1529								1			1		1		1	
Wederath	1036									1		1				1	
Nij.-Hunerberg	35					1		1				1				1	
Wederath	1032	1							1			1				1	

Table 4.14. The selected contents of graves featuring objects with military and colonial associations, ranked according to the presence of Gallo-Belgic bowls and flask-jars. Graves from cemeteries lacking direct military and colonial associations are highlighted in grey.

4.4.4 STANDARDISED OBJECTS IN FUNERARY OBJECTSCAPES, C. AD 40 – 70

As the previous section demonstrates, zooming into the micro-scale analysis of object selections within specific grave assemblages is an illuminative way of exploring the intersection between the supply and use of objects by different communities, and the deliberate social practices of selecting artefacts for deposition in funerary contexts. Therefore, to explore the bigger picture of patterns of object selection within graves from across northwest Europe, the present section retains a focus on the detail of object selection in 837 Claudio-Neronian graves, using Correspondence Analysis (Fig. 4.20). The CA plots use the same colour-coding system as earlier examples in this chapter. The upper-plot, showing the disposition of graves according to their contents, features graves from southeast Britain (red), northwest Belgica (magenta), southeast Belgica (green), the Netherlands (Nijmegen-Hatert cemetery, orange), and locations characterised by deterritorialised imperial styles of consumption (blue – in this case, Trier, Nijmegen-Hunerberg, Neuss, Cologne, and Beverley Road, Colchester). The lower-plot breaks down objects as follows: *terra sigillata* (red); objects with

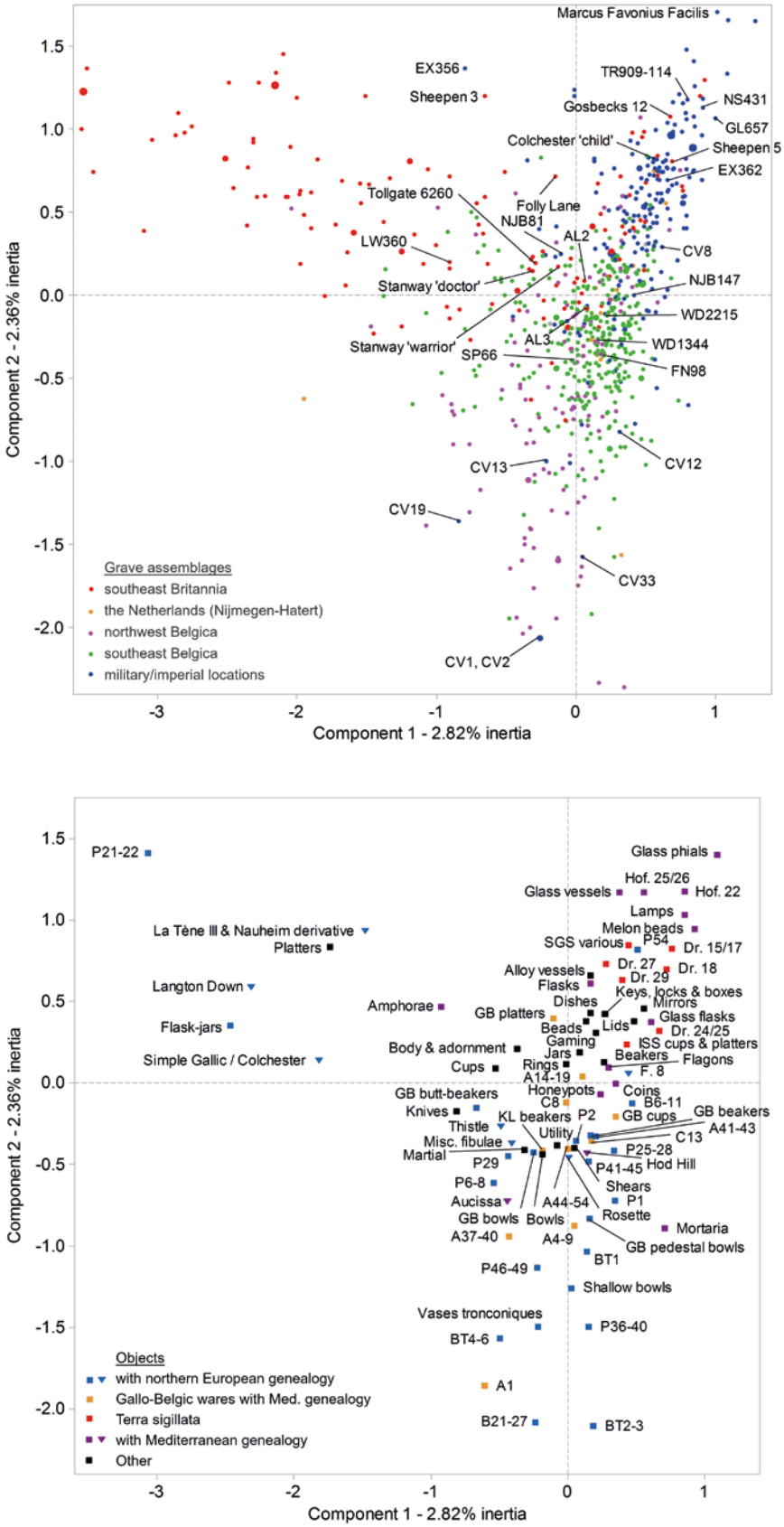


Figure 4.20. Correspondence Analysis of the contents of 837 graves from northwest Europe, c. AD 40–70. The upper plot shows patterning by grave, with corresponding associations of objects in the lower plot.

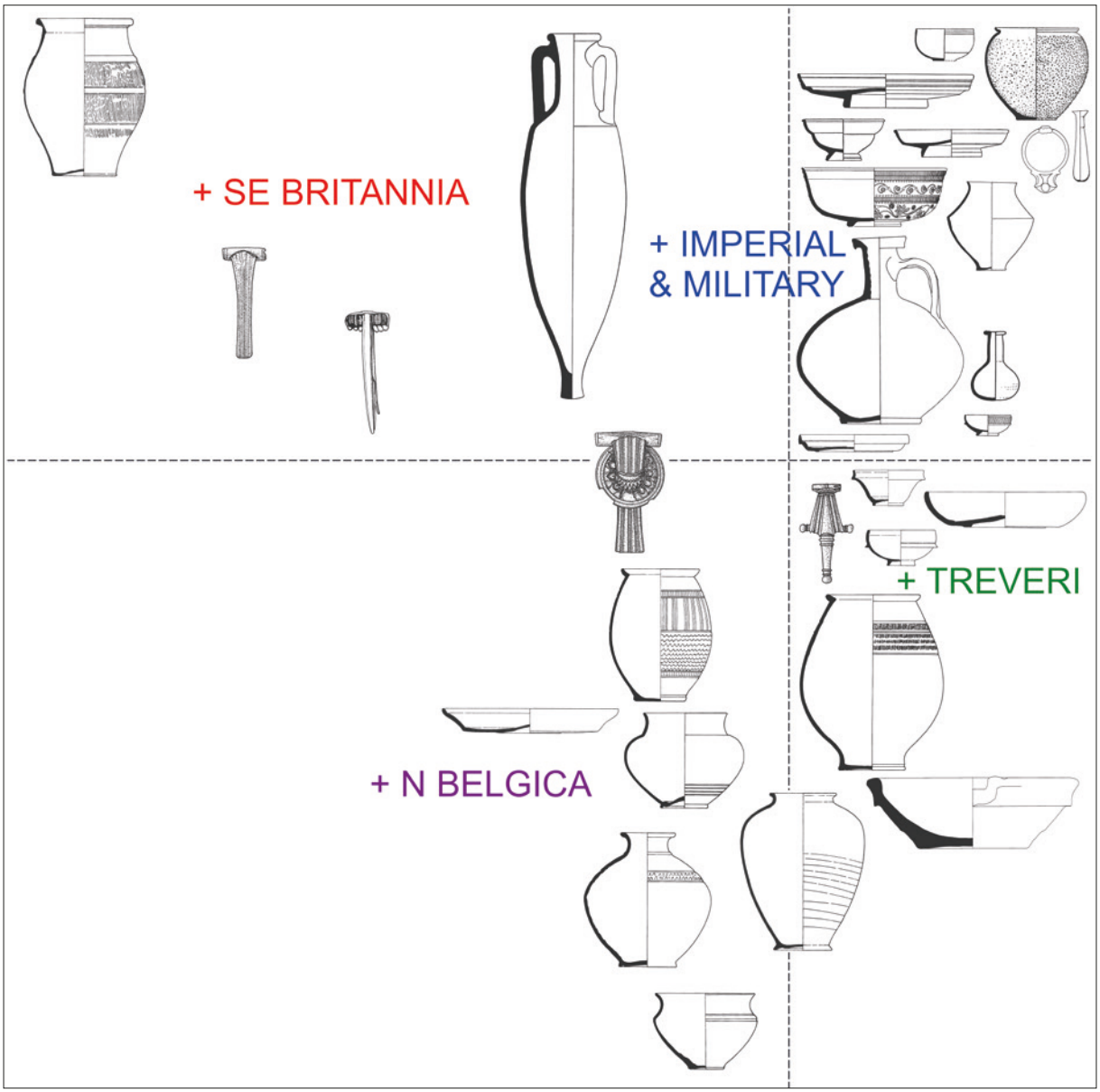


Figure 4.21. Interpretive schematic of Fig. 4.20. Positions of selected objects are approximate.

military and colonial associations, including Lyon ware, glass vessels, lamps, melon beads, honeypots, mortaria, Aucissa, and Hod Hill brooches (purple); Gallo-Belgic wares with northern European genealogy (blue); Gallo-Belgic wares with Mediterranean genealogy (orange); and other finds (black). An interpretive schematic summarising the main patterns in terms of the appearance of common object types is provided in Fig. 4.21.

Starting with the biggest patterns in Fig. 4.20, CA of Claudio-Neronian graves reveals similar results to the equivalent analysis of Augustan-Tiberian graves in Chapter 3, with distinct yet partially overlapping clusters of graves for each of the major regions included in analysis. The main differences this time include a more pronounced grouping of graves from northwest Belgica in the lower reaches of the CA plot, and a much more concentrated cluster of graves characterised by deterritorialised 'imperial' combinations of objects in the upper-right quadrant. Both patterns attest to a greater number of graves included in analysis. Previously distinct clusters of graves associated with southeast

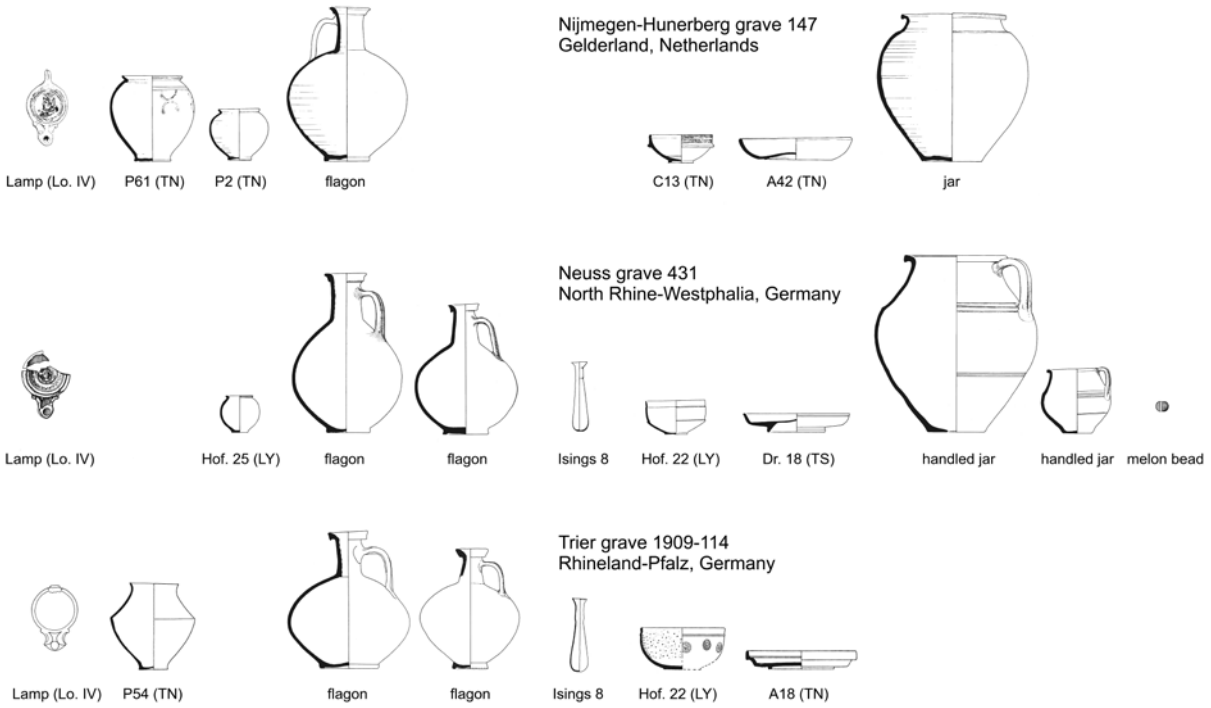


Figure 4.22. The contents of selected graves from the deterritorialised 'imperial' cluster in Fig. 4.20. Trier objects reconstructed from standard typologies; Nijmegen-Hunerberg objects after Haalebos 1998, 25; Neuss objects after Müller 1977, Taf. 82.

Britain and southeast Belgica continue to make-up important clusters. While the basis for the regional groupings of graves continues to be driven by butt-beaker forms for southeast Britain (P21-22) and southeast Belgica (P1), northwest Belgica instead corresponds to Gallo-Belgic flask-jar forms (BT2-3 and 4-6), bowls (B21-27), and jars (P46-49). Crucially, all these vessels can be described as northern European innovations, lacking obvious Mediterranean genealogy and wider pan-regional circulations. It is noteworthy that six graves from the Beverley Road cemetery in Colchester, associated with the settlement of Colonia Victricensis (CV1, 2, 12, 13, 19 and 33) are plotted in the same area of Fig. 4.20 dominated by the magenta points of northwest Belgica, further underlining the likely connection between auxiliary recruitment from this area and the make-up of military and veteran communities at Colchester.

In contrast with the regionally-derived clusters of graves driven by innovative northern European styles of ceramics, the imperial cluster of the upper-right quadrant of Fig. 4.20 corresponds to a distinctly different package of objects. At the upper-right extremities of the CA plot, indicating objects least likely to be associated with regionally-rooted funerary objectscapes, are plotted a tight cluster of glass phials, Lyon ware vessels (Hof. 22 cups and Hof. 25/26 beakers), other glass vessels, lamps, and melon beads (all purple). The labelled graves corresponding to this cluster include that of the centurion Marcus Favonius Facilis, as well as a handful of funerary assemblages from various cemeteries including Trier, Neuss, Gloucester, Nijmegen-Hunerberg, and Beverley Road. A second cluster of *terra sigillata* vessels (red) is plotted closer to the centre of the graph, indicating the greater dispersal of these types beyond the imperial sphere compared with the Augustan-Tiberian era, but still largely corresponding to graves from cemeteries from military and colonial locations.

To illustrate what this means in real terms, the contents of three labelled graves from the blue imperial part of the CA plot – Neuss 431, Trier 1909-114, and Njimegen-Hunerberg 147 are illustrated in Fig. 4.22. The uniformity in the stylistic and functional selections of objects between these three graves is immediately striking – all three include an oil lamp, a hemispherical cup (two in Lyon ware), a platter

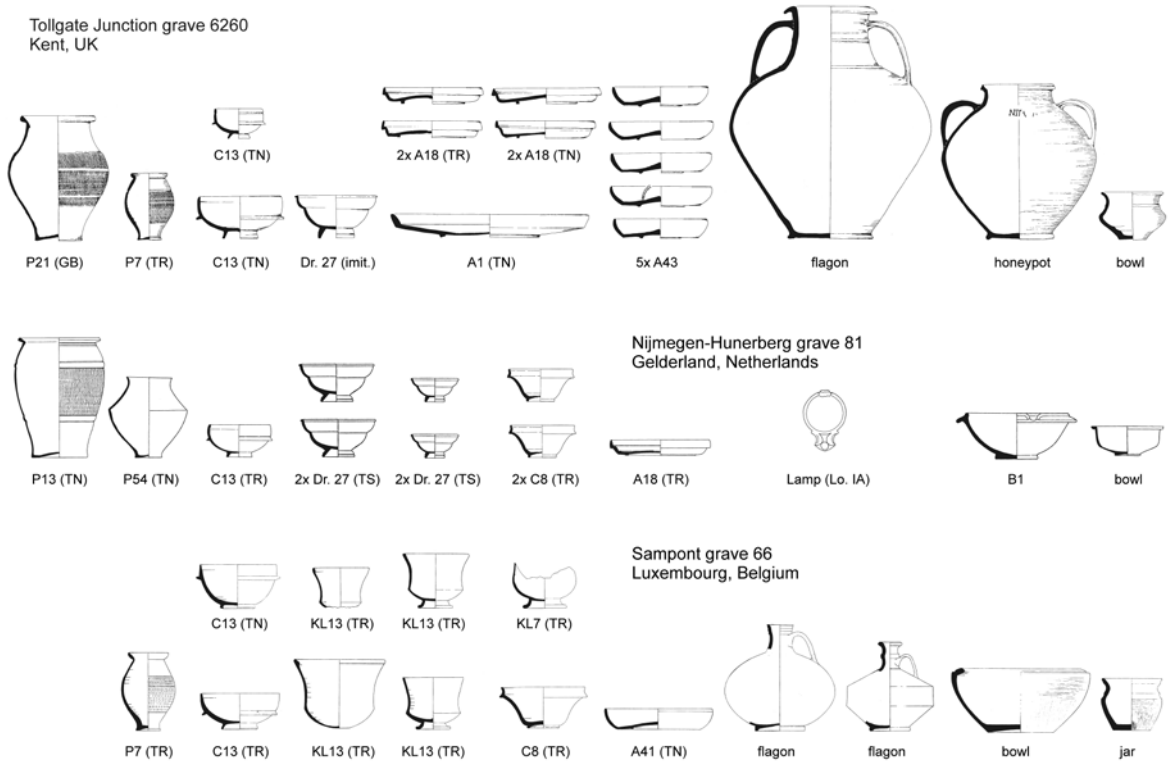


Figure 4.23. The contents of selected graves from Fig. 4.20, highlighting selections of objects with trans-regional circulations. Nijmegen-Hunerberg objects reconstructed from standard typologies; Tollgate Junction objects after Allen et al. 2012, 330, Fig. 4.6; Sampont objects after Noël 1968, 57-58, Figs. 34-35.

(two in *terra sigillata*), one or two flagons, and a beaker – crucially *not* butt-beakers, but two in Lyon ware, and one in *terra nigra*. In addition, two of the graves each contained a pair of glass phials of the same type (Isings 8). The likeness of these deliberate combinations is astonishing given the distance between Trier, Nijmegen, and Neuss. The strong similarities in the selection of objects point to the existence of significant levels of shared culture within the mobile societies who lived at major urban and military locations in this period. Not all assemblages with imperial-style selections of objects can be understood as completely deterritorialised, however. In this regard, Nijmegen-Hunerberg 147 is plotted closer to the plot centre because of the inclusion of a P61 beaker, which had a highly-regionalised distribution (as discussed further in Chapter 5 on the Flavian period, when it was more prevalent). It is also striking that the two graves featuring Roman military equipment from Wederath (WD2215 and WD1344) are plotted alongside other graves from Treveran territory (green), in large part aligning them with the dwindling practice of including weapons in graves in southeast Belgica.

If funerary objectscapes associated with military and major urban centres in the Roman northwest can be described as deterritorialised, what of the equivalent selections made in cemeteries associated with indigenous and more rural-based societies? To explore such patterns beyond the urban and military sphere, I deliberately selected three graves from the centre of the CA plot in Fig. 4.20 that did not overlap with the cluster of blue 'imperial' graves, but were otherwise plotted close to the interface of clusters from southeast Britannia and parts of Belgica. I also purposefully selected graves that included suites of pottery geared towards communal consumption as opposed to individual dining, as well as the newly popular Gallo-Belgic cups (C13), one of a series of vessels that had seemingly begun to challenge the dominance of butt-beakers in graves across the wider region. The assemblages in question are illustrated in Fig. 4.23,

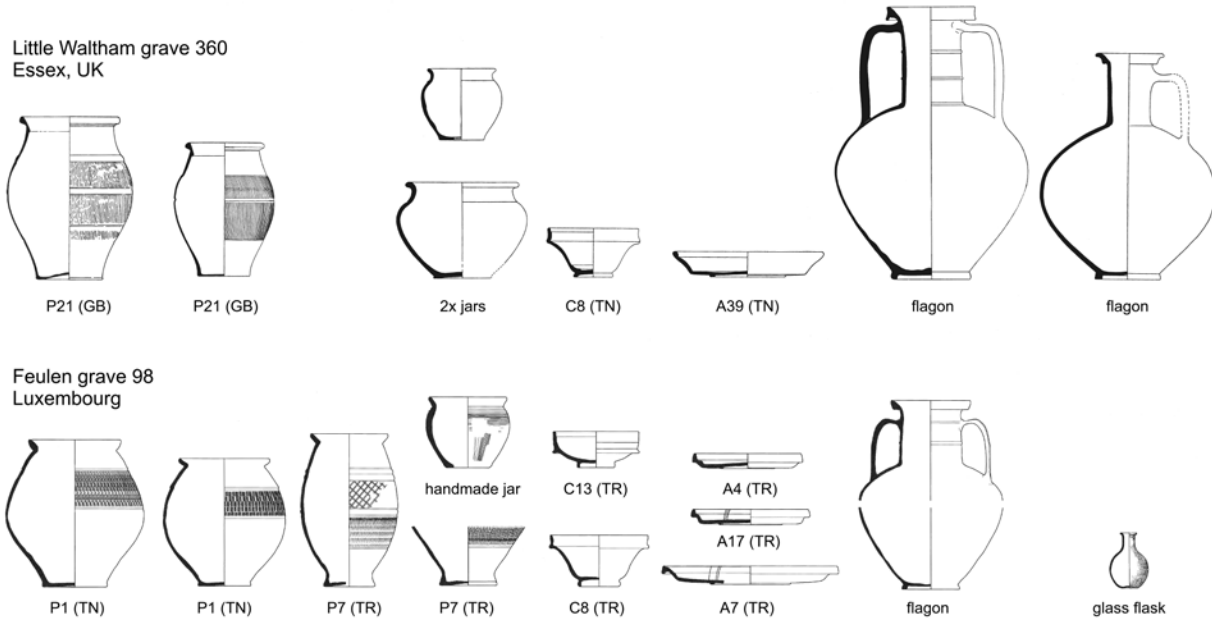


Figure 4.24. The contents of selected graves from Fig. 4.20, highlighting selections of objects with regional circulations. Little Waltham pottery reconstructed from Hawkes/Hull 1947; Feulen objects after Schendzielorz 2006, Taf. 57.

and come from Tollgate Junction (Kent, grave 6260), Sampont (Belgian Luxembourg, grave 66), and Nijmegen-Hunerberg (grave 81). While grave 81 from Nijmegen is clearly at the imperial end of the spectrum with a lamp and four Drag. 27 *sigillata* cups, its other object selections are more firmly regionalised, including a range of Gallo-Belgic wares and a P13 butt-beaker that has a highly local circulation across northwest Belgica. Sampont grave 66 and Tollgate 6260 likewise include butt-beakers alongside a range of Gallo-Belgic cups, platters, and dishes, and all three graves feature flagons. A copper-alloy cauldron in Tollgate grave 6260 juxtaposes a diagnostic piece of Iron Age feasting gear with objects evoking urban sociability, including a copper-alloy patera and a low table on which several of the pottery vessels were placed in the grave. In sum, these three grave assemblages again testify to strikingly synchronous continuities and changes in the use of objects from three very different locations. The continued selection of older Gallo-Belgic vessels such as butt-beakers, ostensibly as part of funerary repertoires geared towards communal consumption, highlights a rootedness in funerary practice that can be traced back to the late Iron Age. At the same time, each selection includes new styles of objects that more directly evoke styles of consumption associated with urban settings, underlined by the selection of *terra sigillata* cups and their imitations in Gallo-Belgic ware.

While the selection of objects in the funerary sphere increasingly took on a pan-regional flavour in the Claudio-Neronian period, it is important to examine those grave assemblages that may have been disconnected from more universal phenomena, as plotted in non-overlapping clusters in Fig. 4.20. Fig. 4.24 illustrates two grave assemblages from more rural locations deliberately selected for the inclusion of objects with more regionally restricted distributions – Little Waltham 360 (Essex, featuring P21 butt-beakers), and Feulen 98 (Luxembourg, featuring P1 butt-beakers). Nevertheless, closer inspection reveals despite the inclusion of pairs of regionally-specific butt-beakers, both graves share remarkably similar assemblages – both feature the older C8 Gallo-Belgic cups (imitating Italian-style *sigillata* form Cons. 17), alongside flagons in the same style, and various Gallo-Belgic platters and dishes. While it should have been possible to select a different pair of graves with more distinctly contrasting regional combinations of objects, the essential similarity of these two grave assemblages underlines the difficulty of drawing clear boundaries between cultural groups based on disparities in material culture in this highly-connected

Figure 4.25. The contents of the Neronian graves 356 (top) and 362 (bottom) from Holloway Street, Exeter. Courtesy Thomas Cadbury, Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter.

environment. Indeed, this example demonstrates that the selection of objects from a truly pan-regional circulating repertoire was by no means confined to the realm of elite society and the most richly-furnished graves, such as the Stanway 'warrior' and 'doctor' that plot outside their regional clusters towards the middle of Fig. 4.20, or indeed the Folly Lane shaft grave, which plots towards the cluster of imperial graves to the upper-right of the CA plot.

Many of the patterns and examples that I have illuminated in the discussion of Fig. 4.20 involve graves from indigenous traditions increasingly drawing upon objects and styles from imperial objectscapes and the Mediterranean world. Of course, although less common, there are many other examples of graves from military and colonial locations that include objects with northern European

genealogies. One such example is the occurrence of distinctive Gallo-Belgic flask-jars and bowls in the graves associated with Colchester's fortress and veteran colony at Beverley Road. Another example comes from a small Neronian cemetery associated with the military base at Exeter, which was at the time home to *Legio II Augusta*. Fig. 4.25 illustrates the contents of these graves. On the one hand, grave EX362 is awash with a variety of objects that one might expect to find in a military context – large quantities of *terra sigillata*, including decorated forms, fragments of Lyon ware, flagons, a mortarium, a bronze As of Nero, a blue glass jar, and even a copper-alloy Victory figurine. In contrast, grave EX356 includes a rare glass funnel, a Lyon ware beaker, and several fragmentary flagons. The grave is crucially plotted somewhere *between* the blue and red clusters in Fig. 4.20 largely due to the additional presence of a Cam 113 or P22 butt-beaker.[340] To my knowledge, this is the only beaker of its kind from Roman Exeter. Its deliberate inclusion in a grave from the military phase of Exeter's development raises many questions, not least because the inclusion of this vessel fits the profile of graves hundreds of miles away from rural Essex and Camulodunum. At the same time, the absence of *terra sigillata* and other dining vessels in the grave, coupled with the assemblage's emphasis on drinking, also fits practices more common at rural cemeteries with pre-conquest origins in southern Britain and northern Gaul. Of course, we have no way of knowing who the deceased individual buried in this grave was, and whether the objects were the deceased's possessions or gifts of the buriers. But perhaps these questions are not so important. What matters is the highly distinctive combinations of objects drawn from very different ends of an increasingly pan-regional inter-artefactual domain, that were consciously used to create a locally atypical funerary image in a military context. As well as illustrating the high mobility of objects and people in a place far-removed from the centre of the empire, the deliberate selections of objects with highly specific genealogies in grave EX356 strongly evoke the non-military objectscapes of southeast Britain, and perhaps even northern Gaul. This example thus underlines both the essential permeability of imperial objectscapes and the cultural diversity of Roman military communities.

4.5 IMPERIAL STYLES OF CONSUMPTION, ROMAN URBANISM AND REGIONAL DIVERSITY

In scrutinising various aspects of Claudio-Neronian objectscapes from across northwest Europe, this chapter has revealed crucial shifts in the designs, circulations, and deliberate selections of objects within funerary settings. Coinciding with the conquest of southeast Britain and the imperial project of developing colonies and cities on both sides of the Channel, objects such as *terra sigillata* and glass vessels became increasingly widespread, and were less concentrated at military bases and major urban centres than in the preceding period. At the same time, objects associated with distinctive late Iron Age practices such as communal feasting became ever more scarce, corresponding with declines in the deliberate placement of animal remains and weapons in graves. Fibulae, one of the major constituent elements of later Iron Age objectscapes, had never been deposited in significant numbers in graves associated with military bases and new urban centres, and were now beginning to fall into terminal decline across the wider region. Likewise, even the large drinking vessels popularised among local communities in the Augustan object-boom

[340] Cool/Leary 2012 consider the contents of these graves to relate to funerary feasting rather than being formal grave goods, owing to the fragmentary nature of the vessels and what they consider to be unusual for military graves of the first century AD in Britain. While the present study makes no distinction between different kinds of grave inclusion, it should be noted that the presence of both *terra sigillata* and mortaria are not necessarily unusual for graves associated with military bases in continental Europe.

had begun to decline in most locations, to be replaced by cups in many grave assemblages. Other new pottery forms, such as plates and flagons, continued to be placed in graves with ever greater frequency. These general trends add up to a pronounced emphasis on objects evoking urban lifestyles rather than the practices and memories of the dim and distant late Iron Age.

The highest status communities in the new system, made up of Roman citizens in the form of legionary soldiers, veteran colonists, their families and dependents, tended to mark themselves out by distinct selections of objects, often including *terra sigillata*, lamps, and glass vessels. Even scarcer items such as eggshell ware cups link the grave of the Roman centurion Marcus Favonius Facilis of *Legio* XX with the tribune's house at Colchester, and the Rhine military base at Neuss, where Marcus' unit was stationed before its participation in the invasion of Britain. Other graves from the same cemetery at Colchester featured similarly rare Gallo-Belgic vessels that suggest links with auxiliary recruitment in northwest Belgica, perhaps among the Nervii, Menapii, or Tungri. Outside the veteran colony, however, the remaining Catuvellaunian elite continued to place combinations of objects in their graves that evoked not only the practices of the pre-Roman British aristocracy, but also rural societies across northern Gaul.

These patterns probably only scratch the surface of the complex web of connections and interactions that spanned the breadth of northwest Europe at this time. The existence of rigid boundaries between military and civilian, Roman and native, and urban and rural are unsupported by the evidence, although important distinctions based on circulation patterns and regional practices may still be made. Another perceived boundary that has long dogged archaeologists of Roman Britain – that of the Channel – does not appear to have been especially meaningful in terms of patterns of object circulation and funerary practice. A connected Roman world did not just come about in the aftermath of conquest, but rather built on generations of ebbs and flows in the movement of people and objects. In this way, there could be few genuine 'Christopher Columbus moments' left by the mid-first century AD,[341] even this far away from the perceived centre of the Roman world. Cross-Channel connections rooted in kinship and clientship in the late Iron Age, followed by southern British participation in the Augustan object-boom, meant that AD 43 could never have meaningfully resembled AD 1492.

How then should we explain the emergence of imperial objectscapes alongside the persistence of object selections still very much rooted in late Iron Age practices, as seen most clearly in the results of Correspondence Analysis in this chapter? At this point it is important to reassert that material culture is not innately political, but its appearance is nevertheless subject to the inter-artefactual domain. This means that rooted, regionally innovative objects and styles were more likely to occur in scenarios characterised by blockages and bottle-necks in the flows of objects that led to the comparative isolation of some parts of the inter-artefactual domain, as seen from a pan-regional perspective. An important reason why some parts of northwest Europe are described as undergoing slow or late Romanisation is not necessarily because people uniformly rejected Roman culture and resisted political domination, but rather because locally weak connectivity lessened the flows of people and objects, in turn leading to relatively anaemic integration with the pan-regional inter-artefactual domain. Of course, connectivity in the Roman world was often very much a product of political decision making, with the creation of the Rhine frontier, the road network in Gaul, and a great deal of urban infrastructure testament to this phenomenon. At the same time, the primary aim of such developments was never to encourage northern Gallic societies to adopt new styles of consumption and funerary practice.

In sum, Claudio-Neronian consumption patterns and funerary practices changed not so much as overt political statements, but rather as innovations arising from the collision of pre-Roman cultural practices and objectscapes with the opportunities and constraints afforded by new conditions of increased connectivity. From this perspective, the distinctive funerary practices of the Catuvellaunian aristocracy of the 40s to 50s AD resonate very closely with those of the Treveri at Goeblange-Nospelt over half a century earlier

[341] Versluys 2015a, 145.

at the end of the first century BC. Both phenomena represent the last phase of an extravagant late Iron Age funerary practice that emphasised communal feasting, in which new objects and styles with Mediterranean genealogy were deliberately integrated and experimented with. The graves in question embody a sudden step-change that would reverberate through society as a whole – *not* the military and political domination of society by Rome, but rather the direct connection of the inter-artefactual domains from parts of Belgica and Britain with those of the bigger Roman world.

5 Local elites, imperial culture, and provincial objectscapes

5.1 PERSPECTIVES ON FLAVIAN ROMANISATION

This chapter deals with objectscapes of the Roman northwest in the last decades of the first century AD, archaeologically-speaking, c. AD 70-100. Historically, the period is framed by the beginning and end of Flavian dynasty, from the accession of Vespasian in AD 69 to the demise of Domitian in AD 96. In this important era of tumult and rebirth, the northwest provinces underwent major changes and directly contributed to shaping the new geo-politics of the Roman empire. A mere seven years after the destructive Boudican revolt had laid waste to much of Britannia's urban infrastructure, the rebellion of Gallic senator Vindex precipitated the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty with the suicide of Nero. In the power vacuum that followed, another revolt led by the Batavian auxiliary commander Civilis had to be quelled before Vespasian's position could be properly secured by AD 70. Archaeologists and historians have long speculated about the impact of these events on societies in the northwest provinces. Whereas once upon a time the historical narrative informed by ancient written sources was used to structure the emerging riches of archaeological data,[342] postcolonial scholarship from the 1990s onward preferred to invert this relationship by stressing the role of archaeology in recovering 'native voices' missing in the accounts of Greek and Roman authors, with particular emphasis on addressing questions of cultural and political resistance – although seldom with specific reference to the Flavian era.[343]

To explore further, let us examine the influence of a text of direct relevance to part of the region in question. For Britannia, Tacitus' description of the encouragement given by his father-in-law Agricola to the British aristocracy looms large in attempts to understand Flavian Romanisation.[344] While Tacitus presents Agricola as an exemplary provincial governor who stimulated urban development and the adoption of Roman cultural practices, the modern consensus is to emphasise the *laissez faire* attitude of the Roman authorities in such affairs, who are thought to have relied instead upon competition between local aristocrats to transform provincial societies within a broad Roman cultural framework.[345] The modern search for archaeological correlates of the phenomena described by Tacitus has predictably focused on urban change and the evidence for the agency of local elites.[346] The Flavian period witnessed considerable urban development in Britain, with military advances paving the way for the creation of new cities and the construction of new public buildings and amenities in older Julio-Claudian towns.[347] Archaeological indicators of the Romanisation process in Britain famously proposed by Martin Millett include the spread of villa architecture and the adoption of *terra sigillata* in rural settings.[348] The appearance of these

[342] Frere 1987 is a good example.

[343] Hingley 1997; Webster 1997, 2003; Mattingly 2006, 353-427.

[344] Tacitus, *Agricola* 21.

[345] Millett 1990, 69-101 provides a definitive account, cf. Creighton 2006 for further development of these ideas concerning urban change in Britain.

[346] Blagg 1990 presents a comparative analysis of building inscriptions from Britain, Gaul, and Germany, cf. Revell 2009 who approaches the issue by examining the relationship between new built environments and the elaboration of cultural identity.

[347] Wacher 1995, 27, 302-377; Creighton 2006, 123-156. On the possibility of Trajanic/Hadrianic dates for some developments, see Mattingly 2006, 278-279.

[348] Millett 1990, 91-99.

objects and buildings in the countryside have been loosely connected with Tacitus' priggish remark about the Britons becoming enslaved by the allurements of elegant banquets (alongside colonnades and warm baths),[349] and is seemingly supported by the emphasis on feasting in the burial practices at some Flavian cemeteries, such as Alton, a cemetery examined in further detail in this chapter.[350]

Britannia is in many ways an ideal laboratory to explore Flavian Romanisation – with several new cities planned if not fully-formed, a *carte blanche* for rebuilding the towns destroyed in the Boudican revolt, and a long history of scientific excavation. However, it is arguable that some of these opportunities have inadvertently fostered a situation in which developments in Britain have been understood largely in isolation from the rest of Roman northwest Europe. An important factor is the lingering influence of the *Agricola* text, which implicitly casts cultural interaction between 'native' Britons and 'Roman' administrators and generals. Of course, Tacitus' motivation was not to write an objective description of Romanisation, but rather to provide a critical reflection on the political situation of the late 90s AD, with its implicit scathing judgements on the reign of Domitian.[351] But even in the world of politics, it should be remembered that the Flavian-era administration in Britain was neither wholly Italian nor culturally homogenous, and instead reflected an increasingly plural reality of what it meant to be Roman at this time. For example, we know of many men who built their careers not in Rome and Italy, but in the Rhineland and northern Gaul, where the legions involved in the conquest of Britain had been first stationed. Several prominent administrators were even of Gallic descent. Whereas Agricola himself came from southern Gaul, Julius Alpinus Classicianus, procurator in Britain from AD 61, is generally assumed to be a northern Gallic nobleman, and was commemorated by his wife Julia Pacata, the daughter of a Treveran aristocrat, using a style of monument that is otherwise known in the vicinity of Trier.[352] If individuals from northern Gaul could be involved in the upper echelons of provincial government in Britain, it follows that there was considerable scope for cross-provincial interactions to impact on other aspects of society, and indeed, the use of objects on both sides of the Channel.

5.2 FLAVIAN CONNECTIVITY AND LOCAL ARISTOCRACIES

One way to test the notion that connectivity continued to matter in northwest Europe in the aftermath of Julio-Claudian conquest is to take a closer look at the local aristocracy. According to what has been described as the 'elite negotiation model' of Romanisation,[353] it is the ruling elite, often people assumed to be descended from the pre-conquest nobility, who are cast as the main agents of material changes in the northwestern provinces – especially the changes that drew inspiration from a broadly Roman cultural vocabulary.[354] According to the model, the practicalities of maintaining power at a local level necessitated the adoption of certain aspects of the conquerors' lifestyles, and in particular, their *perceived* symbols of authority and status – and it is this motive, above all others, that governed the selection of material culture. It follows that a good place to start a more detailed study of Flavian objectscapes in the northwest provinces is to examine graves that may be considered the final resting places for people from the upper echelons of society. To begin with, I have selected three richly furnished Flavian period graves to illustrate the kinds of 'things' that mattered in the civilian elite or sub-elite sphere at the end of the first century AD, with one each from Britannia, Gallia Belgica, and Germania Inferior. These comprise grave 9 from the wealthy cemetery of Ulpia Noviomagus at Nijmegen (Fig. 5.1),[355] identified as belonging to a woman

[349] Tacitus, *Agricola* 21.

[350] Millett 1986b.

[351] Braund 1996, 151-176.

[352] RIB 12; Birley 1979, 49; Pearce 2010, 82.

[353] James 2001, who criticises the model for its inadequate coverage of non-elite society.

[354] Most convincingly argued by Millett 1990; Woolf 1998; Creighton 2006.

[355] Koster 2013, 58-62.

Figure 5.1. Grave 9 from the wealthy cemetery of Ulpia Noviomagus, Nijmegen (courtesy Annelies Koster and Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen).

aged between 20 and 40; a richly-furnished cremation including an iron tripod from St. Albans (Verulamium) of an unsexed adult that was found close to the SW gate of the city adjacent to the road leading to Silchester (Fig. 5.2);[356] and a comparatively modestly-furnished grave (135) of an unsexed young adult from Bavay's Fache des Près Aulnoys cemetery (Fig. 5.3),[357] located roughly 2km along the road to Trier. The graves in question are among the top 20 richest graves (see Table 5.8) from a larger sample of over 800 graves included in the project database from the period. The locations of the sites in question, in addition to others considered in this chapter, are illustrated in Fig. 5.4.

Examining our three graves in more detail, aside from the large numbers of grave goods, a striking feature of their assemblages is the recurring selection of the same classes of objects. All three graves

[356] Niblett/Reeves 1990.

[357] Loridant/Deru 2009, 156-161.

Figure 5.2. The tripod grave, Verulamium (courtesy David Thorold, Verulamium Museum, St. Albans).

include multiple *terra sigillata* vessels. The graves from Ulpia Noviomagus and Verulamium feature the same *terra sigillata* types, in similar ratios and sizes – the former including two medium-sized Drag. 27 cups, seven smaller Drag. 27s, and six Drag. 18 platters, and the latter including four medium and four small Drag. 27s, with four standard Drag. 18 platters, and one larger variant. In all three graves, the *terra sigillata* vessels form part of larger services of standardised pottery that seem geared towards commensal hospitality, with the possibility for multiple identical combinations of vessels for several diners, rather than being vessels for just one individual. While the case for a commensal service of vessels is harder to make in the more modestly-furnished grave from Bavay, the selections of pottery vessels nonetheless raise the possibility of emulative behaviour, with the substitution of non-identical pots with similar affordances to make up a service for two people: two identical *terra nigra* jars (P48), two *terra sigillata* hemispherical cups (forms Ritt. 8 and Drag. 24/25), and two platters, a *sigillata* Drag. 17 and a *terra nigra* A5. All three graves include at least one oil lamp and a glass vessel, as well as other objects traditionally associated with the

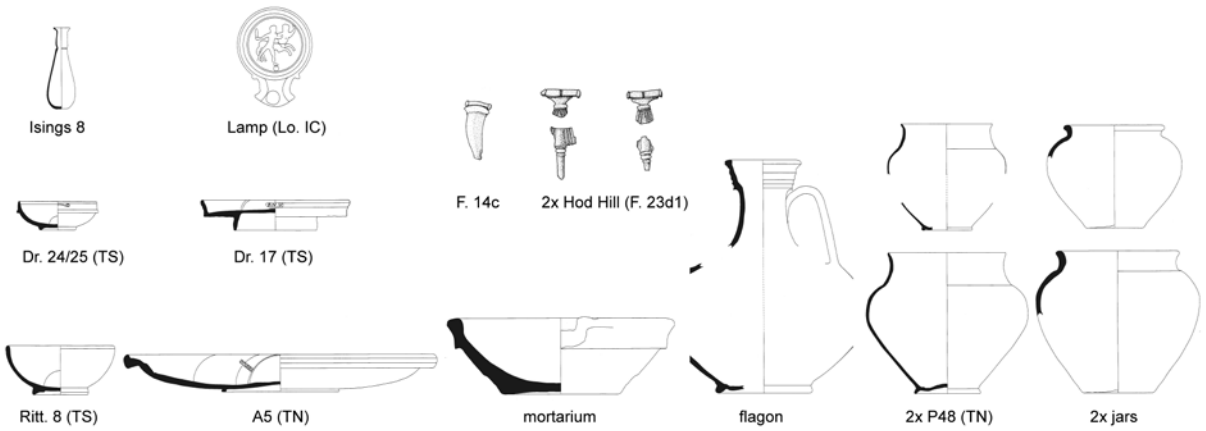


Figure 5.3. Objects from grave 135, Fache des Près Aulnoys cemetery, Bavay (after Loridant/Deru 2009, 160, Fig. 63).

adoption of Romanised practices – an inkwell and wax spatula at Nijmegen (literacy), a pair of strigils at St. Albans (bathing), and a mortarium at Bavay (food preparation).[358] Lastly, the richest pair of graves from Nijmegen and St. Albans are notable for the presence of what appear to be folding chairs, possibly identified as the *sella curulis*, a curule chair that was a potent symbol of authority appropriate for use by Roman magistrates.[359]

What kinds of insights may be gained by comparing these roughly contemporary graves from three different provinces? In the first place, all three graves attest to the continued importance of connectivity in enabling the wide circulation of standardised objects such as *terra sigillata*, glass vessels, and lamps, but more crucially, aspects of shared cultural practice in dictating the selection, sizes, and numbers of similar objects appropriate for high-status funerary settings. This is especially apparent in the choices of *sigillata* vessels and the rare folding chairs. Similar parallels could easily be drawn with other graves – for example, grave 8 from Ulpia Noviomagus (Fig. 5.7) also includes strigils alongside services of *terra sigillata* mirroring a key element in the Verulamium 'tripod' grave; grave 2 at Winchester Grange Road includes objects associated with literacy as well as the obligatory *terra sigillata* service,[360] this time echoing the rich graves at Ulpia Noviomagus. One could go on and on.[361] The same kinds of objects and practices also appear to have influenced graves defined by more unassuming levels of furnishing. While the existence of a shared cultural milieu linking municipal elites across provincial boundaries can be most compellingly argued for the graves from Ulpia Noviomagus and Verulamium, the selections of objects in the more modestly-furnished grave from Bavay share a similar logic, albeit enacted less ostentatiously with the more limited resources (seemingly) available to the buriers.

Further observations may be made about the specific nature of changes taking place in the Flavian period. Several of the grave goods in Ulpia Noviomagus grave 9 and the Verulamium 'tripod' burial were objects that had been closely associated with Claudio-Neronian military and colonial communities

[358] Cool 2004 cautions on the assumed link between mortaria and Roman cuisine, noting the prevalence of such vessels in low-status rural settlements from second century Britain. In the present study, however, mortaria correlate much more closely with locations associated with military and colonial populations (see previous chapter).

[359] Creighton 2000, 181-183.

[360] Biddle 1967.

[361] Another Flavian parallel for the assemblage in grave 2 at Winchester Grange Road can be found at Berlingen, northwest of Tongeren (not included in this study), which comprises several similar *sigillata* vessels (seven Drag. 27, three Drag. 18, and one Drag. 18R), lamps, and glass and alloy vessels (Willis 2011, 226; Roosens/Lux 1973, 26-29).

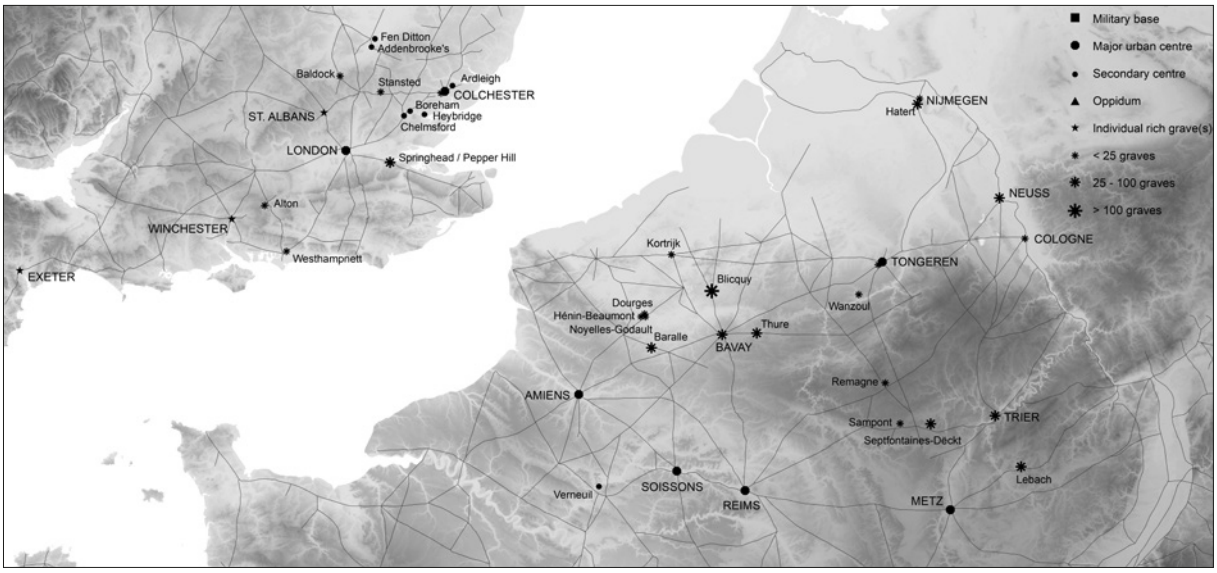


Figure 5.4. The locations of Flavian cemeteries, graves, and settlements considered in this chapter.

– namely the lamps and glass vessels. The universalisation of a particular 'military' style of consumption amongst civilian elites in the Flavian period underscores the role of military and veteran communities as a vector for the spread of new objects and practices, and probably reflects the prominence of military personnel in civilian societies, as well as the likelihood that some members of the municipal elite may have undertaken military service at earlier stages in their careers. Lastly, the absence of certain objects in these graves is particularly revealing. Gone are the amphorae and butt-beakers that had formed a mainstay of local elite funerary practice across the wider region in previous generations – most notably last seen in the rich Claudio-Neronian graves of the Catuvellauni, including the Folly Lane shaft burial, which only preceded the 'tripod' grave by one or two decades. Also, tellingly scarcer are Gallo-Belgic wares, which are absent from the 'tripod' grave at Verulamium and constitute only a tenth of vessels in Ulpia Noviomagus grave 9, and less than a third in Bavay grave 135. Fibulae, another common hallmark of regional burial practice dating back to the Iron Age, are only present in Bavay 135, this time in the form of the Hod Hill type, whose distribution closely correlated with military settlements in some regions.[362] Indeed, the prominence of Gallo-Belgic wares and fibulae in Bavay grave 135 serves to anchor its ensemble of objects at the more local end of the inter-artefactual domain, at least compared with the inherently deterritorialised grave repertoires from Nijmegen and St. Albans.

Taking a step back from the detailed evidence, it is easy to imagine how Flavian graves such as Ulpia Noviomagus 9 and the Verulamium 'tripod' neatly fit a narrative of 'becoming Roman' framed by the text of Tacitus' *Agricola*.[363] Elaborate dining services of *terra sigillata* alongside finds like strigils evoke a world of elegant banquets and baths described in *Agricola* 21. The placement of so many of these objects in funerary contexts seemingly emphasises the blunt naivety of provincial elites, who may well have mistaken the gaudy luxury of mass-produced objects for hallmarks of civilization. At the very least, the possibilities for making claims to status and exclusive forms of group-membership by ostentatiously disposing of such items in public rituals was not lost on Flavian local elites. It is less easy, however, to imagine a member of

[362] Pitts 2014.

[363] cf. Cool 2010, 27-28 on the wider phenomenon in southern British graves of the local aristocracy.

the senatorial elite such as Tacitus being impressed by such displays. Taken together, the clear parallels and chronological concordances between the account of Tacitus and the graves of the municipal Flavian elite seem to suggest a rare case in which the ancient written sources agree with the archaeological evidence. What, if anything, is wrong with this interpretation?

Despite some important resemblances, we must be wary in making too much of the links between the written sources and archaeological evidence. Like many ancient texts, the *Agricola* is a poor interpretive lens for viewing fine-grained changes in material culture. We must first remember that the selections of objects in the graves of the richest Flavian local aristocrats were the latest in a long line of incremental changes in elite funerary practice, with the continuity of some elements stretching back to the pre-conquest period. As the preceding chapters demonstrate, major changes in material practices did not immediately coincide with otherwise far-reaching momentous events such as the conquests of Caesar and Claudius, let alone the arrival of a new governor like Agricola. Even in the example of the Verulamium 'tripod' grave, which may have conceivably overlapped in time and space with the happenings described in the *Agricola*, many of the same object selections are paralleled in earlier Claudio-Neronian graves – notably the services of *terra sigillata* and the inclusion of glass vessels. Here the more modestly-furnished grave 135 from Bavay illustrates how such processes of change were still underway, albeit at slower rates, and perhaps for different social groups, with its juxtaposition of newer objects such as *terra sigillata*, lamps, and glass vessels alongside objects associated with more traditional forms of display, such as fibulae and Gallo-Belgic pottery. If funerary practices and object selections changed slowly, synchronous changes among the richest graves in neighbouring provinces raise the possibility of bigger processes at work, which were significantly beyond the remit of Agricola's influence as governor of Britannia.

In sum, the comparison of three richly furnished graves from different provinces highlights two important observations for understanding material change at the end of the first century AD: one – that patterns in the selection of objects amongst social elites were likely dependent on high levels of connectivity, governing not only the circulation of standardised objects but also a milieu of broadly shared practices spanning three different provinces; and two – that many Flavian developments were as much the product of longer-term incremental changes in the design and uses of objects as they were a sudden ideological engagement with Roman culture. This leads me to propose a model of progressive material-cultural change underpinned by surges in Roman imperial connectivity, which ensured the maintenance of an extended inter-artefactual domain across the whole region, and beyond. This situation would provide a basis not only for the movement of people and things, but also a shared frame of reference for the emergence and subsequent circulation of new styles of objects.[364] To test these ideas, the next sections of this chapter turn to examine a much larger body of grave assemblages and standardised objects, to properly contextualise Flavian changes with those of earlier generations.

5.3 FUNERARY OBJECTSCAPES IN FLAVIAN NORTHWEST EUROPE

What happened to the selection of objects in graves beyond the elite sphere in the last decades of the first century AD? This section considers general patterns in the make-up of funerary assemblages in 801 graves dating to the Flavian period. While the data under scrutiny are drawn from the same study areas

[364] Willis 2011, 226 likewise attributes the provision of *sigillata* in graves in the wider region to 'a shared cultural consciousness'.

as those examined in the preceding chapters, the weight of published evidence included in the project database shifts towards a series of larger cemeteries in Hainaut (Belgium) and Pas-de-Calais (France).

5.3.1 CHANGING FUNERARY OBJECTSCAPES, C. AD 70 – 100

To provide an overview of patterns of object selection in Flavian funerary objectscapes, Table 5.1 begins with a handful of cemeteries from southeast Belgica. Compared with Claudio-Neronian results for the same cemeteries discussed in Chapter 4 (Table 4.2), the patterns of deposition of the various object classes are largely consistent, especially at the larger cemeteries in question, such as Lebach and Septfontaines-Dëckt. The biggest general changes include a universal decline in the placement of Gallo-Belgic wares (as percentage constituents of funerary pottery assemblages), and a corresponding increase in the deposition of *terra sigillata*. While this direction of change is undoubtedly significant, it should be noted that Gallo-Belgic wares continued to greatly outnumber all other classes of fine pottery in the cemeteries in question. Otherwise, objects associated with later Iron Age patterns of funerary commemoration all continued to dwindle in number, namely handmade pottery, (iron) fibulae, and weaponry. Only at Lebach do levels of handmade pottery increase to unusually high levels, hinting at the revived importance of locally-produced jars and bowls in funerary rituals. Despite exhibiting very high levels of glass vessels and lamps,[365] the graves from Trier do not stand out by other indicators, with equivalent levels of *terra sigillata* and a lower prevalence of Gallo-Belgic wares compared with the other cemeteries not connected to major urban centres. Although the sample is admittedly small, these patterns hint at the wider penetration of object-classes that in earlier periods tended to correlate more exclusively with cemeteries associated with military bases and major urban centres.

Moving to consider a larger group of cemeteries from northwest Belgica and Germania Inferior, Table 5.2 reveals similar patterns to those from southeast Belgica, with general declines in the percentages of handmade pottery, Gallo-Belgic wares, fibulae, and martial equipment in most cemeteries. These declines were largely matched by small increases in the prevalence of *terra sigillata*, and more occasionally glass vessels, Lyon ware, and lamps. A notable pattern involves small increases in the prevalence of glass and Lyon ware vessels at cemeteries far beyond major cities and military bases, such as at those at Blicquy, Baralle, and Nijmegen-Hatert, a phenomenon also observed in examples of the highest tier of civilian graves earlier in this chapter. If mass-produced items in *sigillata*, glass, and Lyon ware were more widely dispersed in this period, there are still important distinctions between cemeteries associated with different kinds of communities. No other cemetery comes close to the object-rich contents of the graves at Ulpia Noviomagus, with pottery assemblages composed of nearly 70 percent *terra sigillata*, average numbers of vessels per grave closely matching Augustan levels at the rich Treveran cemetery of Goeblange-Nospelt (Luxembourg), and unparalleled numbers of glass vessels. If this was a thinly-disguised attempt by the Batavian aristocracy to create social distance from their peers, it was achieved in large part by the sheer quantities of objects involved, on the scale of at least four to five times those of a typical grave from the region – especially for *terra sigillata*. Outside Nijmegen, the distribution of *terra sigillata* in graves is much less predicated on settlement status in this period. Nevertheless, Table 5.2 clearly demonstrates higher rates of deposition of glass vessels and lamps at major urban centres (Bavay, Tongeren, and Cologne) and military bases (Neuss).

A pattern that deserves further comment in Table 5.2 is the relatively high frequency of Lyon ware vessels in graves at Nijmegen-Hatert. In earlier phases this had been one of the more impoverished cem-

[365] This prevalence is almost certainly exaggerated by the selection of graves from Trier from catalogues detailing the contexts of lamps and glass vessels from the city (Goethert-Polaschek 1977, 1985).

SE Belgica		Pottery						Fibulae			Glass vessels		Martial equipment		Lamps		Coins	
Cemetery	Graves	Total	Per grave	% hand.	% GB	% TS	% Lyon	Total	Per grave	% Fe	Total	Per grave	Total	Per grave	Total	Per grave	Total	Per grave
Remagne	16	47	2.94	-	40.4	14.9	2.1	4	0.25	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Sampont	6	16	2.67	-	50.0	6.3	-	6	1.00	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	3	0.50
Septfont.-Dëckt	44	134	3.05	-	23.9	2.2	-	8	0.18	37.5	2	0.05	1	0.02	1	0.02	2	0.05
Trier	25	68	2.72	-	17.6	2.9	1.5	0	-	-	31	1.24	0	-	20	0.80	7	0.28
Lebach	43	179	4.16	22.9	38.0	2.8	0.6	7	0.16	-	2	0.05	1	0.02	2	0.05	2	0.05

Table 5.1. The deposition of pottery vessels, fibulae, glass vessel, martial equipment, lamps and coins at selected cemeteries in southeast Belgica, c. AD 70-100.

eteries in the region, being associated with rural settlement several kilometres to the south of the developing city and military base at Nijmegen. Towards the end of the first century AD, the numbers of burials at Hatert dramatically increased, alongside a modest rise in the numbers of objects per grave. Given the scarcity of Lyon ware in the wider region, it is astonishing that 30 of 70 graves at Hatert include at least one Lyon ware beaker in the Flavian period. What I call 'Lyon ware' for convenience sake sometimes refers to colour-coated vessels of analogous design and genealogy that were produced in the Rhineland – especially the beaker forms common at Hatert (Stuart 1B/Hofheim 26, and Stuart 2; see Fig. 5.5), which essentially share a very similar distribution to 'real' Lyon ware.[366] Equivalent rates of deposition of these vessels have also been noted in other cemeteries from Batavian territory in this period that are not included in this study.[367] Given the strong military and imperial disposition of Lyon ware distributions in the Claudio-Neronian period, and the absence of equivalent concentrations of colour-coated ware at other cemeteries examined in the Flavian period, it is tempting to place this episode within a narrative of returning Batavian auxiliaries, as convincingly attested at rural settlements in the wider Lower Rhine region.[368] It is important to stress the distinctiveness of the rite at Hatert, in which an object with strong representational associations with Roman military personnel was 'particularised' through its recurrent and deliberate inclusion in Batavian rural burial practice. This very much fits Roymans' account of Batavian ethnogenesis, in which a new martial self-image rooted in military service to Rome was emphasised in various media.[369] The inclusion of Lyon ware beakers in so many modestly-furnished rural graves, vessels which were seemingly difficult to come by *without* military connections, raises the possibility of bottom-up participation in the creation of the new tribal image, through rank-and-file ex-soldiers, and their families and dependents. As explored later in this chapter, the Batavian ethnogenesis came about precisely through human-object entanglements such as this, as seen at Hatert in the regionally-distinct practice of placing colour-coated beakers with the deceased.

Compared with Gallia Belgica and Germania Inferior, the smaller number of Flavian cemeteries considered from southern Britannia suggest a much more varied picture (Table 5.3). Many of the general patterns witnessed in continental cemeteries are apparent in the cemeteries from Britain, most notably decreases in Gallo-Belgic wares, and increases in *terra sigillata*, especially beyond the military and urban sphere. In fact, none of the cemeteries considered in Table 5.3 feature any Gallo-Belgic imports at all, a

366 Koster 2013, 98-99; Brulet/Vilvorder/Delage 2010, 315.

367 At Tiel-Passewaaij, the equivalent colour-coated beakers were placed in nine of 32 graves with finds in cemetery phase 1 (c. AD 60-90) and ten of 50 graves with finds in cemetery phase 2 (c. AD 90-120) (Aarts/Heeren 2011, 148-149, Table 7.25).

368 Derks/Roymans 2002, 2006; Nicolay 2007. Aarts/Heeren 2017, 144-146 discuss the issue with reference to burials, although do not specifically discuss the appearance of Lyon and related colour-coated wares in these contexts.

369 Roymans 2004.

NW Belgica & Germania Inferior		Pottery						Fibulae			Glass vessels		Martial equipment		Lamps		Coins	
Cemetery	Graves	Total	Per grave	% hand.	% GB	% TS	% Lyon	Total	Per grave	% Fe	Total	Per grave	Total	Per grave	Total	Per grave	Total	Per grave
Kortrijk	22	77	3.50	7.8	42.9	6.5	-	9	0.41	-	3	0.14	0	-	0	-	4	0.18
Dourges/ Noyelles	7	16	2.29	6.3	6.3	12.5	-	0	-	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Baralle	68	184	2.71	0.5	38.0	5.4	0.5	12	0.18	-	2	0.03	0	-	0	-	24	0.35
Blicquy	265	1305	4.92	0.1	39.9	2.9	0.2	63	0.24	6.4	3	0.01	1	0.004	0	-	28	0.11
Thure	28	72	2.57	-	73.6	4.2	-	22	0.79	9.1	1	0.04	0	-	0	-	8	0.29
Bavay	34	188	5.53	-	55.9	5.3	0.5	11	0.32	18.2	16	0.47	0	-	4	0.12	11	0.32
Wanzoul	9	26	2.89	-	30.8	19.2	3.9	1	0.11	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	0.11
Tongeren	8	24	3.00	-	37.5	4.2	-	0	-	-	3	0.38	0	-	3	0.38	0	-
Nij.-Hatert	70	242	3.46	2.1	32.2	1.7	13.2	15	0.21	86.7	2	0.03	0	-	0	-	0	-
U. Noviomagus	11	178	16.18	-	3.9	69.1	2.3	2	0.18	-	79	7.18	4	0.36	5	0.45	5	0.45
Neuss	27	194	7.19	0.5	6.7	5.2	1.0	1	0.04	-	11	0.41	0	-	10	0.37	4	0.15
Cologne	19	80	4.21	-	18.8	10.0	1.3	1	0.05	-	17	0.89	0	-	12	0.63	7	0.37

Table 5.2. The deposition of pottery vessels, fibulae, glass vessel, martial equipment, lamps and coins at selected cemeteries in northwest Belgica and Germania Inferior, c. AD 70-100.

pattern that is firmly established in settlement contexts in this period, which is also linked to the decline of equivalent vessel forms such as butt-beakers.[370] The Flavian cessation of Gallo-Belgic wares and associated styles of pottery in southeast Britain deserves further explanation, not least given the continued use of these wares in northern Gaul. To qualify this phenomenon, it is worth pointing out that the kinds of Gallo-Belgic wares in circulation in Flavian Gaul, such as *terra nigr*a high-shouldered globular jars, flask-jars, bowls, and dishes, only very seldom appeared in Britain in pre-Flavian times, and even then, mainly in military and colonial contexts such as Usk, Exeter, and Colonia Victricensis. Previous studies have cast this development in terms of a shift towards new civic-centred styles of display, that looked towards the reinvigorated urban and military communities of Britannia rather than older clientship-based ties with northern Gaul. Such a shift would have been simultaneously reinforced by the need to produce goods for sale in urban markets in response to the stimulus of taxation, and perhaps hastened by the destructive impact of the Boudican revolt on the old order.[371] While these ideas are plausible, a basic reality was that most communities in southeast Britain were able to access locally-produced fine wares made to their own specifications, making the importation of equivalent wares from Gaul much less attractive considering the higher costs involved. Higher quality *terra sigillata* was another matter, however, and was not produced in Britain in anything like the quantities needed to sufficiently satisfy local demand.[372]

Considering some of the individual cemeteries from Britain in Table 5.3, the most striking development of the period is the emergence of what appears to be a new regional burial rite at Alton, Hampshire, with six graves featuring large numbers of pottery vessels, averaging an enormous 24 pots per grave.[373] Given such rich furnishings, the Flavian graves at Alton are all the more remarkable for their absence of imported ceramics, most notably *terra sigillata*, which is present in all of the other cemeteries in Table 5.3. At Alton and elsewhere in Britain, it is noteworthy how pottery dominates funerary repertoires in

[370] Pitts 2008; Perring/Pitts 2013, 160, 246.

[371] Evans 2005, 154-155; Perring/Pitts 2013, 246-250.

[372] For an object-centred discussion of the question of why *sigillata* was never produced in Britain, see Van Oyen 2016a, 115-117.

[373] Millett 1986b.

Britannia		Pottery						Fibulae			Glass vs		Lamps		Coins	
Cemetery	Graves	Total	Per grave	% hand.	% GB	% TS	% Lyon	Total	Per grave	% Fe	Total	Per grave	Total	Per grave	Total	Per grave
Baldock/ Stansted	9	33	3.67	-	-	45.5	-	4	0.44	-	1	0.11	0	-	0	-
Colchester	5	17	3.40	-	-	29.4	5.9	1	0.20	-	5	1.00	3	0.60	1	0.20
Pepper Hill	62	106	1.71	-	-	5.7	-	8	0.13	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Alton	6	143	23.83	0.70	-	-	-	3	0.50	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Westhampnett	12	48	4.00	41.67	-	14.6	-	0	0.00	-	1	0.08	0	-	0	-

Table 5.3. The deposition of pottery vessels, fibulae, glass vessel, lamps and coins at selected cemeteries in southern Britannia, c. AD 70-100.

multiple locations, following declines in the deposition of fibulae and the apparent failure of glass vessels, lamps, and coins to become regular elements of grave assemblages. The main exceptions to this pattern are a handful of graves from the Beverley Road cemetery at Colonia Victricencis, which continued to include modest numbers of glass vessels and lamps after the Boudican revolt, alongside *terra sigillata* and Lyon ware. Baldock, Stansted, and Pepper Hill, all cemeteries in use earlier on in the first century AD, tend to exhibit similar patterns of object deposition to their earlier phases, highlighting further continuity in material practice. Whereas Baldock and Stansted include graves with significant quantities of *sigillata*, the funerary rite at Pepper Hill seems similarly impoverished as it was a generation earlier. A new Roman cemetery at Westhampnett, located near to the Iron Age cemetery from the first half of the first century BC, likewise features modest quantities of *terra sigillata*, alongside an unusually high proportion of handmade pottery vessels (over 40 percent).

If the graves at Flavian Alton are notable for large quantities of pottery, Table 5.4 reveals a corresponding spike in the deposition of animal remains in this cemetery, in which every grave includes one or more offering. To find equivalent rates of deposition, we must go back to the Augustan period at cemeteries like Goeblange-Nospelt and Lamadelaine. Elsewhere in the Flavian period, most cemeteries eschew such offerings, which occur in as few as one in five graves at Bavay, and less than one in ten at Baralle and Pepper Hill. While the dominant species at Alton is pig, an animal preferred across northwest Europe in funerary contexts since the Iron Age, the presence of horse and oysters, which are rarely found in British cemeteries, underscores further innovative elements of the new rite in Hampshire.

Taken together, while the eclectic patterns from Britain show some convergence with overarching trends in continental cemeteries, namely the decline of Gallo-Belgic wares and the corresponding increase in *terra sigillata*, it is the tendency towards increased regionalism that deserves the most attention. This regionalism is most evident in a striking new rite at Alton, but there are echoes in the emphasis on local handmade wares at Westhampnett, which runs against the grain of gradually increasing uses of wheelthrown pots. These patterns are paralleled by regional developments in different directions in northern Gaul – including the idiosyncratic deposition of Lyon ware at Nijmegen-Hatert, and the resurgence of handmade pottery at Lebach (Saarland). How should these changes be interpreted? For the urban elite, and it seems, large parts of rural society, one recourse is to the model of competitive emulation offered by Martin Millett, in which the greatest rural penetration of *terra sigillata* seems to coincide with new strategies for display that elevated the uppermost elites above the modest claims for status being made by their social inferiors. Likewise, the tendency towards increased regionalism, especially among societies preferring to bring back significant quantities of handmade styles of pottery, conjures up the possibility of emerging forms of cultural resistance, to follow the classic post-colonial interpretation.[374]

[374] For example, Hingley 1997.

			Animal offerings (presence per grave)							
Region	**Cemetery**	**Graves**	**ALL**	**Pig**	**Cattle**	**Sheep/goat**	**Chicken**	**Dog**	**Horse**	**Oyster**
Pas-de-Calais	Baralle	68	0.09	0.09	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nord	Bavay	34	0.21	0.09	0.06	-	0.03	0.03	-	-
Kent	Pepper Hill	62	0.08	0.03	0.02	0.03	-	-	-	-
Hampshire	Alton	6	1.17	0.17	0.33	0.33	-	-	0.17	0.17

Table 5.4. The prevalence of animal offerings per grave (presence/absence) in selected cemeteries, c. AD 70-100.

Both explanations have their merits, but ultimately fall short. While emulative behaviour is certainly plausible to explain the spread of *terra sigillata*, we must remember that the Flavian period was one of peak *sigillata* supply in the northwest provinces.[375] Since most of the societies in question had already developed funerary rites that made use of similar shapes of vessels that originally derived from *sigillata* designs in earlier periods, higher levels of *sigillata* itself need not be particularly significant. It is against this backdrop that we should examine the rise in handmade vessels at Lebach and Westhampnett, where funerary practices continued to include many new styles of pots and other objects with Mediterranean genealogy. Resistance is too clumsy a term to explain the nuances of these local divergences.

Rather than falling back on models of elite negotiation or cultural resistance, the broad-brush patterns emerging from this initial consideration of Flavian funerary objectscapes instead point towards the need to reconcile two seemingly opposed processes: high levels of convergence in the adoption of some standardised objects and shared practices, and the emergence of new local practices and selections of objects that diverge in a much more pronounced way from pan-regional funerary patterns. It is perhaps no coincidence at this point that we are dealing with (to date) Rome's greatest territorial extent in northwest Europe, which was also a corresponding high-point for inter-provincial connectivity. Roman conquests in Britannia had gone their farthest by the middle of the Flavian period after the advances led by Agricola, allowing parallel developments in urban settlement, road, and harbour infrastructure to consolidate in the lands to the south. Such (then) unparalleled connectivity enabled the the self-evaluation of local cultures in a more globalised environment, which was more than ever characterised by the circulation of standardised objects such as *terra sigillata*. In other words, connectivity created opportunities for local groups to participate and re-negotiate their places within the new imperial world through innovative selections of objects. In this way, the Flavian period seems to mark a new phase in northwest Europe when the hallmarks of developed globalisation processes become most apparent – homogenisation, which is more precisely understood as the universalisation of the particular (i.e. the spread of new objects, styles, and practices), hand-in-hand with heterogenisation, again better conceived in terms of the particularisation of the universal, in which new objects, styles, and practices are re-embedded in the creation of innovative local cultures.

[375] Going 1992, 95 highlights peak *sigillata* and other ceramic production in the Neronian to Flavian period (c. AD 60-90), produced by 'economic long waves' in the Roman economy. Willis 2011, 183 likewise notes higher levels of *sigillata* at major urban centres in Britain after c. AD 70. Mees/Polak 2013 discern different peaks for Britain (early Flavian) and Germany (late Flavian and Trajanic).

Since pottery continues to form a major innovative element in Flavian grave assemblages, let us examine the main changes in this aspect of funerary objectscapes. Starting with cemeteries from southeast Gallia Belgica in Table 5.5, several pronounced changes are apparent from the middle of the first century AD. Most striking is the sharp decline of butt-beakers, as the most common kind of drinking vessel for much of the century so far. The numbers of this type in the Flavian period are so small that they are lumped into the generic beaker category in Table 5.5. Coinciding with this change is a steady decline at most cemeteries in the placement of cups, and the appearance of a new kind of drinking vessel, the biconical beaker, which was produced in *terra nigra* as well as a range of other locally-produced fabrics across northwest Europe (see forms P54-56 in Fig. 5.5).[376] Also more prevalent are flagons, which make up at least a quarter of all vessels in the sample of cemeteries considered. While this sample is admittedly small, the biggest changes seem conspicuously related to objects associated with containing, pouring, and drinking liquids, and perhaps hinting at a new role for drinking in funerary practice in this period.

Turning to a larger sample of cemeteries from northwest Belgica and Germania Inferior in Table 5.6 allows some clarifications on the patterns noted above for southeast Belgica. While an equivalent sharp decline in butt-beakers and the corresponding appearance of biconical beakers is apparent in most cemeteries, patterning in other vessel classes is much less consistent – for example, there is less of a case for a universal rise of flagons and a decline in cups. This suggests that while certain material changes were indeed synchronous across three provinces, most notably the replacement of butt-beakers by biconical beakers, other aspects of funerary practice varied by region. One aspect of this variation can be seen in relation to cemeteries associated with major urban centres in Table 5.6 – Bavay, Tongeren, Ulpia Noviomagus, and Cologne. It is this group of cemeteries that attest the highest incidence of placing commensal services of pottery in grave assemblages, demonstrated most spectacularly in the rich cemetery at Ulpia Noviomagus, in which more than half the graves feature services of pottery vessels. Such patterns must be viewed in relation to the emergence of new display strategies for an increasingly urbanised local elite, forged in the context of genuinely interprovincial networks of cities and friends. This represents a decisive historical shift for the civilian aristocracy, moving away from older forms of connectivity rooted in later Iron Age institutions like clientship that seemingly continued into the Claudio-Neronian period. With such a change in outlook, it is unsurprising that styles of object associated with older forms of connectivity, such as butt-beakers, shallow bowls, and fibulae, all entered terminal decline in the Flavian period. Just as these forms were less appropriate in enacting new urban practices such as bathing and dining, they were equally out of place in the context of new Flavian objectscapes, underpinned by a reinvigorated inter-artefactual domain.

The last group of cemeteries to be examined are from Britannia, which constitutes another small sample (Table 5.7). While there are broadly recognisable patterns that follow continental trends, such as the marked decline in butt-beakers, fewer cemeteries include the newer biconical beakers, and the overall picture is one of diversity. The most notable innovation in this group of cemeteries is surely the provision of commensal services of pottery in four of six richly furnished graves from Alton, a pattern which is even more remarkable for the scarcity of imported fine wares such as *terra sigillata*. In the wider context, such a practice partially evokes the contemporary display strategies seen elsewhere on the continent at cemeteries such as Ulpia Noviomagus, as well as in single rich graves from Britannia such as the Verulamium tripod grave and grave 2 at Winchester, Grange Road. The absence of standard constituent items such as *terra sigillata*, and the greater numbers of locally-made pots involved, however, underlines this practice as a particularised version of the universalised pattern seen more regularly in association with major urban centres. Looking closer at the pottery assemblages from Alton, other features that stand out

[376] Deru form P54-56; Cam 120.

SE Belgica	+ Eating						+ Drinking								Commensal services	
Cemetery	Platters	Dishes	Shallow bowls	Bowls	Mortaria	Lids	Jars	Flask-jars	Flagons	Pedestal vs	Vases Tronconiques	Beakers	Biconical beakers	Cups	Total	Per grave
Remagne	10.6	6.4	2.1	8.5	-	-	17.0	2.1	27.7	-	-	4.3	6.4	14.9	0	-
Sampont	18.8	-	-	12.5	-	-	18.8	6.3	25.0	-	-	-	12.5	6.3	0	-
Septfontaines-Dëckt	3.7	0.7	-	3.7	-	0.7	38.8	1.5	37.3	0.7	-	9.7	-	3.0	0	-
Trier	8.8	1.5	-	2.9	-	8.8	35.3	1.5	33.8	-	-	2.9	2.9	1.5	0	-
Lebach	2.8	11.2	4.5	10.1	0.6	1.7	24.0	1.1	30.2	-	2.2	3.9	3.4	4.5	0	-

Table 5.5. The percentages of different classes of pottery vessels in the Flavian phases (c. AD 70-100) at selected cemeteries from southeast Belgica.

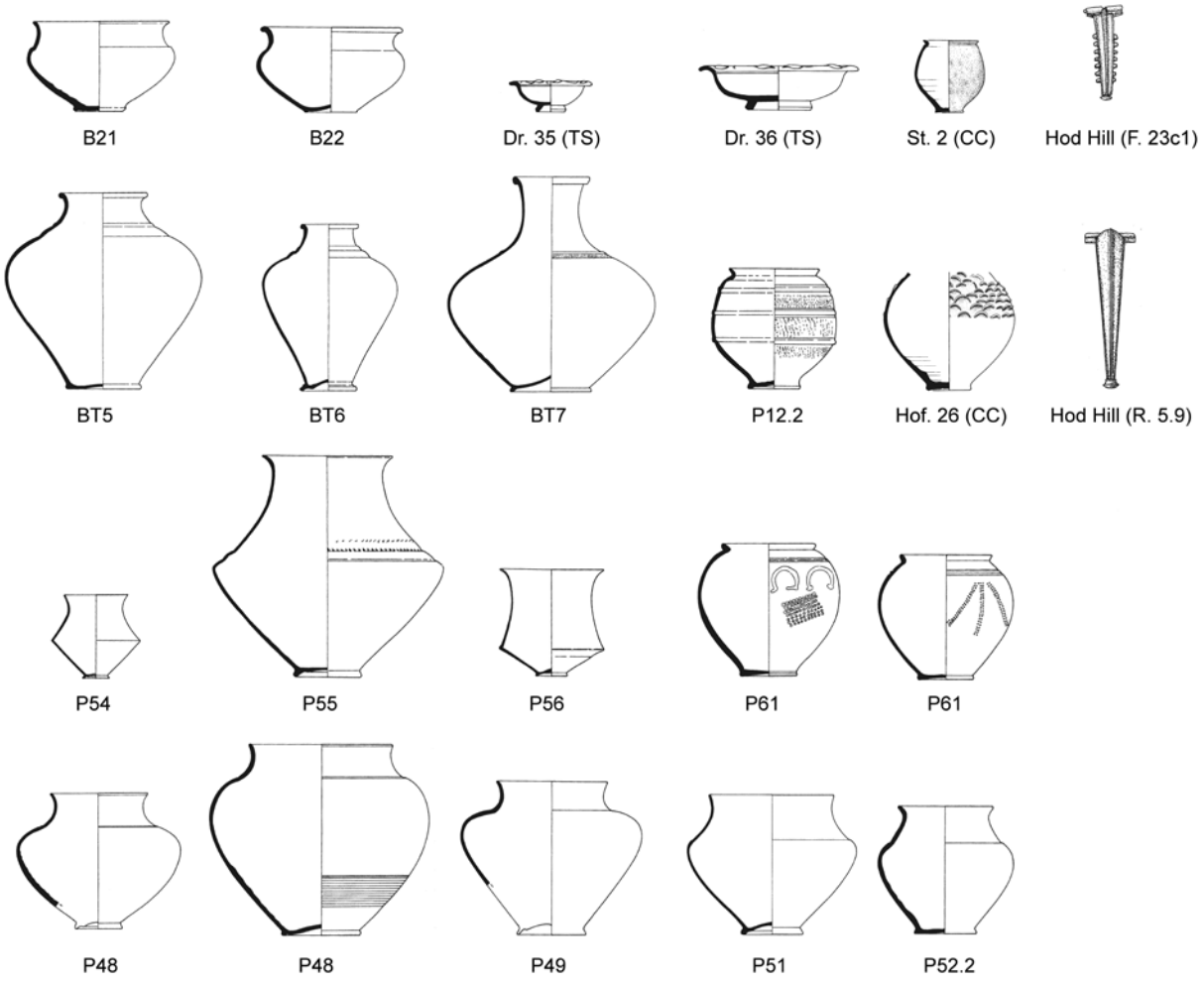


Figure 5.5. Selected pottery and fibula types in Flavian northwest Europe (after Deru 1996, 74-144; Gaspar 2007, Taf. 77-79).

NW Belgica & Germania Inferior	+ Eating						+ Drinking								Commensal services	
Cemetery	Platters	Dishes	Shallow bowls	Bowls	Mortaria	Lids	Jars	Flask-jars	Flagons	Pedestal vs	Vases Tronco-niques	Beakers	Biconical beakers	Cups	Total	Per grave
Kortrijk	1.3	31.2	-	15.6	-	-	27.3	-	6.5	2.6	1.3	3.9	3.9	6.5	0	-
Dourges/ Noyelles	6.3	12.5	-	-	-	-	18.8	-	-	-	50.0	6.3	-	6.3	0	-
Baralle	4.3	9.8	1.1	4.9	0.5	-	23.9	20.1	11.4	-	9.8	4.3	2.7	7.1	1	0.01
Blicquy	4.1	22.9	3.7	12.0	0.1	1.4	33.1	3.3	7.1	0.1	-	2.8	3.7	5.8	6	0.02
Thure	4.2	23.6	-	1.4	-	-	26.4	8.3	4.2	-	-	5.6	23.6	2.8	1	0.04
Bavay	14.4	15.4	0.5	3.7	0.5	-	17.6	4.3	18.6	0.5	-	1.1	9.0	14.4	1	0.03
Wanzoul	0.0	32.0	-	-	-	-	16.0	-	4.0	-	-	8.0	28.0	12.0	0	-
Tongeren	4.2	16.7	-	8.3	-	8.3	29.2	-	25.0	-	-	4.2	4.2	-	0	-
Nijmegen-Hatert	2.9	12.8	-	9.1	3.3	-	15.3	0.4	21.1	-	-	31.8	2.5	0.8	1	0.01
U. Noviomagus	20.2	7.3	-	1.7	0.6	2.8	5.1	0.6	11.2	-	-	7.9	2.2	40.4	6	0.55
Neuss	3.6	7.7	-	4.1	4.1	5.7	20.6	0.5	36.6	1.0	-	13.9	-	2.1	0	-
Cologne	7.5	7.5	-	1.3	-	17.5	21.3	-	6.3	1.3	-	17.5	-	20.0	3	0.16

Table 5.6. The percentages of different classes of pottery vessels in the Flavian phases (c. AD 70-100) at selected cemeteries from northwest Belgica and Germania Inferior.

Britannia	+ Eating						+ Drinking								Commensal services	
Cemetery	Platters	Dishes	Shallow bowls	Bowls	Mortaria	Lids	Jars	Flask-jars	Flagons	Pedestal vessels	Vases Tronconiques	Beakers	Biconical beakers	Cups	Total	Per grave
Baldock/ Stansted	30.3	6.1	-	3.0	-	-	15.2	6.1	15.2	-	-	6.1	-	18.2	1	0.11
Colchester	11.8	-	-	-	-	5.9	29.4	-	23.5	-	-	5.9	-	23.5	0	-
Pepper Hill	7.5	14.2	-	4.7	-	0.9	7.5	4.7	32.1	2.8	-	19.8	4.7	0.9	0	-
Alton	0.7	28.7	13.3	1.4	-	11.2	12.6	-	7.7	18.9	0.7	3.5	1.4	-	4	0.67
Westhampnett	4.2	10.4	-	12.5	-	-	35.4	-	8.3	-	2.1	12.5	-	14.6	1	0.08

Table 5.7. The percentages of different classes of pottery vessels in the Flavian phases (c. AD 70-100) at selected cemeteries from southern Britannia.

include unusually high levels of later Iron Age style pedestalled vessels (cups and bowls), as well as forms of locally-made dishes that bear more than a superficial resemblance to certain Gallo-Belgic designs (see selected vessels from grave 5 at Alton in Fig. 5.6).[377] These observations suggest, rather than funerary display at Alton fitting seamlessly into the new world of cities and friends that has been noted above at major urban cemeteries, the new rite at Alton was still partially anchored in older forms of social display and networks of connectivity that looked towards clientship with groups in northern Gaul. This concords

[377] e.g. Deru platter and dish forms A39, A40, A43 and A53, found in multiple graves at Alton.

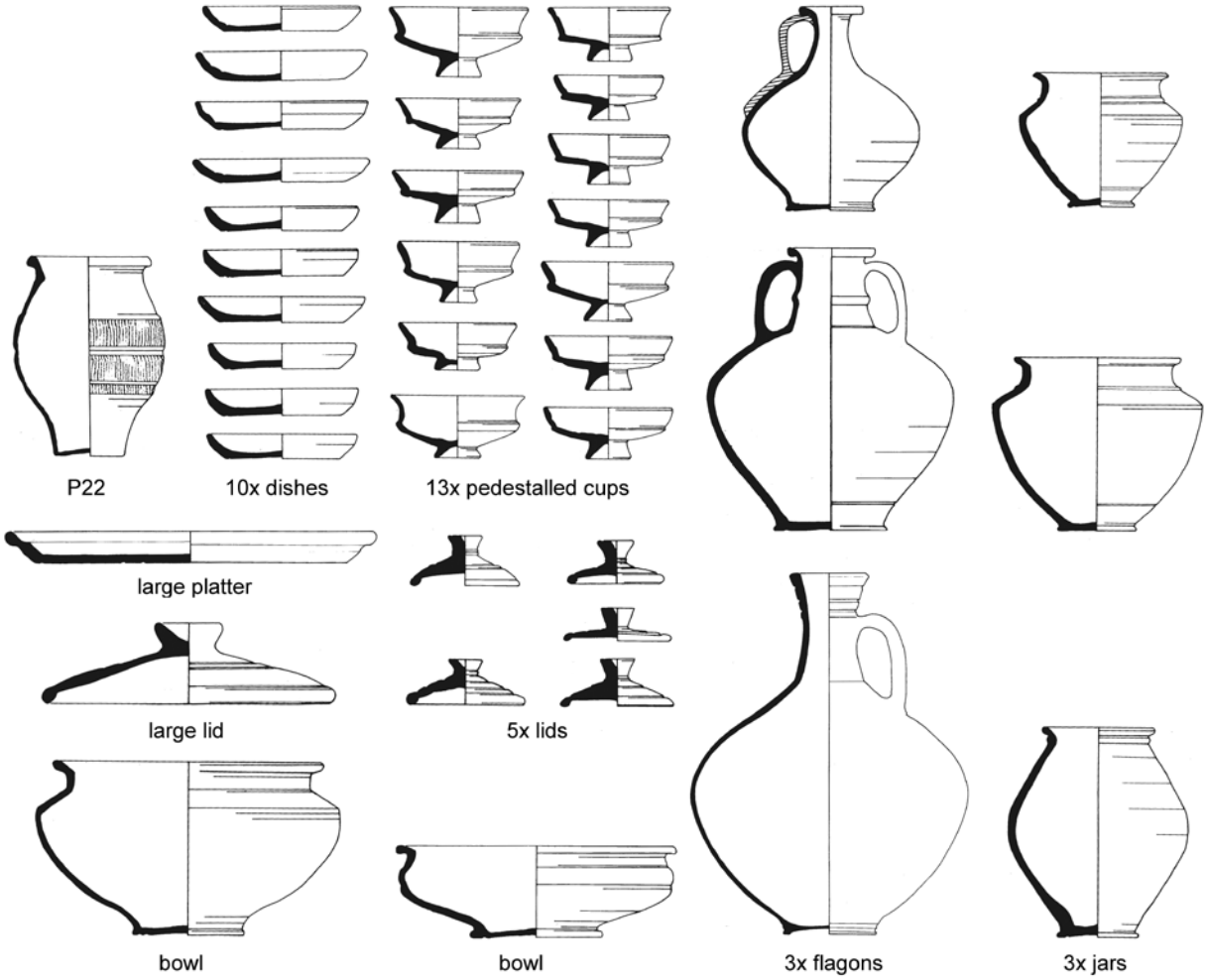


Figure 5.6. Selected pottery vessels from the lower fill of grave 5 at Alton, Hampshire (after Millett 1986a, 68-69, Figs. 28-29).

with the high incidence of animal remains found with the cremated remains at Alton, as well as the occasional presence of otherwise declining objects such as butt-beakers (grave 5) and fibulae (graves 5 and 7).

5.3.3 RICHLY-FURNISHED GRAVES, C. AD 70 – 100

An important strand of this chapter concerns major changes in the use of objects amongst the richest graves of the region. For the first time in nearly two centuries, the graves linked to the local aristocracy in northwest Europe could no longer be counted on to give objects such as wine amphorae and large drinking vessels pride of place. Further details of the richest 25 graves from this period are provided in Table 5.8, which are ranked here according to the quantities of objects associated with literacy (such as *stylii*, inkwells, and wax spatulas), alloy vessels, lamps, glass vessels, and *terra sigillata*. The results of this ranking exercise effectively produce three sub-groups of rich graves, which are discussed in turn.

The group ranked as the richest in Table 5.8 features two of the graves discussed earlier in this chapter – the Verulamium 'tripod' burial and grave 9 from Ulpia Noviomagus (Nijmegen), and is otherwise dominated by graves from this cemetery, apart from a single grave from Winchester, Grange Road. While all but one of these six graves include objects associated with literacy, they all each feature at least twelve *terra sigillata* pots arranged as part of a commensal service of vessels, in addition to some glass vessels.

						Pottery							Other finds							
Cemetery	Grave	Alloy vs	Faunal	Fibulae	Martial	Honeypots	Amphorae	GB	TS	Lyon	Total	Services	Literacy	Coins	Lamps	Glass vs	Mirrors	Body	Knives	Misc.
U. Noviomagus	11	3		1		1		1	37		46	X	6	1	1	14			1	1
U. Noviomagus	8	7			4			1	23	1	30	X	5		1	16		4	1	
U. Noviomagus	1							3	21		27	X	5	1	1	23		4	1	12
Winchester	2	2	X						13	1	15	X	4			1		2	1	
U. Noviomagus	9	4						2	15		20	X	2	3	1	15	1	2		1
Verulamium	Tripod	1							13		15	X			4	4		2		1
Blicquy	240	1		3				4	1		7							4		
Neuss	265							2	2	1	18			2	2	2				
Neuss	288								3		21				2	1				
Neuss	371						1		1		16			1	2					
U. Noviomagus	16								8	1	16	X			1	4		1		1
Cologne	II16							3			9			1	1	4	1			
Bavay	135		3X	2+Fe				3	3		10	X			1	1				
Neuss	227-8							4	1		27				1					
Neuss	233							2			19				1					
U. Noviomagus	3			Ag					12		16	X				7				
Neuss	264										12			1		3				
Bavay	55		X	3				7			11					2			1	
Alton	5		3X	2							42	X						4	1	1
Alton	7		2X	1							27	X								
Blicquy	191							9			28	X		1						
Blicquy	133							7			20	X						1		
Alton	9										28	X								
Alton	8		2X								22	X								
Blicquy	220										16	X					1			

Table 5.8. Richly furnished graves of the Flavian period (c. AD 70–100) and their contents ranked according to the presence of objects associated with literacy, alloy vessels, lamps, glass vessels and *terra sigillata*.

Crucially, this innovative form of funerary display follows neither of the styles of consumption associated with military/colonial communities or local elites as seen in the Claudio-Neronian period. Military and colonial associated graves were rarely this rich or accommodating towards commensal hospitality in their ceramic repertoires, whereas graves linked with the local elite tended to feature more Gallo-Belgic ceramics and sometimes amphorae. What we see in the Flavian period is an integration of elements from both styles of consumption, creating a distinctive new practice. Specifically this entails the tendency of local elites to furnish their graves with lots of things, retaining an emphasis on commensalism, but reinterpreted after the fashion of combinations of objects appropriate for an urban dinner party as opposed to an Iron Age feast; and incorporating the predilection seen among military and colonial communities to place *terra sigillata*, lamps, and glass vessels with the deceased, while eschewing older local traditions such as the inclusion of animal offerings and fibulae. The overall effect was seemingly to stress the adoption of practices appropriate for an urban setting – literacy, bathing, and fine dining, while still appealing to the traditional Iron Age urge to indulge in spectacular displays of materialism in a funerary setting.

The second tier of rich graves in Table 5.8 is characterised by similar combinations of objects, but with notable absences and lower frequencies of certain artefacts. A good example is Bavay grave 135, discussed at length at the start of this chapter. None of these graves feature objects associated with literacy; commensal services of pottery vessels are scarcer; and other standardised objects such as *terra sigillata*, lamps, and glass vessels either occur in smaller quantities or are absent altogether. Items associated with older forms of display are more common, such as fibulae and Gallo-Belgic wares. At the same time, the locations associated with these graves are much more diverse than the uppermost tier of rich graves, with examples from major urban centres such as Cologne, Ulpia Noviomagus, and Bavay, the military base at Neuss, as well as the large cemetery at the secondary centre of Blicquy. Although there are some divergent patterns among this group of graves, such as the correlation between lamps and graves from Neuss, and larger numbers of *terra sigillata* vessels in graves from Ulpia Noviomagus, the overall picture is of a pan-regional rite in which the placement of objects was governed by very similar selection criteria. While these criteria are clearly shared with those from the very richest tier of graves, the absences of certain combinations of objects, and the greater prevalence of others (such as Gallo-Belgic wares) seems more characteristic of lower-level local aristocracy and well-to-do members of military communities. For example, the smaller number of graves in this group that do manage to feature commensal services of vessels also lack other key finds associated with the uppermost tier of graves, such as alloy vessels, lamps, and even *terra sigillata* vessels in one case – in addition to more diagnostic objects associated with new urban practices, such as writing equipment and strigils, which are missing completely.

A third and highly distinct tier of richly furnished graves in Table 5.8 is characterised by large quantities of pottery and services for commensal hospitality, as well as the absence of circulating standardised objects such as *terra sigillata*, glass vessels, and lamps. Despite such absences, it is worth stressing that the numbers of pots in these graves are often much higher than other rich graves listed in Table 5.8. While this practice is most visible in graves from Alton, its occurrence in three graves from the much larger cemetery at Blicquy underlines the possibility of cross-Channel links, building on the noted similarities between some of the Alton pottery vessels and the designs of selected Gallo-Belgic pottery types. Aside from the resemblances in grave furnishing, it may also be significant that both cemeteries are in roadside locations at some distance away from major urban settlements. In such contexts, the idea that the rites represent an alternative means of making claims to elite status by members of the rural aristocracy is attractive.[378] The graves in question are far more spectacular than many more modestly furnished graves from the period that otherwise included objects with connotations of urban luxury, such as lamps, *terra sigillata*, and glass vessels, which were evidently preferred in urban cemeteries. The case for the selection of so many pottery vessels of local manufacture for the primary purpose of display is especially strong in the three graves from Blicquy, which all feature vessels in so-called Savonneuse ware, a soapy fabric that was too fragile for everyday use, but well-disposed to creating an image of plenty and largesse in a funerary context.

Taken together, the richly-furnished Flavian period graves listed in Table 5.8 mark a significant departure from the equivalent top tier of Claudio-Neronian graves in the northwest provinces. The preceding period was characterised by two broadly competing, if sometimes overlapping deterritorialised styles of consumption, associated with military and colonial communities on one hand, and indigenous funerary practices that had evolved from the late Iron Age on the other. This distinction is largely absent in the Flavian period, which is dominated by a growing universality in the rules governing the selections of objects in the graves for an increasingly cosmopolitan urban elite. If cultural differences in the deposition of objects in graves were much less pronounced at the end of the first century AD, competing strategies for displaying status are nonetheless very much in evidence. The richly-furnished graves in more rural locations at Alton and Blicquy, for example, strongly evoke the very richest tier of urban graves in terms of the quantities of ceramics disposed of, despite lacking much if any imported material culture.

[378] Millett 1986b.

Figure 5.7. Grave 8 from the wealthy cemetery of Ulpia Noviomagus, Nijmegen (courtesy Annelies Koster and Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen).

5.3.4. RETURNING AUXILIARIES AND NORTHERN GALLIC FUNERARY OBJECTSCAPES

If diagnostic military styles of consumption are less pronounced in the richest Flavian graves compared with those of the Claudio-Neronian era, the influence and legacy of military practices is still a feature of many cemeteries. Several of graves in Table 5.8 feature objects with military connotations. This is most apparent in grave 8 from Ulpia Noviomagus (Fig. 5.7), which includes a shield-boss and three spearheads, alongside a Lyon ware beaker, two pairs of strigils, and various items of writing equipment. There are likewise echoes of similar military-themed combinations of objects in Winchester grave 2, which includes a Lyon ware beaker, a writing kit, and eight melon beads (which also appear in Ulpia Noviomagus grave 1, in the same tier of graves). While martial equipment is typically scarce in funerary contexts in this period, other objects with strong military connections in the Claudio-Neronian period produce striking distribution patterns. Glass beads for example, such as the melon variety pictured on the tombstone of the cavalryman Titus Flavius Bassus at Cologne,[379] occur with regularity in cemeteries associated with the Nervii, such as Blicquy, Thure, and Bavay, as illustrated in Table 5.9. If these objects were acquired primarily through military service, the pattern recalls the similar high prevalence of Lyon ware beakers in the rural cemetery of Nijmegen-Hatert, which is highly suggestive of returning auxiliaries. Such an explanation is particularly appealing for the Nervii, who are known to have supplied the highest number of auxiliary units from the region after the Batavi (Table 4.11).[380] Another pattern with military

[379] Bishop 1988, 71; CIL XIII 8308.

[380] If this was the case, it is unusual that the Nervii, who supplied five cohorts of infantry to the Roman military, would choose an item of cavalry decoration as mementos of their military service – that is assuming that melon beads were exclusively used as horse decorations, which seems unlikely.

Cemetery	Grave	Coins	Arm-rings & bracelets	Hod Hill	Annular beads	Melon beads	Glass vs	Phials	Literacy	Plain TS	P43-49	P54-56	GB dishes	Flagons	Flask-jars	Lids
Blicquy	D12			1		16										
Winchester	2					8	1		4	13				1		
Blicquy	240		2		7	7				1	1	1			1	
Blicquy	210		2	1	16	4				1	1		1			
Baralle	64	2	1		8	4	2							1		
U. Noviomagus	1	1			1	4	23		4	21		2		2		1
Blicquy	D55				9	2				1			1			
Blicquy	123			2		2					1			2		
Blicquy	133				7	1								1	3	1
Blicquy	69				5	1				1					1	
Thure	12			2		1				1		1	1	1	1	
Blicquy	246	1				1							1	1		
Blicquy	42					1							1		1	
Blicquy	358					1					1		1			
Blicquy	20					1							1			
Blicquy	45	1				1									1	
Blicquy	292					1					1					
Pepper Hill	11674					1								1		
Thure	9	2		3	2								1		1	
Blicquy	261			2	1			1				1	1			
Bavay	137	2			1		1	2						2		

Table 5.9. The selected contents of graves from the Flavian period (c. AD 70-100) featuring glass beads.

connotations is the continued link between the same part of northwest Belgica and the deposition of the Hod Hill brooch in graves (Table 5.10) – the last major innovative fibula type that achieved substantial pan-regional circulation in the first century AD. Given the strong tendency of the Hod Hill brooch to be associated with military settlements in Britain, where many auxiliary soldiers from northern Gaul would have been stationed, high deposition rates of this type in Gallic graves of Flavian date might constitute further circumstantial evidence for returning auxiliaries. These associations are further strengthened by the presence of Gallo-Belgic wares in most graves in Tables 5.9 and 5.10, especially dishes. Like Hod Hill brooches, *terra nigra* dishes have particularly strong patterns of military circulation in Britain. Collectively, the distinctive selections of melon beads, Hod Hill fibulae, and more mundane items like *terra nigra* dishes and bowls in rural cemeteries in the territory of the Nervii is highly suggestive of returning auxiliary veterans in the Flavian period.

In the previous chapter, the wider impact of military styles of consumption was summarised in Table 4.12, using a series of material indicators to quantify the percentage of graves with 'imperial object repertoires' per cemetery – including lamps, Lyon ware, melon beads, selected kinds of Gallo-Belgic pottery, glass phials, and decorated *terra sigillata*. The result was that cemeteries associated with military bases and *coloniae* – namely Neuss, Colchester, Beverley Road, and Nijmegen-Hunerberg, were much more likely to feature graves with these objects than their civilian counterparts. Repeating this exercise for the Flavian period is a good barometer of shifting priorities a generation later (Table 5.11). While military and

Cemetery	Grave	Coins	Arm-rings & bracelets	Hod Hill	Annular beads	Melon beads	Glass phials	Plain TS	P43-49	P54-56	GB bowls	GB dishes	Flagons	Flask-jars
Blicquy	48			3								3		
Thure	9	2		3	2							1		1
Bavay	135			2			2	3	2				1	
Blicquy	300/9/10			2					1			1		
Blicquy	123			2		2			1				2	
Thure	17			2				1	1					
Thure	12			2		1		1		1		1	1	1
Blicquy	105			2							1	1		
Bavay	55			2			2			1		1	2	1
Blicquy	262			2	1		1			1		1		
Kortrijk	7			2			1					1		
Bavay	63			2							1			1
Septfontaines-Dëckt	165	1		2							1			
Kortrjik	59			1			1		2			1		
Blicquy	210		2	1	16	4		1	1			1		
Kortrijk	44		1	1			1	1	1			1	1	
Bavay	V		2	1			2	1				1	1	
Blicquy	D12			1		16								
Sampont	2			1							1		1	

Table 5.10. The selected contents of graves from the Flavian period (c. AD 70-100) featuring Hod Hill fibulae.

colonial cemeteries such as Neuss and Cologne are still firmly placed at the top of the list, they are for the first time joined by civilian cemeteries such Ulpia Noviomagus and Bavay, as well as the rural cemetery at Nijmegen-Hatert (largely due to high rates of Lyon ware deposition). Several of the diagnostic indicators of Claudio-Neronian military cemeteries had become more widely dispersed in this period, and are unsurprisingly more prevalent among the Nervii at Blicquy and Thure (Hainaut). More than ever before, general access to such objects seems to be much more governed by factors such as urbanism and connectivity, rather than the presence of soldiers and veterans alone. Nevertheless, if funerary assemblages at military bases and veteran colonies of the Claudio-Neronian period can be seen to exhibit indications of the influence of auxiliary recruitment, the Flavian period by contrast seems to have featured an intensive reversal of this dynamic, with returning auxiliaries actively re-shaping the constitution of funerary objectscapes among the rural cemeteries of the Batavi and Nervii.

Cemetery	Region	Total graves	Imperial repertoire	Percentage
Cologne-St. Severin	North Rhine-Westphalia	16	10	62.5
Nijmegen-Hatert	Gelderland	70	43	61.4
Ulpia Noviomagus	Gelderland	11	6	54.5
Neuss	North Rhine-Westphalia	27	14	51.9
Bavay	Nord	34	12	35.3
Remagne	Luxembourg	16	5	31.3
Lebach	Saarland	43	8	18.6
Kortrijk	West Vlaanderen	22	4	18.2
Thure	Hainaut	28	4	14.3
Blicquy	Hainaut	265	31	11.7
Baralle	Pas-de-Calais	68	6	8.8
Westhampnett	Sussex	12	1	8.3
Septfontaines-Dëckt	Luxembourg	44	3	6.8
Pepper Hill	Kent	61	1	1.6

Table 5.11. The incidence of graves featuring objects associated with an imperial repertoire in northwest Europe in the Flavian period (c. AD 70–100).

5.4 STANDARDISED OBJECTS AND THEIR CIRCULATIONS, C. AD 70 – 100

So far, the analysis of Flavian funerary objectscapes has painted a picture in which a single, increasingly universalised deterritorialised style of consumption developed among the Roman provinces of Britannia, Gallia Belgica, and Germania Inferior. Whereas pronounced local practices, innovations, and the influence of the Roman military continued to impact on the selection of grave goods in different regional contexts, the old Claudio-Neronian distinction between two fundamentally different styles of funerary display had been largely erased. Whereas concepts such as 'military', 'civilian', and 'local' once roughly correlated with certain constellations of objects, these constellations increasingly blurred and overlapped by the end of the first century AD. To explore this phenomenon in greater detail, the focus of this section turns to the appearances and distributions of standardised objects. With the decline of distinctive local objects such as butt-beakers and fibulae, to what extent can Flavian objectscapes be characterised as products of Mediterranean or northern European genealogies?

5.4.1 STANDARDISED CERAMICS IN SETTLEMENTS AND CEMETERIES, C. AD 70 – 100

By the end of the first century AD, the circulation of *terra sigillata* pottery had reached its greatest extent in northwest Europe, making up a substantial part of fine ware assemblages in both military bases and urban settings, and increasingly penetrating rural landscapes. The speed of this rise to prominence is astonishing, given the trickle of Italian-style *terra sigillata* that passed beyond military bases into high-status aristocratic contexts a century earlier. Indeed, the rate of change and the changing value attached to the ceramics as supply increased raises many parallels with the impact of Chinese porcelain in the Netherlands from the

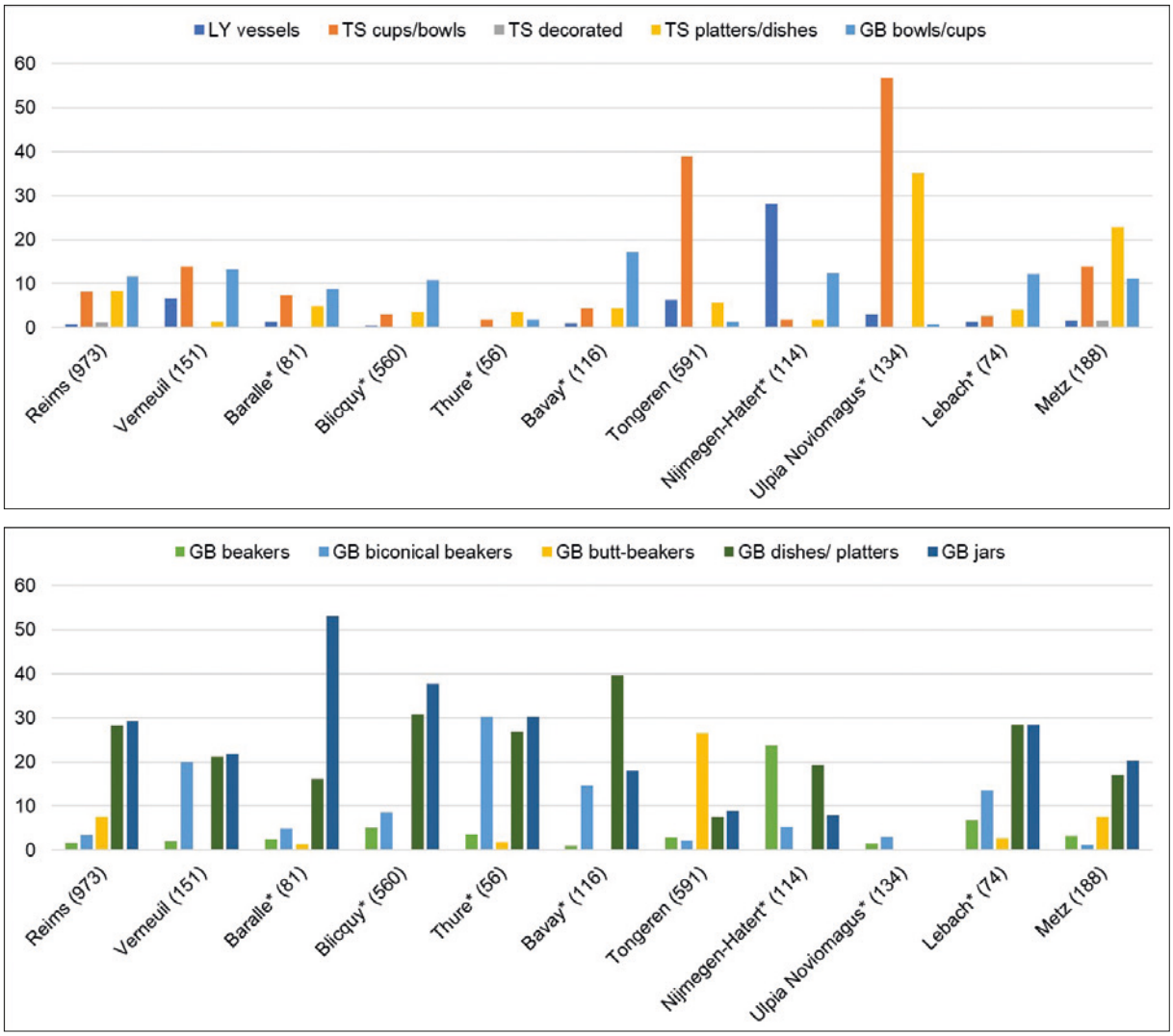


Figure 5.8. The relative proportions of fine wares with Mediterranean genealogy (top) and northern European genealogy (bottom) at selected settlements and cemeteries in northwest Europe, c. AD 70-100 (total nos. in brackets, *denotes cemetery data).

early 17th to early 18th centuries, as discussed in the introduction to this book. However, whereas the different combinations of Chinese porcelain shapes proved to be highly effective indicators of diverse recipient cultures across the world in the 17th century,[381] the same cannot be said for *terra sigillata* in early Roman northwest Europe, where the red-gloss table wares occurred in strikingly regular combinations across the region. While the *terra sigillata* repertoire underwent further innovations in the Flavian period, with the advent of the new cup and dish set (Drag. 35 and 36, see Fig. 5.5), and the decline of certain older forms, such as hemispherical cups (Drag. 24/25 and Ritt. 8) and older platter designs (Drag. 15/17), many of its constituent elements remained broadly the same (i.e. the Drag. 27 cup, Drag. 18 platter, and Drag. 29 decorated bowl).

Turning to examine the fine ware content of settlement and cemetery assemblages from the Flavian period (Fig. 5.8), a clear pattern emerges for most locations in which levels of *terra sigillata* continued to lag behind those of Gallo-Belgic wares. The exceptions to this pattern comprise the Flavian period graves from Ulpia Noviomagus, and to a lesser degree, urban assemblages from Tongeren and Metz. While

[381] Pitts 2017a.

the overall pattern points towards the continued domination of Gallo-Belgic wares at a range of urban and cemetery contexts across Gallia Belgica and Germania Inferior, it should be borne in mind that at least some of these wares may have been residual in excavated urban contexts such as Reims, Tongeren, and Metz, as well as the villa complex at Verneuil-en-Hallatte near Senlis (i.e. older vessels from earlier periods that remained in circulation). This scenario seems especially likely at Tongeren, where the fine ware assemblage is made up of a substantial proportion of Gallo-Belgic butt-beaker forms, which had undergone a sharp decline in deposition in funerary contexts throughout the wider region. Nevertheless, the general dominance of Flavian Gallo-Belgic forms such as dishes, jars, and biconical beakers presents a strong case against much residuality in most assemblages. Tongeren aside, the general picture of fine ware consumption across Gallia Belgica and Germania Inferior is remarkably homogenous at the broad-brush level depicted in Fig. 5.8, with broadly consistent supplies of different major wares and vessel shapes. Compared with equivalent analyses in Chapter 4 (Figs. 4.14 and 4.15), the supply of Lyon ware vessels appears to have tailed-off in most locations. The obvious exception is at the rural cemetery of Nijmegen-Hatert, where a high incidence of Lyon ware beakers as well as Gallo-Belgic beakers mark out aspects of the funerary ritual at this site from the rest of the region.

How should these overwhelmingly universal patterns of the late first century AD be interpreted? The relative contribution of Gallo-Belgic wares should not be especially surprising, since these vessels still constituted a major part of local pottery production across northern Gaul. More revealing are the various vessel shapes that make up this new repertoire. In most locations, older shapes that were the products of largely northern European innovation such as butt-beakers only make up a negligible part of Flavian objectscapes, which had formed a dominant part of assemblages from the start of the first century AD. At the same time, Gallo-Belgic designs which clearly imitated the first Italian-style *terra sigillata* vessels are also much less prominent in the Flavian period – such as older cup and platter forms. The major classes of vessels instead comprise deep dishes, shouldered jars, flask-jars, as well as distinctive new biconical beakers. Most of these vessels are genuine innovations of regional potting traditions of the mid-first century AD, and all can be seen to have genealogical links to either older late Iron Age forms, such as flask-jars, which tend to have more rooted distributions focusing on northwest Belgica, or newer Gallo-Belgic designs. The dishes and biconical beakers, for example, which have more universal patterns of manufacture and distribution, are typologically linkable to earlier designs produced in northwest Belgica in the middle of the first century AD.[382] These innovations all point to a new-found confidence in regional production, which seemingly eschewed many traditional designs that had been popular in local societies in previous generations (i.e. butt-beakers), as well as selecting new designs that complemented rather than simply imitated *terra sigillata*. The nature of this regional phenomenon is underlined by the virtual cessation of *terra rubra* production, which had more closely replicated the appearance of *terra sigillata*, in favour of the exclusive manufacture of grey and black *terra nigra*. With much more *terra sigillata* around, the similarly coloured but technically inferior *terra rubra* was likely to have been increasingly evaluated as second-rate (and unnecessary) among Gallic communities from the middle of the first century AD onwards.

The role of standardised ceramics is further clarified by Fig. 5.9, which compares the relative proportions of some of the principal Gallo-Belgic vessel types in circulation in the Flavian period. Aside from the seemingly residual dominance of butt-beakers at Tongeren and Metz, the bigger picture conforms to the universal patterns of fine ware supply already discussed in this period. *Terra nigra* dishes (A41-43), biconical beakers (P54-56), and to a lesser extent shouldered jars (P46-49) appear with regularity in most assemblages, outlining high degrees of stylistic conformity in the appearance of Gallo-Belgic objectscapes across northern Gaul. The spread of typologically-specific shapes points to yet more synchronous change

[382] For example, the A41-43 dish can be seen as an evolution of the earlier A38-39; likewise, the P54-56 beakers bear certain stylistic resemblances to the P41-49 series of shouldered jars, which continued to circulate in the Flavian period.

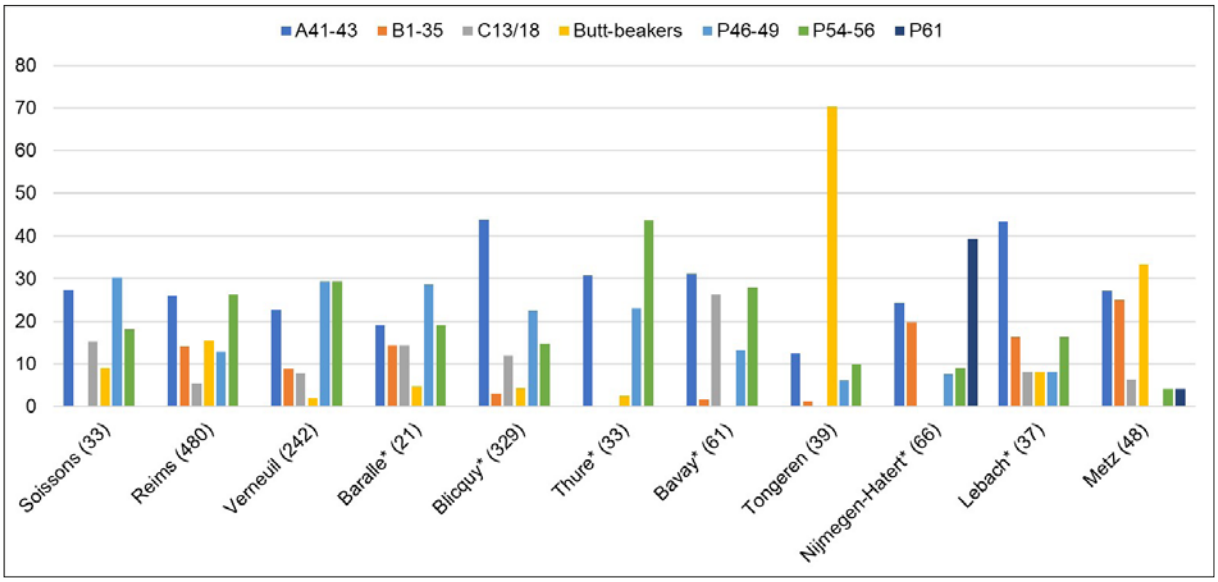


Figure 5.9. The relative proportions of the seven common Gallo-Belgic pottery types at selected sites in the Flavian period (total nos. in brackets, *denotes cemetery data).

across the region, as developments conditioned in no small part by an integrated pan-regional inter-artefactual domain. In some ways it is astonishing that innovative new vessel forms, such as the P54-56 biconical beaker, could first emerge, then achieve universal circulation in the region, as well as build up a strong quantitative presence in most assemblages – all within a single generation.

Other developments remained highly localised, however. For example, the new P61 beaker, with diagnostic decorations (Fig. 5.5), had a much more circumscribed distribution focused around Nijmegen, as evidenced in Fig. 5.9 as the most common Gallo-Belgic vessel in the Hatert cemetery. The emergence of this new beaker design, alongside the parallel predilection for Lyon ware beakers in the same cemetery in this period, further emphasises the unique funerary practices at Hatert. Given its limited circulation and the specific connection to Batavian society, the emergence of this new beaker fits neatly with the intensifying process of Batavian ethnogenesis that would have been at its peak in the Flavian period.[383] Equivalent innovations in the production and localised distributions of decorated butt-beaker vessels had been a well-established practice that correlated with tribal entities that emerged in several other parts of northwest Europe in the preceding century. This genealogical influence can be seen in terms of the black-grey *terra nigra* fabric and decoration of the P61, attributes which were both shared with the older butt-beaker repertoire. At the same time, the P61 is not an entirely regional innovation, as seen in its strong formal resemblance to the shape of the Hof. 25 Lyon ware beaker (Fig. 5.5), which was also favoured at Hatert. The recurrent selection of both beakers at Flavian Hatert fits closely with the image of a community that sought to emphasise martial and even 'barbarian' qualities, e.g. bigger beakers and large-scale alcohol consumption. Whilst the peculiar emphasis on colour-coated beakers is highly suggestive of military connections, the Batavian rite at Hatert is further reinforced by the comparative absence of Gallo-Belgic vessels with Mediterranean genealogy such as the C13 and C18 cup forms (the latter replicating the *terra sigillata* Drag. 27), and the low-levels of *terra sigillata* in the cemetery. Indeed, the funerary objectscapes at Hatert are poles apart from those in the nearby cemetery of the municipal elite at Ulpia Noviomagus, in which an image of urban sociability is emphasised by large services of *terra sigillata* vessels, and a negligible contribution of beakers. In this way, through a series of specific and repeated

[383] Roymans 2004.

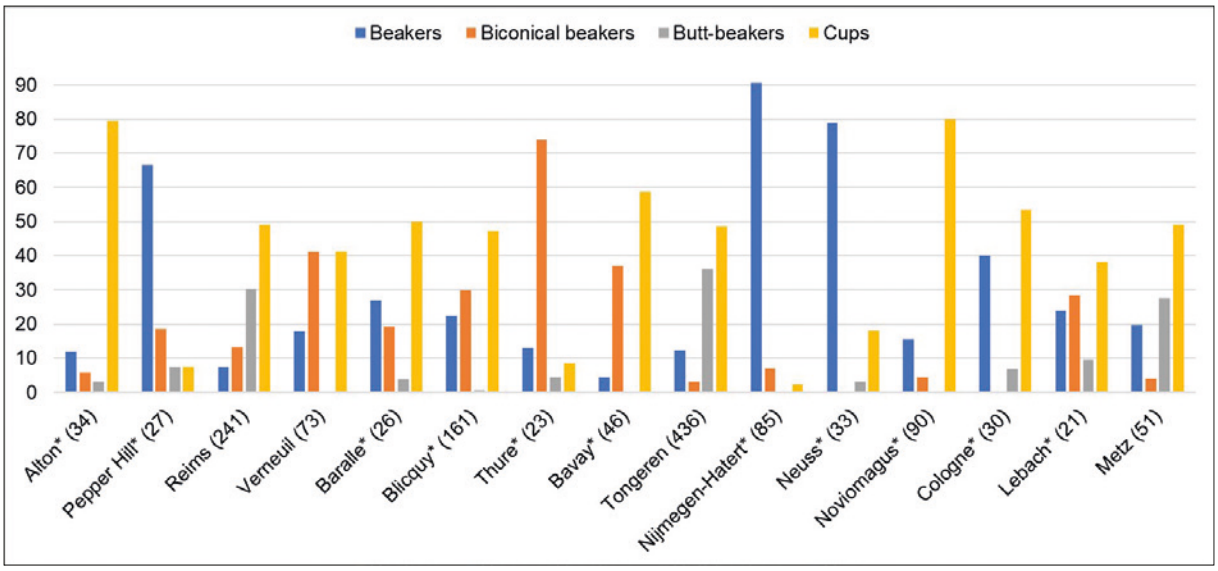


Figure 5.10. The relative proportions of drinking vessel classes at selected cemeteries and settlements in the Flavian period (total nos. in brackets, *denotes cemetery data). Note that the vessels from settlements are exclusively fine wares, whereas the cemetery material includes coarse ware vessels.

object selections, design choices, and practices, the Flavian cemetery at Hatert bore witness to a highly distinctive series of human-object entanglements that were vital to the process of Batavian ethnogenesis.

A recurring element so far in this chapter is the importance of drinking as a sphere of social practice that is implicated in many of the changes and continuities in the design of standardised pottery in the Flavian period. To get a wider perspective on standardised ceramics associated with drinking in the period, Fig. 5.10 compares the general proportions of drinking vessels at a larger sample of settlements and cemeteries. This exercise serves to characterise the dominant elements in associated drinking practices at a pan-regional level. The graph emphasises the rise to prominence of the cup across many different regional traditions, from Alton in southern Britain, to locations like Reims, Bavay, Cologne, and Metz on the continent. The graph also confirms the spread of biconical beakers to most locations. Only assemblages from cemeteries at Nijmegen-Hatert, Thure, Neuss, and Pepper Hill buck the overall trend favouring cups, where some form of beakers are instead preferred. Since three of these cemeteries are associated with military communities, either directly in the case of Neuss, or through the possibility of returning auxiliaries at Hatert and Thure, it is possible that the preferences for beakers did in fact relate to a military influence.

The rise to prominence of cups and more uniform biconical beakers, together with the decline of the regionally-distinct series of butt-beaker shapes, are highly significant developments, adding up to the universalisation of objectscapes connected with the social practice of drinking. Given that drinking accoutrements of various guises had been vitally important in commensal hospitality, social display, and as vectors of regional diversity and shared practices, this decisive shift at the end of the first century AD must be explained with care. The objectscapes of the Flavian period were not simply created from scratch. Instead, they were in substantial part another important phase in over a century of material changes in northwest Europe that had begun in earnest in the late first century BC, with the genealogies of some elements stretching back even further into the Iron Age. Therefore, while some changes can be considered incremental, such as the slow rise to prominence of cups, and the decline in butt-beakers, other innovative designs appear much more suddenly, such as the emergence of the biconical beaker and the Batavian P61, even though both vessels had clear genealogical roots in earlier Gallo-Belgic ware designs.

Stepping back from the detailed data and taking a longer-term perspective, the idea of the inter-artefactual domain has ongoing explanatory potential for the Flavian period. The existence of a single inter-artefactual

domain across the whole of northwest Europe and beyond assumes continued high levels of connectivity in the movement of both people and objects across the whole area. An important part of the inter-artefactual domain (that has only been eluded to in passing so far) surely included other material forms with which the objects in question were contextually-related – most notably the growth of urban built environments in the Flavian period. In other words, it seems likely that the development of urbanism was an important factor in precipitating a shift in the appearance of objects suitable for such new environments, a phenomenon that is also reflected in the furnishings of contemporary graves from the period – most notably those directly associated with major cities. While the existence of a single inter-artefactual domain for northwest Europe mattered greatly for the reproduction of objects and their appearances, its influence as a factor governing the selection of objects in specific social settings was arguably less pronounced. This is most aptly demonstrated at Nijmegen, where different communities made selections from the circulating repertoire of objects to create very different images in death – the beaker-heavy combinations evoking the 'barbarian' roots of returning Batavian auxiliaries at Hatert, and the urban luxury of the graves of the municipal elite at Ulpia Noviomagus. From this perspective, the patterns concerning drinking vessels in Fig. 5.10 illustrate two opposing yet complementary phenomena. While local communities in northwest Europe increasing looked towards the civil ideal of *humanitas* through the adoption of Mediterranean influenced designs (cups) and biconical beakers no longer so firmly rooted in regional traditions,[384] paradoxically, communities with military connections (most notably the Batavi) seemingly sought to strengthen their martial qualities and even *feritas* through the particularisation of vessels associated with older late Iron Age drinking practices (beakers). Both material trajectories, involving distinct styles and combinations of objects, must be therefore seen as deliberate cultural choices that were nevertheless informed by the possibilities of the evolving pan-regional inter-artefactual domain.

5.4.2 Case-study: drinking vessels in southeast Britannia, c. AD 40 – 250

For a different perspective on changes to standardised ceramics connected to drinking practices, it is time to turn our attention back to Britannia. So far, urban assemblages from Britain have been excluded from the discussion on developments in standardised pottery due to problems concerning the different ways that pottery is routinely quantified in Britain compared with continental Europe. For parts of southeast Britain in particular, Roman pottery assemblages from urban contexts tend to be quantified using a combination of measures – sherd count, weight, and Estimated Vessel Equivalent (EVE), the latter being typically calculated by measuring pottery rims as a surviving proportion of once complete vessels. Of these measures, only EVE is suitable for 'counting' the numbers of vessel shapes in a given archaeological assemblage. However, this measure is not used in mainland Europe, where methods for calculating the (minimum) numbers of vessels are preferred. While both measures aim to do the same thing, they cannot be compared directly, so the data from Britain must be analysed separately. As such, the discussion in this section is based on the fresh analysis of a large body of data from the hinterlands of Roman Colchester and London that derives from the 'Town and country in Roman Essex' project.[385]

[384] On *humanitas*, see Woolf 1998.

[385] Perring/Pitts 2013. Many of the assemblages included in the 'Town and country in Roman Essex' project had already been published in some form, it also included new data that was enhanced through re-examination during the project. The full dataset is deposited with the Archaeology Data Service (Archaeology South-East/ English Heritage/University College London 2011): https://doi.org/10.5284/1011886. For this reason, I have cited this dataset rather than the original excavation reports when I have made use of these data, which was published separately from the project monograph (Perring/Pitts 2013).

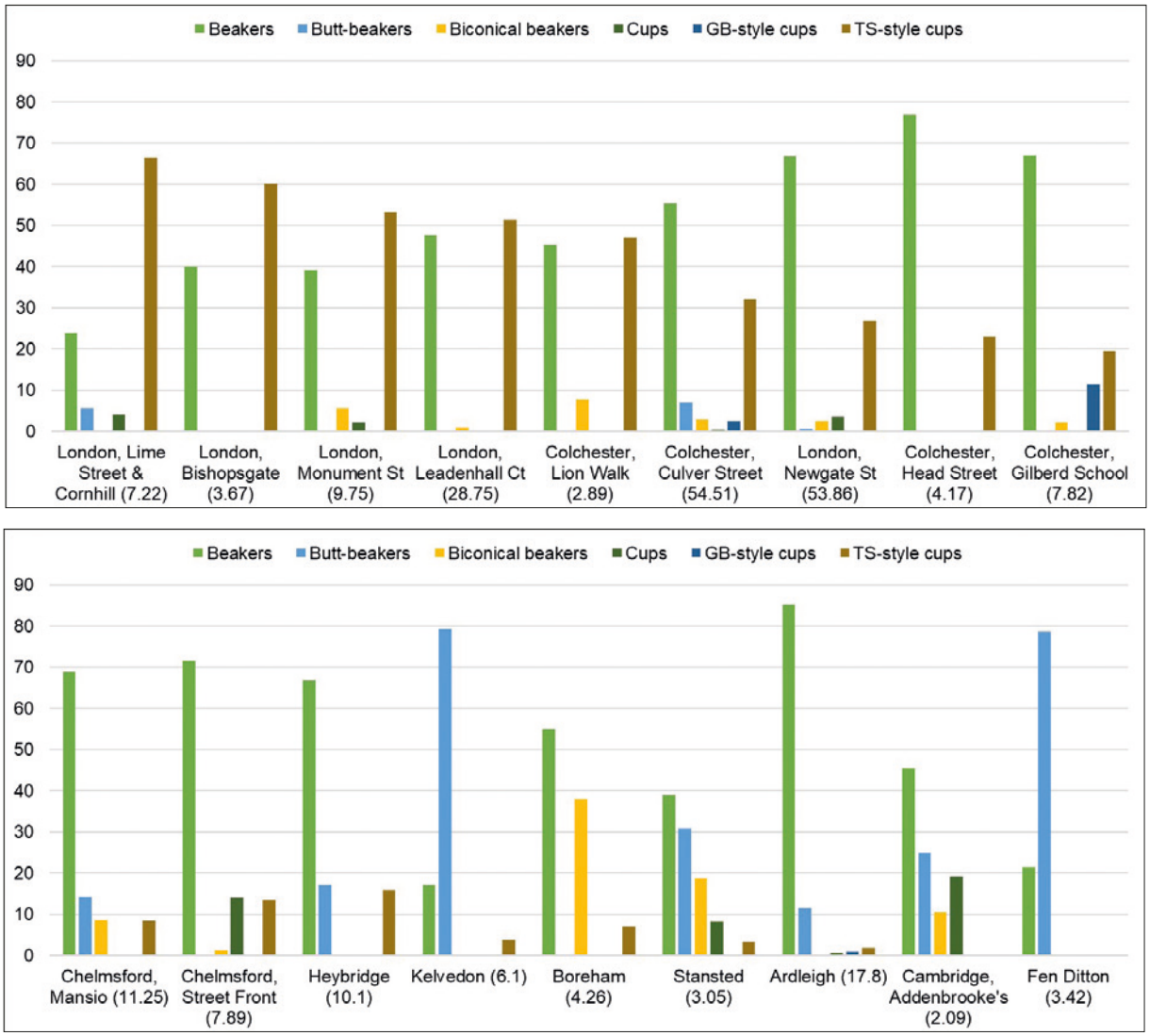


Figure 5.11. The relative proportions of drinking vessel classes at selected settlements and sites at Roman London, Colchester (top) and their hinterlands (bottom), c. AD 40-250. Data are quantified by EVE (totals per site in brackets).

Taking a longer-term perspective on the use of standardised pottery drinking vessels at locations from Roman London, Colchester, and their respective hinterlands, Fig. 5.11 compares the proportions of different vessel shapes from the period c. AD 40-250. Examining so much data aggregated from two centuries of pottery consumption provides useful insights into the relative impact of various innovative drinking vessel designs produced in the first century AD and beyond. Three major patterns in Fig. 5.11 deserve further comment. The first concerns older vessel forms, such as butt-beakers, which are much more conspicuous at the array of secondary centres (Heybridge and Kelvedon) and rural settlements (Stansted, Ardleigh, Addenbrooke's, and Fen Ditton) in the lower tier of Fig. 5.11, compared with the urban locations at the top. This may be seen as an amalgam of several factors – that unlike London and Colchester, most of these settlements had origins in the pre-Roman period when butt-beakers reached peak popularity; that coverage of representative pottery assemblages from these non-urban locations is more patchy over time (especially for Kelvedon and Fen Ditton, whose assemblages derive largely from the mid to late first century AD); and a much bigger phenomenon in which assemblages from London and Colchester featured much higher proportions of imported pottery than their non-urban counterparts.

Site (EVEs)	Eggshell ware	Fine grey ware	Sandy grey ware	Hadham ware	London ware	North Kent coarse ware	Red ware	Imitation TN
London (2.1)	26.19	55.71	12.86	-	5.24	-	-	-
Colchester (1.92)	-	65.63	-	-	-	-	-	34.38
Chelmsford (1.05)	-	8.57	12.38	-	-	79.05	-	-
Boreham (1.62)	-	-	-	-	7.41	92.59	-	-
Stansted (0.57)	-	-	-	47.37	-	52.63	-	-
Addenbrooke's (0.22)	-	68.18	-	-	-	-	31.82	-

Table 5.12. The percentage composition by pottery fabric of biconical beaker vessels from excavated settlement contexts from London, Colchester, and hinterland sites, c. AD 40-250. Pottery vessels are quantified by EVE (totals per site in brackets).

Two other patterns in Fig. 5.11 have much closer bearing on the general changes associated with the Flavian period in continental northwest Europe, as well as the new innovative drinking vessels that were introduced in this period. In the upper-tier of the graph, the various sites from within London and Colchester have been arranged in order of assemblages with the highest proportions of *terra sigillata* style cups. This category includes both *terra sigillata* itself as well as cups that imitated *terra sigillata* designs in local and regional pottery fabrics. The result of the ranking exercise is the corresponding ordering of sites by their distance from the central public areas of first London (focused on the Cornhill) and then Colchester. While *terra sigillata* style cups dominate central urban areas, suburban locations at Colchester and London are characterised by higher ratios of beakers. This is especially telling at Newgate Street, a suburban site located c. 0.75km to the west of London's forum, and the Gilberd School, a site located at a similar distance to the west of the main public buildings at Colchester.[386] These patterns become even more pronounced in smaller settlements outside these urban centres, such as at Ardleigh, just 7km northwest of Colchester. In terms of proportions, *terra sigillata* style cups barely register in assemblages outside major urban centres, and it is only at secondary centres such as Chelmsford and Heybridge that they make even a modest impression. These patterns confirm, albeit in a broad-brush manner, the basic correlation between urban built environments and cup forms with distinct Mediterranean genealogies. The proportions of these cups in objectscapes varied not only according to settlement type and connectivity, but moreover the position of a given site within an urban environment, thus strengthening the explanatory link between the spread of urbanism and the slow rise of cups in both everyday and funerary practice.

A third major pattern of note in Fig. 5.11 concerns the impact of a major Flavian innovation, the biconical beaker, whose occurrence in Britain was in shapes that were virtually identical to those that circulated in continental northern Europe (Deru P54-56; Camulodunum 120; illustrated in the context of other Flavian objects in Fig. 5.5). While these vessels make up a small but significant proportion of pottery assemblages from London and Colchester, their prevalence is paradoxically much higher among non-urban settlements in the Essex and Cambridgeshire regions – most notably at Chelmsford, Boreham, Stansted, and Addenbrooke's. Such deep penetration beyond the urban sphere highlights the reach of transformative connectivity at the end of the first century AD and beyond. The biconical beaker was a northern Gallic innovation that was nevertheless selected by communities in southeast Britain from a larger circulating repertoire of many different designs, which included *terra sigillata*, for local production and consumption. Table 5.12 clarifies the many diverse sources of these vessels, by breaking down the biconical beaker category into its constituent fabrics for the various sites in question. While the egg-

[386] These patterns concerning the distribution of drinking vessels fit with the general supply of *terra sigillata* observed for Colchester and London (Willis 2011, 183).

shell ware variants are found exclusively at London and are almost certainly imports, the existence of seven other varieties of fabrics attests to the widespread impact of this new beaker design, as well as the consistent production of a vessel with a broadly standardised appearance across so many different local and regional potting traditions in southern Britain – in a manner analogous to the production of Gallo-Belgic wares in northern Gaul.

Despite different quantification, descriptive languages, and archaeological contexts, the data on drinking vessels from the hinterlands of Roman London and Colchester reveal three principal patterns that exhibit direct concordance with the equivalent data from cemetery and settlement contexts across Gallia Belgica and Germania Inferior. Not only are the general trends in the appearance of objectscapes associated with drinking and linked dining practices very similar,[387] there is a demonstrable link between the selection of cups with Mediterranean genealogy and urban contexts. Moreover, the case-study highlights how the innovative designs of biconical beaker that seemingly developed in northwest Belgica had a pronounced impact across the Channel in southeast Britain, being reproduced in multiple local pottery industries and circulating in substantial quantities in various non-urban contexts. This provides a good example of the maintenance of cross-regional networks not directly driven by the imperial infrastructure of major cities and military bases. All these patterns, however, serve to highlight the strength of cross-provincial connectivity and pan-regional synchronicity in the appearance of material culture at the end of the first century AD and beyond. To test these ideas further, the final part of this chapter reverts to the detailed analysis of standardised objects in Flavian funerary contexts, making use of Correspondence Analysis to tease out recurrences in the inclusion of material culture in grave assemblages of this period.

5.4.3 Standardised objects in funerary objectscapes, c. AD 70 – 100

This section explores the big picture of the placement of standardised objects in 700 Flavian period graves. The objects in these graves are analysed using Correspondence Analysis in Fig. 5.12, with the main patterns summarised in terms of the appearances of major object types in an interpretive schematic in Fig. 5.13. To fully appreciate the significance of these patterns, it is instructive to briefly summarise the main findings of equivalent analyses in Chapters 3 and 4. The results of CA as applied to Augustan-Tiberian (Fig. 3.21) and Claudio-Neronian (Fig. 4.20) funerary objectscapes essentially revealed complementary phenomena. On the one hand both analyses exposed a series of overlapping regional styles of consumption from southeast Britannia, northwest Belgica, and southeast Belgica, typically constituted by Gallo-Belgic wares and fibulae. This contrasted and sometimes overlapped with a distinctive recurring suite of objects that included lamps, *terra sigillata*, glass, and Lyon ware vessels, that was strongly associated with graves in military and colonial locations.

In contrast with the patterns of the two preceding eras, Fig. 5.12 reveals a very different situation for the Flavian period. In the first place, regional differentiation between southeast Britain (graves in red), northwest Belgica (magenta), and southeast Belgica (green) barely registers in the upper CA plot, in large part resulting from the declining circulation of various regional butt-beaker and fibula designs that had previously differentiated these territories. A second major pattern concerns the shift in object selections within graves associated with the local elite. Most of these graves can be seen to have moved away from their respective regional traditions, and towards object selections that had previously been the exclusive preserve of Roman military and veteran communities, in the lower-left quadrant of Fig. 5.12. Here, alongside graves from military and colonial cemeteries such as Neuss, Cologne, Colchester,

[387] Not all vessels designated in analysis as 'cups' were necessarily used primarily for drinking. For *terra sigillata*, see Dannell 2006, 2018; Biddulph 2008.

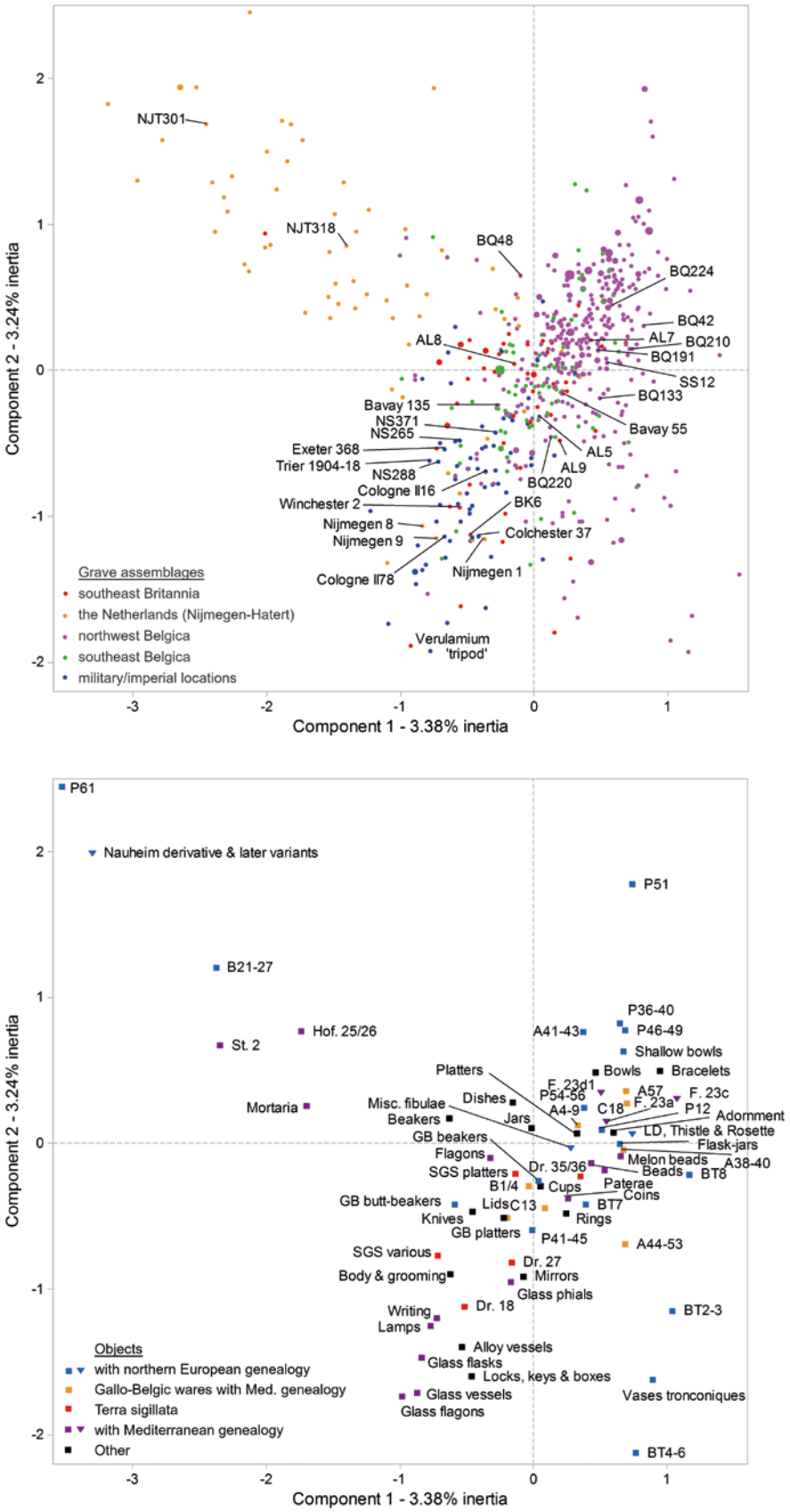


Figure 5.12. Correspondence Analysis of the contents of 700 graves from northwest Europe, c. AD 70-100. The upper plot shows patterning by grave, with corresponding associations of objects in the lower plot.

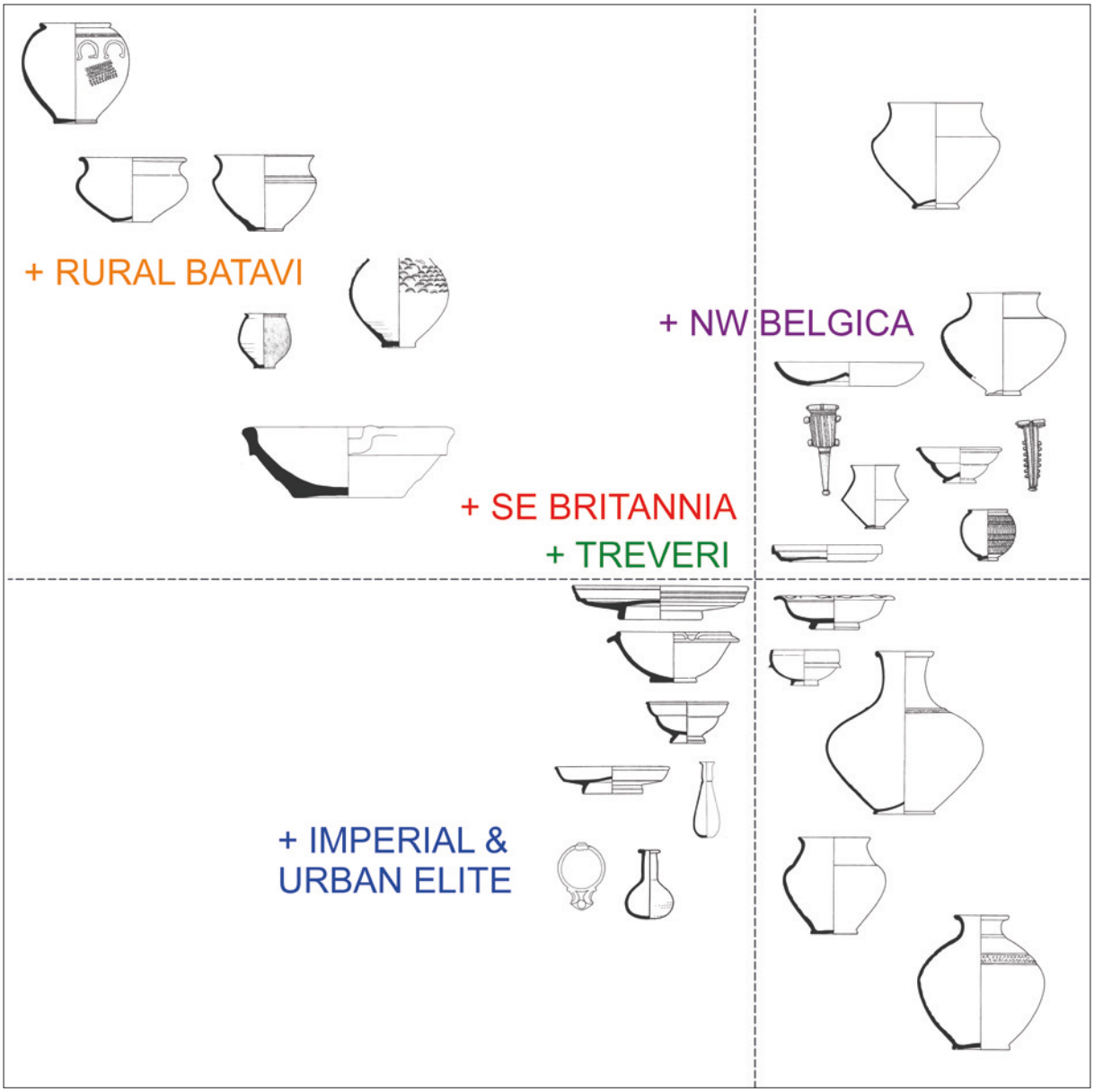


Figure 5.13. Interpretive schematic of Fig. 5.12. Positions of selected objects are approximate.

Beverley Road, Exeter, and Trier, there are several notable funerary assemblages from emerging major urban centres such as Bavay, Verulamium, Winchester, and Ulpia Noviomagus, and even occasional lesser centres such as Baldock. Lastly, a third major pattern consists of distinct patterns of object selection at the cemetery of Nijmegen-Hatert (orange), which corresponds with colour-coated beakers ('Lyon ware' forms Hof. 25/26 and Stuart 2), Gallo-Belgic bowls of local genealogy (B21-27), and innovative *terra nigra* beakers of local origin (P61) in the lower CA plot.

To explore the main patterns in Fig. 5.12 in further detail, let us begin with the absence of observable regional differentiation between southeast Britain, northwest and southeast Belgica. The basis for this observation is a broad continuum of graves plotted in the centre and upper-right quadrant of the CA plot, which is progressively dominated by the magenta graves of cemeteries from northwest Belgica (such as Blicquy and Baralle) the further one gets from the centre of the plot. While the extremities of this pattern suggest a regionally distinctive style of funerary display

in northwest Belgica, equivalent patterns are missing for Britain and southeast Belgica, where grave assemblages were more reliant on the selection of either local coarse vessels, or combinations of more commonly circulating objects. The absence of styles of objects with more regionally-rooted idiosyncratic characteristics, such as the P1 and P21 butt-beakers that once dominated funerary assemblages in their respective territories, marks a fundamental change in funerary objectscapes in Britain and southeast Belgica.

A couple of sample graves from the centre of the CA plot can be used to illustrate such increased deterritorialisation. Take, for example, grave 8 from Alton, which is plotted close to the centre of Fig. 5.12 (AL8). The assemblage in question is composed entirely of locally produced vessels, rather than standardised shapes with regional or pan-regional distributions. However, the 24 pottery vessels placed in this grave can be seen to nevertheless concord with a much broader shared milieu in terms of the vessel forms represented: two beakers, four bowls, four flagons, five cups, five dishes, and two lids. Grave 135 from Bavay (Fig. 5.3), discussed at the start of this chapter, is also plotted close to the plot centre, and features a rather different combination of objects. On one hand, some are associated with the more deterritorialised imperial styles of consumption and aristocratic graves from the lower-left quadrant (i.e. a glass phial, a lamp, and some *terra sigillata*). But the grave is instead pulled closer to the centre by the presence of objects correlating with graves from upper-right quadrant of the CA plot – a pair of Hod Hill brooches (F. 23d1), and a pair of *terra nigra* jars (P48). While the composition of this pair of grave assemblages is very different, they are nonetheless linked by selections effectively drawn from or inspired by pan-regional trends in funerary objectscapes.[388]

The selections of objects that distinguished a large proportion of graves from northwest Belgica in the upper-right quadrant of Fig. 5.12 include the continued deposition of Gallo-Belgic wares and fibulae, alongside bracelets and other items of personal adornment. Concerning the Gallo-Belgic wares, there is a striking predominance of forms with northern European genealogy, including shouldered-jars (P46-49), dishes (A41-43), and biconical beakers (P54-56). While the latter two vessel types had wide circulation and productions across the whole study area, statistical analysis shows a general predilection for their deposition in northwest Belgica, alongside the more regionally specific jars (P46-49). A simple comparison of the prevalence of these types (A41-43 and P54-56) with that of *terra sigillata* (occurring in 123 graves) reveals that while the *terra nigra* forms were more common in graves (279 graves), *sigillata* occurred in 27 as opposed to just nineteen cemeteries for the *terra nigra* vessels. This highlights the regionally concentrated distribution of common *terra nigra* forms in contrast with the more widely distributed, albeit thinly-spread occurrence of *terra sigillata*.

If northwest Belgica remained a heartland for the consumption of Gallo-Belgic wares, it was also a last bastion for the first century AD deposition of fibulae in graves – most notably brooches of the Hod Hill type (Feugère 23a, 23c, and 23d1, which all plot in the upper-right quadrant of Fig. 5.12). This phenomenon is illustrated by the selections of objects in grave 224 at Blicquy, plotted in the middle of the spread of magenta graves in Fig. 5.12, which included two Feugère 23c fibulae, and several standardised *terra nigra* vessels – a P54 biconical beaker, an A42 dish, and a P48 jar (Fig. 5.14). Occasionally, analogous combinations of objects occurred in graves much further afield, such as Alton 7 (Fig. 5.15), which likewise included a Feugère 23c brooch and an A42 dish (albeit not in *terra nigra*), and is plotted in a similar part of the CA plot, further underlining the links between funerary practice at the richer end of the spectrum of graves in both cemeteries in Table 5.8. Although arguably less frequent than in preceding

[388] The nuances underlying patterns such as this one caution against interpreting clustering in CA at face value, without exploring the gravities of different variables, or further qualifying trends using other descriptive statistics or examples.

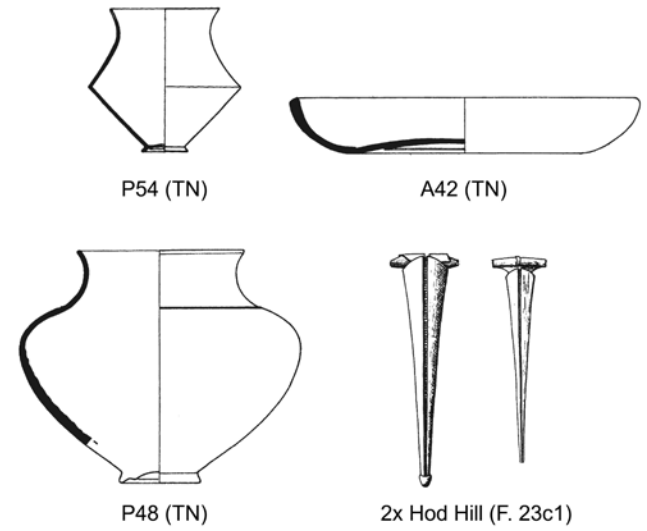


Figure 5.14. The objects from grave 224 at Blicquy, Hainaut (after De Laet et al. 1972, Pl. 65; pottery vessels reconstructed from standard typologies).

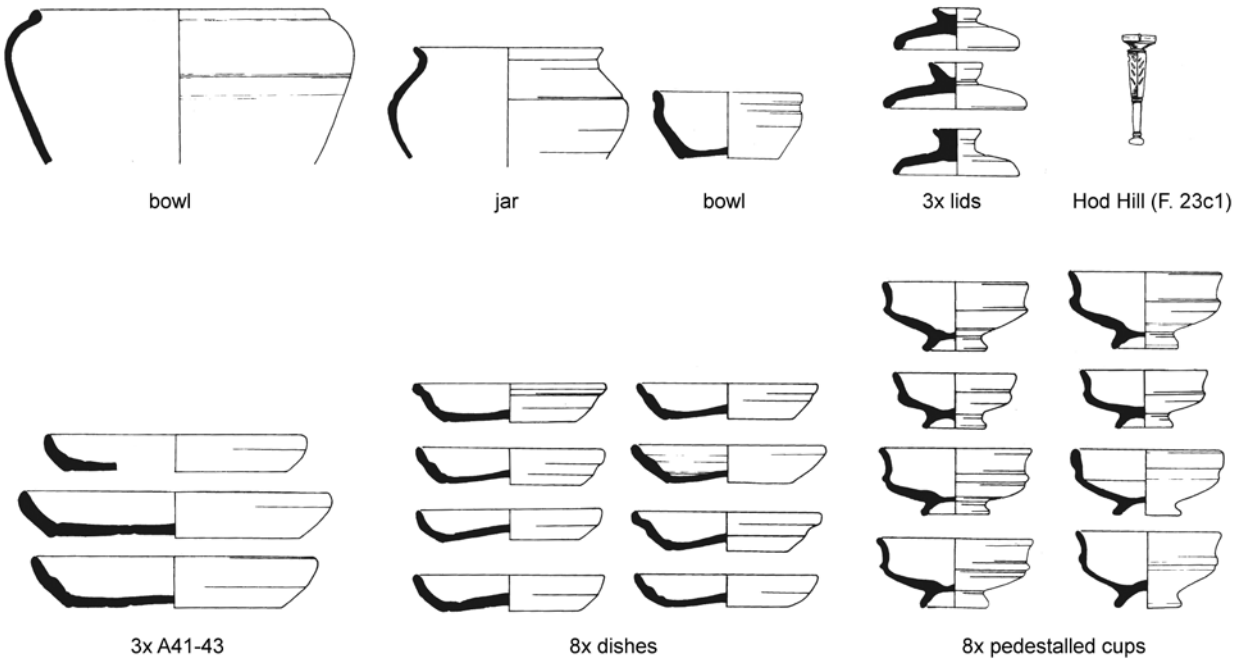


Figure 5.15. The objects from grave 7 at Alton, Hampshire (after Millett 1986a, 72, Figs. 34–35).

generations, specific links such as this were far from coincidental, and highlight the interconnected worlds of funerary practice, object design, and object circulation on both sides of the Channel.

Another major feature of the clustering of graves from civilian and rural contexts in the upper-right quadrant of Fig. 5.12 is the relative absence of assemblages that may be considered richly furnished, which instead concentrate in the lower-left quandrant. This marked deterritorialisation of elite display strategies heralds a substantial shift from funerary practice of the earlier first century AD, in which graves identified as being linked to the local aristocracy were firmly plotted *within* their corresponding regional traditions of object selection. Indeed, only the lowest tier of rich graves previously discussed from Table 5.8 are present in the upper-right part of the CA plot – the graves characterised by very large pottery

assemblages and emphasising commensal hospitality, but otherwise lacking imported objects favoured in the very richest tier of graves. All seven of the graves from Table 5.8 that meet these criteria have been labelled in Fig. 5.12 (Alton graves 5, 7, 8, and 9; Blicquy graves 133, 191, and 220), and show a diffuse distribution, but crucially one that avoids the area of the CA plot dominated by the richest tier of graves to the lower-left.

The distinctive practices of funerary selection and deposition at Alton and Blicquy drew heavily on locally manufactured objects and styles, and as such can be characterised as local particularisations of more universal burial practices and styles of circulating objects. While the selections and appearances of objects in the graves from Alton and Blicquy certainly evoke aspects of luxurious dining seen in the *terra sigillata* services of the very richest tier of graves, this was nonetheless a practice enacted almost exclusively using regionally- and locally-produced material culture, and likewise lacking in more rarefied selections of objects such as writing equipment, and even material culture more typical of urban objectscapes, such as standardised fine wares. Indeed, a common thread linking most of the cemeteries that populated the central to upper-right spectrum of graves in Fig. 5.12 is that they are largely associated with secondary centres or rural contexts – i.e. Alton, Baldock, Blicquy, Baralle, Dourges, Kortrijk, Lebach, Noyelles-Godault, Pepper Hill, Remagne, Septfontaines-Dëckt, Stansted, Thure, and Wanzoul. It follows that evolving funerary practices in these contexts constitute alternative display strategies for sections of society who were less well-integrated into the expanding urban order. While urban and deterritorialised styles of consumption are certainly evoked in terms of the general appearance of the grave ensembles, the object repertoires are inherently local – as seen in both the provenance of most material culture, as well as the continued preference for fibulae and styles of pottery with northern European genealogies.

Another decisive shift that emerges from the analysis of Flavian funerary objectscapes in Fig. 5.12 is the alignment of the richest tier of civilian graves from the region with selections of objects that had been previously associated with cemeteries used by military and colonial communities, in the lower-left quadrant. This is illustrated in Fig. 5.12 by multiple graves from the socially exclusive cemetery at Ulpia Noviomagus (Nijmegen graves 1, 8, and 9), and graves from other major urban cemeteries across the region, including Bavay, Colchester, Cologne, St. Albans, Trier, and Winchester, as well as military bases such as Neuss and Exeter, which most directly correspond with the selection of glass vessels, writing equipment, lamps, and *terra sigillata*. This Flavian transformation in the make-up of funerary repertoires, particularly among the graves of the local municipal elite, illustrates the universalisation of deterritorialised imperial styles of consumption. Moreover, the circumstances of most of the cemeteries involved – typically located close to major cities or military bases – underlines the role of connectivity in realigning the major axes of social differentiation. Distinctions between urban and rural had now largely come to variously re-cast or replace the older divides between between imperial institutions and the remnants of later Iron Age clientship networks.

Viewing changes to Flavian objectscapes through the lens of CA underlines how the selection of certain styles and combinations of objects were vital to the new cosmopolitan world of cities and friends in the northwest provinces.[389] Selections of objects that had been almost the exclusive preserve of soldiers and colonists a generation earlier were fully embraced by local elites across three provinces and reimagined on a much grander scale. This involved greater quantities of objects like *terra sigillata*, with the addition of writing equipment, strigils, and curule chairs acting to reinforce images of authority, status, and *humanitas*. These selections were firmly deterritorialised, with the majority no longer anchored in the domain of local or regional objectscapes. Part of this process not only entailed appropriating the new, but also rejecting the old – items such as butt-beakers, fibulae, and even Gallo-Belgic vessels. While butt-beakers are paradoxically plotted in this part of the CA plot, further inspection reveals their occurrence in only fourteen graves scattered across the whole study region – a dramatic decline given their

[389] Woolf 1998; Creighton 2006, 149.

Figure 5.16. The objects from grave 368, Holloway Street, Exeter. Courtesy Thomas Cadbury, Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter.

overwhelming presence graves for much of the first century AD. This is not to say that 'rooted' objects ceased to be selected in these kinds of funerary repertoires – as strikingly evidenced by the large black-burnished ware pedestalled bowl with Durotrigan-style decoration in grave 368 from Exeter (Fig. 5.16), and more mutedly in the guise of the *terra nigra* beaker in Ulpia Noviomagus grave 9 (Fig. 5.1). Rather, such occurrences seem to constitute ever smaller parts of much bigger assemblages in which the overwhelming image was inherently cosmopolitan and deterritorialised.

If funerary objectscapes of the Flavian period were increasingly realigned according to a schism between cosmopolitan and urbane styles of consumption on one hand, and those rooted in more regionalised and rural orientated strategies of display on the other, there is one major exception to this pattern. Graves plotted in the upper-left quadrant of Fig. 5.12, almost exclusively from the rural cemetery of Nijmegen-Hatert, are marked out by the selections of very different combinations of objects. In this instance, the application of CA serves to highlight the distinctiveness of object selections associated with the Batavian ethnogenesis and possible returning auxiliaries at Hatert. Fig. 5.12 isolates the innovative objects in question as those with distinctly northern European genealogies, most notably evolved types of fibulae that resembled the latest line of simple Nauheim derivative brooches, Gallo-Belgic bowls (B21-27), and Gallo-Belgic beakers (P61), as well as objects with Mediterranean genealogy, especially colour-coated 'Lyon ware' beakers (Hof. 25-26 and Stuart 2), and mortaria. These patterns are exemplified by the selections of objects illustrated from Hatert graves 301 and 318 (Fig. 5.17). Some of these

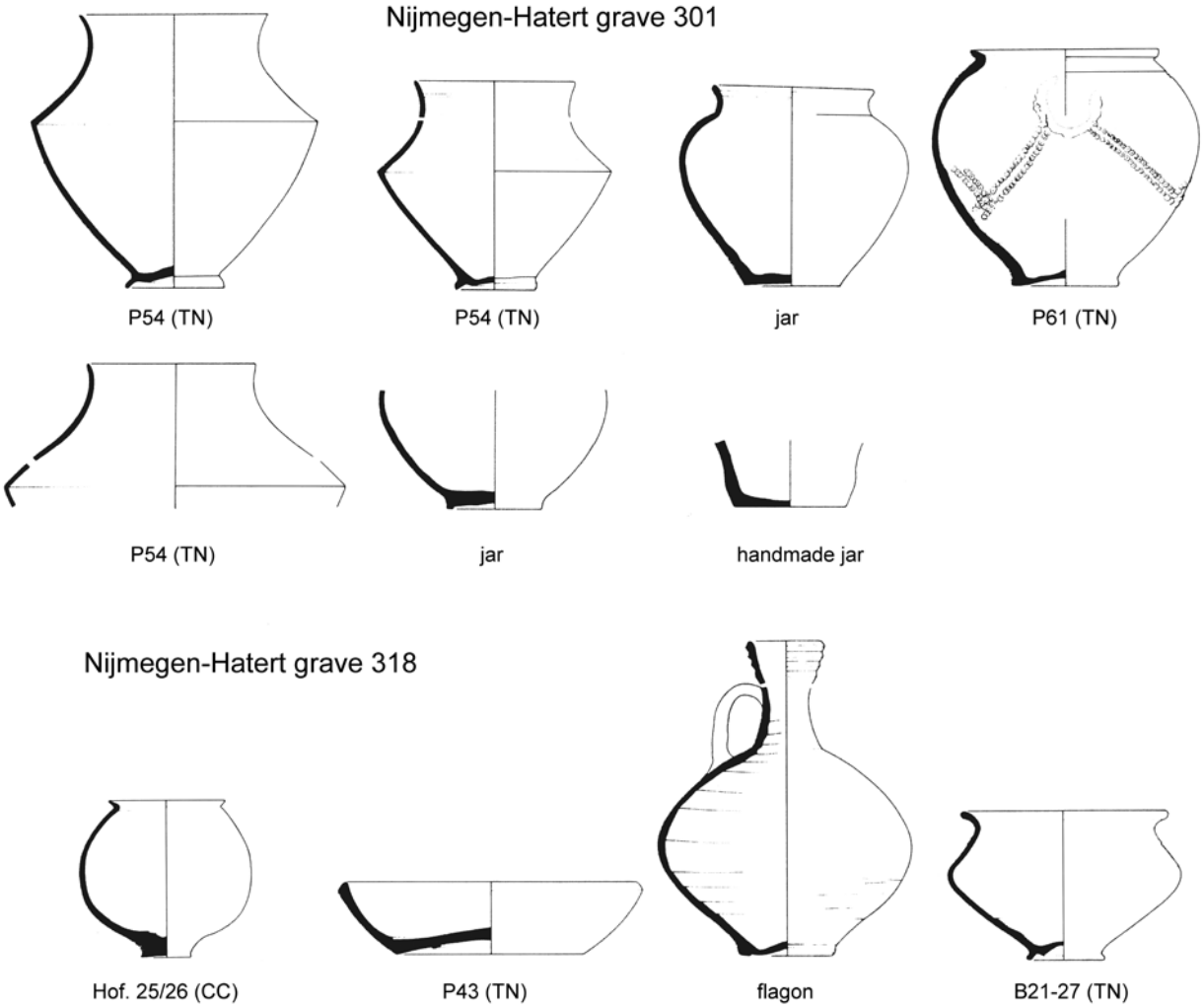


Figure 5.17. Returning Batavian auxiliaries? The objects from graves 301 and 318 at the cemetery of Nijmegen-Hatert, Gelderland (after Haalebos 1990, 41, Fig. 16 and 47, Fig. 20; some vessels reconstructed from contemporary graves in the cemetery).

innovations, especially the emergence of the decorated black-grey P61 *terra nigra* beakers, almost seem of a different era, and would have made much more sense appearing alongside the regionally-rooted forms of butt-beakers of past generations. In contrast, the Lyon ware beakers and the specific types of Gallo-Belgic bowls were both noted for their strongly military-orientated biographical pathways in the preceding Claudio-Neronian period.

The distinct selections of material culture at Hatert attest to the crucial role of objects in the Batavian ethnogenesis. This object-based perspective complements recent narratives of the process which cast the forging of a new ethnic community as a direct consequence of Rome's use of the Batavi as a source of military manpower.[390] Just as other groups such as the Treveri and the Catuvellauni had developed their own regionally-distinct styles of drinking vessels, so too did the Batavi, albeit two generations later than their neighbours. Likewise, the deliberate selection of Lyon ware and colour-coated beakers in funerary contexts is difficult to explain without some connection to the military sphere. The idea that many of these vessels were acquired by auxiliaries in military service is an attractive one. The phenomenon is also

[390] Roymans 2004.

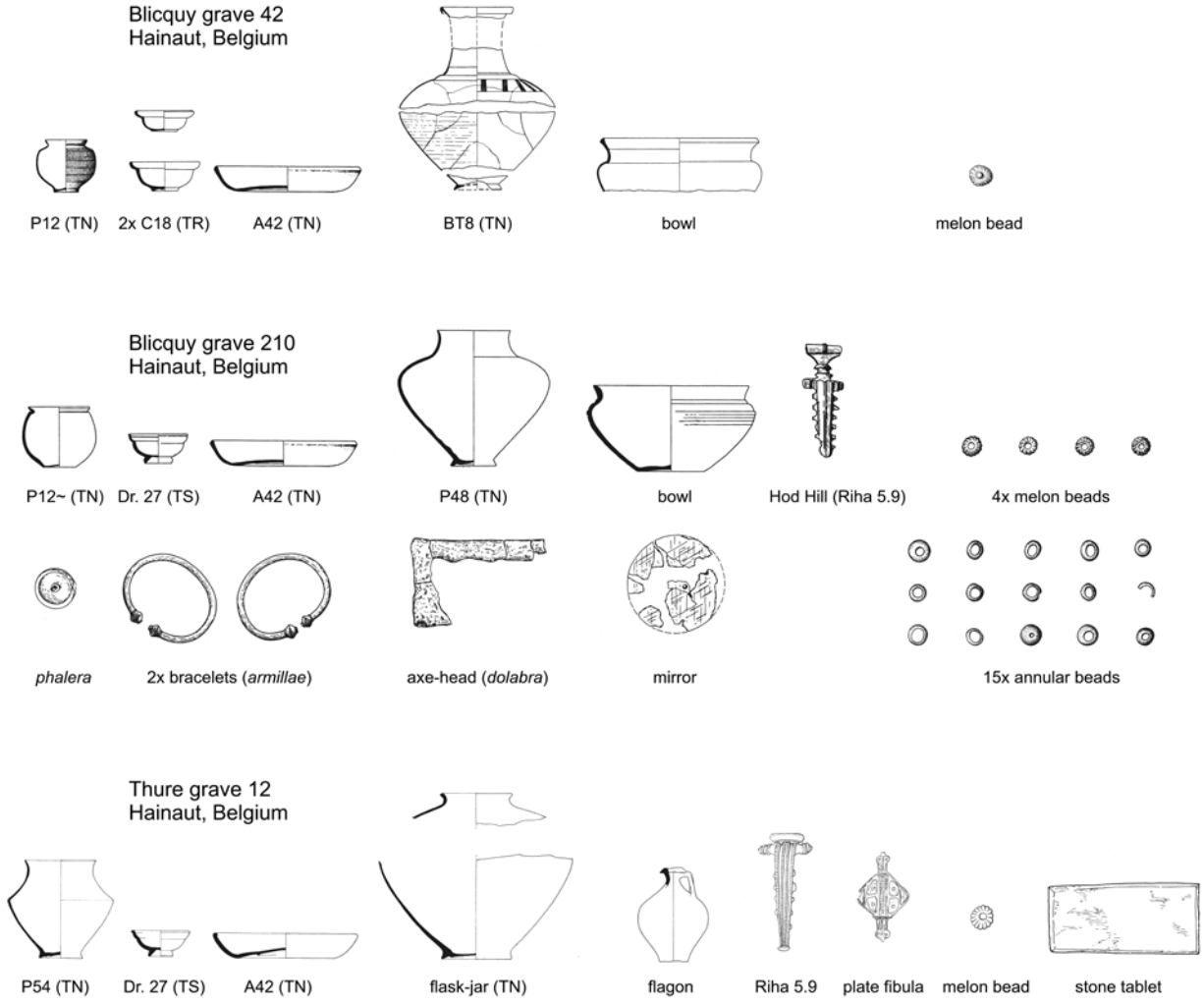


Figure 5.18. Returning Nervian auxiliaries? The objects from graves 42 and 210 at Blicquy (after De Laet et al. 1972, Pl. 16 and 59), and grave 12 at Thure, Solre-sur-Sambre (after Brulet 1972, 36, Fig. 18), both Hainaut.

observable in some of the richer graves at Ulpia Noviomagus – notably grave 8 (Fig. 5.7), which tantalisingly included other examples of military equipment – a repertoire that is highly suggestive of the image of someone who had served as an officer during part of their life. Another significant element hinting at returning *auxilia* at Hatert is the high prevalence of Gallo-Belgic bowls with northern Gallic genealogy (forms B21-27), of which form B27 had been linked with the possible movement of northern Gallic auxiliaries to Colonia Victricensis in Chapter 4. In sum, these patterns underline the necessity of highly specific selections of both circulating objects and designs from the pan-regional repertoire to reinforce a new martial ideology among the Batavi. While colour-coated beakers evoked the drinking customs and military culture of Roman officers, the innovation of distinct black-grey *terra nigra* beakers (P61) likely reinforced the *feritas* of the Batavi, by drawing heavily on design elements of regionally-rooted butt-beakers that were popular in the objectscapes of neighbouring 'barbarian' societies of previous generations.

The likelihood that returning auxiliaries playing a a significant role in the transformation of funerary objectscapes at Nijmegen-Hatert raises the possibility of similar patterns among the Nervii, who after the Batavi, are known to have contributed the largest numbers of auxiliary recruits in the pre-Flavian period (Table 4.11). This possibility is discussed above concerning selected graves in Tables 5.9 and 5.10. Most of these graves, featuring multiple objects with military circulation profiles, such as melon beads and

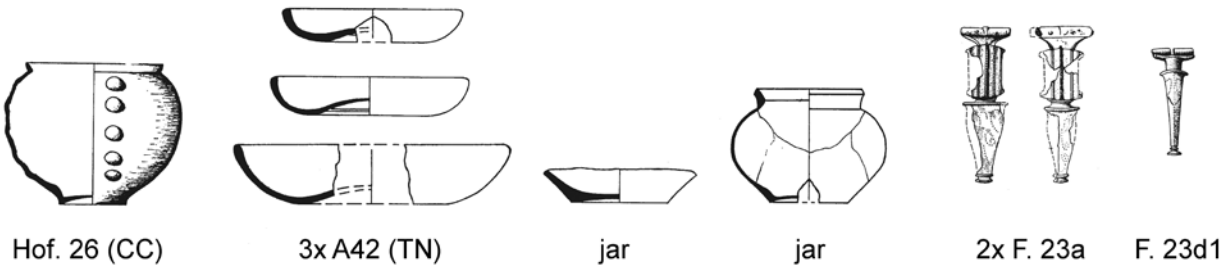


Figure 5.19. The objects from grave 48 at Blicquy, Hainaut (after De Laet et al. 1972, Pl. 18).

Hod Hill brooches, are plotted in the part of the CA plot dominated by graves from northwest Belgica (magenta). Examples include graves 42 and 210 from Blicquy, and grave 12 from Thure (illustrated in Fig. 5.18), all coming from Nervian territory. Examining these three graves in closer detail reveals the recurring presence of not only melon beads and Hod Hill fibulae, but also *terra nigra* dishes (A42), *sigillata* or imitation Drag. 27 cups, and P12 beakers. The latter beakers have a strikingly similar regionalised distribution to the P61 beaker among the Batavi, with most examples of the P12 occuring at Blicquy in addition to the neighbouring civitas of the Tungri – at Tongeren and the rural cemetery of Wanzoul. However, the repeated selection of cups with Mediterranean genealogy points to a subtly different emphasis among the Nervian grave ensembles compared with those of the Batavi, by drawing upon elements of the circulating repertoire more consistent with the urban sociability of richer graves elsewhere. The strongest case for an auxiliary connection comes from grave 12 at Thure, which also includes cavalry equipment in the form of a *phalera*,[391] a pair of bracelets that could have conceivably been *armillae*,[392] and an axe-head (possibly a *dolabra*, paralleled in the potential auxiliary grave at Wederath 2215, Fig. 4.10). While the more distinctive elements of these repertoires that might be linked to the phenomenon of returning auxiliaries are less prevalent at the Nervian cemeteries than Hatert, there are certainly undeniable similarities – ongoing fibula deposition, regionally innovative beakers, and objects associated with military contexts in preceding eras. An important further example in this regard is provided by Blicquy grave 48 (Fig. 5.19), which is positioned tantalisingly on the cusp between graves from Hatert and those from northwest Belgica in Fig. 5.12. Crucially, this grave includes a Hof. 26 colour-coated beaker, more typical of Hatert in this period, alongside three Hod Hill brooches, and a *terra nigra* A42 dish. This ensemble effectively links the contemporary funerary object selections of the Batavi and the Nervii, and hints at the existence of a wider milieu of northern Gallic communities with ties to the *auxilia*.

5.5 THE EMERGENCE OF ROMAN PROVINCIAL OBJECTSCAPES

The analysis of Flavian funerary objectscapes in Fig. 5.12 variously illustrates the complexities of widespread changes in material culture and society at the end of the first century AD. While universalisation in the appearance of grave assemblages of urban elites and their modestly-furnished rural counterparts is a major characteristic of this period, it also forms the backdrop to a series of highly innovative regional practices and the emergence of new styles of objects. These innovations include the development of distinctly rural styles of funerary display involving large quantities of locally-made pottery at Alton and Blicquy, and rites among the Batavi and Nervii that featured new combinations of objects that simultane-

[391] See equivalent examples in Bishop 1988, 135-137.

ously referenced older regional traditions emphasising large decorated beakers, alongside the selection of objects that seem likely to have been obtained through Roman military service in the *auxilia*. While the appearance of these new forms of typically non-urban funerary display highlights the continued capacity for local communities to negotiate their place in the world through the selection of styles and designs from a much larger circulating repertoire, the overall pattern remains one of convergence – both in terms of the appearance of objects and their combinations in the funerary sphere. If the Augustan-Tiberian period heralded a revolution in the adoption of a plethora of identically-standardised objects, the Flavian period was fundamentally an era in which objectscapes experienced widespread universalisation alongside significant local re-embedding of object designs, selections, and associated practices.

As discussed at the start of this chapter, the increasingly universal appearance of objectscapes in the Flavian period has been traditionally understood as reflecting a mature phase of Romanisation, ranging from city-plans, to villa layouts, and the constitution of artefact assemblages.[393] In such accounts, the process tends to be understood first and foremost as an ideological shift by a new generation of local elites who saw the wisdom in adopting Roman material practices, while slowly abandoning the norms of later Iron Age society. As we have seen in this chapter, detailed analysis of the funerary evidence highlights a decisive synchronous shift in the constitution of grave assemblages associated with the Gallic, British, and Germanic nobility. At first glance, these patterns appear to lend credence to models of Romanisation by elite-negotiation – with a series of graves seemingly presenting microcosm images of the very practices derided by Tacitus in *Agricola* 21: dining services for comfortable banquets, equipment for luxurious baths, and a general air of urban refinement appropriate for a new world of colonnaded architecture that could be increasingly experienced in city and villa alike. While the need to showcase *humanitas* may have motivated many of these developments, ideological engagement with Rome (alone) is an insufficient prime mover for the material changes witnessed in the Flavian period. Styles of consumption that evoked a new-found urban sociability required appropriate built environments – a major reason perhaps, that they were not widespread in earlier eras when urban development was limited, and focused at a few bastions such as Trier and Colchester. Although the new urban objectscapes for cosmopolitan and connected elites of the Flavian period seem to have influenced regional innovations in the countryside, such as at Alton and Blicquy, these parallel developments nevertheless appear decidedly out of sync with the form of display seen at cemeteries directly associated with major urban centres, such as at Ulpia Noviomagus (Nijmegen). Ultimately, while the new styles of urban consumption owed a great deal to the high levels of circulating standardised objects in this period (such as *terra sigillata*), their debt to the longer-term transformation of objectscapes over the previous century was even greater.

A major feature of Flavian objectscapes in northwest Europe constitutes not just the universalisation of objects with Mediterranean genealogy, but moreover the decline in highly distinctive classes of objects that in previous generations served as potential markers of forms of regional identity. Two of the most prevalent elements of later Iron Age funerary objectscapes – large drinking vessels and fibulae – are strictly minority elements within Flavian objectscapes. But if the 'fibula abandonment horizon' was well underway in the Claudio-Neronian period, so too was the decline of drinking vessels like butt-beakers, which had been the most numerous kind of standardised objects circulating in the wider region in the first half of the first century AD. While the Flavian period seems to mark the end of these distinctive objects as larger-scale phenomena, it is illuminating to see elements of older beaker and fibula designs

[392] Maxfield 1981, 89-91 notes the possibility that some *armillae* tool the form of miniature torcs, as seen in the grave at Thure.

[393] As illustrated for pottery assemblages in the area to the north of the present study in Britain by Willis, who remarks on 'an emphatic trend towards the Romanization of ceramics through the first century AD, with the process appearing to gain momentum towards the end of the century' (Willis 1996, 219).

re-emerging among the cemeteries of rural communities such as the Batavi and the Nervii. Paradoxically, a reason for these survivals seems to owe much to the use made by Rome of both societies as providers of auxiliary soldiers, for whom the re-invention of older traditions in funerary practice and object-use served to emphasise their martial and 'barbarian' qualities, in stark contrast with the various de-militarised communities towards the interior Gaul.

6 Historical change and the Roman inter-artefactual domain

Culture may dictate the practical and/or symbolic significance of artefacts, and their iconographic interpretation; but the only factor which governs the visual appearance of artefacts is their relationship to other artefacts in the same style… Artefacts are shaped in the 'inter-artefactual domain'.
Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency*

Even the most beautifully designed item dies if it is out of balance with its surroundings. Unity of design, unity of color, unity of function.
Haruki Murakami, *The Elephant Vanishes*

6.1 THE ROMAN OBJECT REVOLUTION IN NORTHWEST EUROPE

The Roman object revolution in northwest Europe began in the final decades of the first century BC with an influx of millions of imported and locally-made standardised objects. The origins of this profound and far-reaching series of changes must be understood in terms of the intersection of two phenomena: a sudden injection of significant quantities of Mediterranean objects and styles, and longer-term developments in later Iron Age European objectscapes. Prior to this important watershed in the late first century BC, several later Iron Age communities were already developing repertoires of progressively standardised objects, as well as becoming susceptible to using scarcer circulating Mediterranean objects and amphora-borne commodities (i.e. wine) in local practices of feasting and funerary display. Although the virtually-identical forms of standardisation seen in Roman-period objectscapes had yet to be achieved, both fibulae and local ceramics had begun to appear in styles that increasingly shared affinities with those in neighbouring regions. Through the movement of people and widely circulating serialised objects such as fibulae, it is possible to trace the beginnings of a loosely-connected pan-regional inter-artefactual domain in the later Iron Age, which among some communities, from southern Germany to northern France and the Channel coast of Britain, seems to have informed increasingly universal logics governing the make-up of funerary objectscapes (illustrated, for example, in Fig. 2.7). The mechanisms underlying these processes were likely an amalgam of waxing networks of clientship and kinship, as well as small-scale state formation, which led to modest rises in human mobility and the circulation of objects.

Caesar's campaigns in the region in the 50s BC did little to affect the rules governing the appearance of essentially Iron Age objects and objectscapes. However, renewed investment and interest by the Augustan regime from c. 27 BC presented the perfect conditions for an object revolution. The development of the region's first urban infrastructure and the later establishment of Roman fortresses on the Rhine necessitated the creation of new objectscapes that were completely alien in the otherwise late Iron Age landscape of northwest Europe. The new and essentially transplanted objectscapes seen at military bases like the Kops Plateau (Nijmegen), Neuss (Novaesium), and Xanten (Vetera I) not only encouraged the increased circulation of objects of Mediterranean design among local societies, but crucially stimulated the development of local mass production and standardisation, as witnessed with the emerging Gallo-Belgic pottery repertoire and new styles of fibulae. Gallo-Belgic pottery drew equal inspiration from the objectscapes of military bases as it did those of the patchwork of Iron Age societies in northern Gaul. Its

repertoire was as much innovative as it was imitative (of Italian-style *terra sigillata* and kindred imported wares), with roughly half the new vessels and designs in circulation of mixed northern European and Mediterranean lineage. The impact of these innovations is underlined by the sheer numbers of regionally produced objects in circulation. The output from these new regional repertoires dominated funerary objectscapes well into the first century AD, outnumbering imported products such as Italian-style *sigillata* and even its more numerous south Gaulish equivalents from La Graufesenque. The effects of these developments were so far-reaching in the Augustan-Tiberian period that the selections of objects in many graves and assemblages from southeast Britain had become virtually indistinguishable from their counterparts in northern Gaul, even though Britain had yet to be formally annexed by Rome at this time.

As parts of Britain were incorporated into the Roman empire with further conquests under Claudius, the Roman object revolution intensified. Its impact is best illustrated through the spread of funerary rites that intimately and deliberately entangled humans with loosely-repeated combinations of standardised objects. While only a handful of later Iron Age societies engaged in the distinctive practice of placing the cremated remains of their dead with suites of pottery and other objects, the rite was fast becoming universal across the northwest provinces by the mid-first century AD, when it was increasingly used by Roman military and colonial populations alongside rapidly transforming Iron Age societies. As the rite expanded, so too did the tendency to include widely-circulating objects with the remains of the deceased, with finds like south Gaulish *terra sigillata* becoming more prevalent in graves outside imperial nodes such as colonies and military bases. At the same time, aspects of the rite involving selections of objects geared towards late Iron Age forms of social display fell into decline, namely those involving the deposition of weapons, fibulae, handmade pottery, and animal remains. After a brief floruit, these kinds of objects simply ceased to 'fit' the prevailing logics of the evolving inter-artefactual domain. In this manner, many of the distinctive material practices of later Iron Age Europe began to vanish.

For the first two-thirds of the first century AD, distinctive and recurrent combinations of certain kinds of objects played a direct role in marking distinct communities of practice and the articulation of forms of group identity. This can be seen, for example, in the recurrent spatial and contextual associations of objects that reveal distinctions between officers, soldiers, and Gallic auxiliaries at the Kops Plateau, the sharp divide between colonist and local populations at Tacitus' Camulodunum (Colchester), and the persistence of late Iron Age forms of funerary display among communities like the Treveri and Catuvellauni. Such new constellations of objects underline the multi-valency of material culture, and caution against representational readings that equate specific types of object with bounded groups of people. *Terra sigillata*, for example, which has been frequently understood as an indicator of Romanisation,[394] was just as likely to cross boundaries such as military-civilian, Roman-native, and urban-rural. Indeed, *sigillata* could easily find itself in a whole manner of different objectscapes in this period, as seen in its occurrence in the graves of societies subject to recent colonial violence and enslavement by Rome. More illustrative is the relative frequency of *sigillata* in different locales, the guise of its selected forms (and their absences), and its contextual associations with other kinds of objects. What often mattered most in determining the itinerant pathways of objects was their genealogies. Whilst Gallo-Belgic ware pottery imitating *sigillata* shapes with Mediterranean lineage had a wide distribution, being equally favoured (for example) in pre-conquest Britain and military bases on the Rhine, equivalent designs of northern European innovation tended to have more regionalised circulations and were typically eschewed in cemeteries associated with military and colonial settlements. Larger constellations of objects with shared genealogical tendencies in turn formed the basis for two broadly different imperial and northern European pan-regional styles of consumption, which constituted competing forms of cultural practice until their decline in the last decades of the first century AD.

[394] Reece 1988, 33; cf. Millett 1990, 123-126.

As the Julio-Claudian dynasty came to an end, the stage was set for a major reinvigoration of the Roman object revolution in the last decades of the first century AD. Connectivity in northwest Europe was arguably as vigorous and extensive as it had ever been, with fresh conquests in Britain, the development of substantial new road and urban networks, and *terra sigillata* produced in southern Gaul reaching peak circulation. Against this backdrop, the most important changes to Flavian objectscapes were essentially qualitative in nature. What this entailed was a dissolution of the increasingly fluid logics of object selection that had previously distinguished local communities and their elites from the imperial styles of consumption associated with Roman colonial infrastructure of military bases, colonies, and cities. In effect, local elites from large parts of Britannia, Gallia Belgica, and Germania Inferior adopted a broadly universal style of consumption that was better-suited to the new world of cities, that must have played an increasingly important part of their lives. The new style of consumption was loosely based on the Julio-Claudian template of military-colonial objectscapes, involving suites of *terra sigillata*, oil lamps, and glass vessels, albeit with an important difference. The graves of the new northwest European municipal elites tended to feature high levels of ostentation in the provision of grave goods that echoed the princely graves of Iron Age times. Such flamboyance constitutes an important deviation from funerary practices associated with the military and colonial sphere. While the wealthy officers and colonists often preferred inscribed stone monuments, as seen in the example of Marcus Favonius Facilis at Colchester, their grave ensembles tended to lack the same pretension of the new provincial elites, instead preferring suites of objects geared towards the modest needs of individual commemoration rather than communally-oriented hospitality and display.

Of course, changes to Flavian object-worlds were far more wide-reaching than the graves of a small number of powerful local elites. In a less spectacular manner, the same universalising phenomenon is thoroughly reflected in the funerary objectscapes of rural cemeteries and modestly-furnished graves across the region. In this regard the Flavian era stands out for many cemeteries as being the first in which the most important factor governing the appearance and selection of objects is their affinity with urban-style templates of table dining, as opposed to the lingering influence of later Iron Age practices, objects, and display strategies. The need to provision the expanding urban and military populations of the Roman northwest meant there was a knock-on effect on rural communities, who were ultimately responsible for manufacturing objects to meet rarefied urban tastes.[395] In this way, through new urban-rural economic logics and the imperial demands of taxation, the powers of the inter-artefactual domain to synchronise changes in urban and rural objectscapes were strengthened. Rural producers (and consumers) were increasingly exposed to new object-worlds through the need to manufacture suitable products for urban markets, creating new opportunities for the reshaping of local objectscapes beyond cities and the military-imperial sphere.

The universalisation of objectscapes and the associated merging of local and imperial styles of consumption was an important strand of the revitalised object revolution in the Flavian period. However, as with many historical globalising processes, pervading tendencies towards homogenisation (the universalisation of the particular) were accompanied by intense local forms of heterogenisation, which can be understood in terms of the re-embedding of local culture in response to pan-regional frames of reference (the particularisation of the universal, or glocalisation).[396] Notable examples of this include the distinctive funerary objectscapes probably associated with returning auxiliary veterans and their dependents among the Batavi and Nervii, as well as local patterns of consumption among civilian communities in central southern Britain. Whereas the Batavi and Nervii integrated selected objects and designs from a military repertoire with those from evolving northern European objectscapes, rural communities in the Hampshire region emulated the lavish graves of the urban elite by creating large suites of locally-produced pottery, as exemplified at the cemetery of Alton. While this often resulted in significant regional varia-

[395] Pitts 2008; Perring/Pitts 2013.

[396] cf. Pitts/Versluys 2015a, 14; Robertson 1992, 173-174.

tion, with funerary assemblages of fundamentally different composition and appearance, two factors link these phenomena. Both took place at secondary centres or rural locations, and both directly re-interpret specific aspects of contemporary pan-regional objectscapes, marking a clear break with older Iron Age traditions. These local deviations are likewise testament to the existence of an integrated inter-artefactual domain that encompassed much of northwest Europe, since they demonstrate how the objectscapes of localities characterised by weaker connectivity were still very much the product of relations with objects from a much larger circulating 'global' repertoire.

Through increasingly unified pan-regional objectscapes and styles of consumption, which in turn informed the basis of important regional divergences and expressions of identity, the Flavian era marked a significant reconfiguration of the Roman object revolution. While objectscapes would change irrevocably in the decades and centuries that followed, the essential dynamics by which objects circulated, changed, and were selected in the Flavian period would go on to inform the basis of provincial objectscapes for decades to come, contributing to the familiar paradox of unity and diversity that so many generations of Roman archaeologists have sought to explain.[397]

6.2 STANDARDISED OBJECTS AND LONG-TERM CHANGE

> *The visual language corresponds, in its ever-increasing standardisation, to the growing standardisation and ideal stereotyping of the visual message. The very fact that this is an unconscious process makes it a good gauge of the gradual fossilisation of Roman Imperial culture as a whole.*[398]
> Tonio Hölscher, *The language of images in Roman art*

The big picture narrative of this book makes it abundantly clear that objects and objectscapes were inextricable participants in the dynamics of historical change. Styles and selections of objects did not simply materialise in response to human demand, but were instead heavily dependent on the make-up of objectscapes of past experience and present moments, as well as being informed by circulating objects manufactured at multiple locations in vast connected empire. This perspective begs the question of the largely neglected role of objects in longer-term understandings of Roman history.[399] In the case-study on Chinese porcelain in Europe in Chapter 1, an argument is made for the long-term agency of *china* on the constitution of European objectscapes, with a series of material exchanges in the 17th and 18th centuries leading to the creation of a loosely global template for the use of everyday objects that persists well into the 21st century. Did the Roman object revolution have a similar impact in northwest Europe, a millennium and a half earlier? While northwest Europe in the periods in question was subject to fundamentally different power dynamics, technologies of connectivity, and socio-economic structures, from an object perspective the comparison nevertheless reveals important similarities and divergences.

When Chinese porcelain first became available on the mass market in the Netherlands at the beginning of the 17th century, the resulting *china*-mania led to the initial popularising of vessels with distinct Dutch connotations, such as the klapmuts, as well as the uptake of vessels with Asian genealogy, most notably various closed forms like gourds, kendis, covered cups, and betel boxes.[400] There are obvious parallels with the situation in Augustan-Tiberian Europe, in which attempts to create large quantities of butt-beakers in the *sigillata* substitute of *terra rubra* (an equivalent to the early modern development of Delft-style pottery) evoke the initial demand for the klapmuts centuries later. Likewise, the haphazard

[397] As encapsulated in the title, *Globalizing Roman culture. Unity, diversity and empire* (Hingley 2005).

[398] Hölscher 2004 [1987], 127.

[399] For further discussion, see the contributions in Van Oyen/Pitts 2017a.

[400] Rinaldi 1989, 166-191.

use of Italian-style *terra sigillata* by local communities in northern Gaul imply an analogous phenomenon to *china*-mania, whereby the initial novelty of *terra sigillata* and *china* seemingly inspired communities to acquire them as categories in themselves, largely irrespective of vessel shape. Crucially, these analogous impacts of mobile fine standardised ceramics were short-lived to a period of about 50 or so years in both scenarios. This is the point in the story when the innovative klapmuts and butt-beaker respectively fall out of the picture, setting the stage for more stable configurations of objects that would effectively become canonised in repeated use over the decades and centuries that followed.

By the early 18th century, a major shift had occurred in the European acquisition and use of Chinese porcelain. Not only were millions of vessels made to order and shipped direct from Canton on an annual basis, but the now familiar dependency of cup, saucer, and tea or coffee had become normalised in European society. This is clearly demonstrated in the types and quantities of vessels ordered by the Dutch and English East India Companies,[401] as well as the contents of domestic assemblages in various Dutch towns (Fig. 1.4). The reasons for this societal change are complex. From an object perspective, an important observation is that Europeans were unfamiliar with the cup and saucer ensemble in the early 17th century, and seemingly adopted it from societies in the Middle East – a distinct combination of vessels that eventually became universalised in domestic objectscapes a century or so later. Since European nations were in the geo-political ascendency by the early 18th century, it must have been relatively unproblematic to appropriate an essentially Middle Eastern custom and repackage it as something distinctly European, while simultaneously evoking the perceived exotic world of the Far East (*china* as chinoserie).

The colonised societies of Roman northwest Europe of course present a very different geo-political situation to that of 18th century Europe, in which some northern Europeans had themselves become colonisers on a global stage.[402] From an object perspective, what this important difference entailed for the Roman northwest was an influx of new objects, styles, and practices in the aftermath of conquest, and initially most strongly associated with representatives of the Roman state. New objects and designs were added to the northwest European inter-artefactual domain, with military objectscapes substantially broadening the possibilities for local producers and consumers alike. While the dynamics of Roman imperialism ensured that a military template mattered most to early Roman objectscapes in Britain, Gaul, and Germania, as opposed to say, templates from Roman Syria or Asia Minor, later Flavian objectscapes followed a remarkably similar trajectory to those of 18th century Europe. As recent scholarship on Roman imperialism makes abundantly clear, Rome relied upon provincials opting-in to the the imperial system, rather than forcibly imposing its (material) culture on conquered societies.[403] *Terra sigillata* was no more adopted for its supposed Roman-ness than porcelain was its Chinese-ness. Following a period characterised by experimentation with new standardised forms of material culture at the start of the Roman object revolution, the Flavian era ushered in a new-found sense of maturity in the constitution of objectscapes. The main difference was that northern Europeans in Roman Europe initially looked towards the material practices and objectscapes associated with Rome's imperial project, whereas those in the early modern period took inspiriation from their own overseas encounters in the Middle East. Both exchanges involved the substantial impacts of moving objects and styles separated from their original cultural contexts, and the subsequent fostering of significant innovation and long-term developments in European objectscapes.

Just as European encounters with *china* irrevocably transformed objectscapes over a century later, with variously imported and locally-produced *china*-inspired cups, saucers, and plates dominating urban assemblages, the Roman object revolution produced similarly profound changes. At this point it is instructive to compare pottery in funerary objectscapes from the first half of the first century BC (La Tène D2a) with those of the Flavian period, roughly 150 years later. The late Iron Age assemblages are dominated

[401] Godden 1979; Jörg 1982.

[402] Gosden 2004.

[403] Woolf 1998; Revell 2009.

by basic handmade jars and bowls (Table 2.7). While jars continued to serve an important role as urns for cremated remains in graves at the end of the first century AD, it is noteworthy that by this time virtually all vessels are wheelthrown, and moreover that the dominant functional categories of ceramics are platters and dishes for eating, flagons for pouring, and cups and beakers for drinking (Tables 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7). Crucially, these general designs – platters, dishes, flagons, and cups – were largely introduced in the intervening decades, and can be understood as having a strong element of Mediterranean genealogy, either being adopted in the initial object revolution, or being slowly incorporated into innovative local repertoires in subsequent generations. A possible exception to this apparent 'Mediterraneanisation' of funerary objectscapes is the continued importance of the beaker among some communities,[404] but as Chapter 5 demonstrates, a large proportion of Flavian beakers were either universal biconical forms or vessels taking inspiration from the colour-coated Lyon ware repertoire. In genealogical terms, neither are directly connected to styles circulating in the late Iron Age. In contrast, the once popular Julio-Claudian butt-beaker designs that were rooted in later Iron Age feasting practices had ceased to circulate to any meaningful extent by the middle of the Flavian period. In this way, the impact of *terra sigillata* and associated repertoires of standardised Mediterranean objects had a strikingly similar long-term impact on European objectscapes to that of Chinese porcelain many centuries later, despite the inherent contrasts in northwest Europe's place in global geo-politics between the two periods. Both categories of ceramics precipitated longer-term changes in objectscapes that entailed the reproduction and subsequent dominance of designs and styles that had been introduced to northwest Europe through repertoires of *terra sigillata* and *china*. From this perspective, while power relations mattered greatly for conditioning the basis of connective networks and asymmetries in the flows of objects and commodities, they had much less bearing on the longer-term constitution of objectscapes.

6.3 IMPERIALISM AND BEYOND. DETERRITORIALISED STYLES OF CONSUMPTION AND THEIR EVOLUTION IN THE ROMAN NORTHWEST

> *…history leads you outward, to link patterns of changes to increasingly larger universes of interaction; genealogy leads you inward, towards cultural dispositions and styles that might be stubbornly embedded both in local institutions and in the history of the local habitus… in studying consumption practices of distinct societies, we must be prepared to encounter a host of different histories and genealogies present at the same moment.*[405]
> Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at large*

Just as few 21st century people are consciously aware of the genealogies of the cups, saucers, and plates they use in their daily lives, the Roman object revolution can be understood as a series of longer-term material transformations in which the appearances of objects and objectscapes became gradually divorced from the specific historical circumstances that created them. This is not to say, however, that material culture is somehow inconsequential to human interests. Indeed, the make-up of objectscapes matters greatly for channelling the possibilities for social actions and practices, and in turn, the articulation of aspects of group identities. This book has highlighted several patterns in which deliberately-repeated configurations of objects can be understood in exactly this way.

One pattern with special historical significance that involved recurring combinations of standardised objects had a particularly strong correlation with military bases and colonial centres around northwest Europe, from Friedberg in southern Germany to Exeter in southwest Britain, and many more in-

[404] On Mediterraneanisation as an explicit synonym for globalisation, see Morris 2005, cf. Pitts/Versluys 2015a.

[405] Appadurai 1996, 74.

between and beyond. The objects involved typically include distinctive combinations of *terra sigillata* and Lyon ware pottery, Aucissa fibulae, oil lamps, and glass vessels. Various quantitative comparisons in this study have shown that both objectscapes and the styles of consumption taking place in military and colonial locations to be highly universalised, so much so that they can be described as 'deterritorialised' relative to the local societies and objectscapes of northwest Europe. In the funerary sphere, this was not simply a matter of military communities randomly selecting items that were available and placing them in the grave. Instead, distinctive logics in the recurrent selection of objects can be seen across multiple cemeteries and graves associated with the military-colonial sphere in many different regions and localities (compare Figs. 3.25, 4.9, 4.22, and 4.25), underlining the outcomes of shared practices on a pan-regional scale. This phenomenon was most pronounced in the first generations after the onset of the Roman object revolution, in the Julio-Claudian era.

In many ways, the observation of shared material practices among military and colonial communities is unsurprising from the perspective of recent scholarship, which tends to cast early military societies as collectively belonging to an imagined community, or even a global institution.[406] If military communities were united by shared practices that promoted cohesion amongst recruits drawn from many diverse backgrounds, the same practices were greatly dependent on a steady supply of (often standardised) objects and commodities. The analyses in this book support the notion that alongside a plethora of objects that moved with soldiers as personal possessions, many categories of objects, including amphorae, *terra sigillata* pottery, and glass vessels, were either part of, or piggy-backed upon, state-sponsored supply mechanisms that were vital to feeding personnel and maintaining essential imperial infrastructure in the northwest provinces.[407] Regular imperial supplies fuelled the creation of distinct military objectscapes, which in turn fostered the emergence of broadly institutionalised practices, as seen most clearly in the deterritorialised logics that governed the selection of standardised objects in graves associated with military bases, and beyond.

From a connectivity perspective, the objectscapes and shared practices of military and colonial communities in the early Roman northwest may be understood in terms of the manifestation of what Walter Scheidel has described as bulk-goods and political/military networks.[408] In essence, these are precisely the kinds of outcomes that should be expected when imperialism is the main driver of pan-regional connectivity. If the concept of globalisation is to add any substantially new perspectives to Roman archaeology and history, it ought to be able to reveal patterns and phenomena that fell beyond imperialism's remit. One such pattern is extensively documented in Chapters 3 and 4 in the guise of another deterritorialised style of consumption, significantly not corresponding to a single unified political structure, nor any of the other types of network outlined by Scheidel.[409] The existence of such a network begs many questions, not least why it has thus far been given limited attention in scholarship. The simple answer can be found in the predispositions of modern scholarship on the region, in which separations by period (Iron Age versus Roman) and geographical specialism (into the archaeological jurisdictions of six nation-states) continue to present obstacles to the study of pan-regional phenomena, especially those phenomena not recounted in the surviving Roman written sources.

406 As innovatively demonstrated in Laurence/Trifilò 2015. For the Roman military as an institution see James 1999; Gardner 2013; Haynes 2013.

407 See arguments in Middleton 1979, 1983; Whittaker 1994; Perring/Pitts 2013; Pitts 2014; Foy 2018; Fulford 2018, *contra* Mees 2018. If the precise mechanisms of supply leave room for debate, it is clear, for example, that *terra sigillata* 'was markedly more frequent at the major civil centres and at military sites' (Willis 2011, 189).

408 Scheidel 2014, 11.

409 Scheidel's schema of connectivity, deriving from the macro-economic perspective of world-systems theory, outlines two other kinds of network based on the exchange of information and prestige-goods, both of which he considers to be 'ephemeral' (Scheidel 2014, 11).

The extra-imperial network that emerged in the late first century BC criss-crossed a patchwork of societies recently conquered by Rome, but also tellingly encompassed communities in southern Britain that were not yet part of the imperium, at least until the conquests of the Claudian era. Although illuminated through its participation in the Roman object revolution, the basis of this network seems to have been firmly rooted in forms of connectivity and human mobility that existed in the late Iron Age, such as clientship and kinship. Manifest in funerary assemblages through distinct repeated combinations of standardised objects like Gallo-Belgic pottery, fibulae, and their local imitations, a remarkably consistent logic of object selection materialised in multiple northern European societies in the Augustan-Tiberian period (as variously illustrated in the selections of objects in a range of predominantly modestly-furnished graves in Figs. 3.11-3.12, 3.23-3.24 and 4.23-4.24). Drawing upon an eclectic repertoire of objects with both Mediterranean and northern European genealogy, a dominant characteristic of these extra-imperial funerary objectscapes were regional variants of the universal category of the butt-beaker – a vessel design produced in huge quantities that tended to be deliberately excluded from equivalent military and colonial graves. If ever there was ever a case for a globalising phenomenon in northwest Europe that was independent from the mechanisms of Roman imperialism, it was this one.

6.3.1 THE CATUVELLAUNI-TREVERI NEXUS

A particularly strong nexus of the extra-imperial network outlined in Chapters 3 and 4 was the one connecting the Catuvellauni, from southeast Britain north of the Thames, with the Treveri, from Luxembourg and the Moselle region in southwest Germany. The strength of the links between these groups can be seen in many strands of evidence. Perhaps best-attested are the similarities in the richly-furnished shaft and chamber burials of the social elite, with notable examples in cemeteries like Goeblange-Nospelt in Luxembourg, and the British Welwyn tradition, both flourishing from the La Tène D2b period to the last decades of the first century BC. The present study reveals more extensive connections between much larger cemeteries characterised by modestly furnished graves, such as the largest excavated cemetery from the period in Britain at King Harry Lane (Hertfordshire), and equivalents such as Wederath (Rhineland-Pfalz), Lebach (Saarland), Feulen (Luxembourg), and Sampont (Belgian Luxembourg). The selections of objects in these cemeteries followed remarkably pan-regional trajectories into the middle of the first century AD and beyond, drawing upon a circulating material repertoire that blended stylistic and functional aspects of northern European genealogy with those from Mediterranean-inspired ensembles in the imperial sphere. In this instance, a highly-integrated inter-artefactual domain seems to have not only governed the appearances of objects, but also informed the make-up of funerary objectscapes, which were for several generations defined by recurrent combinations of circulating Gallo-Belgic vessels, fibula styles, and their local imitations. Further evidence for the highly connected relationship between the Catuvellauni and Treveri can be seen in the circulation of standardised objects in settlement and domestic contexts, as well as a series of highly-specific distribution patterns. These include those of similarly-decorated and distinctly-designed late Iron Age feasting equipment in funerary contexts in southeast Britain and Luxembourg,[410] and the small but significant numbers of the Treveran Kragenfibel brooch at the Catuvellaunian strongholds of Camulodunum and Heybridge (Essex). It is highly likely that the distinctive early Roman objectscape connections of the Catuvellauni and Treveri reflected ongoing relations of clientship and kinship that began in the Iron Age, in which equivalent links of differing intensity were likely formed with other groups, such as the Remi.[411]

[410] On buckets with analogous decoration, see Stead 1971; on the distribution of strainer bowls, see Reinert 1995; Sealey 1999.

[411] As supported by the striking similarity of rich La Tène D2a graves at Baldock (Hertfordshire) and Clemency (Luxembourg) with those in the territory of the Remi,

6.3.2 How objects made provincial societies: the Batavi and the Nervii

The case of the Catuvellauni and the Treveri underlines how extra-imperial networks could be materialised through broadly shared social practices involving distinct combinations of objects, while selectively incorporating items and styles of Mediterreanean origin. By the Flavian period, however, this kind of network was becoming indistinct from the increasingly universalised material repertoires of a more deterritorialised imperial character, as local elites sought to invest in urban display and styles of consumption evoking a sense of 'urban sociability'.[412] In the same era, new kinds of regional objectscapes emerged that innovatively re-packaged aspects of this imperial style of consumption as a re-imagination of later Iron Age traditions. One distinct strand of this phenomenon can be seen in Hampshire (central-southern Britain), where rural cemeteries like Alton evoked the showy funerary repertoires of the urban elite using objects of local manufacture, while simultaneously providing a stage for the resurgence of older northern European practices, such as the inclusion of fibulae and animal remains. A more powerful example, however, concerns the innovative objectscapes of rural cemeteries associated with the Batavi, and to a lesser extent the Nervii.

Among all the communities surveyed in this book, the Batavi and Nervii are known to have contributed the most soldiers to Rome's pre-Flavian auxiliary regiments, at around 5000 and 2500 men respectively (Table 4.11). Roughly coinciding with the length of time it might be expected for this initial wave of recruits to have completed their military service, grave assemblages at cemeteries like Hatert (Gelderland) and Blicquy (Hainaut) underwent a series of subtle changes. At one level, there were more objects that had been more or less exclusively associated with military and colonial contexts in the Claudio-Neronian period, including Lyon ware and equivalent colour-coated beakers, melon-shaped glass beads, Hod Hill fibulae, and very occasionally items of martial or cavalry equipment – in effect a subset of objects that would have been encountered during an auxiliary soldier's time in military service. At the same time, these deliberate selections were often accompanied by a series of innovative locally-produced objects, typically in the form of *terra nigra* beakers. The beaker form P61 (Holwerda 28), for example, merged the general shape of contemporary Lyon ware vessels with northern European traditions of producing decorated beakers in black-grey fabrics. Equivalent patterns can be seen among cemeteries of the Nervii and Tungri with the similarly regionally-rooted P12 beaker. The creation of these new vessels entailed the fusion of drinking vessel designs with military connotations with those evoking the decorated butt-beakers of the Julio-Claudian era. The net effect of these innovative selections and hybrid shapes was to anchor the new funerary repertoires in the traditions of military objectscapes, while simultaneously creating an image that could be understood as distinctly local (i.e. Batavian or Nervian). Not only did the *terra nigra* beakers fit broader repertoires associated with the important practice of communal drinking in military *and* northern Gallic societies, they also provided unique possibilities for the articulation of local identities. It is precisely examples like this that illustrate the true nature cultural flows and influences in a polycentric Roman world, in which objects and practices with northern European genealogies were integrated within imperial objectscapes and styles of consumption.

As Ian Haynes perceptively observed, the creation of the *auxilia* was an important feature of the Augustan cultural revolution, with widespread implications for the development of provincial societies across the Roman world.[413] From the standpoint of this book, the emergence and impact of the *auxilia* in

such as Vieux-les-Asfeld 3 (Champagne) (see discussion in Chapter 2). The later distribution of inscriptions of the Remian deity Mars Camulus in the territory of the Catuvellauni, the Treveri, as well as the connecting Rhine nexus, seems to support this link (Grew 2008), as does the old name of the Catuvellaunian capital, Camulodunum.

412 Pearce 2015.

413 Haynes 2013, 251.

northwest Europe is perhaps better explained as a product of the Roman object revolution – as a series of historically contingent human-object entanglements that were transformed and informed with reference to an increasingly vigorous pan-regional inter-artefactual domain. It was fundamentally through recurrent selections of standardised objects that new social and cultural categories were constructed and experienced on a human level – in the case of the *auxilia* in this study, from the slopes of the Kops Plateau, to the alien combinations of objects in a minority of graves from the cemeteries of Wederath and Colonia Victricensis, and eventually taking in pronounced regional phenomena such as the Batavian ethnogenesis. Objects rooted in both military supply and the various regional objectscapes of northern Europe were innovatively fused together to manufacture the *auxilia* as a social category – through the material conditions of military service and life as veterans in civilian communities, and, ultimately, in death.

6.4 EPILOGUE: OBJECTSCAPES AND INTRA-CULTURAL CONNECTIVITY IN THE ROMAN WORLD

By charting the circulations and innovative impacts of standardised objects, this book has drawn attention to the creation of an integrated Roman inter-artefactual that encompassed much of northwest Europe (and by implication – far beyond). In this way, one of the net effects of the Roman object revolution was to connect and merge the various regional objectscapes of late Iron Age Europe with those of the wider Roman world. From such a perspective, it is important to stress that the mundane and mass-produced artefacts that formed the basis of the patterns discussed in the preceding chapters constituted only part (albeit an important one) of a much larger material *koine* that variously included everything from settlement layouts, building designs, to all kinds of crafts and visual arts and so on. An important implication to take away, therefore, whether one works on pottery assemblages or within the field of visual culture,[414] is that the total objectscape of any region of the Roman empire cannot be properly understood in isolation or without some reference to wider circulating repertoires of objects and styles. This is not to deny the significance of regionalism in the Roman world, but rather to highlight the formative role of *intra-cultural connectivity* in even the most seemingly peripheral of locales. It is for similar reasons that the search for archaeological correlates of bounded identities and ethnicities in the Roman period have frequently proven to be complex, and sometimes problematic.[415] If the appearances of objects and the make-up of objectscapes were not subject to rigid rules or boundaries, why should we expect societies and cultures to behave any differently? In this respect, an important ongoing challenge of archaeology is to explain the transformative role of connectivity in producing historically-contingent entanglements of people and things, in both the short-term and the *longue durée*.

[414] Versluys 2017b, 24-29, for similar perspective.

[415] Pitts 2007b.

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Appendices

1: DATA SOURCES BY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE

Codes in parentheses refer to labels used for sites and cemeteries in the preceding text.

Acy-Romance (AC), Ardennes (France). Iron Age cemetery: Lambot et al. 1994.

Addenbrooke's (AB), Cambridgeshire (UK). Early Roman rural settlement: Evans et al. 2008, enhanced by Archaeology South-East/English Heritage/University College London 2011; Perring/Pitts 2013.

Alton (AL), Hampshire (UK). Early Roman cemetery: Millett 1986a.

Amiens (AM), Somme (France). Late Iron Age settlement and Roman city: Massy/Molière 1979; Ben Redjeb 1985.

Ardleigh (AD), Essex (UK). Late Iron Age and early Roman cemetery: Brown 1999. Early Roman rural settlement: Brown 1999, enhanced by Archaeology South-East/English Heritage/University College London 2011; Perring/Pitts 2013.

Baldock (BK), Hertfordshire (UK). Late Iron Age and early Roman cemetery: Stead/Rigby 1986.

Baralle (BL), Pas-de-Calais (France). Early Roman cemetery: Hosdez/Jacques 1989.

Bavay (BY) [Fache des Près Aulnoys], Nord (France). Early Roman cemetery: Loridant/Deru 2009.

Birchanger (BC), Essex (UK). Early Roman grave: Medlycott 1994.

Blicquy (BQ), Hainaut (Belgium). Early Roman cemetery: De Laet et al. 1972.

Boreham (BH) [Great Holts Farm], Essex (UK). Roman rural settlement and villa: Germany 2003, enhanced by Archaeology South-East/English Heritage/University College London 2011; Perring/Pitts 2013.

Braives (BV), Liège (Belgium). Early Roman settlement: Brulet 1981, 1983, 1985, 1990.

Braughing (BR) [Skeleton Green], Hertfordshire (UK). Late Iron Age and Roman settlement: Partridge 1981; Potter/Trow 1988.

Brisley Farm (BF), Ashford, Kent (UK). Late Iron Age and Roman graves: Stevenson 2013.

Cambrai (CB), Nord (France). Iron Age and Roman cemetery: Assemat-Reignier et al. 2012.

Camulodunum (CM), Colchester, Essex (UK). Late Iron Age oppidum and Roman settlement: Hawkes/Hull 1947.

Canterbury (CN), Kent (UK). Late Iron Age oppidum and Roman city: Blockley et al. 1995.

Chantemelle (CT), Luxembourg (Belgium). Early Roman cemetery: Roosens 1954b.

Chelmsford (CH), Essex (UK). Early Roman small town: Going 1987, enhanced by Archaeology South-East/English Heritage/University College London 2011; Perring/Pitts 2013.

Chichester (CI), West Sussex (UK). Late Iron Age oppidum and Roman city: Down/Rule 1971; Down 1974, 1978, 1981, 1989; Down/Magilton 1993.

Clemency (CL), Luxembourg (Luxembourg). Iron Age grave: Metzler et al. 1991.

Cologne (KL), North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany). Early Roman cemeteries: Riedel 1980 (Luxemburger Strasse) (KLX); Päffgen 1992 (St. Severin) (KLS). Early Roman settlement: Filtzinger 1989 (Richmodstrasse) (KLR).

Colonia Claudia Victricensis (CV), Colchester, Essex (UK). Early Roman cemetery: May 1930; Eckardt 1999 (Beverley Road). Settlement: Archaeology South-East/English Heritage/University College London 2011; Brooks 2004; Crummy 1983; Crummy 1992; Perring/Pitts 2013; Symonds/Wade 1999.

Dalheim (DL) [Pëtzel], Luxembourg (Luxembourg). Early Roman settlement: Metzler/Zimmer 1978; Krier 1980.

Dourges (DG), Pas-de-Calais (France). Early Roman cemetery: Blancquaert et al. 2008.

Exeter (EX), Devon (UK). Early Roman cemetery: Salvatore 2001. Roman military base and city: Bidwell 1979; Holbrook/Bidwell 1991.

Fen Ditton (FD), Cambridgeshire (UK). Early Roman rural settlement: Gibson/Lucas 2002, enhanced by Archaeology South-East/English Heritage/University College London 2011; Perring/Pitts 2013.

Feulen (FN), Luxembourg (Luxembourg). Late Iron Age and Roman cemetery: Schendzielorz 2006.

Fishbourne (FS), West Sussex (UK). Late Iron Age and Roman settlement: Cunliffe 1971; Rudling 1985; Cunliffe et al. 1996; Manley/Rudkin 2005.

Folly Lane (VMF), St. Albans, Hertfordshire (UK). Early Roman grave: Niblett 1999.

Fouches (FC), Luxembourg (Belgium). Late Iron Age and Roman cemetery: Roosens 1954a.

Friedberg (FB), Hesse (Germany). Roman military base: Deru 1996.

Gloucester (GL) [Wotton], Gloucestershire (UK). Early Roman cemetery: Ellis/King 2014.

Goeblange-Nospelt (GN), Luxembourg (Luxembourg). Late Iron Age and Roman cemetery: Metzler/Gaeng 2009.

Gosbecks (CMG) [Camulodunum], Colchester, Essex (UK). Late Iron Age and Roman settlement, with small cemetery: Benfield 2008.

Hatert (NJT), Nijmegen, Gelderland (Netherlands). Early Roman cemetery: Haalebos 1990.

Hénin-Beaumont (HB) [Chemin de Courcelles], Pas-de-Calais (France). Early Roman cemetery: Clotuche et al. 2004.

Heybridge (EF) [Elms Farm], Essex (UK). Late Iron Age grave: Atkinson and Preston 2015a, 2015b. Early Roman small town: Archaeology South-East/English Heritage/University College London 2011; Perring/Pitts 2013.

Hunerberg (NJB), Nijmegen, Gelderland (Netherlands). Early Roman cemetery: Vermeulen 1932; Haalebos 1998.

Hurstbourne Tarrant (HT), Hampshire (UK). Late Iron Age grave: Hawkes/Dunning 1930, 303-9.

Juniville (JV), Ardennes (France). Iron Age cemetery: Stead/Flouest/Rigby 2006.

Kelvedon (KL), Essex (UK). Late Iron Age grave: Sealey 2007. Early Roman small town: Rodwell 1988, enhanced by Archaeology South-East/English Heritage/University College London 2011; Perring/Pitts 2013.

King Harry Lane (KHL) [Verlamion], St. Albans, Hertfordshire (UK). Late Iron Age and Roman cemetery: Stead/Rigby 1989.

Kops Plateau (NJK), Nijmegen, Gelderland (Netherlands). Roman military base: data courtesy of Harry van Enckevort and DANS (Data Archiving and Networked Services); Heeren/van der Feijst 2014.

Kortrijk (KK) [Molenstraat], West Vlaanderen (Belgium). Early Roman cemetery: Leva/Coene 1969.

Lamadelaine (TBL) [Titelberg], Luxembourg (Luxembourg). Iron Age and Roman cemetery: Metzler-Zens et al. 1999.

Lebach (LB) [Die Motte], Saarland (Germany). Late Iron Age and Roman cemetery: Gerlach 1976, 1986.

Lexden (CMX), Colchester, Essex (UK). Late Iron Age and Roman cemetery: Thompson 1982; Foster 1986 (LXT); Hawkes/Crummy 1997.

Liberchies (LI), Hainaut (Belgium). Early Roman settlement: Brulet/Demanet 1993.

Little Waltham (LW), Essex (UK). Early Roman grave: Drury 1978.

London (LD), Greater London (UK). Early Roman city: Davies et al. 1992 (fine wares); Timby/Rigby 2007 (Gallo-Belgic wares), Archaeology South-East/English Heritage/University College London 2011; Perring/Pitts 2013 (fibula horizon; pottery from stratified contexts).

Ménil-Annelles (MA), Ardennes (France). Iron Age cemetery: Stead/Flouest/Rigby 2006.

Metz (MZ) [Pontiffroy], Moselle (France). Late Iron Age settlement and Roman city: Deru/Feller 1996.
Mill Hill (DM), Deal, Kent (UK). Iron Age and Roman cemetery: Parfitt 1995.
Neuss (NS) [Novaesium], North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany). Roman military base: Filtzinger 1972; Vegas 1975; Ettlinger 1983. Roman cemetery: Müller 1977.
North Bersted (NB), West Sussex (UK). Iron Age grave: Taylor/Weale/Ford 2014.
Noyelles-Godault (NG), Pas-de-Calais (France). Early Roman cemetery: Bastien/Demolon 1975.
Pepper Hill (PH), Kent (UK). Early Roman cemetery: Biddulph 2006.
Prae Wood (VMP) [Verlamion], St. Albans, Hertfordshire (UK). Late Iron Age oppidum: Wheeler/Wheeler 1936; Thompson 1982.
Reims (RM), Marne (France). Late Iron Age oppidum and Roman city: Deru 2014.
Remagne (RG), Luxembourg (Belgium). Early Roman cemetery: Fremault 1966.
Richbourough (RC), Kent (UK). Early Roman military base: Bayley/Butcher 2004 (fibula assemblage).
Ruitz (RZ), Pas-de-Calais (France). Early Roman grave: Leroy/Herpoël 2014.
Sampont (SP) [Hunenknepchen], Luxembourg (Belgium). Late Iron Age and Roman cemetery: Noël 1968.
Senlis (SN), Oise (France). Early Roman city: Pissot 1993.
Septfontaines-Dëckt (SF), Luxembourg (Luxembourg). Early Roman cemetery: Polfer 1996.
Sheepen (CMS) [Camulodunum], Colchester, Essex (UK). Late Iron Age *oppidum* and Roman settlement, with small Roman cemetery: Niblett 1985.
Silchester (SL), Hampshire (UK). Late Iron Age oppidum and Roman city: Fulford 1984; Fulford/Timby 2000.
Soissons (SO), Aisne (France). Early Roman city: Deru 1996.
Southend (SD), Essex (UK). Late Iron Age and early Roman cemetery: Thompson 1982.
Springhead (SG), Kent (UK). Late Iron Age and Roman settlement: Biddulph et al. 2011.
Stansted (ST), Essex (UK). Late Iron Age and early Roman cemetery: Havis/Brooks 2004. Early Roman rural settlement: Havis/Brooks 2004, enhanced by Archaeology South-East/English Heritage/University College London 2011; Perring/Pitts 2013.
Stanway (CMY), Essex (UK). Late Iron Age and early Roman cemetery: Crummy et al. 2007.
Swarling (SW), Kent (UK). Late Iron Age and Roman cemetery: Bushe-Fox 1925; Thompson 1982.
Thugny-Trugny (TT), Ardennes (France). Iron Age cemetery: Lambot et al. 1994
Thure (SS), Solre-sur-Sambre, Hainaut (Belgium). Early Roman cemetery: Brulet 1972.
Titelberg (TB), Luxembourg (Luxembourg). Iron Age oppidum and Roman settlement: Gaspar 2007.
Tollgate Junction (TG), Kent (UK). Late Iron Age and Roman cemetery: Allen et al. 2012.
Tongeren (TN), Limburg (Belgium). Early Roman city: Vanderhoeven et al. 1992; Deru 1996. Early Roman cemeteries: Vanvinckenroye 1963 (NE) (TNN); Vanvinckenroye 1984 (SW) (TNW).
Trier (TR) [St. Matthias], Rhineland-Pfalz (Germany). Early Roman cemetery: Goethert-Polaschek 1977, 1984, 1985.
Ulpia Noviomagus (NJN), Nijmegen, Gelderland (Netherlands). Roman cemetery: Koster 2013.
Usk (UK), Monmouthshire, Wales (UK). Roman military base: Greene 1979; Manning 1981, 1989, 1995.
Verneuil-en-Halatte (VN), Oise (France). Early Roman villa: Deru 1996.
Verulamium (VM), St. Albans, Hertfordshire (UK). Early Roman city: Frere 1972, 1983, 1984. Rich 'tripod' grave: Niblett/Reeves 1990 (VMT).
Vieux-les-Asfeld (VA), Ardennes (France). Iron Age grave: Lambot et al. 1994.
Ville-sur-Retourne (VR), Ardennes (France). Iron Age and Roman cemetery: Stead/Flouest/Rigby 2006.
Wanzoul (WZ), Liège (Belgium). Late Iron Age and early Roman cemetery: Destexhe 1989.
Wederath (WD), Rhineland-Pfalz (Germany). Iron Age and Roman cemetery: Haffner 1971, 1974, 1978; Cordie-Hackenberg/Haffner 1991, 1997.

Welwyn (WL), Hertfordshire (UK). Late Iron Age cemetery: Stead 1967.
Westhampnett (WP), West Sussex (UK). Iron Age and Roman cemetery: Fitzpatrick 1997.
Wincheringen (WC), Rhineland-Pfalz (Germany). Early Roman grave: Haffner 1984.
Winchester (WN) [Grange Road], Hampshire (UK). Roman cemetery: Biddle 1967.
Xanten (VT) [Vetera I], North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany). Roman military base: Hanel 1995.
Zwammerdam (ZM), South Holland (Netherlands). Roman military base: Haalebos 1977.

2: FINE WARE VESSEL FORM CLASSIFICATIONS

Type (s)	Alt. type (s)	Morphology	Vessel form	Genealogy	Reference
Cons. 1-2		Platters	Platters	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 4	Ha. 4	Platters	Platters	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 5-6		Platters	Platters	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 7		Bowls	Shallow bowls	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 9		Dishes	Dishes	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 10	Ha. 1; Service 1a	Platters	Platters	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 11	Ha. 1; Service 1a-b	Platters	Platters	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 12.1-2	Ha. 1; Service 1b	Platters	Platters	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 12.3-5	Ha. 1; Service 1c	Platters	Platters	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 13	Ha. 7; Service 1a	Bowls	Shallow bowls	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 14.1	Ha. 7; Service 1b	Cups	Cups	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 14.2	Ha. 7; Service 1c	Cups	Cups	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 14.3-4	Ha. 7	Cups	Cups	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 15	Ha. 10	Cups	Cups	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 17		Cups	Cups	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 18	Ha. 2	Platters	Platters	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 19	Ha. 3	Platters	Platters	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 20	Ha. 5	Platters	Platters	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 21		Platters	Platters	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 22.1-3	Ha. 8	Cups	Cups	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 22-23	Ha. 9	Cups	Cups	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 25		Cups	Cups	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 26	Ha. 15	Cups	Cups	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 27-28		Cups	Cups	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 31	Ha. 11	Cups	Cups	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 33	Ha. 12	Cups	Hemispherical cups	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 34		Cups	Hemispherical cups	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 36	Ha. 6	Cups	Hemispherical cups	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 37		Cups	Hemispherical cups	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 38	Ha. 14	Cups	Handled cups	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 50.3	Ha. 16	Beakers	Cylinders	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 51		Inkwells	Inkwells	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. 54		Lids	Lids	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. R. 12		Beakers	ACO beakers	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. R. 2.3		Cups	Decorated chalices	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. R. 4		Cups	Decorated chalices	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. R. 5		Bowls	Decorated chalices	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Cons. R. 9.2		Cups	Decorated chalices	Med.	Ettlinger et al. 1990
Ha. 18/19		Bowls	Decorated bowls	Med.	Brulet et al. 2010

Type (s)	Alt. type (s)	Morphology	Vessel form	Genealogy	Reference
Curle 11		Bowls	Flanged bowls	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Curle 15		Dishes	Dishes	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
D. 60		Flagons	Decorated flagons	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
D. 62		Flagons	Decorated flagons	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
D. 67		Beakers	Decorated beakers	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Dr. 11		Cups	Decorated chalices	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Dr. 15		Platters	Platters	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Dr. 15/17		Platters	Platters	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Dr. 16		Platters	Platters	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Dr. 17		Platters	Platters	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Dr. 18		Platters	Platters	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Dr. 18/31		Platters	Platters	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Dr. 22/23		Dishes	Dishes	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Dr. 24/25		Cups	Hemispherical cups	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Dr. 27		Cups	Cups	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Dr. 29		Bowls	Decorated bowls	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Dr. 30		Cups	Decorated cylinders	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Dr. 33		Cups	Cups	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Dr. 35		Cups	Shallow cups	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Dr. 36		Dishes	Dishes	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Dr. 37		Bowls	Decorated bowls	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Dr. 42		Dishes	Dishes	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Dr. 67		Beakers	Decorated beakers	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Ritt. 1		Platters	Platters	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Ritt. 5		Cups	Cups	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Ritt. 8		Cups	Hemispherical cups	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Ritt. 9		Cups	Cups	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Ritt. 12		Bowls	Flanged bowls	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Ritt. 13		Inkwells	Inkwells	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Ritt. 14		Bowls	Shallow bowls	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Ht. 15		Flagons	Decorated flagons	Med.	Oswald/Pryce 1920
Ob. 14-15		Beakers	Decorated beakers	Med.	Brulet et al. 2010
Ob. 32-33		Beakers	Beakers	Med.	Brulet et al. 2010
Ob. 34		Beakers	ACO beakers	Med.	Brulet et al. 2010
Ob. 35-37		Beakers	Beakers	Med.	Brulet et al. 2010
Ob. 39	Ha. 39	Beakers	Cylinders	Med.	Brulet et al. 2010
Ha. 20		Beakers	Decorated beakers	Med.	Brulet et al. 2010
Ha. 40	Cam 61; Ob. 38	Cups	Hemispherical cups	Med.	Brulet et al. 2010
Ha. 41	Ob. 20	Beakers	Beakers	Med.	Brulet et al. 2010
Ha. 42		Beakers	Beakers	Med.	Brulet et al. 2010
Cam 64		Cups	Hemispherical cups	Med.	Hawkes/Hull 1947
Hof. 22	Cam 62	Cups	Hemispherical cups	Med.	Brulet et al. 2010
Hof. 25	Cam 94	Beakers	Beakers	Med.	Brulet et al. 2010
Hof. 26	Cam 95; St. 1B	Beakers	Beakers	Med.	Brulet et al. 2010
St. 2		Beakers	Beakers	Med.	Brulet et al. 2010
A1	Cam 2; Hol. 87	Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996

Type (s)	Alt. type (s)	Morphology	Vessel form	Genealogy	Reference
A2-3		Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A4	Cam 5B	Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A5	Cam 5A; Hol. 77/90	Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A6		Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A7	Cam 3	Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A8-9	Cam 4	Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A10		Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A11	Cam 23A	Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A12-13		Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A14-15	Hol. 78a/d	Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A16-17	Cam 7	Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A18-19	Cam 8; Hol. 78a/b	Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A20		Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A21	Cam 24Ca/b	Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A22-23	Hol. 76a/b	Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A24-25	Hol. 89a	Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A26-30		Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A31-33	Cam 9; Hol. 78e-f	Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A34		Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A36		Dishes	Dishes	Med.	Deru 1996
A37	Cam 11A	Dishes	Dishes	Med.	Deru 1996
A38	Cam 12; Hol. 79b-d	Dishes	Dishes	Med.	Deru 1996
A39	Cam 13/14; Hol. 79e-f	Dishes	Dishes	Med.	Deru 1996
A40	Cam 24A	Dishes	Dishes	Med.	Deru 1996
A41	Hol. 81a-d	Dishes	Dishes	N. Eur	Deru 1996
A42	Cam 16Ac; Hol. 81a-h	Dishes	Dishes	N. Eur	Deru 1996
A43	Cam 16A/B; Hol. 81d	Dishes	Dishes	N. Eur	Deru 1996
A44	Hol. 80a-b/d	Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A45	Hol. 81i	Dishes	Dishes	Med.	Deru 1996
A46-47	Cam 15, Hol. 79a	Dishes	Dishes	Med.	Deru 1996
A47	Cam 31b	Dishes	Dishes	Med.	Deru 1996
A48	Cam 21d	Dishes	Dishes	Med.	Deru 1996
A49	Cam 28b	Dishes	Dishes	Med.	Deru 1996
A50		Dishes	Dishes	Med.	Deru 1996
A51-52		Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A53		Bowls	Shallow bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
A54-55	Cam 10	Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A56		Platters	Platters	Med.	Deru 1996
A57-60		Dishes	Dishes	Med.	Deru 1996
C1	Cam 52B	Bowls	Shallow bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
C2		Cups	Cups	Med.	Deru 1996
C3	Cam 54	Bowls	Shallow bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
C4-6	Cam 53; Hol. 73	Bowls	Shallow bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
C7	Cam 55; Hol. 84	Cups	Cups	Med.	Deru 1996
C8-12	Cam 56/57; Hol. 82/83	Cups	Cups	Med.	Deru 1996
C13-14	Cam 58; Hol. 83	Cups	Hemispherical cups	Med.	Deru 1996

Type (s)	Alt. type (s)	Morphology	Vessel form	Genealogy	Reference
C15-17		Cups	Hemispherical cups	Med.	Deru 1996
C18	Hol. 91	Cups	Cups	Med.	Deru 1996
C19-20		Bowls	Shallow bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
C21		Cups	Hemispherical cups	Med.	Deru 1996
B1-2	Cam 46; Hol. 86	Bowls	Flanged bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
B3-5		Bowls	Flanged bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
B6-12		Bowls	Bowls	N. Eur	Deru 1996
B14	Cam 50C; Hol. 49	Bowls	Pedestal bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
B15-16, 18		Bowls	Bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
B17	Cam 49	Bowls	Bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
B19-20		Bowls	Decorated bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
B21-27	(Cam 227); Hol. 27c	Bowls	Bowls	N. Eur	Deru 1996
B28	Hol. 52	Bowls	Hemispherical bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
B29	Cam 52c	Bowls	Hemispherical bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
B31	Cam 51; Hol. 51	Bowls	Hemispherical bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
B32-33		Bowls	Hemispherical bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
B34	Hol. 50	Bowls	Shallow bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
B35		Bowls	Shallow bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
B36-37	Hol. 48	Bowls	Bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
B38-40		Bowls	Shallow bowls	N. Eur	Deru 1996
B41-43	Cam 51A/C; Hol. 41	Bowls	Bobbin-bowls	N. Eur	Deru 1996
B44		Beakers	Cylinders	Med.	Deru 1996
B45	Cam 52	Beakers	Cylinders	N. Eur	Deru 1996
B46		Bowls	Bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
B47		Bowls	Bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
G1	Hol. 46	Beakers	Cylinders	Med.	Deru 1996
G2-4		Beakers	Cylinders	Med.	Deru 1996
KL1	Cam 74B/79; Hol. 7b	Beakers	Pedestal beakers	Med.	Deru 1996
KL2	Cam 75/78; Hol. 7a	Beakers	Pedestal beakers	Med.	Deru 1996
KL3-4		Beakers	Pedestal beakers	Med.	Deru 1996
KL5		Beakers	Beakers	Med.	Deru 1996
KL6	Cam 77	Beakers	Pedestal beakers	Med.	Deru 1996
KL7	Cam 73/76	Beakers	Pedestal beakers	Med.	Deru 1996
KL8		Beakers	Pedestal beakers	Med.	Deru 1996
KL10-11		Beakers	Pedestal beakers	Med.	Deru 1996
KL12	Cam 74A'	Beakers	Pedestal bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
KL13	Cam 74A	Beakers	Pedestal beakers	Med.	Deru 1996
KL14	Cam 71	Cups	Pedestal cups	Med.	Deru 1996
KL15	Cam 81	Bowls	Pedestal bowls	N. Eur	Deru 1996
KL17		Bowls	Pedestal bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
KL18	Cam 72A	Bowls	Pedestal bowls	Med.	Deru 1996
KL19		Bowls	Pedestal bowls	N. Eur	Deru 1996
KL20	Hol. 4	Jars	Jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
KL21		Bowls	Pedestal bowls	N. Eur	Deru 1996
KL22		Beakers	Pedestal beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
KL23		Bowls	Bowls	N. Eur	Deru 1996

Type (s)	Alt. type (s)	Morphology	Vessel form	Genealogy	Reference
KL24		Bowls	Pedestal bowls	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P1	Hol. 17/18/22/23	Beakers	Butt-beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P2	Hol. 35	Beakers	Beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P3		Beakers	Butt-beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P4	Hol. 12	Beakers	Butt-beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P5	Hol. 10/16	Beakers	Beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P6-7	Cam 112A	Beakers	Butt-beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P8	Cam 111	Beakers	Butt-beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P9	Hol. 6a	Beakers	Butt-beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P10	Hol. 11d/14	Beakers	Butt-beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P11	Hol. 13/15	Beakers	Butt-beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P12	Hol. 19/24/31	Beakers	Beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P13-18	Hol. 3a-b	Beakers	Butt-beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P19		Beakers	Butt-beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P20	Cam 116B	Beakers	Butt-beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P21-22	Cam 113	Beakers	Butt-beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P23	Cam 114; Hol. 1	Beakers	Grätenbechers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P25-28		Jars	Jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P29	Cam 82-87; Hol. 9	Beakers	Girth-beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P30-32	Cam 91A/C; Hol. 8b	Beakers	Beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P34	Hol. 75a	Jars	Jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P35		Jars	Jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P36		Jars	Flask-jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P37	Hol. 25a	Jars	Flask-jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P38		Beakers	Beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P39	Hol. 42	Jars	Jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P40-41		Jars	Jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P42	Hol. 27e	Jars	Jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P43	Cam 97; Hol. 27a/b/e	Jars	Jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P44		Jars	Jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P45	Hol. 27f	Jars	Jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P46-47	Hol. 27e	Jars	Jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P48-49	Hol. 27c/d	Jars	Jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P51	Hol. 27b/c	Jars	Jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P52.1		Beakers	Beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P52.2		Jars	Vases tronconiques	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P53		Jars	Pedestal jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P54	Cam 120; Hol. 26a/b/c	Beakers	Biconical beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P55	Hol. 26c/27b/39	Beakers	Biconical beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P56	Hol. 26d	Beakers	Biconical beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P57		Jars	Jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P58	Hol. 29e	Beakers	Beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P60		Beakers	Beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P61-62	Cam 100; Hol. 28	Beakers	Beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P63	Hol. 74a/b	Beakers	Beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996
P65.1	Hol. 30	Beakers	Beakers	N. Eur	Deru 1996

Type (s)	Alt. type (s)	Morphology	Vessel form	Genealogy	Reference
BT1	Hol. 25c-h	Jars	Flask-jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
BT2	Hol. 25e	Jars	Flask-jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
BT3		Jars	Flask-jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
BT4-6	Cam 232Aa	Jars	Flask-jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
BT7	Hol. 25f/h	Jars	Flask-jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
BT8	Hol. 44	Jars	Flask-jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
BT10		Jars	Flask-jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
BT11		Jars	Flask-jars	N. Eur	Deru 1996
BT12-14		Flasks	Flasks	N. Eur	Deru 1996
Hol. 2		Jars	Jars	N. Eur	Holwerda 1941
Cam 45		Bowls	Tripod bowls	N. Eur	Hawkes/Hull 1947