Reconsidering Britain's first urban communities

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Questions about the foundation and cultural make-up of Britain's first towns have been long debated. The creation of new cities was a crucial element in the economic and cultural assimilation of a new province, having ramifications for the trajectories of later generations as well as the immediate situation following the conquest. A dominant feature of the debate about urban origins in Britain is the interpretation of evidence relating to buildings and urban morphology, whereas the contribution of the evidence from finds has arguably been minimal. My intent here is to review the historical scenario of the foundation of Britain's first towns in light of artefactual evidence. I will focus on the evidence of Claudio-Neronian brooches and imported finewares (and their predecessors), which have already contributed to the debate as chronological indicators but perhaps offer more potential for new insights into cultural connectivity and social practice.

Britain's first towns: scholarship and debate

In what is considered the old orthodoxy on the origins of Romano-British towns, the Roman military had a prominent rôle. According to S. S. Frere, army involvement was twofold: first, in an official policy of technical assistance (from surveying to construction), second, in developing abandoned military bases into new towns while harnessing the economic and strategic potential of such locations.[1] As elaborated by J. S. Wacher, the creation of major civil centres or *civitates* was seen as a deliberate and official act, involving a choice between the improvement of an existing indigenous settlement or the promotion of a fort *vicus*.[2] While the rôle of the locals of later generations was acknowledged in this narrative, the impetus for urbanism was seen as state-driven, top-down and interventionist.[3]

Much changed following the influential work of M. Millett,[4] who placed emphasis on the agency of the surviving pre-conquest aristocracy acting under the *laissez-faire* guidance of the imperial authorities. He believed Rome to have been less interventionist than did Frere and Wacher. Where they existed, 'native' social hierarchies and infrastructure were maintained in the new provincial system, with local élites being left to transform themselves. Regarding the urban question, Millett drew attention to the fragility of the evidence for significant official intervention, specifically Frere's analogy between the architecture of *Insula* XIV at *Verulamium* and barrack blocks at Valkenburg.[5] Where evidence for military occupation at the first *civitas*-capitals in the southeast was thought to be incontrovertible, such as at *Verulamium* and Silchester, Millett downplayed its significance as being of low intensity, short-lived, and peripheral,[6] emphasising instead the continuity with pre-existing enclosed settlements called *oppida*.[7]

1 Frere 1987, 230; see also Webster 1966 for the classic argument on the evolution of towns from abandoned forts.
2 Wacher 1995, 20.
3 As usefully summarised by Grahame 1998.
4 Millett 1984; 1990, 65-101.
5 Frere 1972, 9-11; cf. Millett 1990, 69-72.
6 Millett 1990, 77-78.
7 For a discussion of this contested term in Britain and Europe, see Pitts 2010a; Fichtl 2000; Colin 1998; Woolf 1993 and Collis 1984. The term *oppidum* spans a diverse range of large settlement

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In later decades, Millett's non-interventionist model became the new orthodoxy. This position was reinforced following M. G. Fulford's excavations on the site of Silchester's Forum-Basilica,[8] which provided evidence of intensive pre-Claudian occupation, including a possible orthogonal street-grid. Drawing upon this work and re-interpretations of other sites, J. A. Creighton placed greater emphasis on the agency of local élites in determining the appearance of the first *civitates*, making a case for the memorialisation of Late Iron Age kings in the first urban layouts.[9] This was clearest at *Verulamium*, where the city grid appears to be aligned on an axis determined by the funerary enclosure at Folly Lane containing a rich grave in the pre-conquest 'Welwyn' style dating to *c*.A.D. 55.[10] Creighton advanced similar suggestions for other towns including Silchester and Canterbury. Even in the vicinity of Colchester, Britain's first-attested planted immigrant city (*Colonia Claudia Victricensis*), Creighton drew attention to the rôle of the pre-conquest aristocracy in shaping the wider landscape surrounding the *oppidum* of Camulodunum, in particular around the focal point of Gosbecks.[11] Of the Claudio-Neronian foundations in this narrative, only Colchester's veteran colony is viewed as a true product of Roman colonial engineering. The virgin settlement at London stands as a special case, being characterised as a civilian economic hub, but benefitting from its position at the intersection of military supply routes.[12]

While Creighton's vision of early Roman Britain may seem persuasive, aspects of his argument have been questioned. D. Perring has re-stated the case for London originating as a temporary Claudian fort, arguing that the city was directly controlled by the provincial administration from its inception.[13] Although the basis of this evidence has been strongly contested,[14] Perring's study raises the possibility of greater official involvement in other early towns. More generally, the accounts of Creighton and Millett may be criticised for over-emphasising the rôle played by the pre-conquest aristocracy to the relative exclusion of the rest of the populace, which must have included many less wealthy locals, as well as considerable numbers of migrants from the nearby Continent,[15] such as Gallic merchants, freedmen, and members of the culturally-diverse Roman military community.[16] The precise contribution of these different groups, however, is elusive to detect.

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forms, inconsistently provisioned with urban amenities and evidence for centralised authority, but unified above all by the provision of dykes or defensive ramparts. Notable pre-conquest *oppida* preceding Claudio-Neronian cities include Camulodunum (*Colonia Victricensis*, modern Colchester), Verlamion (*Verulamium*, modern St. Albans), and Calleva Atrebatum (modern Silchester), with equivalent settlement in evidence at Canterbury and Chichester.

8 Fulford and Timby 2000.

9 Creighton 2006, 123-56.

10 Niblett 1999. The 'Welwyn' style refers to the practice of apparently high-status Late Iron Age cremation ritual, with the placement of imported amphorae forming a defining characteristic (Stead 1967).

11 Creighton 2006, 130-35.

12 Creighton 2006, 94 and 125; cf. Millett 1994, 433.

13 Perring 2011, 250-51. The basis for Perring's theory is the discovery of an enclosure of *c*.24.5 ha defined by V-shaped double-ditches, rapidly constructed and dismantled in the late Claudian period, as well as dendrochronological dates for bridge structures on the Cornhill site of no later than A.D. 48, where a rectangular street grid was established before the revolt of A.D. 60/61.

14 Wallace 2013 presents a detailed counter-argument.

15 Aldhouse-Green 2007, 381; cf. Burnham *et al*. 2001, 71.

16 Goldsworthy and Haynes 1999.

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Artefactual perspectives

To address the question of who lived in Britain's first towns, a rather different perspective comes when attention is shifted from structures to artefacts. Admittedly, this is a story that is less easy to tell or visualise, requiring no small amount of work to produce clear narratives from the detailed specialist analyses conducted on different categories of finds. Nevertheless, progress is being made. For example, comparative analysis of Claudio-Neronian material from the *colonia* at Colchester and the pre-existing Sheepen site revealed new insights into the cultural geography of the landscape around Colchester.[17] Here, a marked difference in assemblages between the two contemporary locations implies entrenched discrepancies in pottery supply and use after the conquest,[18] highlighting the likelihood of two culturally-distinct communities at Colchester. This observation is further reinforced by the integration of faunal and brooch data, with contextually defined 'suites' of material emerging, one relating to the veteran colonists, the other linked to the indigenous population.[19] To complicate matters, a fuller consideration of the finds suggests the spatial segregation of military/colonial and pre-existing communities within Claudio-Neronian Sheepen itself (between compounds 1 and 2, respectively, of R. Niblett's excavations).[20] The implications of this research are twofold. In the first place, while material differences between historically attested colonists and the local community are not in themselves surprising, the high material contrast and the closeness of such communities calls into question traditional views on veteran colonies serving as civilising rôle-models for the local populace.[21] A second implication is the possibility that similar situations occurred in other towns, but are obscured by a lack of appropriate analysis. The research discussed from Colchester, which made heavy use of multivariate statistics, was based on the visualisation of recurrent differences in patterns of object use that were (understandably) missed in the original excavation report.[22] Given the limited resources for analysis within developer-funded British archaeology, it is unsurprising that the re-examination of older material can yield new findings of such a nature.

Unfortunately, due to the selective publication of finds data from other urban sites in Britain, equivalent analyses to those conducted at Colchester are not always feasible. Niblett's excavation report from the Sheepen site at Camulodunum is exemplary in recording the full contents of each archaeological context and feature, offering significant scope for the contextual study of artefact use. While the same cannot be said for the majority of other sites, it is still possible to undertake core comparisons for classes of artefact which are published in greater detail. A broader study of imported fineware and brooch assemblages from British *oppida* revealed that the Sheepen assemblage (representing the latest phase of *oppida* in S England) did in fact share parallels with other pre-existing British sites, while

17 A note on site nomenclature: while Camulodunum generally refers to the name of Colchester's pre-Claudian *oppidum*, I use 'Sheepen' to refer exclusively to the 1970 excavations by Niblett (1985) and 'Camulodunum' to refer to the 1930s excavations at the same site (Hawkes and Hull 1947).

18 Pitts and Perring 2006. Differences in the pottery supply of Colchester's *colonia* and *oppidum* are also discussed by Bidwell 1999 and Timby 2013, 158.

19 Pitts 2010a and 2010b.

20 Perring and Pitts 2013, 232-38.

21 E.g., Frere 1987, 110, although he notes that in this case the policy had been applied heavy-handedly at Colchester.

22 Niblett 1985.

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remaining staunchly different to assemblages from the *colonia*.[23] In principle, therefore, a similar method could be used to shed new light on Britain's first urban communities without having to undertake detailed intra-site analysis.

In revisiting the *oppida* study, it is worth discussing another pattern with bearing on the question of urban origins. Assemblages from the early cities at *Colonia Victricensis* and *Verulamium* were included to provide context to the pre-conquest material under primary consideration. With hindsight, it is surprising that the brooch assemblages from *Verulamium*'s planned city had little in common with those from the pre-conquest *oppidum* (commonly referred to as Verlamion),[24] instead closely mirroring assemblages from *Colonia Victricensis*. Being primarily concerned at the time with *oppida* and not Roman towns, I saw no problem with *Colonia Victricensis* and *Verulamium* sharing assemblage characteristics, assuming them to be similar entities that differed only in relative status. However, in the context of Creighton's recent narrative of Britain's first towns, the finding presents an inconsistency. Why at *Verulamium*, a city thought to have been laid out according to the interests of the local aristocracy, is there a major break with pre-conquest patterns of consumption, with a wholesale shift to styles of material culture that appear identical to those of the veteran community at *Colonia Victricensis*? This is all the more puzzling considering that the local community living outside Colchester's *colonia* did continue to consume in a largely pre-conquest style.[25]

To make sense of the situation at *Verulamium*, therefore, further consideration is needed from an artefactual perspective, along with a fresh appraisal of the other major Claudio-Neronian urban communities — Colchester, London, Canterbury, Silchester and Chichester. Do assemblages from London fit a military profile? Did the population of Chichester show continuity with the people who lived in the archaeologically-elusive pre-conquest *oppidum* thought to be defined by the Chichester dykes? Did pre-conquest political entities such as Cunobelin's Eastern kingdom (the Catuvellauni) and Verica's Southern kingdom (the Atrebates) (fig. 1) exert influence after the conquest, or did the first urban dwellers adopt colonial material practices wholesale, following the example at *Colonia Victricensis*?

Before considering these questions in detail, it is important to keep in mind a note of caution. As a great deal of literature attests,[26] it is problematic to draw direct correlations between static artefacts and the dynamic, shifting, and multifaceted process of the elaboration of identity. Indeed, representational perspectives which assume that artefacts acted as fixed carriers of meaning have created immense difficulties in Roman archaeology. This is especially pertinent to the debate over urban origins. One need look no further than the persistent, yet mistaken, use of *terra sigillata* as a universal index of Romanisation.[27] It is important that attention is focused upon not simply the presence of objects, but rather how they may collectively have participated in (and shaped) routine use and social practice. For this reason, my analysis focuses on brooches, which played an active and visible rôle in the everyday practice of dress, and fineware ceramics, which represent a highly variable and plastic medium that was essential for different styles of eating and drinking. To return

23 Pitts 2010a.
24 Niblett 2006.
25 Pitts and Perring 2006; Perring and Pitts 2013, 232-38.
26 E.g. Jones 1997; also Pitts 2007 for further consideration of this issue in Roman archaeology.
27 Reece 1988, 33: "it must be rated as one of the most obvious signs of Romanizing in Britain …".

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Fig. 1. Map showing locations of principal settlements considered for analysis.

to the example of *terra sigillata*, this fabric was present in quantity at *Colonia Victricensis* (Head Street) and Camulodunum (Sheepen). In itself, this confirms little beyond the probability that both centres partook of similar supply networks. However, when considered contextually as a part of larger ceramic assemblages with consistently different functional emphases (e.g., capacious drinking vessels *versus* a more complex array of vessels for the serving and display of food and drink), and different contextual associations with other pottery types (e.g., locally produced beakers *versus* imported Lyon-ware cups), bigger inferences concerning differences in practice can be made — especially when the former pattern is broadly repeated in the surrounding landscape, and the latter is not.[28]

Methods and data

To characterise Britain's Claudio-Neronian urban communities in artefactual terms, this study first determines the principal differences and similarities in finds assemblages at the various sites under scrutiny. Methodologically, this is achieved by the application of correspondence analysis (hereafter CA), which highlights quantitative differences and similarities in the make-up of multiple finds assemblages, supported by more standard means of visualising patterns in data. This method has enjoyed wide application to finds research in Roman archaeology, particularly in relation to numerically large data-sets.[29]

28 See, e.g., Perring and Pitts 2013, in which recurring combinations of vessels (or 'suites') were associated with different forms of cultural practice in the wider settlement landscape of Colchester and London.

29 E.g., Cool and Baxter 1999 on glass, Biddulph 2005 on funerary assemblages, van der Veen,

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TABLE 1
EARLY BRITISH URBAN FOUNDATIONS, RELATED SITES
AND CONTEMPORARY MILITARY SITES INCLUDED IN ANALYSIS

City	*Site*	*Description*	*Date-range*	*Data*	*References*
Canterbury	Marlowe car park/ various	Evolved *oppidum*	Continuous sequence from 15 B.C.	Both pottery & brooches	Blockley *et al.* 1995
Chichester	Various sites in northern quadrants	Evolved *oppidum*	Occupation from late 1st c. B.C.	Both	Down & Rule 1971; Down 1974; 1978; 1981; 1989; Down & Magilton 1993
Chichester	Various sites in southern quadrants	Evolved *oppidum*	Occupation from late 1st c. B.C.	Both	Down & Rule 1971; Down 1974; 1989; Down & Magilton 1993
Chichester	Fishbourne	Extramural aristocratic residence	Occupation from late 1st c. B.C.	Both	Cunliffe 1971; Rudling 1985; Cunliffe, Down & Rudkin 1996; Manley & Rudkin 2005
Colchester	Camulodunum	*Oppidum*	*c.*25 B.C. Main activity A.D. 5-61	Both	Hawkes & Hull 1947; Hawkes & Crummy 1995
Colchester	Colonia Victricensis	Fortress/*colonia*	From A.D. 44	Both	N. Crummy 1983; P. Crummy 1992; Symonds & Wade 1999; Perring & Pitts 2013.
Colchester	Head Street	Fortress/*colonia*	From A.D. 44	Pottery only	Brooks 2004
Colchester	Sheepen (Camulodunum)	*Oppidum*/industrial complex	A.D. 5-61. Main activity A.D. 49-61	Both	Niblett 1985
Colchester	Stanway (Camulodunum)	Extramural aristocratic cemetery	A.D. 40-60	Both	Crummy *et al.* 2007
London	Various	Virgin urban settlement	*c.*A.D. 48 +	Both	Davies, Richardson & Tomber 1992; Timby & Rigby 2007; Perring 2011; Perring & Pitts 2013; T. Clifford pers. comm (brooch data).
Silchester	Forum-Basilica	Evolved *oppidum*	Occupation from *c.*25 B.C.	Both	Fulford & Timby 2000
Silchester	Pre-rampart	*Oppidum*	Pre-conquest	Pottery	Fulford 1984
Verulamium	Folly Lane	Extramural princely burial	*c.*A.D. 55	Pottery	Niblett 1999
Verulamium	Gorhambury	Extramural aristocratic residence	Early 1st c. A.D.	Brooches	Neal, Wardle & Hunn 1990
Verulamium (Verlamion)	King Harry Lane	*Oppidum* cemetery	*c.*15 B.C.-A.D. 45/55	Both	Stead & Rigby 1989; Mackreth 2011
Verulamium (Verlamion)	Prae Wood	*Oppidum*	*c.*A.D. 5-40	Pottery	Wheeler & Wheeler 1936; Timby & Rigby 2007
Verulamium	Various	Planned city	*c.*A.D. 49 +	Both	Frere 1972; 1983; 1984; Wheeler & Wheeler 1936
Verulamium	'Fort' defences	Short-lived fort?	A.D. 44-47	Pottery	Frere 1983
Exeter	Fortress	Military foundation for civilian town	*c.*A.D. 55 +	Both	Bidwell 1979; Holbrook & Bidwell 1991
Longthorpe	Fortress	Contemporary military site	*c.*A.D. 48-62	Both	Frere & St. Joseph 1974; Dannell & Wild 1987
Richborough	Supply base	Contemporary military site	*c.*A.D. 43 +	Brooches	Cunliffe 1968; Bayley & Butcher 2004
Usk	Fortress	Contemporary military site	*c.*A.D. 55 +	Both	Greene 1979; Manning 1981; 1989; 1995

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The selection of archaeological sites

Although the primary purpose of this research is to explore assemblages generated by Claudio-Neronian urban communities, I deliberately added material outside this core sample to create broader frames of reference for clearer patterns to emerge in CA. For example, by including data from contemporary military sites such as Richborough and Usk, one might expect urban assemblages with a military character to be plotted close to those sites in a CA plot. Similarly, the inclusion of data from several pre-conquest *oppida* should exert a strong magnetic pull for any assemblages featuring significant quantities of like material. Thus, the approach taken encourages an appraisal of the uniqueness of Britain's first towns by comparing their assemblages against a wider sample of broadly contemporary sites.

A list of British sites and their subdivisions included in analysis is provided in Table 1 (see fig. 1 for locations). For some cities, notably Colchester and *Verulamium*, it was desirable to separate those sites with discrete pre-Claudian occupation, as well as later locations linked with the local aristocracy.[30] At other cities such as London, material from a large number of smaller discrete excavations was amalgamated to collate a sample that was amenable to quantitative comparisons with other sites. At Chichester, the material was subjected to cursory examination by individual excavation to determine the existence of intra-settlement variation; while no obvious differences emerged, a distinction was maintained in analysis between the robust assemblages formed by amalgamating data from sites in the N and S halves of the city (where possible), with a view to testing variation in subsequent analyses. Different symbols are used in CA to distinguish assemblages based on basic differences (assumed pre-analysis) in the origin of their associated settlements: military bases, towns with substantial military or official origins, towns with more substantial links to pre-conquest settlements, sites dominated by pre-conquest occupation, and extramural sites.

The selection of finds assemblage data

This study scrutinises assemblages of brooches and imported finewares, building upon a previous study of *oppida* from S and E England.[31] A major justification for the selection of brooches and imported finewares is to provide chronological control. It is assumed that the majority of brooch and pottery types considered had ceased to be produced and be in circulation by the onset of the Flavian period (archaeologically, *c*.70), presenting an ideal window to examine the post-conquest generation. In some locations where towns were founded upon the sites of pre-existing settlement it is not always possible definitively to separate pre- and post-conquest phases of artefact use. Although this problem cannot be solved outright, the inclusion of towns and military bases that were founded in the 40s and 50s reduces the problems posed, by providing valuable comparative perspectives.

The use of consistent descriptive languages for classifying and quantifying brooches and imported finewares is another important justification for using this material. Brooch

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Livarda and Hill 2008 on plant remains, and Pitts 2010b on the integration of multiple classes of finds.

30 At Colchester, the data from Niblett's (1985) excavations at Sheepen were also kept separate from those of Hawkes and Hull (1947), in view of the latter being generally considered unreliable in terms of the quantities of objects and internal dating. These issues are minimized in analysis by considering the assemblage from Hawkes and Hull (1947) as a separate whole.

31 Pitts 2010a.

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assemblages are usually published in their entirety, and in most cases the imported finewares (notably Gallo-Belgic wares) were quantified in a highly consistent manner, facilitating easy comparison. Other standardised imported pottery forms (e.g. *terra sigillata*, Lyon ware and amphorae) were subject to more inconsistent publication, but for the most part classification and quantification were adequate enough for those wares to be included in some form (e.g., presence/absence of individual types).[32]

For the description of imported pottery forms, the Camulodunum type-series was adopted,[33] owing to its consistent usage to describe pre-Flavian finewares in Britain, and for its ease of comparison with Continental material.[34] Similarly, *terra sigillata* forms are described using older typologies as consistent with the recent *Names on terra sigillata* project.[35] The pre-Flavian brooch data are classified according to general labels regularly used in equivalent comparative studies.[36] Although further sub-division of types on chronological and stylistic grounds is possible, 'lumped' categories with larger numbers of brooches were preferred for undertaking robust comparisons.

Correspondence analysis: use and interpretation

Four stages of CA were undertaken.

Stage 1 involves the comparison of imported fineware assemblages using presence/absence data (figs. 2a-b below). This approach highlights general similarities and differences in supply, spanning the widest range of imported pottery for all sites.

In Stage 2, the pottery is revisited using quantified data (numbers of vessels), with the exclusion of material for which quantification was problematic (figs. 3a-b below).[37]

Stage 3 concerns the comparison of brooch assemblages, using absolute quantities (fig. 4 below).

Stage 4 involves the comparison of Gallo-Belgic ware assemblages from Britain with material from the Continent, to investigate potential links and influences between settlements in the two regions (figs. 7a-b below).

Measures were taken to maximise the potential of the data available and to improve the clarity of results in CA. One measure was to remove outliers from analysis which obscured the visibility of patterns in the rest of the data. A typical example would be a rare artefact type occurring in high quantity at only one or two sites. The removal of outliers was

32 It was not possible easily to include coarsewares and other local products, due to the absence of an overarching type-series and inconsistencies in the quantification and publication of this material.

33 Hawkes and Hull 1947.

34 E.g., Deru 1996.

35 Hartley and Dickinson 2008-12. Older typologies are used in place of the *Conspectus* (Ettlinger *et al.* 1990) for Arretine sigillata due to the need to compare data from several reports published before the 1990s.

36 E.g., Plouviez 2008; Crummy 2012. The main exception here is the inclusion of Dolphin and Polden Hill types within the Colchester derivative category to create more robust sample sizes for comparison. These types produced consistent results with other Colchester derivatives when analysed separately (Pitts 2010a, 46-53).

37 The amphorae were the most problematic to compare with other imports, standard measures of weight and sherd count being largely impossible to reconcile with vessel counts for other wares. At Colchester, the data reported by Symonds and Wade (1999) were less amenable to comparison due to selected finewares not being distinguished from their local imitations; this had the effect of artificially inflating the presence of some forms, notably in *terra nigra*.

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TABLE 2
DETAILS OF SUPPLEMENTARY DATA AND OUTLIERS REMOVED FROM CA

CA plots	*Supplementary data*	*Outliers removed and their associations*
Fig. 2	Folly Lane, *Verulamium* 'fort', Silchester (pre-rampart), Stanway [all small assemblages]	Cam 55, 73, Ritt. 8 (Arretine) [all types only occur at Camulodunum]
Fig. 3	Stanway [small assemblage]	None
Fig. 4	Prae Wood, Folly Lane, *Verulamium* 'fort', Silchester (pre-rampart), Stanway, Silchester Forum-Basilica [all small assemblages apart from the latter, for which *sigillata* are not fully quantified by type]	Cam 55 [Camulodunum only] Cam 184, 185, 186, 189, Dressel 1, 2-4 [amphorae types inconsistently quantified] Cam 4 (TR) [Canterbury and Fishbourne only] Cam 6 (TN) [Canterbury, Chichester N and Silchester only]
Fig. 7	Pre-Claudian Continental data only [see discussion in main text]	Cam 55 [Camulodunum only] Cam 113 [see discussion in main text] Cam 4 (TR) [small quantities at Canterbury, Fishbourne, Metz (early) and Trier region (early)] Cam 6 (TN) [small quantities at Canterbury, Chichester N, Silchester, Senlis, Metz (late) and Trier (early)]

kept to a minimum, and is documented in Table 2. In examples in which many outliers would need to be removed for the sake of clarity, a preferred method of zooming in on clusters of data-points was adopted in Stages 2 and 4 of CA (figs. 3 and 7), thus retaining the advantage of showing the full analysis. Another measure was the inclusion of small or inconsistently-quantified assemblages in CA as "supplementary data". Under normal circumstances, it would be irregular to use these for direct statistical comparison, with the potential for erroneous correlations. However, as supplementary data, such smaller assemblages can be effectively overlaid onto the main body of data according to their statistical similarity, but without disturbing the disposition of the core data.[38] As a general rule of thumb for this study, minimal sample sizes of 25 or more brooches and 100 or more fineware vessels produced reliable results for direct comparison; smaller assemblages are included only as supplementary data. Notable examples of this are the historically-significant grave assemblages from the pre-Flavian aristocratic enclosures at Stanway and Folly Lane. Full details are given in Table 2. The assemblage sizes for brooches, Gallo-Belgic wares and *terra sigillata* are shown in Table 3.

Interpretation of CA is straightforward, with the *caveat* that it differs from the interpretation of regular graphs in the way that the axes should be read. Unlike standard scatterplots, in which the axes usually denote quantities of artefacts, the axes in CA measure how much an assemblage or artefact type differs from an artificially-calculated average assemblage or mean artefact type. In the statistical calculation of CA, the software generates a series of different axes (or components) that account for the variability (or inertia) among the data.[39] In this study, assemblages are compared in terms of the quantities of their constituent artefact types, and artefact types are compared in terms of their prevalence in different assemblages. By default, the two axes selected for graphical output are the first and second, which account for the greatest cumulative inertia in the sample. In

38 See Pitts 2010b, and Perring and Pitts 2013, for further examples of using supplementary data in CA.

39 The software used for this study was Minitab 16.

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TABLE 3
DETAILS OF ASSEMBLAGE SIZES FOR BRITISH SITES CONSIDERED IN ANALYSIS

City	*Site*	*Brooches*	*Gallo-Belgic wares*	*Terra sigillata*
Canterbury	Marlowe car park / various	93	164	132
Chichester	N zone	89	164	114
Chichester	S zone	79 (inc. northern material)	92	63
Chichester	Fishbourne	46	184	137
Colchester	Camulodunum	299	7613	2345
Colchester	*Colonia Victricensis*	117	622 (inc. imitations)	-
Colchester	Head Street (also *colonia*)	-	4	607
Colchester	Sheepen (Camulodunum)	45	812	598
Colchester	Stanway (Camulodunum)	11	20	2
London	Various	287	48	90+ (minimum numbers estimated from EVE data)
Silchester	Forum-Basilica	92	590	24 (presence of types only)
Silchester	Pre-rampart	-	21	10
Verulamium	Folly Lane	-	2	16
Verulamium	Gorhambury	40	-	-
Verlamion	King Harry Lane	237	148	5
Verlamion	Prae Wood	-	44	7
Verulamium	Various	78	18	297
Verulamium	'Fort' defences	-	1	82
Military sites	Exeter	27	71	233
Military sites	Longthorpe	27	1	150
Military sites	Richborough	232	-	-
Military sites	Usk	52	28	718

other words, the software automatically selects the axes that show the statistically strongest patterns and associations — between artefacts and artefacts, assemblages and artefacts, and assemblages and assemblages.

The simple rule of thumb for interpreting CA is that if artefacts and/or assemblages are plotted close together, a link is indicated on the basis of shared contents (assemblages) or general contextual association (artefacts). This is clearest in the extremities of CA plots where correspondences between rare artefacts and atypical assemblages occur. Often multiple artefacts and assemblages are plotted in clusters, denoting a group of artefacts that recurrently occurs in a particular group of assemblages more often. As such, the method excels at highlighting the *principal* similarities, differences and relationships between assemblages and their artefacts. Nevertheless, it is important to consider that CA makes sense of data by visually *simplifying* its complexity. Taken uncritically, CA could encourage a representative reading of material culture, in which artefact types are exclusively

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equated with particular assemblage configurations. For more detailed comparison, reference to the original tables of data may be necessary (see Appendix). To aid interpretation, clusters have been annotated in some graphs, with further discussion in the text.

Quantitative analysis and interpretation

Stage 1. Imported finewares, presence/absence of types

Figures 2a-b present the results of CA for the presence/absence of over 80 imported pottery types at major urban and related sites in pre-Flavian Britain. The sites and pottery forms are separated in corresponding plots for visual clarity. Two major clusters of assemblages emerge. The biggest statistical difference is accounted for by the horizontal axis, which separates Claudio-Neronian foundations with military/colonial associations (left cluster on fig. 2a) from sites originating as pre-conquest *oppida* (right clusters on fig. 2a). The left-hand cluster of assemblages correspond most closely in fig. 2b with the majority of amphorae and S Gaulish *sigillata* types, in addition to Lyon-ware cups and beakers (Cam. 62 and 94), later Gallo-Belgic dishes and cups (Cam. 16 and 58 in *terra nigra*), Pompeian red-ware dishes (Cam. 17), and fine eggshell-ware cups (Cam. 64). In contrast, the group of sites with pre-conquest origins (right) are further differentiated by the vertical axis, with two Verlamion sites (Prae Wood and King Harry Lane) plotted apart. The majority of corresponding material on the right side of the plot is Gallo-Belgic ware (comprising various *terra nigra*, *terra rubra*, and white wares), with a few Arretine and early S Gaulish *terra sigillata* forms, and early wine amphorae (Dressel 1). The smaller cluster of Verlamion sites corresponds exclusively with Gallo-Belgic material.

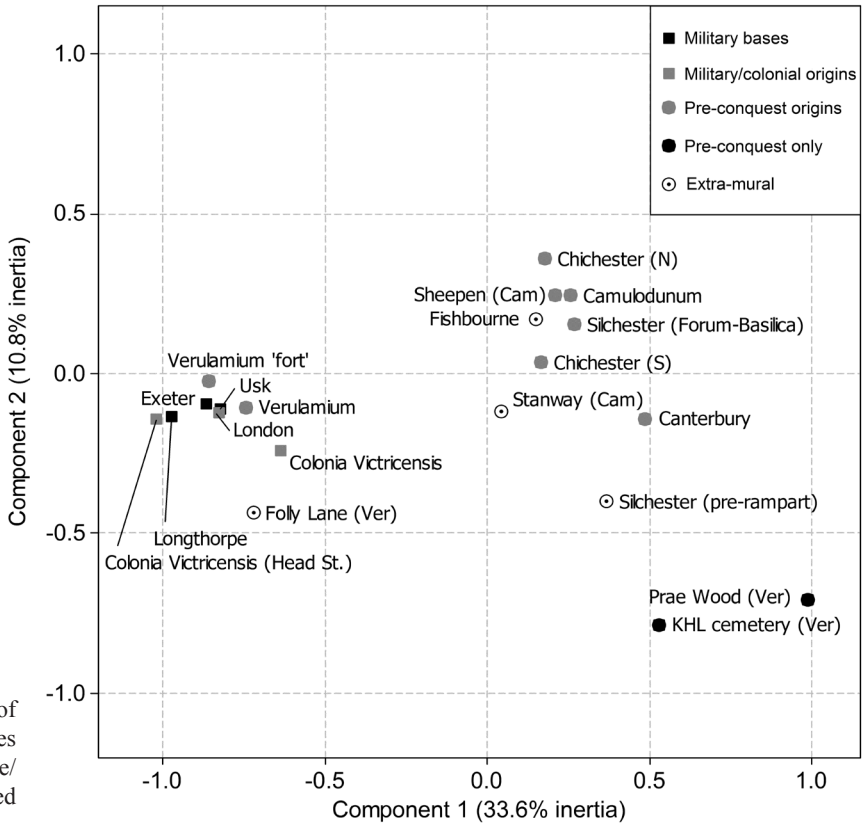


Fig. 2a. CA plot of selected assemblages compared by presence/absence of imported pottery types.

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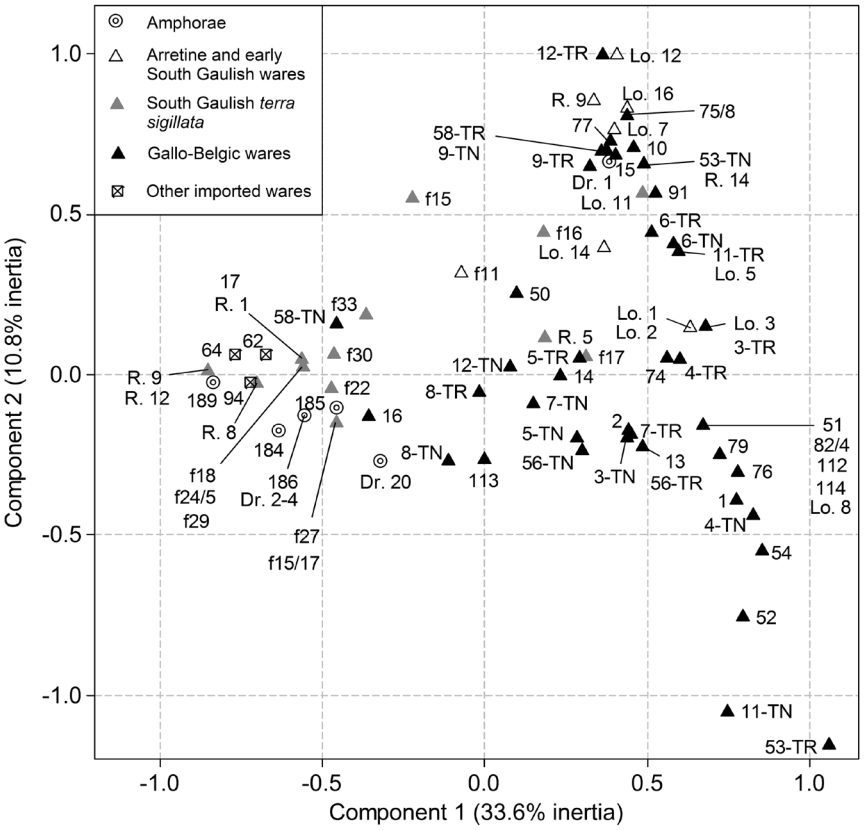


Fig. 2b. CA plot of the presence/absence of imported pottery types in selected assemblages.

In unpacking the associations in figs. 2a-b, it is important to remember that presence/absence data can only distinguish assemblages by what they did or did not receive. Nevertheless, this exercise is immensely useful in clarifying basic patterns. Starting at the left of the plot, assemblages from the military bases at Exeter, Longthorpe and Usk are plotted together, in association with assemblages from *Colonia Victricensis* (including Head Street), which began as a legionary fortress. The appearance of London here highlights the general military character of its early fineware supply. While this pattern seemingly supports Perring's hypothesis of military origins for London, the high level of imports is also consistent with the suggestion of a migrant civilian community with similarly weak links to local British networks.[40] More unexpected is the inclusion in this cluster of several assemblages from *Verulamium*, including the supplementary data from Frere's hypothesised Claudian fort, and the Folly Lane grave. At first glance, the inclusion of assemblages from sites of assumed civilian disposition (the city and Folly Lane) suggests a chronological explanation. However, if this is the case, it is difficult to reconcile with the occurrence of contemporary Claudio-Neronian assemblages plotted in the opposing right-hand cluster, notably from Sheepen (Niblett's excavations) and Stanway (both part of Camulodunum).[41]

40 Wallace 2013, 288.

41 On the dating of the Stanway burials, P. Crummy (2007, 439-41) prefers an A.D. 43 date for the Warrior's burial at the start of the main funerary sequence, following the logic of Dio Cassius (60.21) that Claudius disarmed the Britons after conquest. This view is tentative, especially given the presence of ceramics in the Warrior's and Doctor's graves that are more likely to date after A.D. 50. The range of imported material in these graves is consistent with that at

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Taken together, the left-hand group of assemblages appears to be linked by the receipt of military supply, if not direct military/colonial origins.

If we shift our attention to the right part of fig. 2a, it is clear that the common feature distinguishing this group of assemblages is the uptake of a wide variety of Gallo-Belgic pottery forms. This is a major factor in differentiating assemblages from *Colonia Victricensis* (receiving very little, especially at Head Street) from contemporary sites associated with the Camulodunum *oppidum*. The presence of a similar range of Gallo-Belgic types at Chichester (N and S zones) and Fishbourne adds weight to the suggestion that these sites originated as centres for the pre-conquest aristocracy.[42] While much of this material is pre-Claudian, it is important to note that large quantities of Gallo-Belgic types were produced in the Claudio-Neronian period, and were often deposited with large quantities of Claudio-Neronian S Gaulish *sigillata*, amphorae, and Lyon ware. Other studies of Gallo-Belgic wares in discrete Claudio-Neronian contexts have shown strong continuity with patterns of pre-conquest deposition, notably in pit features from Niblett's excavations at Sheepen, as well as funerary contexts associated with *oppida* and rural sites elsewhere in the Eastern kingdom.[43] In summary then, what separates the majority of towns originating as *oppida* from military/colonial foundations is that the latter received a very limited range of Gallo-Belgic types (Table 3). It thus stands to reason that the supply of most Gallo-Belgic wares in Claudio-Neronian Britain occurred via different supply-mechanisms to those for wares more typically associated with military consumption, such as amphorae and *terra sigillata*.[44]

The likelihood of separate supply systems is more apparent when the production sites of individual types are considered.[45] While the majority of Gallo-Belgic types were produced in and around Reims, the types with the strongest military associations in Britain show a different pattern of production.[46] In particular, the Cam. 16 dish was produced at a wider range of kiln sites on the Continent, including those located farther to the east in the Moselle region and at Trier. Similarly, the Cam. 58 hemispherical *terra nigra* cup was also produced at the military base of Xanten, unlike most other Gallo-Belgic forms. The production of both types was thus better placed for inclusion in military supply-networks along the axis of the Rhine frontier.

Taken together, the patterns in figs. 2a-b suggest that a major factor distinguishing assemblages of imported finewares to Britain was whether sites were connected to military *and/or* civilian supply-networks emanating from *Gallia Belgica* and the Rhine. Several Claudio-Neronian communities in Britain tapped into both networks, especially those (Silchester, Chichester, Canterbury) that had grown up on the site of pre-conquest *oppida,* in addition to *oppida* sites (Camulodunum, Sheepen, Stanway) that continued in use outside *Colonia*

Claudio-Neronian Sheepen, when the local population around Colchester had greater access to material supplied to the fortress/*colonia*.

42 Manley and Rudkin 2005.

43 This pattern is outlined in Pitts 2008, 499-503. Claudio-Neronian funerary contexts with Gallo-Belgic 'suites' in the Eastern kingdom include *oppida* sites at Sheepen, Lexden (both Camulodunum); and rural locations at Birchanger, Little Waltham, Southend, and Stansted Airport.

44 As suggested by Pitts 2010a. Likewise, Rigby (2013, 164) argues that most Gallo-Belgic imports were intended for domestic rather than military markets.

45 Following Deru's (1996) data on Gallo-Belgic kiln sites.

46 Rigby (1977, 38-39) originally highlighted the connection between Cam. forms 16 and 58 (and the scarcer forms 46 and 50) and military supply in Britain.

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Victricensis. In contrast, the virgin foundations of *Colonia Victricensis* and London only saw a trickle of imports from the Reims area, relying instead on ample military supplies of other ceramics from the Rhine. Harder to explain is the inclusion alongside Colchester and London of the planned city of *Verulamium* and the grave of its alleged founder at Folly Lane. Verlamion was a major importer of Gallo-Belgic wares before the conquest, so it is odd that such pots feature minimally in assemblages from post-conquest *Verulamium*. One possible explanation is that the Claudio-Neronian populace at *Verulamium* made a collective choice to eschew Gallo-Belgic wares, following the example of the veteran colonists at Colchester, and perhaps taking advantage of geographical proximity to London to tap into a ready supply of S Gaulish *sigillata* and related imports. Alternatively, could Frere have been right in the suggestion that many of the first buildings at *Verulamium* were in fact built by soldiers?

Stage 2. Imported finewares, quantitative analysis

For greater clarity, Stage 1 was repeated using fully quantified material. At first glance, the same groupings of assemblages are maintained in fig. 3a as compared to figs. 2a-b. Most notable is the cluster of assemblages from military/colonial foundations, along with those from London and *Verulamium*, in the upper left part of fig. 3a, most strongly corresponding to S Gaulish *sigillata* and Lyon-ware vessel types. However, this time the assemblages from sites with pre-conquest origins are arranged differently, according to the vertical axis of the CA plot. At one extreme are assemblages more strongly associated with a range of Arretine forms, notably Fishbourne and Canterbury. In the zoomed central portion of the plot, with a couple of exceptions of smaller assemblages not quite fitting the overall pattern (Stanway and Prae Wood), a general correlation exists between the majority of

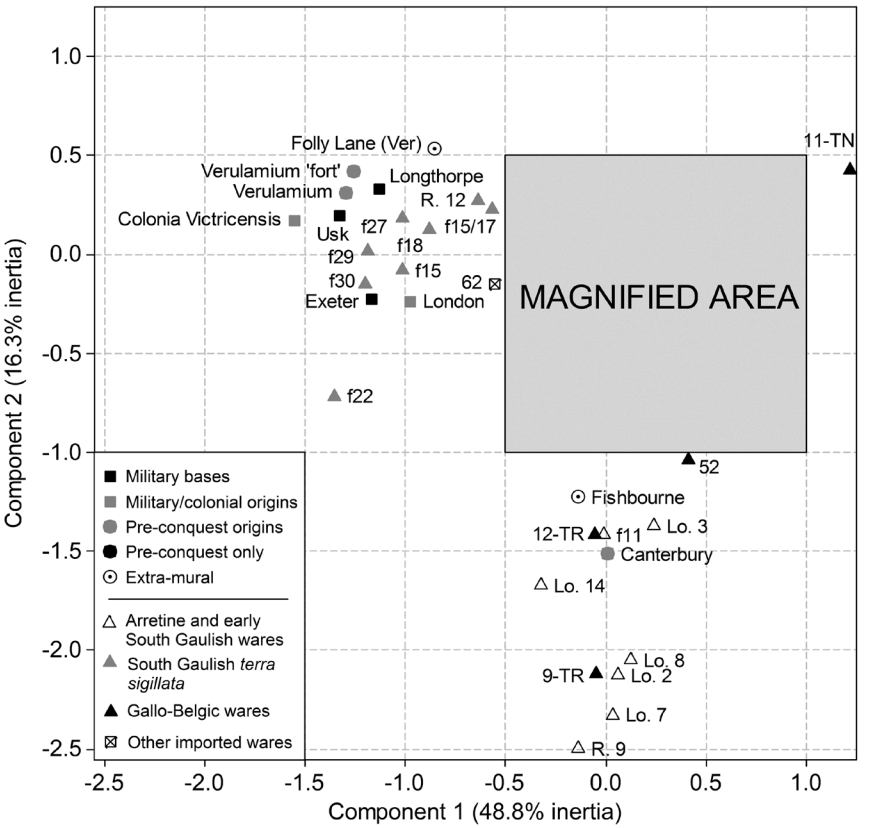


Fig. 3a. CA plot of selected assemblages compared by quantities of imported pottery types.

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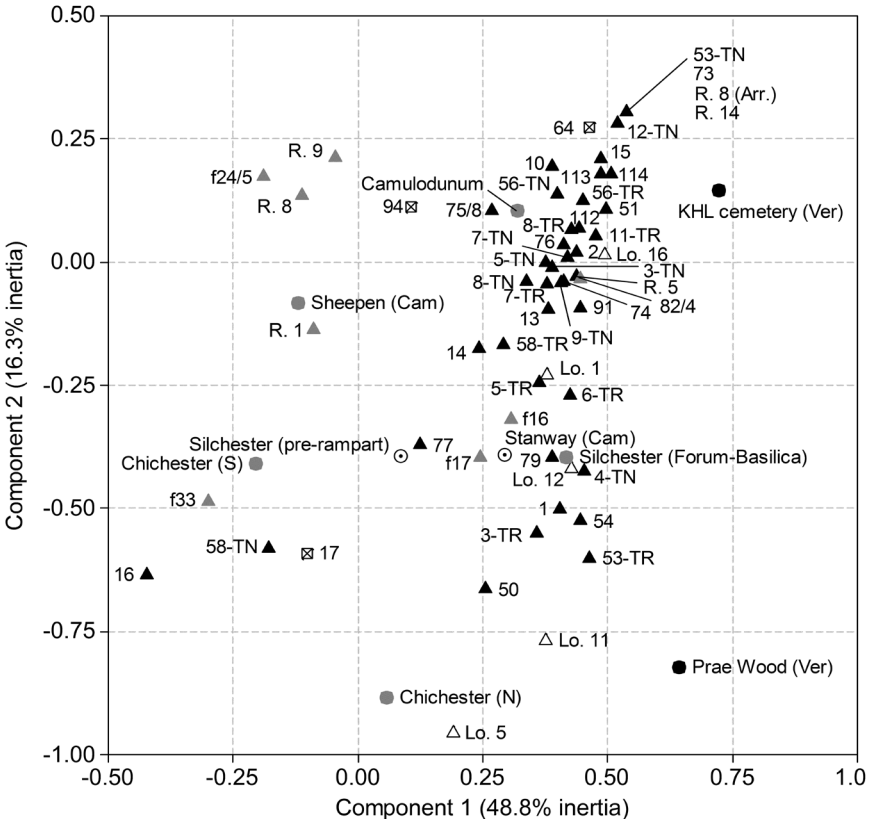


Fig. 3b. Magnified area from fig. 2a.

Gallo-Belgic types and sites in the Eastern kingdom (Camulodunum, Sheepen, King Harry Lane) towards the top, and those from the Southern kingdom (assemblages from Silchester and Chichester) in the lower portion.

Full quantitative analysis confirms the main patterns in the presence/absence analysis, and adds two important perspectives. First, while the biggest distinction remains that between military/colonial and pre-conquest foundations, within the latter it is possible to distinguish subtle differences between the Southern and Eastern kingdoms in pottery supply before and after the conquest. A second pattern of note is the similarity of assemblages from Canterbury with those from the Southern kingdom regarding the receipt of early *sigillata*, and not the closer Eastern kingdom. Explaining these patterns is another matter. In a previous study of Gallo-Belgic wares and stamps in Britain, J. Timby proposed that differences in supply between zones dominated by Colchester and Chichester, respectively, could be attributed to two separate supply-axes, one eastwards to the Rhine and following its course north, the other going northwest via the Aisne, Somme and Oise.[47] The significance of this distinction is unclear: did these routes simply represent the best way to ship material to the consumer, or were they underpinned by deeper cultural connections on either side of the Channel? The answer has some bearing on the question of who lived in Britain's first towns, especially given that much has been written on links between the British kingdoms and communities in Gaul.[48] On the basis of this study, it appears that the

47 Timby 1987.

48 Cross-Channel migration and exchange links loom large in the narratives for excavations at Silchester (Fulford and Timby 2000), Verlamion (Niblett 2006), King Harry Lane (Stead and

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early trade of the Southern kingdom and Canterbury had greater links with pre-Claudian military suppliers (Arretine ware), whereas the Eastern kingdom was more focused on civilian producers in *Gallia Belgic*a (Gallo-Belgic wares).[49]

Stage 3. Brooch assemblages, quantitative analysis

Figure 4 presents the results of CA examination of brooch assemblages from major urban and related sites in pre-Flavian Britain. Three groupings of sites and brooch types are apparent, which reinforce the results from the analysis of imported pottery types. Major distinctions are made between Claudio-Neronian military/colonial foundations (at upper left) and towns with pre-conquest origins, the latter group more clearly separated according to political affiliation, with sites associated with Verica's Southern kingdom (Silchester, Chichester, Fishbourne) plotted separately from those associated with Cunobelin's Eastern kingdom (Colchester, Verlamion). While it should be stressed that none of the brooch types is *exclusively* associated with a particular kingdom or settlement type, CA highlights strong patterns of association: the Aucissa (*c.*A.D. 40-65), Hod Hill (*c.*40-75), Colchester derivative (*c.*40-90) and Penannular (*c.*Late Iron Age to 70) types with military or colonial foundations; the Colchester, Langton Down and Rosette/Thistle types (all *c.*10-60) with the Eastern kingdom; and the Nauheim derivative type (*c.*Late Iron Age to 85) with the Southern kingdom. It is possible that aspects of this pattern reflect chronological changes (and especially for the group of Colchester derivative types). Nevertheless, the sheer strength of

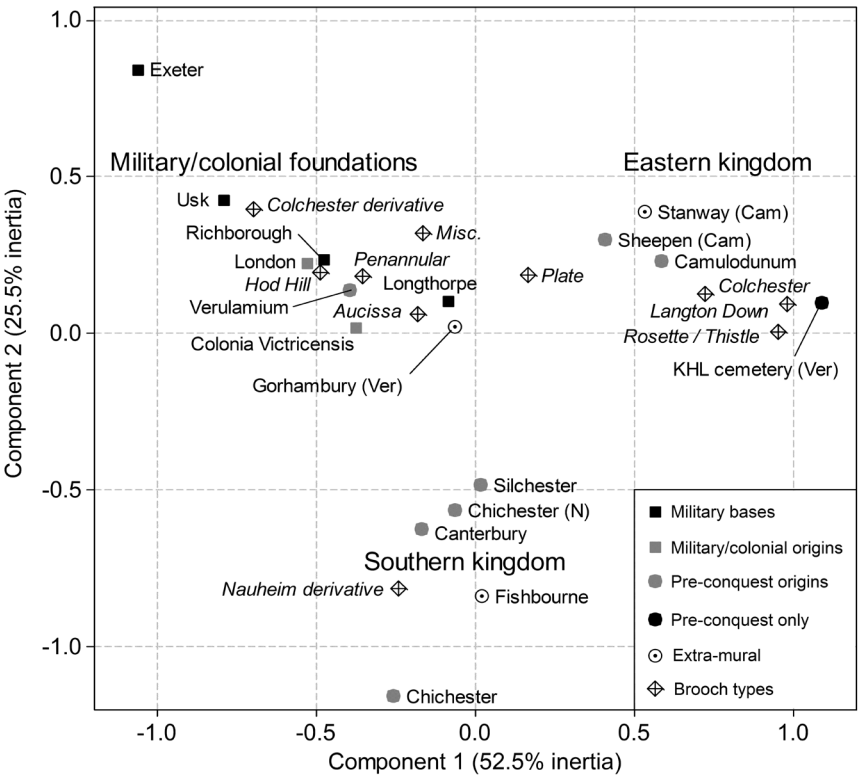


Fig. 4. CA plot of selected assemblages compared by quantities of brooch types.

Rigby 1989), Folly Lane (Niblett 1999), and Stanway (Crummy *et al.* 2007).

49 Indeed, while nearly 150 imported Gallo-Belgic types were found in the pre-conquest cemetery at King Harry Lane, Verlamion, only 4 *sigillata* vessels and 4 amphorae were recovered.

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association of visibly-different brooch types with historically-attested geopolitical entities hints strongly at deeper-rooted social differences.[50]

The clearest pattern of relevance to the question of urban origins is the upper-left cluster of military sites on fig. 4 (Exeter, Usk, Longthorpe, Richborough), new civilian foundations (London, *Verulamium*), and *Colonia Victricensis*. The associations here suggest strong similarities between known military/veteran populations and the first communities at London and *Verulamium*. In the case of *Verulamium*, corroborative evidence is provided by similarities with the brooch assemblage from the aristocratic residence of pre-conquest origin at Gorhambury, set in the wider landscape of the town. This association parallels the similarity of the Folly Lane grave with *Verulamium* in the analysis of imported finewares. While chronology of types could be a factor, this does not explain the differences in the CA plot. The brooch assemblages included from the Camulodunum *oppidum*, especially Stanway and Niblett's excavations at Sheepen, are largely of Claudian if not Claudio-Neronian date, yet very few of the distinctive Rosette/Thistle and Langton Down brooch types found at these sites occur in contemporary *colonia* assemblages.[51] Although much of the material from King Harry Lane cemetery is likely to be earlier than the *Verulamium* town assemblages, the lack of overlap between the two is striking,[52] confirming similar findings emerging from the pottery analysis. In the core territory of the Eastern kingdom around *Verulamium* and Colchester, the Langton Down, Colchester, and Rosette/Thistle types in particular (fig. 5) seem to follow a similar pattern of uptake to the majority of Gallo-Belgic finewares — being present in *oppida* assemblages but occurring only in tiny proportions in assemblages from the early Roman towns. Again, if chronology of supply was more of a decisive factor than cultural expression, one would expect greater numbers of such brooches in the first towns, given their circulation over a decade after the foundation of Colchester, London and *Verulamium*.

If we examine individual brooch types associated with the cluster of early military/colonial foundations (fig. 6), the lumped Colchester derivative category is the latest and the one most likely to be affected by chronology, as confirmed by its high occurrence in the latest assemblages in the sample (Exeter, Usk). The rest of the sites exhibiting above-average levels of this type fit the pattern of military or colonial establishments (*Colonia Victricensis*, London, Richborough, *Verulamium*, Gorhambury). Here the presence of Gorhambury is

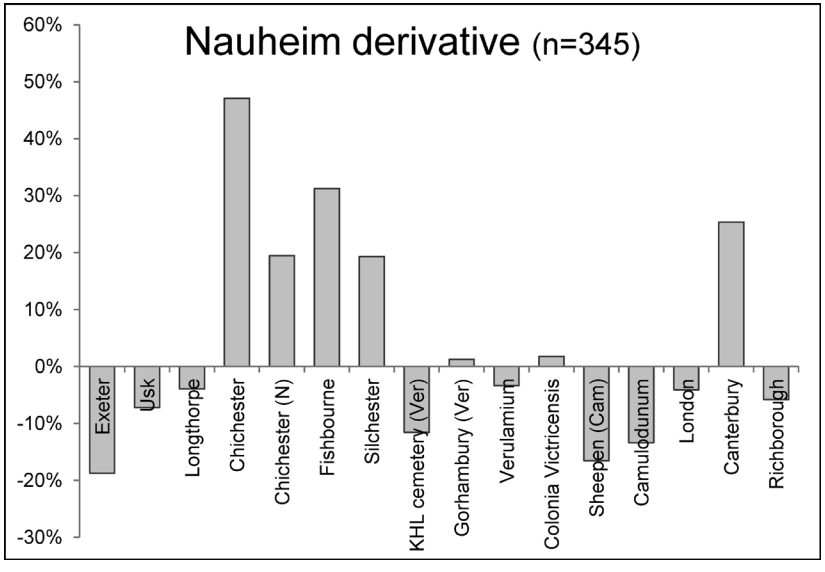
50 This confirms the patterns in Pitts 2010a. See also Jundi and Hill 1998, and Eckardt 2005, on brooch use and social identity. Similar geographical patterns are apparent in the synthesis of brooch development in Britain by Mackreth (2011, 234-35).

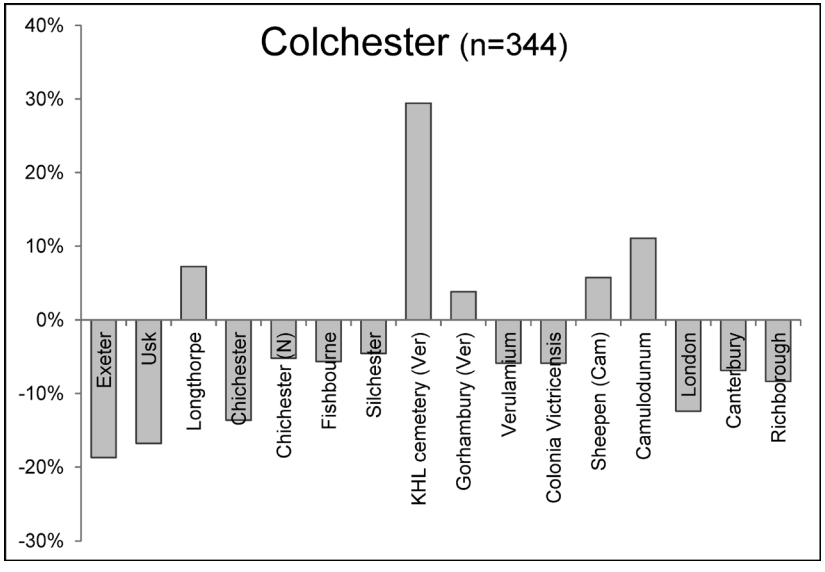
51 It is generally accepted that Langton Down and Rosette brooches ceased to be imported in quantity to Britain after the Claudian invasion, thus explaining their survival in pre-conquest settlements but absence in military and urban contexts (e.g., N. Crummy 2007, 316). However, this does not diminish the fact that survivals in use would have continued to mark out their wearers in everyday settings into the Claudio-Neronian period. Indeed, this is confirmed by low numbers (rather than complete absence) in definitely post-conquest military and civilian contexts at *Colonia Victricensis*, London, Richborough, and *Verulamium*, especially the more common Rosette, which Feugère (1985, 291-92) dates to the second and third quarters of the 1st c. A.D.

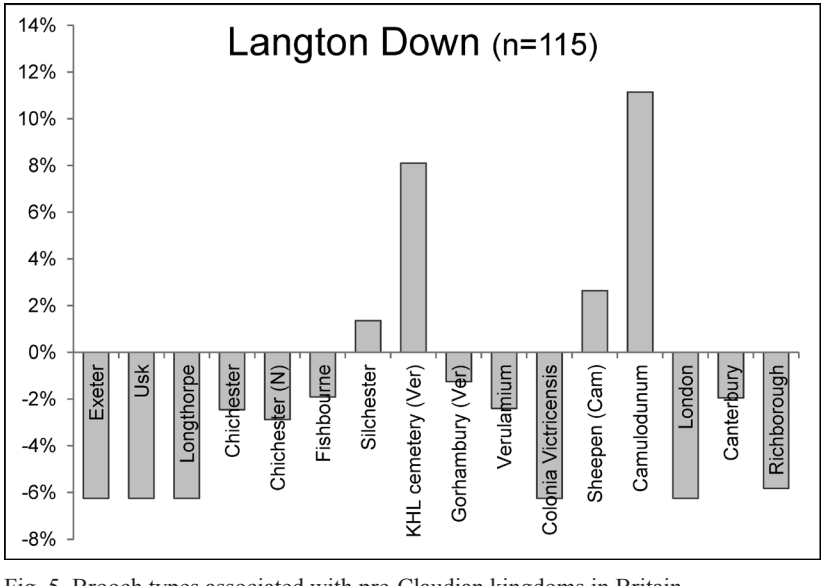
52 Following Mackreth's (2011, 243-52) revised chronology for King Harry Lane. Mackreth (2011, 246) notes that the general absence of Rosette and Langton Down brooches from *Verulamium* "could be a little disturbing", expecting some to have survived in use among the post-conquest local community. This view assumes the population of the planned town to have been substantially local in its make-up (i.e., the same as Verlamion).

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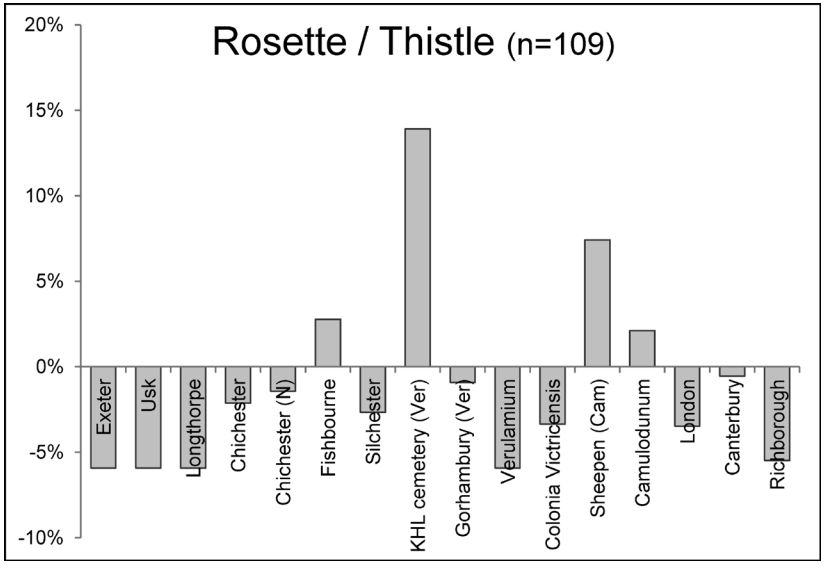


Fig. 5. Brooch types associated with pre-Claudian kingdoms in Britain.

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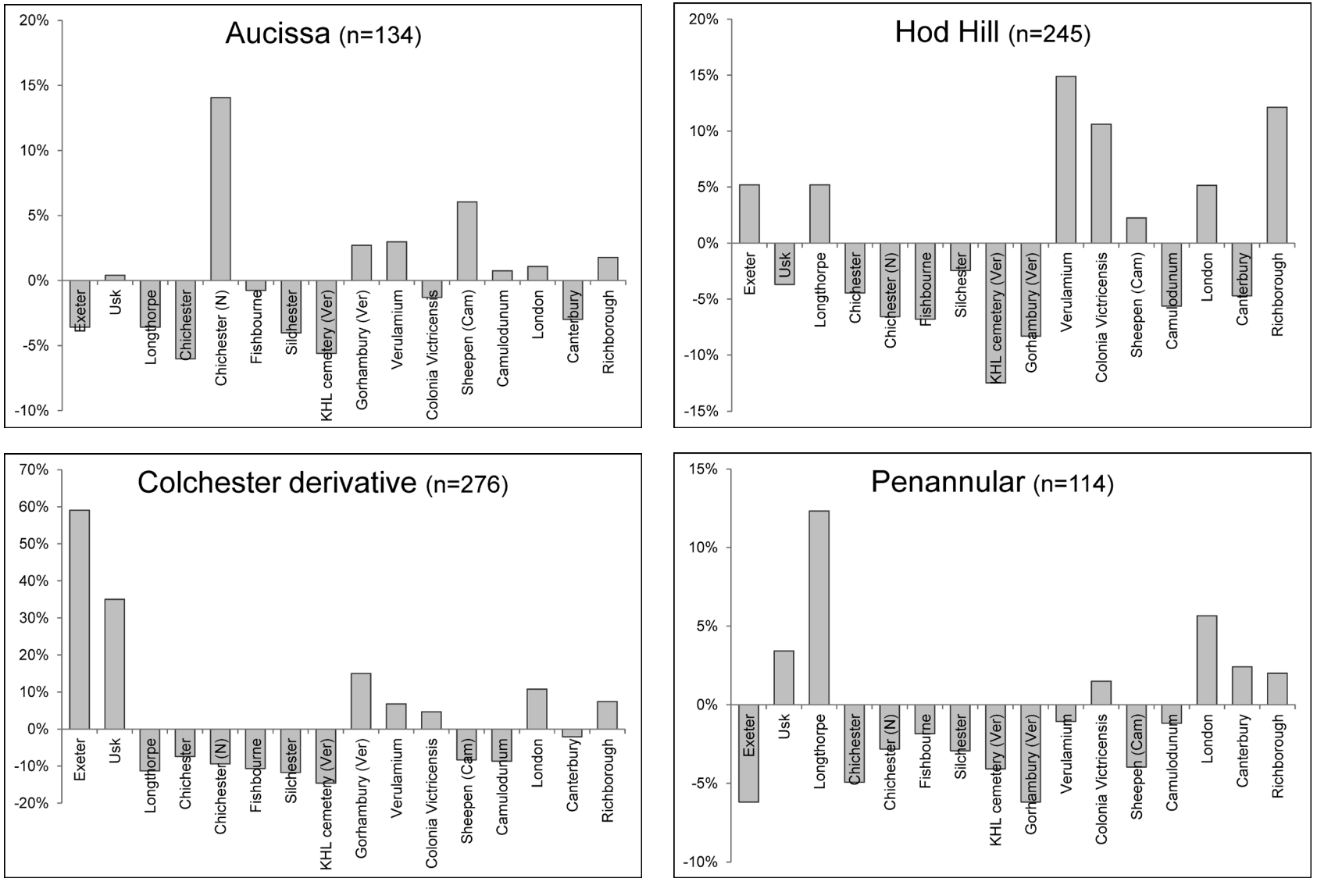


Fig. 6. Brooch types associated with military/colonial foundations in Britain.

notable for a site with pre-conquest origins: it hints at cultural and social factors, rather than chronology, to explain the high prevalence of the type. The brooch with the next strongest military/colonial associations is the Hod Hill type, occurring in exceptional proportions at *Verulamium*, Richborough and *Colonia Victricensis*, with significant proportions at Exeter, Longthorpe and London. Modest proportions at Sheepen underline the likelihood of a military presence there, just outside the fortress/*colonia*.[53] Also associated with this group is the Penannular brooch, which is normally found in greater quantities at sites in the east of England, as attested in high levels at military sites like Longthorpe, as well as at sites in the extreme southeast (London, Canterbury, Richborough). Most ambiguous in this cluster is the Aucissa brooch, which features most prominently in assemblages from the northern quadrants of Chichester, as well as above-average levels at Sheepen, *Verulamium*, Gorhambury and Richborough. In general, the Aucissa brooch has a military association in the Roman world, with a standardised design in the mid-1st c. A.D.[54] A military link is possible for the concentration of Aucissa brooches at Chichester, associated with *legio* II by the excavator;[55] however, the type is only weakly associated with other military sites in the sample, a pattern seen elsewhere in Britain.[56]

A more plausible military connection to explain the high levels of Aucissa brooches at Chichester could be with *legio XIV Gemina*, later based at Wroxeter. Table 4 utilises data from contemporary military sites from further afield in Britain;[57] it shows striking similarity between assemblages from N Chichester and Wroxeter. In particular, the two share similar ratios of Aucissa to Hod Hill brooches (3.2 : 1 and 4 : 1, respectively), which are anomalously high when considered in a wider context. This link is further supported by the presence of two Atrebatic Nauheim derivatives in the Wroxeter assemblage, which D. Mackreth argues must have been acquired by the legion crossing Atrebatic lands around Silchester and Chichester.[58] Likewise, Table 4 shows consistently different proportions of the same brooches from sites associated with *legio XX Valeria Victrix* (Colchester, Usk, Kingsholm outside Gloucester). These patterns appear to indicate that *ratios* of particular 'military' brooch types may be effective indicators for tracking particular legions. However, taken together with the broader patterns in this study of Aucissa use, namely their occurrence in pre-Claudian Britain with moderate concentrations in Claudio-Neronian

TABLE 4
THE OCCURRENCE OF SELECTED BROOCH TYPES
AT SITES ASSOCIATED WITH *LEGIONES* XIV AND XX

	Legio XX Valeria Victrix			Legio XIV Gemina	
Type	Colonia Victricensis	*Kingsholm*	*Usk*	*Wroxeter*	*Chichester (N)*
Aucissa	7	9	4	12	19
Hod Hill	28	18	5	3	6
Colchester deriv.	23	10	26	4	5

53 As suggested from detailed spatial analysis of the site in Pitts 2010b, and in Perring and Pitts 2013.
54 Bayley and Butcher 2004, 190. Allison (2013, 73) summarises the Continental associations of this type in more detail.
55 Down 1978, 43.
56 E.g., Eckardt 2005; Pitts 2010a.
57 Mackreth (2002) provides comparative data from Kingsholm and Wroxeter.
58 Id. 2011, 236.

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civilian centres in the southeast, a case for the Aucissa brooch being linked to other groups is plausible, most notably *auxilia* and civilians working within military-supply networks.

The other clusters of brooch assemblages in fig. 4 relate to the Southern and Eastern kingdoms, seemingly indicating the influence of the pre-conquest political landscape. In the vicinity of Colchester, high levels of Thistle/Rosette, Langton Down and Colchester brooches fit well with the notion of some locals continuing styles of dress that existed in the region from before the conquest, marking a visible contrast with military and colonial communities. This is especially notable in the high-status Warrior, Doctor and Brooches graves of discrete post-conquest date at Stanway. A similar pattern seems possible in the territory of the Southern kingdom with the Nauheim derivative brooch,[59] sometimes with moderate proportions of brooches more typically associated with the Eastern kingdom, such as the Langton Down type at Silchester and the Rosette/Thistle type at Fishbourne (see fig. 5). More curious is the association of Canterbury with the Southern kingdom sites, rather than the nearby Eastern kingdom, mirroring patterns in the ceramics. This association hints at a political relationship, recalling Iron Age coin distributions in the Canterbury area of individuals from the Southern kingdom (e.g., Eppillus and Verica).[60] It is noteworthy that the assemblage cluster for the Southern kingdom is statistically halfway between the extremes of material associated with military/colonial foundations (upper left in fig. 4) and the Eastern kingdom (upper right), possibly reflecting aspects of shared practice. Only the plate brooch occurs strongly at both *Colonia Victricensis* and Camulodunum, but the numbers are too small to be conclusive.

Thus far, the evidence of imported finewares and brooches has been remarkably consistent in suggesting differences between military/colonial communities and those of (differing) indigenous character, right down to the level of individual assemblages. From a methodological perspective, such consistency points to the robustness of the data. Regarding the implications, most surprising is the military profile of assemblages generated at Claudio-Neronian London and *Verulamium*, which are routinely thought of as civilian sites.[61] At *Verulamium*, the case for military involvement extends to locations with pre-conquest origins that continued to be focal points in the post-conquest landscape, notably the Folly Lane enclosure and later villa complex at Gorhambury. At the same time, both imported fineware and brooch data hint at differences in the supply and cultural make-up of towns with settlement origins before the conquest, relating specifically to differences between the Eastern and Southern kingdoms.

Stage 4. Comparative analysis of British and Continental Gallo-Belgic wares

This section explores exchanges between early urban communities in Britain and *Gallia Belgica*. So far it is apparent that Gallo-Belgic wares in particular were favoured by early British towns with pre-conquest origins (with the exception of *Verulamium*), but that a sub-set of later vessel types featured distribution patterns consistent with military supply. As a collective repertoire wholly composed of standardised imports, a comparison of British finds with contemporary assemblages from *Gallia Belgica* should add clarity to the

59 N. Crummy (2012) also highlights the strong post-conquest preference for Nauheim derivative brooches at towns associated with the Southern kingdom.

60 Creighton 2000, 77.

61 Plouviez (2008) also notes the general similarity of brooch assemblages from London and *Verulamium*.

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differences already observed in Britain. Most of the Continental material used for comparison derives from the corpus assembled by X. Deru;[62] it includes assemblages from urban and military installations from across *Gallia Belgica*, in addition to lesser centres such as Dalheim, and collected funerary assemblages from the vicinity of Trier and the west of the province (spanning the tribal territories of the Gallic Atrebates, Nervii and Menapii).[63]

Figures 7a-b display the results of CA comparing Gallo-Belgic wares from Claudio-Neronian sites in Britain with selected sites from N Gaul. The comparison is limited to forms present in the Camulodunum type-series,[64] which covers most of the British material but only a proportion of forms that circulated on the Continent. This means that analysis emphasises similarity on the basis of the types that reached Britain. While covering the majority of Gallo-Belgic types in *terra rubra* and *terra nigra*, white-ware types (notably the Cam. 113 butt-beaker) were not consistently quantified in the Continental data, and are considered separately. Due to the small sample sizes of Gallo-Belgic wares at *Verulamium* and *Colonia Victricensis* (Head Street) (a significant finding in itself), it was not feasible to include these assemblages in analysis. Lastly, pre-Claudian assemblages from Continental sites were included as supplementary data. This measure was taken to avoid the heavy skewing that resulted when this early material was compared in preliminary analyses, which obscured patterns relating to the primary Claudio-Neronian sites.

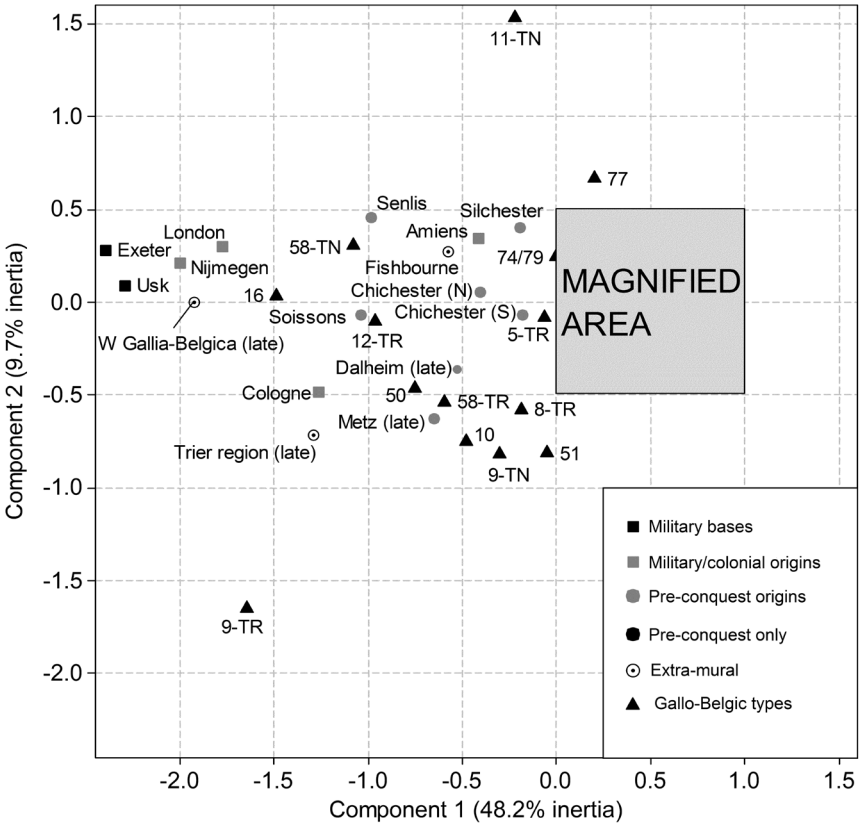


Fig. 7a. CA plot of selected assemblages compared by quantities of Gallo-Belgic types.

62 Deru 1996, in addition to Ben Redjeb 1985 for Amiens.
63 Here I follow the analytical groupings collated in Deru 1996.
64 Hawkes and Hull 1947.

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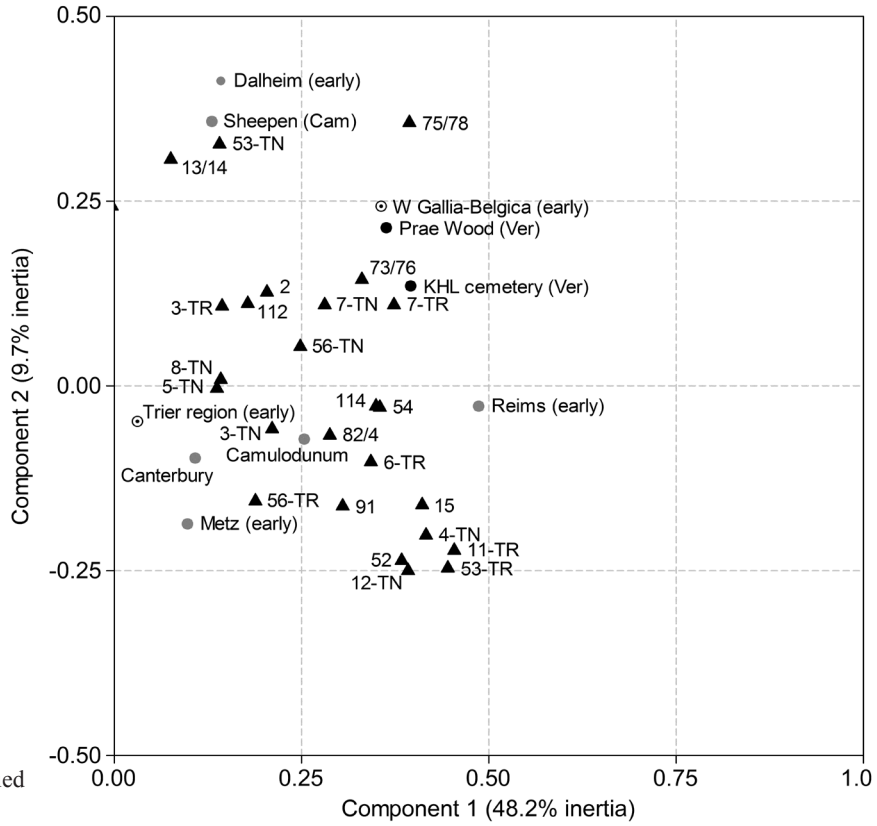


Fig. 7b. Magnified area from fig. 6a.

The patterning in fig. 7a is strongly determined by the horizontal axis, which accounts for the majority of inertia shown in the CA plot. Although appearing as a linear continuum of assemblages and pottery forms (left to right), it is possible to make four general distinctions. Starting at the extreme left of fig. 7a, the first pattern of note is the clustering of military-related assemblages from Exeter, Usk, Nijmegen and London, most closely corresponding to Cam. forms 16 and 58 (*terra nigra*). Also included in this cluster are assemblages from Claudio-Neronian graves in W *Gallia Belgica*, and more loosely Soissons. These in turn link to the second pattern for discussion, a larger association of assemblages in the upper centre of the plot from other sites in W *Belgica*, notably Senlis and Amiens, as well as the Southern kingdom (Silchester, Fishbourne and N and S zones at Chichester). These assemblages are differentiated by the vertical axis from the third notable sub-grouping, consisting of Claudio-Neronian assemblages from E *Belgica* and the Rhine frontier — Cologne, Dalheim, Metz, and graves from the vicinity of Trier, corresponding to Cam. forms 8 (TR), 9 (TN), 10 (all platters), 50, 51 (bowls), 58 (TR, cup). The fourth grouping of note in fig. 7a concerns the zoomed area to the right, magnified in fig. 7b. The assemblages here are exclusively from the east of Britain (including Canterbury), in addition to pre-Claudian supplementary data from Continental sites, corresponding to the majority of Gallo-Belgic types.

The complexity of the patterns present in fig. 7a-b must be carefully untangled. For clarity, these results are augmented by simpler charts which show the prevalence of particular pottery types compared to baseline averages across the entire sample. Unsurprisingly, the types most clearly implicated with military connections in figs. 7a and 8 are Cam. forms 16 and 58 (TN). As well as their high prevalence at known military bases, these forms feature strongly at London, fitting the profile of imported material not included in this analysis

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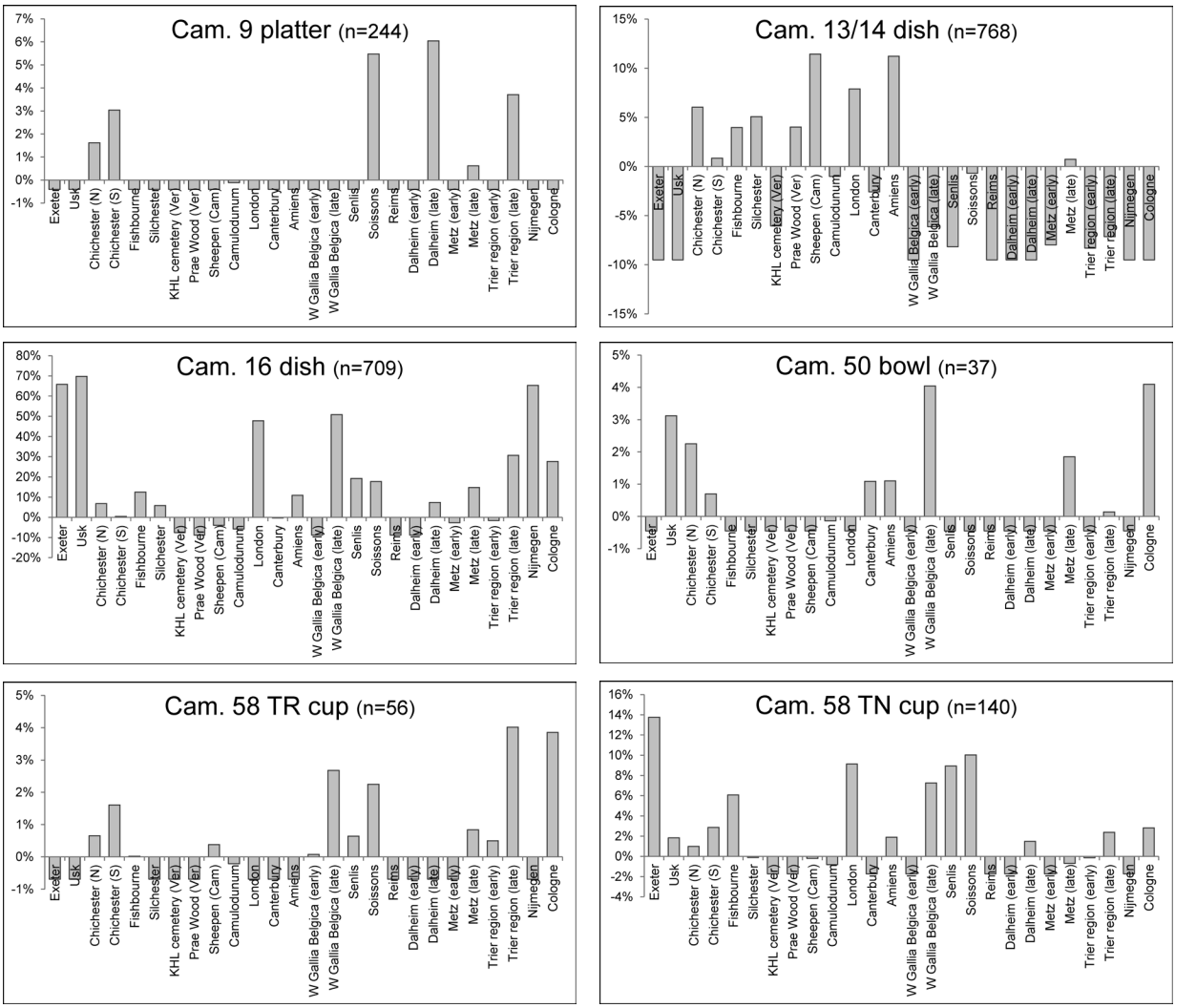


Fig. 8. Gallo-Belgic vessel forms associated with military foundations, and civilian centres in W *Gallia Belgica* and the British Southern kingdom.

TABLE 5
GALLO-BELGIC WARES AT COLCHESTER, *VERULAMIUM* AND LONDON

Vessel form	Colonia Victricensis*	Verulamium	*London*
3-TN	1	-	-
5-TN	-	1	-
7-TN	2	1	-
8-TN	91	1	3
8-TR	5	-	3
12-TN	6	1	-
13/14	173	1	8
16	307	4	26
56-TR	1	-	1
56-TN	11	-	-
58-TN	2	1	5

*Data from *Colonia Victricensis* consists of imported *and* locally imitated vessels (Symonds and Wade 1999, 212).

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from *Colonia Victricensis* and *Verulamium* (Table 5). While the sample of Gallo-Belgic wares is small, especially for *Verulamium*, this is in itself a potential hallmark of military supply, especially given the much larger quantities of *terra sigillata* at these sites (Table 3). The Cam. 13/14, 16 and 58 types also show average levels in assemblages from the Southern kingdom (Silchester, Chichester, Fishbourne) and western towns in *Belgica* (Amiens, Senlis, Soissons). The connection between W *Belgica* and the Southern kingdom is also apparent for other vessel forms (sometimes with looser military connections) in fig. 8, notably the Cam. 9 platter, Cam. 50 bowl, and Cam. 58 *terra rubra* cup, although these forms also occur in high proportions in assemblages from E *Belgica* and Cologne. This finding supports Timby's identification of similarities between assemblages at Silchester and Amiens.[65]

Considering the patterns in the zoomed area in fig. 7b, clear connections are apparent between sites in the Eastern kingdom and pre-Claudian assemblages from Gaul (fig. 9). This is especially the case for early cup forms (Cam. 52, 53-TR, 54), as well as the later Cam. 56 cup (in *terra nigra* and *terra rubra*, seemingly favoured in funerary contexts), Cam. 82/84

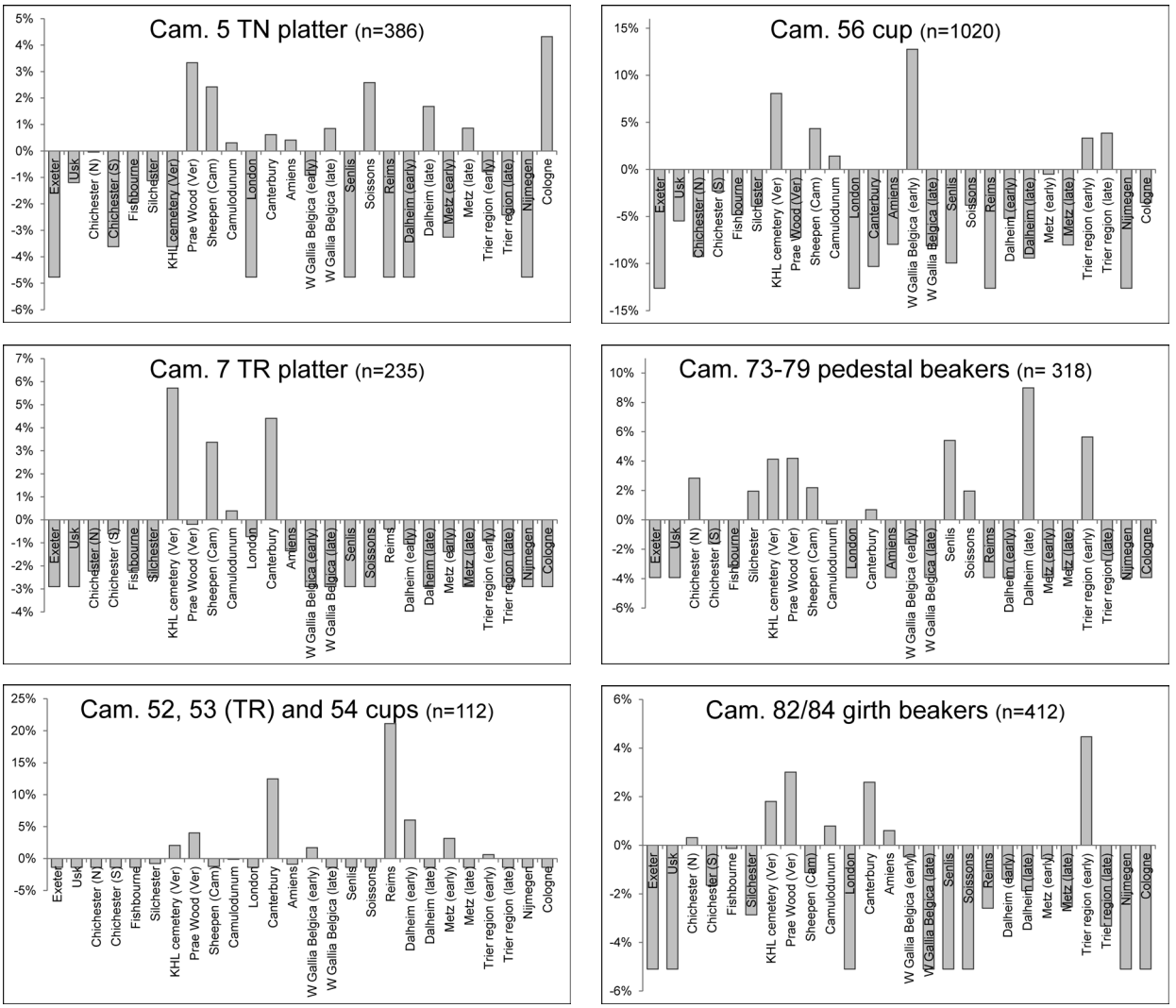
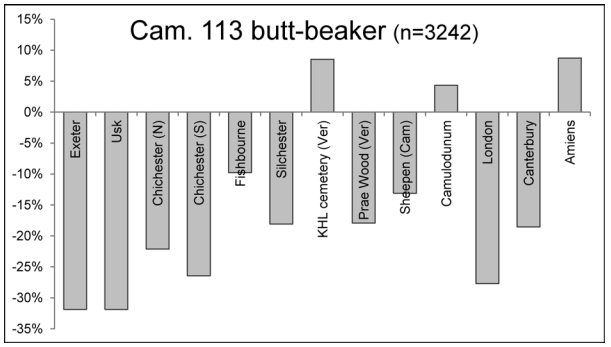


Fig. 9. Gallo-Belgic vessel forms associated with the Eastern kingdom in Britain.

65 Fulford and Timby 2000, 201.

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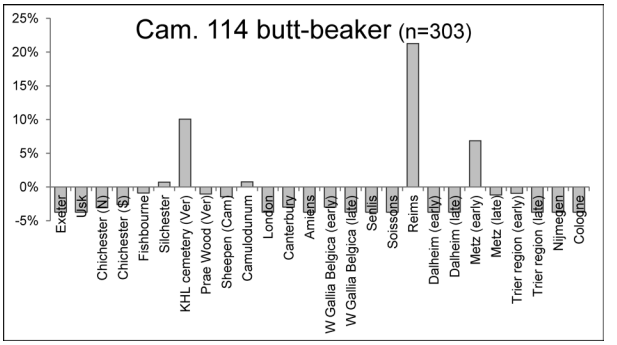


Fig. 9. Continued.

girth-beaker, Cam. 114 butt-beaker, and Cam. 7 *terra rubra* platter. The fact that these are all notionally drinking vessels (with one exception) points to patterns of demand rooted in shared cultural practice rather than blanket supply. Quantified data also shows the common Cam. 113 butt-beaker to feature most prominently at *oppida* from the Eastern kingdom (fig. 9). Although this type is well-represented at Amiens, a direct link is not necessarily implied, not least because the occurrence of the Cam. 113 at Amiens is mainly in *terra rubra* and not the white ware fabric common at Camulodunum.[66] Other patterns of note concerning types with consistently strong representation in the Eastern kingdom include that of the Cam. 5 *terra nigra* platter and the Cam. 73-79 pedestal beakers, also popular in the Southern kingdom.

Among the associations of forms more common in the Eastern kingdom, similarities with pre-Claudian assemblages from Reims are notable at Verlamion for several types in fig. 9. Given the centralisation of Gallo-Belgic production at Reims, it is possible that the link with Verlamion indicates direct trade, or even the movement of people, which would fit theories proposed elsewhere regarding links between the Catuvellauni (Eastern kingdom) and the Remi. The inclusion of Canterbury in many of these patterns indicates early links to Kent, perhaps as a stopping point for the movement of goods and people up the Thames towards Verlamion. Although the early connections between Gaul and the Eastern kingdom are undeniable, the relative absence of later similarities, especially compared to those of the Southern kingdom, comes as something of a surprise. This potentially reflects a greater imbalance towards early supply of Gallo-Belgic wares in the Eastern kingdom relative to later supply at other sites in the sample. However, the continued distinctiveness of material from predominantly Claudio-Neronian contexts at Sheepen and Stanway (both at Camulodunum) seem to point towards the deliberate continuity of older patterns of consumption.[67]

In summary, closer analysis of the Gallo-Belgic imports to Britain reveals a myriad of connections with *Belgica*. The Southern kingdom sites shared more in common with assemblages from W *Belgica*, while the Eastern kingdom shows stronger links with earlier assemblages from Reims and the east of the province. In this sense, it seems best to regard the main concentrations of Gallo-Belgic wares as representing a shared repertoire of eating

66 The link between Amiens and the Cam. 113 in Britain is further discussed by Timby (2013, 157).

67 Despite P. Crummy's (2007, 441) assertion of an early Claudian date for the Warrior and Doctor's graves at Stanway, in ceramic terms the material from these graves is entirely consistent with material from the latest (Mirror) burial (which Crummy dates as Claudio-Neronian), as well as Claudio-Neronian material elsewhere.

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and drinking vessels in a broad cultural milieu that encompassed largely civilian communities on either side of the Channel, reinforced by the likelihood of regular small-scale cross-Channel migration.[68] Significantly, the repertoire featured elements copying *sigillata* forms, as well as those that originated in the Gallic tradition. The concentration of Gallo-Belgic wares at sites and cemeteries that existed prior to the Roman conquest is testament to its local importance, as is its relative absence at military sites and colonies. Where Gallo-Belgic material is favoured at colonial locations, it is typically in shapes more commonly associated with military supply, such as hemispherical cups.

Principal patterns and their interpretation

Colonial origins of London and Verulamium

A surprising feature of the preceding analysis is the recurrent military profile of the fineware and brooch assemblages from London and *Verulamium*. What this entails is *consistent difference* with assemblages from Claudio-Neronian settlements having pre-conquest origins – including towns like Silchester and Chichester, sites of continued occupation within Camulodunum, and pre-conquest foci (Prae Wood and King Harry Lane) at Verlamion; and *consistent similarity* with assemblages associated with settlements of known military or official origin, including various military bases and *Colonia Victricensis*. This reliable pattern extends to Claudio-Neronian assemblages from *Verulamium* at sites (Folly Lane and Gorhambury) associated with the city's post-conquest local aristocracy. Intriguingly, the same pattern does *not* extend to the equivalent funerary and settlement sites associated with the pre-existing aristocracy at Colchester. In some instances, the basis for this broad military/colonial grouping concerns the relative proportions of different brooch and pottery types; in other cases, it is underpinned by the virtual absence of material that is otherwise present in large quantities in contemporary towns with indigenous origins, notably the majority of Gallo-Belgic types circulating in S and E England. To make sense of all this, it is worth briefly reconsidering other evidence pertaining to the origins of the towns in question.

Regarding London, Tacitus' description of the city in *c.*60 being made up of businessmen and merchandise resonates well with the evidence here,[69] as does Perring's broader hypothesis for official intervention.[70] Although one might expect differences in consumption between London and the veteran population of *Colonia Victricensis*, both communities would have been largely dependent on military supply from the Rhine. As London was not established on the site of a pre-conquest centre, the case for an alien population is straightforward. In addition to merchants and freedman, the similarity of finds evidence with contemporary military sites, as well as *Colonia Victricensis*, underlines the possibility that London was also home to a substantial number of soldiers, ex-soldiers and their dependents, at least part of whom would have been involved in the offices of the provincial administration.[71] However, it is important to retain caution in linking evidence for military supply with predominantly military personnel. At the same time, it is plausible

68 This is reinforced by the observation that the highest number of British brooches found anywhere in the empire from the mid-1st c. A.D. occurs in *Gallia Belgica* (Ivleva 2012, 275).

69 Tac., *Ann*. 14.33.

70 Perring 2011.

71 Creighton 2006, 98-99; Perring 2011, 254.

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to see London as a hub for mobile civilians drawn from across the NW provinces.[72] In this scenario, the adoption of goods (and practices) from a readily available repertoire present at equivalent hubs along the Rhine is logical. Rather than emphasising the 'military-ness' of this material, it is likely that London's first population adopted such items for their perceived universal qualities, potentially helping to foster a sense of solidarity and shared identity for a new community composed of individuals with diverse origins.

The biggest factor differentiating London from other contemporary civilian foundations in Britain is the absence of material recurrently associated with contemporary sites with indigenous origins on either side of the Channel. If London's first population featured substantial numbers of Britons and civilians from *Belgica*, one would expect London to occupy more of a halfway position in the continuum of assemblages between definitively military sites and the towns growing out of pre-conquest strongholds in the CA plots. Such patterns were not forthcoming.[73] Comparisons of complete urban pottery assemblages (including coarsewares) shows that early assemblages from London feature even lower quantities of locally popular butt-beakers and Gallo-Belgic inspired vessels than the veteran settlement at *Colonia Victricensis*.[74] While the case for military, as opposed to civilian, origins at London remains uncertain, the slim artefactual evidence for local people asserts a stronger case for official intervention as opposed to organic growth.

Verulamium presents a similarly complicated scenario. At first glance, the structural evidence assessed by Creighton suggests continuity with pre-conquest Verlamion, whereas the artefactual data suggests a substantial break with the creation of the planned city, in line with Frere's interpretations. On this matter, it is worth reconsidering the case for military origins. Niblett stated that the hypothesis for a Claudian fort at *Verulamium* rested on two pieces of evidence — finds of military equipment in the town, and the military interpretation of the Claudian turf rampart in *Insula* XVII.[75] As she rightly pointed out, finds of military equipment need not indicate the presence of a fort, and the use of turf was not necessarily an exclusively military technique. But in a later article, she and others stated that the same turf construction technique is demonstrated in 'non-military' contexts at Folly Lane and Gorhambury — notably sites having a profile of firmly military finds according to the data discussed here.[76] Significantly, although the pre-conquest Folly Lane enclosure stands out in Creighton's narrative as an element dictating *Verulamium*'s urban topography,[77] that scholar acknowledges that the individual buried there (in *c*.55) wore military costume, involving the use of chain-mail and other items possibly from Roman *lorica hamata*.[78] A significant quantity of cavalry equipment was also discovered at

72 This is the conclusion of Wallace 2013.

73 The scant Gallo-Belgic ware and brooch assemblages from definitively pre-Boudiccan contexts in London also fit a 'military' profile, with Cam. 16 and 58 types dominating in *terra nigra*, and brooches favoured by military communities elsewhere (Aucissa - 2, Hod Hill - 2, Aesica - 1, and Colchester derivative - 2) outnumbering those associated with civilian groups (Colchester - 3, Rosette - 1). I thank Lacey Wallace for providing these details.

74 Doherty 2013, 125.

75 Niblett 1999, 409-10. See Frere (1983, 40) for details of the Claudian turf rampart.

76 Niblett, Manning and Saunders 2006, 63.

77 Creighton 2006, 125-27.

78 Ibid. 49; cf. Niblett 1999, 165. Chain-mail produced using the same technique of manufacture has been found in similar burial contexts at the nearby (but pre-Claudian) cremation burials at Baldock and Lexden (Camulodunum).

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Folly Lane, including several elaborately-decorated harness fittings.[79] Similar cavalry and military finds have been noted at Gorhambury, including a 1st c. A.D. vine-leaf harness pendant, a mount with Celtic trumpet design, and a scabbard runner of military type.[80]

Not only does the planned Claudio-Neronian city at *Verulamium* share similar military-style assemblages of brooches and imported pottery with Gorhambury and Folly Lane, all three share finds of early military equipment and the turf construction technique that Frere originally assumed to have been military in origin. In addition, the presence at *Verulamium* of a bronze helmet of the 1st c. A.D., a large collection of *lorica segmentata*, and 30 smaller items including shield binding, decorative cavalry pendants, and belt and cuirass mounts also points to military involvement, which has been downplayed due to the finds occurring in "non-military, votive contexts".[81] This evidence must be reconciled with the lack of any structural trace of a fort at *Verulamium*, in addition to the coin supply that does not support a substantial early military occupation.[82] But these standpoints may not be mutually exclusive. As Niblett suggested, the equestrian finds, in conjunction with evidence that in N Gaul the local aristocracy served as Roman cavalry officers, suggests not a fort, but the presence of people who had served in the army.[83] The case for the individual buried at Folly Lane being the city's founder remains strong, as does the continued use of Gorhambury as an élite residence in the post-conquest landscape. But instead of seeing the people associated with such sites as 'native' client-kings, the data analysed here suggest more emphasis be given to their military links.

Taken with the direct evidence of military finds, the quantity and consistency of the brooch and imported fineware evidence suggests a substantial proportion of the people who lived in *Verulamium* in the first decades of its founding had either served in Roman army units, or were part of an associated mobile civilian community that included merchants, freedmen and other dependents (as is proposed for London). Crucially, and in line with the structural and numismatic evidence, such a community at *Verulamium* is unlikely to have been an *active* military unit in that it will have lacked both regular pay and proper barracks. Niblett suggested the differences in pottery assemblages between the latest phase of the King Harry Lane cemetery and the planned town be explained by the local élite (controlled by a powerful individual who had seen army service) patronising metalworkers at the workshops in *Insula* XIV, and monopolising the supply of imported finewares.[84] While possible, this scenario is only a partial fit, not due to the high levels of *terra sigillata*, but due rather to the eschewing of Gallo-Belgic imports in the new city, ceramics which were popular in equivalent aristocratic graves and settlement associated with local communities elsewhere (notably Colchester), as well as the latest phases of the King Harry Lane cemetery at Verlamion.[85]

Not only did the founder at Folly Lane appear to have military, non-local connections; so it seems did the majority of the population of the first planned town, which in artefactual

79 Niblett 1999, 133-45.
80 Neal, Wardle and Hunn 1990, 126-29. Cf. Black 1994, 107, who interpreted such finds at Gorhambury as evidence for the owner of the estate having a military background.
81 Niblett 2001, 57; Niblett, Manning and Saunders 2006, 63.
82 Reece 1984, 15.
83 Niblett 1999, 410; 2001, 58.
84 Niblett 2001, 60-66.
85 Mackreth (2011, 246) readjusts the dating of King Harry Lane phase 3 from A.D. 40-60 (Stead and Rigby 1989) to A.D. 35-55, with A.D. 45 the most likely end date for the cemetery.

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terms appears more like *Colonia Victricensis* and London than the local community associated with Verlamion. The evidence presented here thus points towards Claudio-Neronian *Verulamium* originating as a colonial foundation with military links, perhaps relating to the settlement of an auxiliary cavalry officer and his discharged retinue and dependents, who no longer received regular pay.[86] Such an individual may have had links to the pre-conquest aristocracy, perhaps as one of the *obsides* (aristocratic hostages) sent to Rome as part of on-going client relations established in the wake of Caesar's first campaigns in Britain.[87] However, the evidence for such indigenous links relates mainly to the later re-use of pre-conquest sites such as Folly Lane, Gorhambury, and the St. Michaels enclosure on which the early city was established. As well as acknowledging the local significance of such sites, their selection as focal points for an incoming alien community made sense as a means of demonstrating power and legitimacy over the old order — not unlike the establishment of *Colonia Victricensis* within the Camulodunum *oppidum*.

This is a speculative interpretation, but one that appears the most plausible alternative in the light of the available evidence. If one assumes that Claudio-Neronian *Verulamium* was lived in by the same people as Verlamion, it is difficult to explain why the artefact signature of *Verulamium* follows sites like Exeter, *Colonia Victricensis* and London, and *not* comparable *oppida* that developed into towns such as Silchester, Chichester and Canterbury (or even Sheepen). Likewise, a regular military settlement at *Verulamium* at this time is not supported by the evidence. In a sense, the origins of every individual making up the first urban community at *Verulamium* are immaterial, but suffice it to say that their collective selection and use of material culture aligned them with others who experienced military life or were closely tied to military networks, and not to the indigenous forms of display seen elsewhere in S England. Discharged auxiliaries would not have had the same rights to land as the more privileged ex-legionaries at *Colonia Victricensis*, and thus could not expect to be settled in a city with a title of similar legal status. The finds of military equipment at *Verulamium* in votive contexts are entirely in keeping with the enaction of rituals by a decommissioned unit settling down to civilian life.[88] While *Verulamium*'s status of *municipium* at the time of the Boudiccan revolt of A.D. 60/61 as noted by Tacitus (*Ann.* 14.3) has sometimes been viewed as an anachronism,[89] the award of this title is more likely at an early date if it had been pushed by an officially sanctioned community of non-locals. Similarly, it is difficult to imagine there not being some military presence in the 40s at *Verulamium*, lying as it does halfway between Colchester and Alchester with its evidence for a fort from 44.[90]

The influence of pre-conquest kingdoms and links with Gallia Belgica

While a fresh case exists for officially-sanctioned colonial communities at Claudio-Neronian London and *Verulamium*, the other contemporary urban populations were evidently more directly influenced by the Late Iron Age kingdoms that held sway in S England

86 Niblett (2006, 25) also considered the possibility that military equipment at *Verulamium* indicates the presence of discharged auxiliary soldiers.

87 As proposed by Creighton (2000; 2006).

88 Indeed, while finds such as *lorica segmentata* are traditionally associated with legionaries, Maxfield (1986) has shown that for pre-Flavian garrisons there was no real distinction between the equipment of legionary and auxiliary soldiers.

89 Rivet 1964, 65.

90 M. G. Fulford, pers. comm.

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before the Claudian invasion. Unlike the populations of early *Colonia Victricensis*, London and *Verulamium*, the evidence suggests that the remnants of such kingdoms looked first to clientage, kinship and trading relations with equivalent civilian groups in *Belgica*, rather than military bases on the Rhine frontier. The original basis for such connections may well have been forged via population movements from Gaul to Britain in the pre-conquest period (especially *c*.25-15 B.C., coinciding with the foundation dates of several *oppida*). Such links are most apparent for local communities living at Camulodunum in the immediate vicinity of *Colonia Claudia Victricensis*, who continued wearing the same style of brooches and using a wide range of imported pottery types made by civilian groups in *Belgica*, both of which were largely ignored by the soldiers and colonists who controlled the landscape of the former royal centre. At Verlamion, also originally in the Eastern kingdom, similar patterns were prevalent at pre-conquest locations at Prae Wood and King Harry Lane, but ceased shortly after the advent of the new city.

Elsewhere, continuity with pre-conquest artefact deposition can be seen in the area of the Southern kingdom at Silchester and Chichester, as well as Fishbourne, confirming the suggestion that a significant Late Iron Age community with Continental links existed in the area of the Chichester Dykes prior to 43.[91] The likelihood of continued connections between this area and *Belgica* are reinforced by J. Timby's suggestion that distinctive butt-beaker kilns at Chichester were established by migrant Gallic potters.[92] Nevertheless, both pottery and brooch assemblages also point towards more interaction with military suppliers within the Southern kingdom, particularly at Chichester, most likely associated with *legio XIV Gemina*. This situation may have been temporary and mirrors the better-evidenced co-existence of soldiers and civilians at Claudio-Neronian Sheepen. Elsewhere, Claudio-Neronian Canterbury follows the general Late Iron Age trajectory, apparently taking advantage of its proximity to the Continent for trade, rather than following the cultural pattern established in the nearby Eastern kingdom centred on Camulodunum.

To be clear, the main factor distinguishing the majority of early urban communities with Late Iron Age origins from those with a more colonial make-up is continuity in pre-conquest patterns of brooch use and pottery supply, not resistance to using material broadly associated with military supply. This is evident in all assemblages considered, including material from Camulodunum which shows the biggest contrast with military supply evident at *Colonia Victricensis*, but reveals no qualms on the part of the pre-existing population over the use of *terra sigillata* and brooches of the Hod Hill type, for example. The principal differences in material culture between Britain's first urban communities is thus a matter of colonial populations eschewing pre-conquest/indigenous patterns of consumption rooted in a shared cultural milieu spanning S England and N Gaul. This network owed little to the direct machinations of Roman imperialism, and can be seen to be flourishing 20 years or so after the military conquest of S England. In general, the network's constituent connections can be split between the Southern (Silchester and Chichester) and the Eastern kingdoms (increasingly focused on Camulodunum after the Claudian conquest). Analysis of the supply of Gallo-Belgic wares to S British and N Gallic sites shows particular affinity between the Eastern kingdom and pre-Claudian assemblages from sites around Trier and E *Belgica*, and post-Claudian links between the Southern kingdom and towns in W *Belgica*.

91 E.g., Creighton 2001 and 2006, 54-61; Manley and Rudkin 2005.
92 Timby 2013, 162.

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These links broadly correspond to probable supply routes: NW Gaul to S England via the Aisne-Somme-Oise river network, and NE Gaul to SE Britain via the Moselle and Rhine.

While the main material differences (especially in ceramics) between the first urban communities in Britain may be seen as a factor of supply, it must be stressed that the patterns were more likely to have been governed by cultural demand. Rather than assuming that material culture carries fixed cultural meaning (i.e., equating *sigillata* distribution with a universal desire for 'Romanness', 'militaryness' or, indeed, an unspecified articulation of local culture), interpretation should focus on how the objects were used in routine everyday practice. Figures 10-12 illustrate the artefacts with the *most polarised* concentrations in military/colonial settlements (fig. 10) and towns having pre-conquest origins in the Eastern (fig. 11) and Southern kingdoms (fig. 12). While the visibly distinct brooch types hint at differences in dress and outward appearance, the imported finewares seem to be split between a predilection for larger drinking vessels and platters within indigenous centres (especially from the Eastern kingdom), and smaller hemispherical cups and larger dishes at military/colonial foundations. This distinction appears less important for urban communities in the Southern kingdom, where assemblages appear more alike to those from towns in W *Belgica*. Such material differences seemingly represent a widespread need for objects with stylistic properties that facilitated shared cultural practices, most notably particular styles of eating, drinking and dress. While *terra sigillata* appeared universally popular for all the communities considered (colonial and indigenous), it seems that the supply of Gallo-Belgic wares was directed from the outset to fill in the gaps (i.e., big drinking vessels in the Eastern kingdom) or to augment (i.e., hemispherical cups for colonial populations) the functional repertoire of *sigillata*.

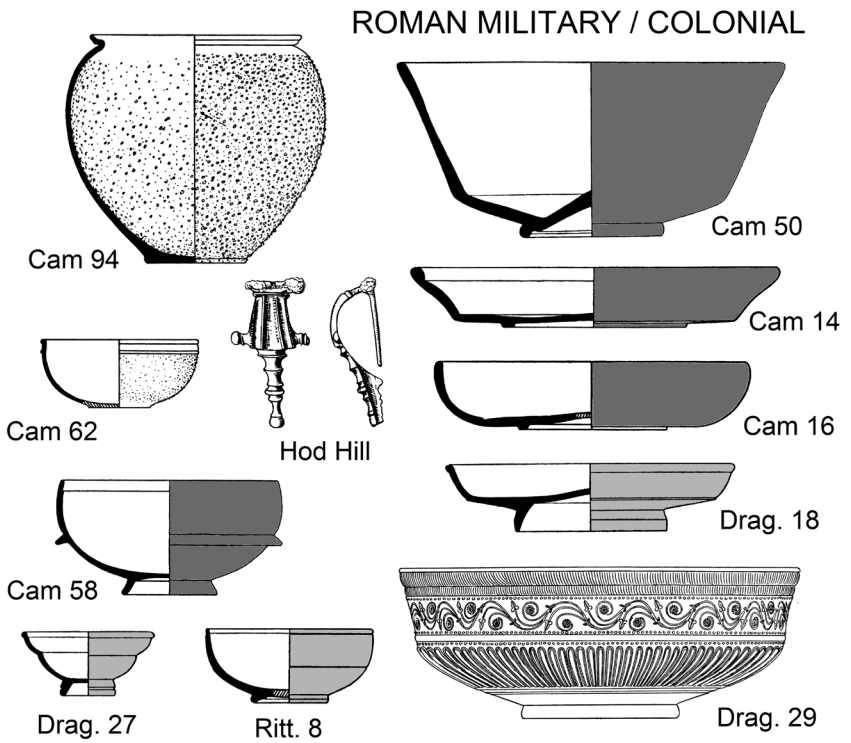


Fig. 10. Material culture associated with urban communities of a military colonial nature.

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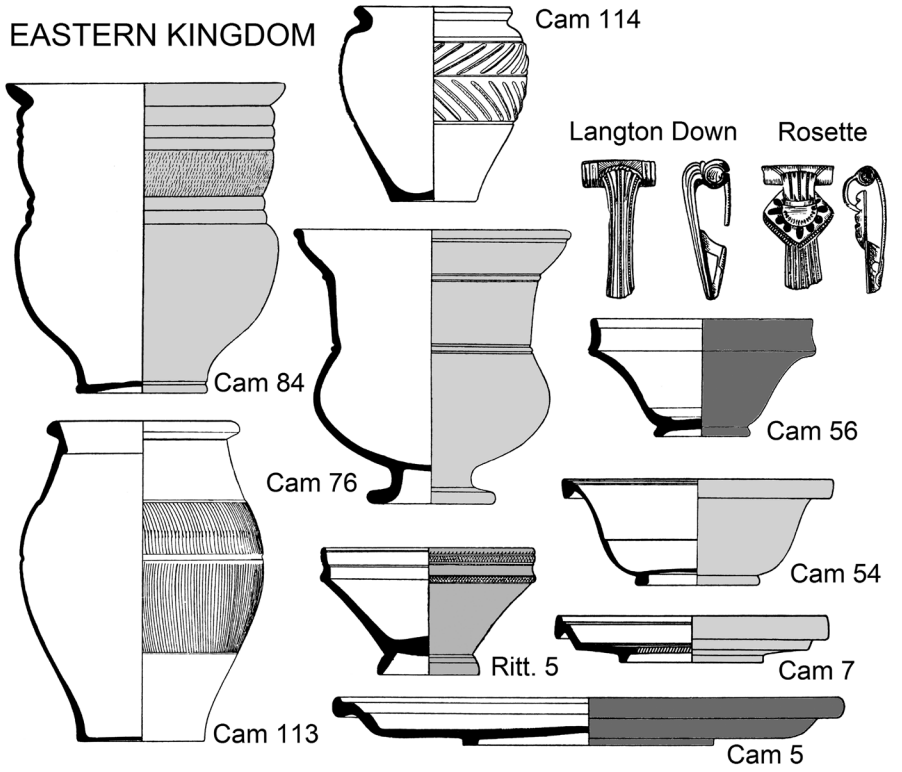


Fig. 11. Material culture associated with urban communities from the Eastern kingdom.

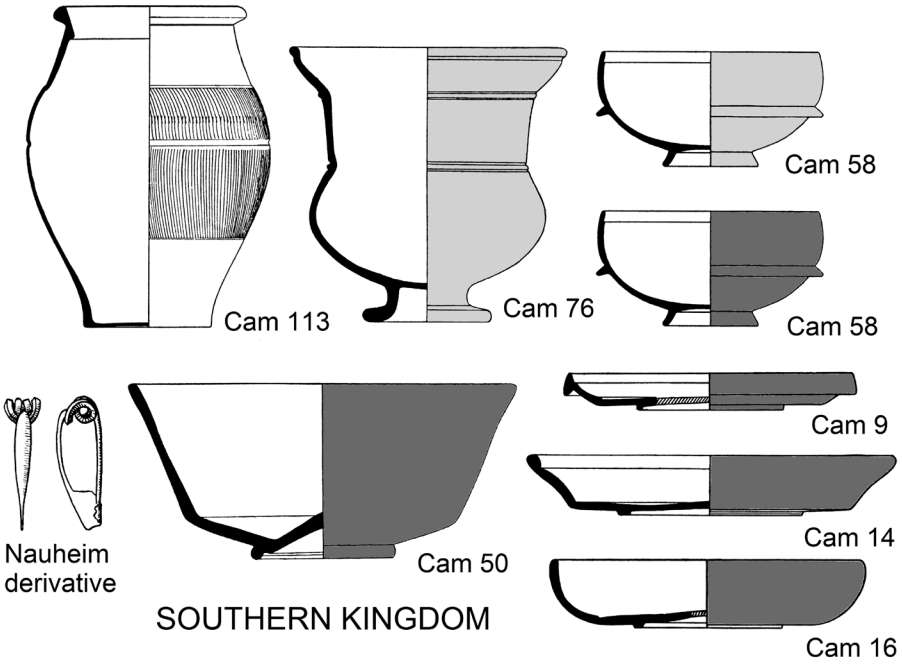


Fig. 12. Material culture associated with urban communities from the Southern kingdom.

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Conclusions

This study has attempted to shed light on who lived in Britain's first towns from an artefactual perspective, rather than through the architectural and morphological approaches that have dominated scholarship. In doing so, some unexpected yet consistent results have emerged, notably the strong 'military' character of assemblages from London and *Verulamium*. While such patterns need not indicate wholly military populations in the traditional sense, they do emphasise the importance of shared practices with military communities elsewhere, as well as a disjuncture with local styles of consumption and display. In this regard, the quantitative differences in the supply and use of material culture are undeniably robust, and not easily explained by current narratives on Roman Britain. The findings illustrate the potential of artefact analyses to provide new insights into the social and cultural make-up of Roman towns, as well as the inadequacy of interpretative narratives founded purely on structural evidence. The study also highlights the value of exploring the evidence of material connections and flows between different provinces and regions. In particular, the results emphasise the ability of Claudio-Neronian communities to select particular configurations of material from a universal pool of forms and styles to facilitate local practices and maintain a level of shared culture with more distantly affiliated groups. In such a globalizing scenario, it is arguable that the circulation of finds within 'Roman Britain' cannot be fully understood without an appreciation of the wider networks that 'British' communities were linked to.

In historical terms, the results of this study strengthen the case for an official, coordinated programme of urbanisation directed by the governor Ostorius Scapula in *c*.A.D. 48-49 to explain the origins of Colchester, London and *Verulamium*. With the benefit of historical hindsight, the case for planted colonial communities at London and *Verulamium* makes them more logical targets for the Boudiccan uprising than largely indigenous or civilian populations.[93] In the aftermath of the revolt, the lack of later Neronian investment at Colchester and *Verulamium* compared to towns in the Southern kingdom is also noteworthy,[94] and perhaps reflects the reward of imperial patronage for the loyalty of the Southern dynasty. The Claudio-Neronian communities at Silchester and Chichester certainly appear more progressive in the uptake of new provincial material forms (and associated practices) compared to indigenous populations in the vicinity of Camulodunum, who appear more conservative in their practices before the uprising. Of the original trio of urban centres, only London seems to have witnessed substantial later Neronian investment, which is probably an indication of its special value to the provincial administration.[95]

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93 A plausible variation is offered by Frere (1979, 277), who saw London and *Verulamium* as places occupied by Continental merchants and money-lenders who were exploiting the indigenous community.

94 Fulford 2008.

95 Perring 2011, 260.

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Appendices follow

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APPENDIX 1
GALLO-BELGIC AND OTHER IMPORTED WARES AT SITES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

Form	*Colchester*				*Canterbury*		*Chichester*		*Exeter*	*London*	*Longthorpe*	*Silchester*		*Usk*	*Verulamium*				
	Oppidum	*Sheepen*	*Stanway*	*Head Street*		*N*	*S*	*Fishbourne*				*Forum*	*Pre-rampart*		*City*	*Folly Lane*	*Fort*	*Prae Wood*	*KHL*
Cam 1	75	7	0	0	14	0	0	3	0	0	0	16	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Cam 2	334	32	0	0	6	9	4	9	1	0	0	50	1	0	0	0	0	7	5
Cam 3 TR	59	7	0	0	7	5	0	5	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Cam 3 TN	73	6	0	0	0	3	9	1	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
Cam 4 TN	29	1	0	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Cam 5 TR	132	22	0	0	6	9	0	9	0	0	0	17	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Cam 5 TN	244	47	0	0	7	7	1	4	0	0	0	18	0	1	1	0	0	3	1
Cam 6 TR	36	2	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cam 7 TR	158	41	2	0	10	1	2	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	8
Cam 7 TN	39	4	1	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
Cam 8 TR	134	4	2	0	3	3	1	2	1	3	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Cam 8 TN	259	44	3	0	9	4	8	6	5	3	1	13	0	0	1	1	0	2	8
Cam 9 TR	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cam 9 TN	14	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cam 10	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cam 11 TR	19	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cam 11 TN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Cam 12 TR	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cam 12 TN	409	4	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	7	3	0	1	0	0	0	1
Cam 13	151	29	0	0	4	5	3	7	0	0	0	15	1	0	0	0	1	3	3
Cam 14	257	108	4	0	5	18	6	12	0	8	0	54	2	0	0	0	0	2	0
Cam 15	57	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cam 16	142	32	0	3	11	23	8	30	53	26	0	72	0	22	4	0	0	0	1
Cam 17	270	4	0	33	2	3	0	97	16	1	2	15	0	20	0	0	0	0	0
Cam 50	15	0	0	0	2	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Cam 51	92	1	0	0	2	1	2	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Cam 52	19	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Cam 53 TR	20	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Cam 53 TN	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cam 54	22	1	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Cam 56 TR	325	35	0	0	2	2	5	7	0	0	0	19	0	0	0	0	0	1	7

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APPENDIX 1 (continued)

Form	*Colchester*				*Canterbury*		*Chichester*		*Exeter*	*London*	*Longthorpe*	*Silchester*		*Usk*	*Verulamium*				
	Oppidum	*Sheepen*	*Stanway*	*Head Street*		*N*	*S*	*Fishbourne*				*Forum*	*Pre-rampart*		*City*	*Folly Lane*	*Fort*	*Prae Wood*	*KHL*
Cam 58 TR	23	7	2	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cam 58 TN	44	10	3	0	0	4	4	11	11	5	0	8	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Cam 62	101	31	0	6	0	6	1	21	15	1	10	1	0	42	8	0	0	0	0
Cam 64	119	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cam 73	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cam 74	38	6	0	0	1	3	2	0	0	0	0	17	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Cam 75/8	7	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cam 76	104	21	1	0	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	9	1	0	0	0	0	1	3
Cam 77	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cam 79	20	5	0	0	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	3
Cam 82/4	283	26	0	0	10	8	3	7	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	3	6
Cam 91	53	4	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cam 94	334	20	0	4	2	10	0	10	7	4	5	0	0	35	4	0	0	0	0
Cam 112	609	51	1	0	5	14	15	14	0	0	0	74	5	0	0	0	0	3	5
Cam 113	2730	151	0	1	20	16	5	40	0	2	0	76	1	0	9	1	0	6	59
Cam 114	216	15	0	0	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	21	1	0	0	0	0	1	12

APPENDIX 3
BROOCHES AT SITES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

Type	*Colchester*				*Canterbury*		*Chichester*		*Exeter*	*London*	*Longthorpe*	*Richborough*	*Silchester*	*Usk*	*Verulamium*		
	Oppidum	*Sheepen*	*Stanway*	*Colonia*		*City*	*N*	*Fishbourne*							*City*	*Gorhambury*	*KHL*
Nauheim deriv.	16	1	0	24	41	52	34	23	0	42	4	30	35	6	12	8	17
Colchester	89	11	0	15	11	4	12	6	0	18	7	24	13	1	10	9	114
Langton Down	52	4	3	0	4	3	3	2	0	0	0	1	7	0	3	2	34
Rosette / Thistle	24	6	1	3	5	3	4	4	0	7	0	1	3	0	0	2	47
Plate	25	4	4	6	0	2	3	1	0	5	1	10	4	2	2	1	3
Aucissa	24	6	0	7	4	1	19	3	1	24	1	21	3	4	8	4	4
Hod Hill	23	7	2	28	8	7	6	3	5	53	5	59	10	5	22	2	2
Colchester deriv.	19	3	0	23	12	6	5	2	20	74	1	52	3	26	17	12	1
Penannular	15	1	0	9	8	1	3	2	0	34	5	19	3	5	4	0	5
Other	12	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	30	3	15	11	3	0	0	10

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APPENDIX 2
TERRA SIGILLATA AT SITES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

Form	*Colchester*				*Canterbury*	*Chichester*			*Exeter*	*London*	*Longthorpe*	*Silchester*		*Usk*	*Verulamium*				
	Oppidum	*Sheepen*	*Stanway*	*Head Street*		*N*	*S*	*Fishbourne*				*Forum*	*Pre-rampart*		*City*	*Folly Lane*	*Fort*	*Prae Wood*	*KHL*
f11	9	4	0	1	5	3	0	2	0	1	0	5	3	0	0	0	1	0	0
f15	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
f15/17	383	51	0	61	7	4	10	7	24	8	32	5	3	91	57	8	20	0	1
f16	21	2	0	0	1	1	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
f17	59	26	0	0	1	14	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
f18	365	95	0	124	10	11	9	14	64	25	17	4	4	156	62	2	16	0	0
f22	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
f24/5	354	106	0	8	2	3	4	6	17	2	22	2	0	58	23	3	8	0	0
f27	304	84	0	131	12	9	4	2	52	30	19	4	1	162	64	3	25	0	1
f29	260	104	1	240	24	15	20	34	55	10	36	4	1	162	62	0	5	0	0
f30	29	22	0	23	8	2	3	6	9	1	0	1	0	39	13	0	2	0	0
f33	15	2	1	0	1	2	0	3	2	1	1	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
Lo. 1	61	7	0	0	1	3	1	6	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Lo. 2	30	15	0	0	26	8	3	28	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
Lo. 3	10	2	0	0	4	2	0	2	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Lo. 5	6	4	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lo. 7	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lo. 8	22	10	0	0	22	12	2	10	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
Lo. 11	34	2	0	0	8	3	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lo. 12	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lo. 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lo. 16	9	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ritt. 1	17	6	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	1	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Ritt. 5	135	7	0	0	0	13	1	3	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Ritt. 8 (A)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ritt. 8 (SG)	56	11	0	1	1	2	0	0	3	3	6	1	0	1	5	0	2	0	0
Ritt. 9 (A)	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ritt. 9 (SG)	71	6	0	8	0	3	0	0	1	1	2	3	0	4	2	0	1	0	0
Ritt. 12	85	32	0	11	0	1	0	0	3	5	12	1	0	39	4	0	3	0	0
Ritt. 14	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX 4
SELECTED GALLO-BELGIC WARES AT CONTINENTAL SITES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

Form	*Amiens*	*Cologne*	*Dalheim*		*Metz*		*Nijmegen*	*Reims*	*Senlis*	*Soissons*	*Trier region*		*W Belgica*	
			Early	*Late*	*Early*	*Late*					*Early*	*Late*	*Early*	*Late*
Cam 2	23	0	4	2	14	8	0	4	1	0	19	0	29	1
Cam 3 TR	4	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cam 3 TN	2	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0
Cam 4 TN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cam 5 TR	6	0	11	6	14	15	0	2	0	3	19	4	1	4
Cam 5 TN	10	2	0	2	1	11	0	0	0	3	10	4	5	5
Cam 6 TR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
Cam 7 TR	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	5	0	0	0
Cam 7 TN	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cam 8 TR	2	3	1	4	2	10	0	1	0	1	16	20	3	2
Cam 8 TN	5	1	0	0	1	8	1	0	2	1	11	5	1	1
Cam 9 TR	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	0
Cam 9 TN	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0
Cam 10	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Cam 11 TR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0
Cam 11 TN	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0
Cam 12 TR	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cam 12 TN	8	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	1	2	4	0
Cam 13/14	40	0	0	0	1	20	0	0	1	3	3	4	0	3
Cam 15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Cam 16	38	8	0	5	4	46	20	0	21	9	18	67	0	53
Cam 50	3	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4
Cam 51	0	0	0	0	2	28	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0
Cam 52	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cam 53 TR	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	4	0
Cam 53 TN	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	9	0
Cam 54	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	5	0	0	3	0	0	0
Cam 56 TR	3	2	0	1	5	3	0	0	1	0	23	19	21	3
Cam 56 TN	6	0	2	0	3	6	0	0	1	3	17	9	12	1
Cam 58 TR	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	1	3	8	1	3
Cam 58 TN	7	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	8	4	4	7	0	8
Cam 73/76	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	0	3	0
Cam 74/79	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	6	2	14	2	0	0
Cam 75/78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
Cam 77	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Cam 82/4	11	0	1	1	3	5	0	1	0	0	24	3	6	0
Cam 91	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Cam 112	15	1	3	0	0	6	6	12	24	2	24	1	24	1
Cam 114	0	0	0	0	7	5	0	10	0	0	7	0	1	0

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