

## ◆ General conclusions

In this concluding section several aspects of our excavations will be reviewed:

1. the evidence for the date of Building 3;
2. the evidence for the function of Building 3;
3. the sequence of human activities on the site in respect of centuries, years, months and days and the evidence for lifestyles;
4. the integration of our results with the excavations in the immediate Fishbourne area;
5. the possible explanations of the Arretine pottery, imported from Italy pre-AD43;
6. the integration of our results with what is known of southern Britain in the late Iron Age and early Roman periods.

1. The principal discovery of the excavations from 1995–99 was the uncovering of Building 3. We have seen that the archaeological evidence for the date of construction of Building 3 is slight. There were no substantial archaeological deposits sealed by the construction of the building, apart from some scatters of much earlier prehistoric material. Despite numerous sections cut through the masonry walls of the building, only a handful of finds came from the walls themselves, or from the foundation fills in the wider foundation trenches. The most datable artefact from the walls was the fragment of tile from context 411. Although this kind of tile has occurred at Fishbourne so far only with the construction of the proto-palace, and therefore was certainly being produced by AD 65–70, it is conceivable that the proto-palace was a two-period structure and that a smaller unit, comprised of solely the baths, was constructed earlier in the Roman period. In addition, of course, it is possible that future discoveries will confirm that this kind of tile can date from the earliest phases of Roman occupation in Britain.

The best evidence for the construction date of Building 3 comes from a feature that was definitely later than the northern flanking or boundary wall built at the same time as Building 3. The lower fills of the aqueduct, a feature that cut through the foundations of the northern boundary wall, contained a substantial group of fresh-looking sherds (Assemblage 7). As we have seen, this assemblage *could* be

dated as early as AD 50 and therefore implies that Building 3 was probably constructed some time before this date. However, the date of deposition of pottery is obviously later than the date of manufacture, and the sherds *could* have been dumped into the aqueduct at a later date. On balance a Neronian/early Flavian date seems a best estimate for the building's construction.

It seems likely that, although probably both the north and south boundary walls associated with Building 3 were demolished, perhaps soon after the construction of the building, Building 3 survived as a detached structure, even when the stream was realigned and the Palace constructed some 25 metres to the west at about AD 75. The circumstantial evidence for the above statement comes in two parts. Firstly, the distribution of the various categories of small finds concentrates to the north of Building 3. This seems to imply that the presence of Building 3 was a constraining factor on where refuse from the Palace could be deposited; rubbish could not be dumped in the area of Building 3, since Building 3 still existed. It is possible to argue that the fence-lines represented by the lines of post-holes, and not Building 3, were the limiting factor in the spread of refuse material, however. Secondly, a curious anomaly in the layout of the Palace is the fact that its eastern entrance façade is not straight. While this may not have mattered much to anyone visiting the Palace on the ground, and indeed may not even have been noticed on the ground, there must be a reason for the slight angle change in what was one of Roman Britain's most lavish and expensive structures. The eastern face of the Palace was attached to the pre-existing façade of the proto-palace. It may simply be that the architect of the Palace did not want to move the stream further to the east and flexed the Palace façade slightly to the west to avoid it. On the other hand, it is possible that the façade of the Palace was angled in order to maximise the distance between the northern part of the Palace façade and the western end of Building 3.

At this juncture it must be asked what evidence we have for the actual completion of Building 3, and indeed for the enclosure in which it seems to have sat. Apart from the two circumstantial points

mentioned, above there is little direct evidence. There are some deposits that could be associated with the destruction of Building 3 (contexts 560, 556, 452 – Phase AG) but there are no significant dumps of tile (apart from C452) that could have come from the roof of the building. Indeed, the almost complete lack of evidence for any flooring, combined with the lack of evidence for wall-plaster, might imply that Building 3 was never completed. However, it will be argued below that Building 3 did indeed stand until around AD 200 and was then systematically demolished in the 3rd century, with everything that could be *reused* taken from the site. This will probably have included any floor slabs or tiles, and all roof tiles, including most of the larger construction nails.

When we consider the date for the demolition of Building 3, again, the archaeological evidence is not particularly well defined. There are two deposits that must postdate the building, however. One of these is the pottery cache 434 found lying on top of the foundations of the north wall (Phase AG – Assemblage 20). These sherds included a carinated bowl of 2nd century date and the majority of samian sherds dated to the Antonine period. The second is the filling of the drain that cut through the southern walls of Building 3. This filling contained a nearly complete New Forest beaker of early-4th century date (part of Assemblage 24-Phase AH). The demolition deposit 452 to the north of Building 3 contained sherds of 2nd- to early-3rd century date. Overall, the evidence is hardly precise and a 3rd century demolition date is about the best we can do. It will be remembered that the date for the destruction of the Palace was around *c.* AD 275. Demolition at this time, conceivably, may not have included the eastern range of the Building 3, although the presence of medieval pottery in the robbed foundations of the eastern range does not imply that the eastern range was standing until that time; it could simply be that the wall foundations were quarried in the medieval period.

The robbing of the foundation walls of Building 3 and its enclosure seems to have taken place over at least three distinct phases. The boundary wall to the north had its foundations robbed early in the Roman period (Phase AC); the foundations of the northern walls of the building may have been robbed at the same time as Building 3 went out of commission (Phase AG), while the eastern foundations were not robbed until the later medieval period

(Phase AJ). The western foundations were never robbed.

2. In considering the function of Building 3 it is important to rehearse what we know about two features associated with the building, the central pit (Phase AF) and the courtyard pit (Phase AH). It has been argued above that the greensand floor of the central pit, and its associated drainage channels, were constructed as a possible water-filled garden feature in front of the 3rd century Palace, after Building 3 had been demolished. It is possible, but cannot be proven, that the greensand floor was a secondary flooring in an earlier square pit that would have been contained within the eastern range of the standing Building 3. Dating the first phase of the courtyard pit is equally problematical. We have the evidence for its infilling in the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries, but it could have been constructed at any time previously and might have formed a covered<sup>33</sup> pit within the courtyard of Building 3.

It has been argued elsewhere in this report that most of the finds located during the excavation probably had their origins as rubbish deposits from the Palace and do not tell us anything about the functions of Building 3. It is important to remember that this is only an assumption. There are virtually no artefacts or features that can be ascribed to Building 3 to help us clarify its function. It can be surmised that as Building 3 was deliberately demolished and all re-usable items removed, then most extant artefactual evidence might have disappeared in this process. There is therefore little to go on, except the evidence of the ground plan of the building itself. As has been reported elsewhere, the building is very symmetrical (Manley 2001a), and the room sizes, with their regularity, do not appear to be rooms that were used for domestic accommodation. We are therefore left with an administrative or public function for what must have been an austere but impressive structure. But what administrative or public functions did it serve?

Assuming our dating of the structure to the early Roman period is correct, there can be little alternative than to see the Roman military as having been responsible for its construction. Indeed, the aqueduct of the succeeding phase may well have been constructed by the military as well, as indeed might have been the baths of the proto-palace. David Taylor, in this report, has argued the case for Building 3 as a principia, a military headquarters building,

facing west. However, difficulties remain with that interpretation. There are no known principia built of stone, or at least with stone foundations, so early in the history of Roman Britain. Similarly, there are no principia from Roman Britain which have attached boundary walls and which may have been set in their own enclosures. Again, as we know little of the pre-Palace landscape at Fishbourne, we do not have a conventional 'fort' landscape, with a rectangular arrangements of banks and ditches, an orthogonal road grid and internal buildings, in which to situate our putative principia. This could be countered with two observations at least. The first being that early military layouts may not have been quite so regular as at later forts in Britain. The second is, of course, that Fishbourne Roman Palace was an unique building, and Fishbourne was a very special place probably at all times in the Roman period. It may not be valid to look for parallels elsewhere to buildings at Fishbourne.

An alternative interpretation, favoured by some (Henig 2002, 51) is that Building 3 was a temple, or perhaps a very grand shrine for the household gods of Togidubnus and his predecessors. For instance, the ground plan of the temple at Frilford in Berkshire, although different in clearly possessing an internal cella, forms an east–west rectangle approximately 29 metres east–west by 18 metres north–south. Building 3 is slightly larger, but the proportions of the ground plan are very similar (Bradford & Goodchild 1939). This is a suggestion worth retaining, at least until more evidence has been accumulated. This idea would certainly account for the symmetry of the building, and would also perhaps account for the boundary walls which could then be viewed as defining a sacred enclosure or *temenos*. There is no artefactual evidence (in contradistinction to Frilford), however, which hints at any ritual activity.

An intriguing possibility, is, of course, that these two seemingly very different functions are in some way linked. Principia were viewed as sacred spaces; each one was ritually sanctioned upon its erection as a *templum*. This was because every decision that was made by a commanding officer inside a principia had to be ritually valid by its being made or passed through a sacred space. Perhaps a purely religious structure (Building 3 at Fishbourne) evolved from a military building. It is true that the layout of some later principia suggest a much stronger religious role. Three architectural developments reflect

this transformation: the emphasis given to the aedes; the replacement of the basilica by a forecourt to the aedes and the development of a monumental entrance to the main courtyard (Blagg 2000, 144). The ritual activity of the army centred around the aquila (standards) of the legion kept in the principia. They were objects of veneration, and, on occasions of religious rites, were anointed with oils and decorated with garlands. The standards were kept in a special shrine (*sacellum*). The *aerarium*, holding the military funds, pay-chests and savings of individual soldiers, were stored underneath the *sacellum*; attempts at robbery therefore would have been overshadowed by the greater crime of sacrilege (Irby-Massie 1999, 38–45).

Lastly, a suggestion which is worth recording, if only to dismiss it. Occasionally during the course of the excavation we wondered whether Building 3 might have housed stables in front of the Palace. While the idea was superficially attractive, it must be countered by the fact that stables would not have required such a robust structure. In addition, there was no indication of any drains which were contemporary with Building 3. Furthermore, the arrangement and sizes of rooms within Building 3 seem hardly suitable for the stabling of animals. These three characteristics seem to negate the idea of Building 3 as a stable block. Even more speculative would be the suggestions that Building 3 represents the 'estate centre' of the putative estate in which the Palace sat, or a mausoleum – both are possible but the evidence is lacking.

3. It is instructive to remind ourselves of the cast of individuals who frequented, used, and worked on the site we excavated during the Roman period. Taking a coarse-grained view of the chronology, we can people the major phases of construction and destruction. In Phase AB we can imagine a host of different military men skilled in their professions working either on preparing the materials for, or on the construction of, Building 3. These will have included quarrymen, builders, stonemasons, carpenters, tilers, carters, roofers, iron-workers, mortar-mixers and surveyors. There may well have been a tile kiln nearby specially built for the purpose of producing roof tiles for Building 3. And all of these men would clearly have required feeding and accommodation. In subsequent Phase AC we can image labourers excavating the foundation of the boundary wall to the north, and probably military engineers survey-

ing and laying the aqueduct and sump. In Phase AD we can imagine engineers and ditch diggers realigning the stream, while road builders laid the greensand road, and carpenters and bridge builders constructed a bridge across the stream. In Phase AE carpenters come to the fore with the cutting of timber and the erection of posts to form post-hole rows 4 and 5, as well as constructing a timber building in the north of the site. Skilled water engineers lay a water-pipe at the north-eastern corner of the excavation site. In Phase AF the emphasis changes with the site being regularly visited by slaves from the Palace who deposit household rubbish to the north of Building 3, and indeed to the north of the aqueduct. Phase AG sees the return of building professionals, with the demolition of Building 3 and the salvaging of its component parts for *reuse* elsewhere.

Taking a finer-grained view of life on the site we excavated we can imagine the commanding officers and senior officers who might have used Building 3 on a regular, perhaps daily, basis. We can imagine also a small team of engineers who carried out regular maintenance jobs on the aqueduct to ensure that it worked efficiently, and it might have been this team which also carried out regular maintenance of the realigned stream and carried out piecemeal repairs to the surfaces of the flint and greensand roads. By Phase AE no doubt there was very regular use of the timber building at the north end of the excavation, perhaps by the Palace iron-workers who were responsible for the small hearth to the south. These iron-workers probably furnished Building 3 and the Palace with iron fittings from time to time. During this period Building 3 may have taken on a purely religious function and may have been visited both by residents of the Palace and by visitors who made offerings before proceeding to the Palace itself. Did the latter, riding out from Chichester and further afield, tie their horses to hitching posts represented by the lines of post-holes? In Phase AF we can people the area to the north of Building 3 with the visits of slaves, on a daily basis, bringing refuse out from the Palace to dump in the midden to the north of Building 3. The gardeners may have taken an interest in these dumpings since no doubt such a midden was a source of rich compost for flower and vegetable beds, and bedding trenches in the Palace gardens. Slaves carrying builders' debris from the renovations of certain Palace rooms were also occasional visitors.

What else can we deduce about Roman lifestyles

from the various categories of evidence unearthed? Do the artefacts and ecofacts from the midden suggest the opulence of the daily lives lived in the Palace? Or, to put it another way, let us suppose that the first wall foundations of Fishbourne Roman Palace had not been disturbed by that mechanical excavator in 1960, and the excavations of that decade had not taken place. Let us suppose that we have no idea that the Palace lies under the rough pasture, the other side of the stream, just a few metres from where we excavated in the 1990s. Would we deduce from our finds that we were close to a very special building? Of course, there are dangers in trying to estimate the Roman value of certain categories of finds; oysters may be an expensive and occasional treat for some of us, but in the Roman period they may have been a much more commonplace food. Despite the caveats, it is worth trying to assess the finds with these 'lifestyle' questions in mind.

To that end, the various categories of finds can be used to say something about different aspects of the lifestyles of certain classes of people living in or near the Palace at Fishbourne. As indicated earlier (in the pottery report), the ceramic evidence suggests that there was a certain decline in the status of the site after the 1st century AD. We have attempted to assess further the fragmentary evidence for various types of daily or regular activities.

#### EATING AND DRINKING

Samian pottery was imported during the 1st and 2nd centuries. This was the fine tableware - the plates and bowls in which food was served, and the cups which contained drink. We do not have the data to estimate the percentage of samian finds in relation to other kinds of pottery, and to compare this overall ratio with similarly calculated ratios from other sites. The samian from our site does not, however, contain a high percentage of decorated forms, although decorated forms are more numerous in the Antonine period. It would be incorrect to imply that lack of decoration meant lack of wealth or aesthetic appreciation. It could well be that decoration was much more evident on other forms of pottery or glassware. Cup and plate forms dominated in the 1st century, with cup and shallow bowl forms more evident in the 2nd century. Whether this relates to changing eating habits, or simply changes in fashion or production, is problematic. In the 2nd century drink was consumed in fine ware and colour-coated

pottery beakers and in cylindrical drinking cups of colourless glass.

As to the actual food consumed, the evidence from the animal bones suggests that beef was one of the mainstays of the diet, mutton and pork were eaten less often. Milk presumably came from cattle and sheep. Marrow fat was extracted from many long bones and used as an ingredient. There is some evidence to suggest that beef of a higher quality was consumed in the first two centuries, and chicken appears to have been more popular at this time, no doubt both as a source of meat and of eggs. Hare, other small mammals, and fish were also frequent delicacies. The presence of deer bones suggest that venison may have been on the menu, and also that hunting may have been an occasional activity. For the non-meat side of the diet shellfish, almost exclusively oysters, were consumed in quantity. Various kinds of wheat supplied grain for bread, and oats were possibly also processed. In addition fruits such as plum/bullace and vegetables such as broad bean were probably growing locally and formed an element in the diet. Evidence of the wide variety of amphorae found on the site suggests that the diet from local sources was supplemented by imported foodstuffs such as wine, olive oil, olives, fish products, dates and alum.

When it comes to consideration of the people themselves, evidence for individual treatment of the body is slight, but does include rounded-conical unguent bottles of blue-green glass, which must have been individual and personal possessions. A range of copper-alloy artefacts, especially brooches and rings, indicates items of personal attire. The enamelled seal-box must have been an item precious to the person who owned it. The bone pin was used as a clothing or hair fastener, before an unsuccessful attempt was made to convert it into a needle. Shale armlets and a gold bead complete the rather meagre but suggestive evidence for the appearance of some of the individuals who frequented our site in the Roman period.

#### AESTHETICS

The discovery of a modest quantity of tesserae during the excavation, of course, would have alerted us to the fact that a building of above average status was nearby, especially as we would have concluded that Building 3 contained no evidence for ever having possessed mosaic floors. With the

knowledge that there were mosaics nearby we would naturally have presumed that some of the occupants, of what we would have assumed to be a villa, were imbued with aesthetic senses of Roman citizens, or of indigenous well-to-do individuals who had adopted Roman values. The discovery of worked fragments of marble in the midden to the north of Building 3 would have confirmed this viewpoint. The presence of the lion's head stud, and other copper-alloy fittings, is tantalizing evidence for a range of wooden furniture which has not survived.

We must remember that various classes of people from aristocrats to gardeners, from citizens from Rome to slaves born in the immediate locality probably frequented our site during the Roman period. Work for these individuals will have meant very different things, but we do have evidence, presented elsewhere in this report, for tilers, potters, smiths and butchers who will have worked on a daily basis in the immediate vicinity. This emphasises that the Palace and its inhabitants were self-sufficient in some areas, and perhaps also is an indication of the fact that the building was at the centre of an agricultural estate. As is well known, the division between workplace and home was not so clear-cut in the Roman period as it is in western societies today.

#### FUN AND GAMES

Very occasionally we get a glimpse of some non-functional activities. The lead die and gaming pieces of lead, stone and glass suggest that, for some at least, life was not all about working. The presence of flue-tiles and piped water could simply have been to supply heating and water for washing or cooking, but also heating and hot water for baths, the quintessential *sine qua non* for a citizen of the Roman Empire. The lost intaglio depicting the prancing horse of victory might even argue for the presence of some serious chariot racing, and the betting that went with it, not too distant from the Palace.

#### RITUALS

At first glance there does not seem to be much that is overtly of a ritual nature from our excavations. However, seemingly insignificant items, such as the calcite crystals, may have been kept for their supposedly magical properties. In addition, the cache

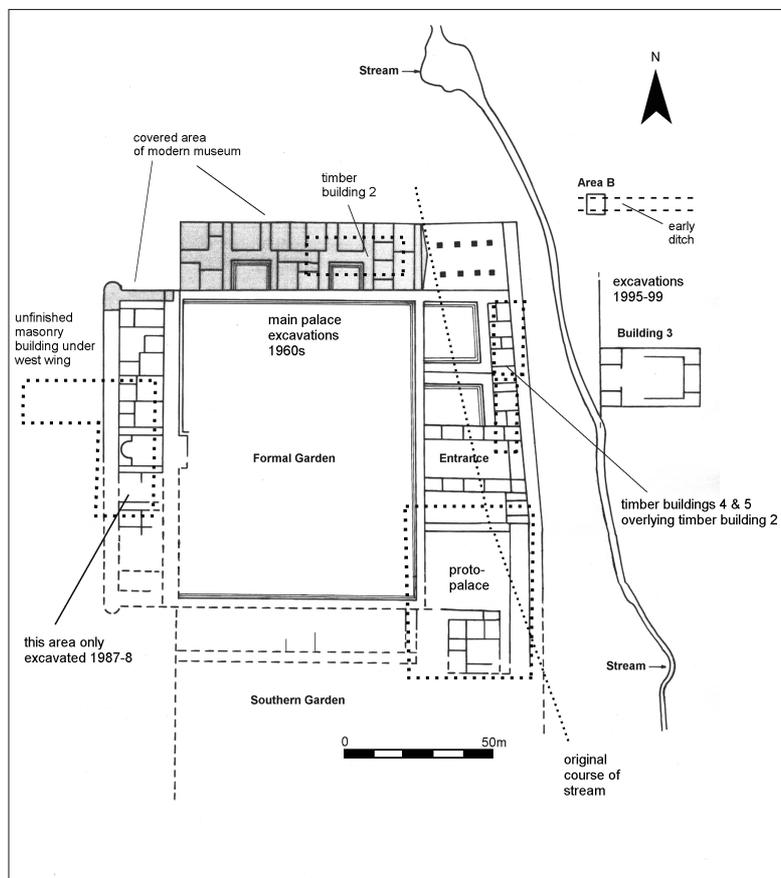


Fig. 268. Plan of Cunliffe's pre-Palace phases in relation to the Flavian Palace; the dotted outlines indicate the footprints of the pre-Palace buildings.

of artefacts (Phase AG) on top of the foundation wall of Building 3, which included many sherds from a decorated carinated bowl, a number of samian sherds, a republican denarius and a mason's pick, is an odd collection of objects in an odd place. Could this be a deliberate 'closure' offering during the demolition of Building 3? Similarly, old objects found in more recent contexts, may suggest that there is something inherently 'special' about them. The republican denarius is a case in point. They could just have been very valued items, or heirlooms, but they could also have had sentimental or sacred attributes. Some of the gaming equipment, such as the many counters, could have been used in divination rituals.

The inhabitants of Fishbourne, especially in the 1st century AD, enjoyed extensive contacts with the

continent. Some of the finds enable us to discover from where the occupiers of the Fishbourne area drew some of their prized possessions. Samian pottery, of course, came from Gaul. Terra Rubra and Terra Nigra, and other assorted fine wares, came from Germany and from Gaul. From further afield came the amphorae, with their variety of contents, imported from Gaul, Spain, Italy, Lipari, Rhodes and Palestine. Imported marbles for floors and walls provided links with the Continent. Mortaria were imported from the Rhineland, from the Oise/Somme area and from the Rhone valley. While these things, and the contents that some of them contained, were valued in their own right, they may also have provided symbolic links with other areas of the Roman Empire.

4. Having discussed the evidence for the date and function of Building 3, and the yearly and daily activities which may have been associ-

ated with it, it is now time to investigate how Building 3 fitted into the wider landscape of Roman Fishbourne. In particular we will want to know how Building 3 relates to the pre-Palace building phases detailed by Barry Cunliffe from the 1960s excavations, and to excavations by Alec Down and the former Southern Archaeology to the east of Building 3 (Figs 268, 269). From the 1960s excavations two timber buildings were located (T1 and T2), deemed to be part of a larger supply base associated with the invasion of AD 43 (Fig. 268). These buildings were located either side of a stream, perhaps in itself a slightly abnormal setting for what was deemed to be a major supply base. This phase (1a) was followed within a few years by two more timber buildings (T4, T5) built over the demolished remains of T2. These phase 1b buildings were inter-

preted as a civilian workshop (T4) and associated timber-framed house (T5). Around AD 65 to 70 these timber buildings may have been pulled down and, according to the excavator, were replaced by a much grander masonry residence, the so-called proto-palace, complete with a large bath suite. This development necessitated the infilling of the old stream bed and the relocation of the stream to the east. Two other elements worth commenting upon from the earlier excavations was the discovery of an unfinished masonry building underneath the west range of the later Palace, and two sides of a compound marked out by a ditch. The unfinished building

was deemed to have been constructed in phase 1c while the compound, potentially of a military nature, was thought to be in use in phase 1b.

How does Building 3 fit into the above sequence? The earliest Roman feature found in the 1990s excavations was the east-west ditch in Area B. This clearly predates any of the structures located in the 1960s. As we have seen above, it is possible to argue that the ditch in Area B was dug sometime in the first decades of the 1st century AD and backfilled with clay around AD 25 (Manley & Rudkin forthcoming a). This ditch is the one which Alec Down located to the east under the A27 in the 1980s. It is uncertain how far it goes to the west, and what happened to it as it approached the original course of the stream. It seems possible, however, that some indication or memory of this backfilled ditch was still extant in AD 43, and that it may still have constituted a significant feature in the landscape. It is possible to suggest that the layout of buildings T1 and T2, (and their associated pattern of roads) may have been designed orthogonally to relate to this slighted, but still significant, perimeter earthwork.

Building 3 is likely to have been constructed, as we have seen, between c. AD 50 and 70. It could, therefore, have been contemporary with Barry

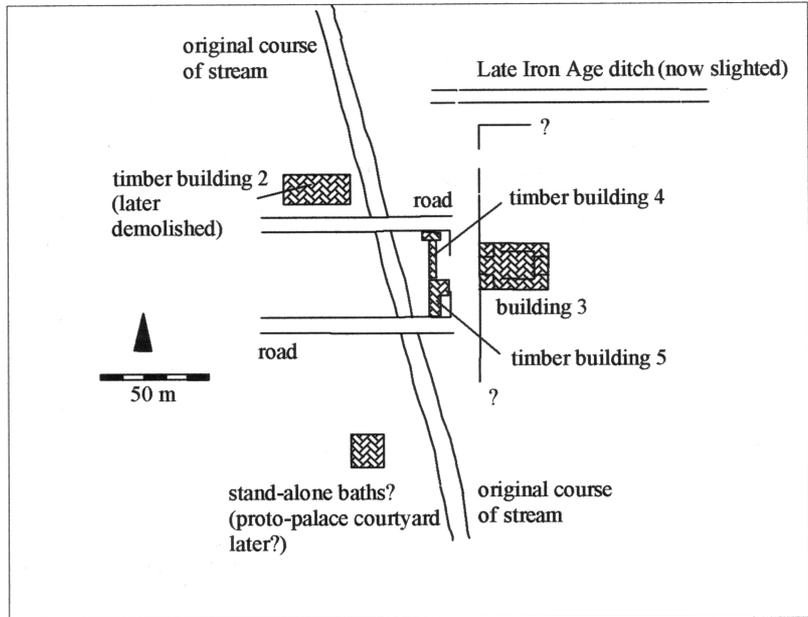


Fig. 269. Plan showing how Building 3 might relate to Cunliffe's pre-Palace phases.

Cunliffe's phase 1b and although later in construction than buildings T4 and T5, could have eventually faced them.<sup>34</sup> It is possible that Building 3 was constructed prior to the moving of the stream to its new course, since it is very likely that the original boundary walls attached to Building 3 could not have stood once the stream was moved, as the stream would have been too close, and even have cut through, the southern boundary wall. The full northwards extension of the boundary wall from Building 3 is unknown, but it must be a possibility that the boundary wall turned to the east and respected the line of the slighted perimeter earthwork in Area B. Pulling all this together, we could imagine a landscape, say in AD 60, which comprised T4, T5, the slighted ditch in Area B, an orthogonal road grid, the original stream, and Building 3 with its boundary walls (Fig. 269). These elements are more suggestive of a planned layout, although it must be remembered that not all of these elements were contemporary in terms of their construction.

Two additional comments can be made at this juncture. It is possible, although it cannot be proven, that the so-called proto-palace was at least a two-phase structure. Excavations in the 1960s in this area of the site were piecemeal and hampered by the pres-

Table 24. The main phases from the 1960s excavations and their correlation with the 1990s phases.

1960s Phase	Elements (1)	1990s Phase	Elements (2)	Approx. date
		BA	linear ditch	AD 10–25
1a	T1, T2 first phase bath house??			AD 43–50
1b	T4, T5 ditched compound?	AB	Building 3 with boundary walls? <i>and subsequently</i> aqueduct; demolition of boundary walls; Building 3	AD 50–70
1c	proto-palace; unfinished building under later west range of Palace	AD	realignment of stream; greensand road; Building 3	AD 65–70
2a	Palace	AE	flint road; rectangular timber building; Building 3	AD 75+

ence of modern housing. It is possible that the first phase of the proto-palace was simply just as a bath-suite (Fig. 269: essentially the heated rooms at the southern end of the known proto-palace structure), and that the subsequent expansion to the east and north (with a long corridor or rooms, and a garden) only occurred in phase 1c.<sup>35</sup> This would mean that the baths stood entirely to the west of the original stream. Baths constructed at this time are likely to have been built by the military and would therefore have served as facilities for a number of men billeted in the surrounding timber buildings. The extension to the baths (to the north and east) could then be viewed as a military decommissioning of the structure when it was turned over to private use. Table 24 summarizes the discussion so far, and outlines one possible correlation of the phasing.

While the above represents a reasonably logical congruence of the two phasing schemes, it must be stated that they represent an approximation at best. Given the limitations of archaeological dating (in this case dating from pottery evidence), there is no way of knowing whether, for instance, T4 and T5 preceded Building 3, were of exactly the same construction date as Building 3 or were later than Building 3, although the former seems, on balance, more likely. Similarly, while it can be suggested that the greensand road of AD might have been used as a construction road to carry materials to the building underneath the western range of the later Palace,

it is not quite so easy to find a use for the aqueduct of AC. It may have been used to produce a more regular supply of water for the baths than that afforded by the stream, but it would be fruitless to speculate further. It is, likely, however, that the aqueduct was constructed by the military.

5. In order to illustrate the potential difficulties of dating from associated pottery finds, we can, by way of slight digression, consider the reason for the dating of T1 and T2 to AD 43 or shortly after. Very few people have seriously questioned the assertion that these timber buildings were built by the Roman military, or that they probably functioned as storage buildings. However, dating them is more problematic, and, as we shall see, their attribution to AD 43 is not so much derived from evidence gained from the site itself, as from the wider historical framework in which they were interpreted in the 1960s. Quite simply, the 1960s Fishbourne interpretation had to fit in with the orthodoxy of the day: 1) that the main Roman invasion in AD 43 had landed at Richborough in north-east Kent, and therefore whatever was at Fishbourne was secondary and 2) that Roman military buildings did not exist in Britain before AD 43.

We present the dating evidence of the timber buildings T1 and T2 and phase 1a in tabular form for ease of reference (Table 25).

While the stratigraphic sequence of the early

Table 25. Dating evidence for the timber buildings found in the 1960s.

Feature	Context	Dating evidence
Timber Building 1	to the north-east of the building a thin occupation layer was found, sealed beneath a 1b floor	sherds of Claudian girth and butt beakers and a few sherds of Claudian samian; a little coarse ware consistent with a date of AD 43–50 (evidence postdates construction of building)
Timber Building 2	material thrown back into the post-pits when timbers were removed	pottery recovered was all Claudian-Neronian (evidence postdates construction of building)
not clear	not clear from published report	one rim sherd of decorated Arretine, c. AD 30–40
not clear	not clear from published report	three decorated samian sherds c. AD 40–55

phases of activity at Fishbourne was clear, in the sense of what buildings and features lay on top of and were later than others, the dating evidence for these phases, as will be appreciated from the number of sherds indicated in the above Table, was minimal; there were simply not enough undisturbed and sealed contexts or layers. In addition, there was one anomaly that did not fit the perceived interpretation of an AD 43 context. A number of fine-ware sherds made by potters near Arezzo in central Italy had been found during the excavations. There were sherds from 33 vessels: 15 of the sherds had been found in Period I contexts, with one from a 1a context (see Table above), three from 1b floor-levels and 11 from 1b occupation; the other 22 sherds presumably came from later contexts, but were deemed residual and assigned to a Period 1 origin (Dannell in Cunliffe 1971, II, 262). Nineteen of the sherds were attributed to the workshops of Ateius, who was thought to have ceased business around AD 25.

How was this Arretine pottery, conventionally seen as pre-AD 43 in date, to be explained? Dannell, in his report, indicated that Arretine ware at Camulodunum belonged almost exclusively to the pre-conquest period. It was being hypothesized at Colchester that civilian markets post-AD 43 at that city were prepared to buy forms of samian that were out of date, and could not be sold so readily on the Continent. Dannell countered this idea by stating that the Arretine from Fishbourne must surely have come with the army, and if the army arrived in AD 43, then the army was provisioned with out-of-date stock. Sheppard Frere was later to take Dannell to task on his statement, arguing that Arretine ware was only found on high-status Late Iron Age indigenous sites, such as Canterbury, Silchester and Leicester, and was not imported with an invading army. Frere's arguments won the day, but doubts still remained, not least because there was no sig-

nificant Late Iron Age occupation at Fishbourne, from which the Arretine could have been derived. Clearly, there were alternative hypotheses that would have dispensed with the anomaly - 1) that the dating for the retirement of Ateius was incorrect and that he continued to work for another 15 years or so or 2) that the timber buildings T1 and T2, the earliest structures on the site, were earlier than AD 43.

More recent work on samian pottery has confirmed that samian was imported in vast quantities during the first century and a half of Roman rule, that it was used on a wide variety of sites, both 'Roman' and indigenous, and that it is found at military sites of all types (Willis 1998, 87). In particular, more up-to-date ceramics are likely to be associated with military sites (Willis 1998, 101 & 104). Arretine ware is still dated pre-AD 43 and is still considered to be associated with larger, indigenous complexes of the Late Iron Age. Writing about Roman pottery in West Sussex, Millett noted that Arretine was only found at Fishbourne and Chichester, and, while acknowledging the claims of others that Arretine could have been imported prior to AD 43, the absence of other pre-conquest material suggested to him that it had arrived with the invading Claudian armies (Millett 1980, 62).

More recently this line of argument has been pursued by Creighton (2001) who has argued that the sequence at Fishbourne from the 1960s excavation is too compressed, and that T1 and T2 could date to before the orthodox date for the Roman conquest of AD 43. This clearly has the effect of allowing Cunliffe's Phase 1a to date hypothetically to before AD 43. Clearly such a notion has significant ramifications for our understanding of the period between Caesar and the Claudian invasion in southern Britain and these are examined in detail in Manley 2002.

To the east of Building 3 a major excavation was

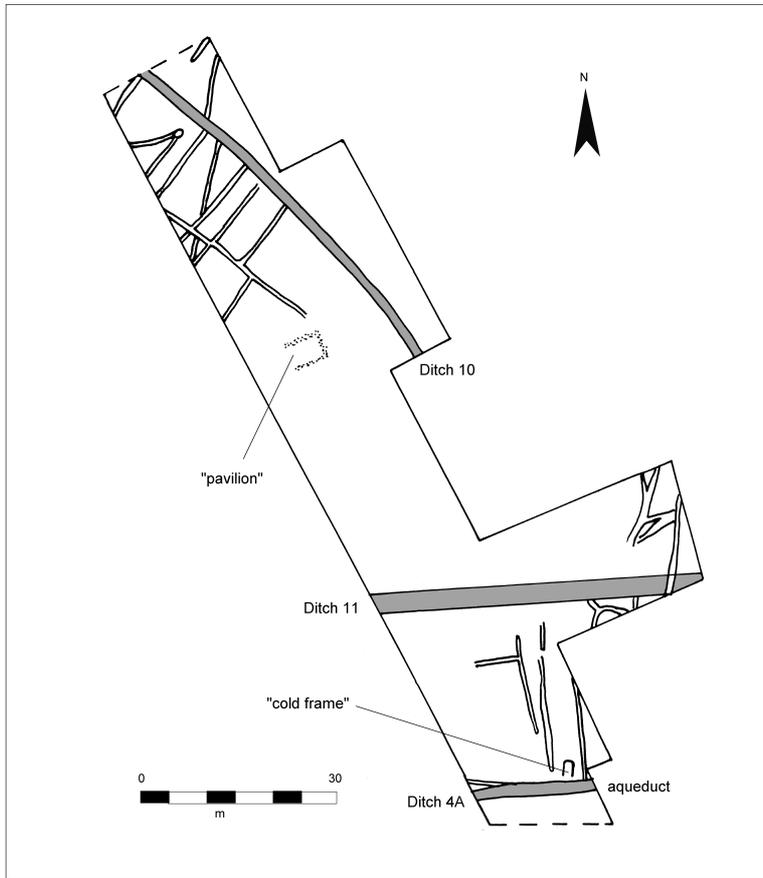


Fig. 270. Simplified plan of the A27 excavations; ditch 11 is the early ditch located in Area B, and ditch 4A is the aqueduct (see Fig. 8 for location).

conducted in the mid-1980s by Alec Down. Alec Down can justifiably be described as the founder of modern archaeology in Chichester. Over a period of 30 years he devoted himself to the challenge of investigating and recording the archaeology of Chichester and its surrounding District, the results of which were published in nine monographs (the Chichester Excavation series) between 1971 and 1996. Down had the great foresight to realise that the road, now known as the A27, which sweeps in front of and around the Palace to the north, would probably encounter significant archaeology during its construction and he set out to organise a campaign of excavations before the road was built. These excavations took place from 1983-6, with little proper funding and often in very difficult weather conditions. The results were published in 1996, and

it is to these excavations that we now turn (Cunliffe *et al.* 1996).

There are three aspects of these excavations that may be relevant to the current arguments: the basic interpretation of many of the features; the pottery; and the interpretation of Ditches 4A and 11 (Fig. 270). Most archaeologists, often unconsciously, bring to any excavation a set of ideas which to a large extent govern how they excavate the site and the conclusions they seek to draw from the evidence. These ideas may be general ones about the specific historical period in question or more specific ones to do with the nature of the particular locality and site they are about to excavate. They have gathered up these ideas largely through their studies of other people's work and writings throughout their own careers. There is a tendency among most archaeologists to work within the orthodox views of their time, so much so that their findings often 'fit in', more or less, with the prevailing orthodoxy. Not every

archaeologist works in this way. There are those who, acknowledging the orthodoxy of the day, set out to disprove it; some do this successfully, others less so.

In the 1980s excavations Down found a whole series of negative features: post-holes, ditches, slots or gullies and pits. These features were found in a linear excavated strip that ran in front of the Palace and to the north of it, separated from the Palace by about 80 metres (Fig. 270). Down had witnessed the impressive excavations of the 1960s, the discovery of the Palace, the publicity that surrounded the excavations at the time, and the discovery of a unique feature: the formal Palace garden with its curvilinear bedding trenches filled with different coloured soil. There is little doubt in our minds that he imagined that one of the things he would find in front of the Palace would be a range of bedding trenches

that would form part of a formal garden. This is completely unsurprising; most of us would have expected the same at that time. And it was completely unsurprising that he claimed to have found bedding trenches in the excavations. Throughout the excavation report many of the gullies are described as 'bedding trenches'; ditches were often interpreted as 'drainage channels'; groups or lines of post-holes were interpreted as 'trellis supports'; some pits were described as tree or shrub holes, and a small, rectangular structure was interpreted as 'a small potting or tool shed, or possibly even the base of a cold-frame' (Cunliffe *et al.* 1996, 37).

But there are some distinctly anomalous aspects to the archaeology that Down uncovered. Looking at the distribution of features overall, it is clear that most of the supposed 'bedding trenches' lie not in front of the Palace but to the north-east of the building. In addition, many of the bedding trenches in the northern part of the excavation lie in a south-west–north-east alignment, and do not echo the east-west alignment of the Palace itself. Furthermore, there is an apparent complete lack of features in the area immediately to the east of Building 3. One of the principal east-west ditches that Alec uncovered was 4A/4B. Alec described the ditch as 'deep', that it had been re-cut on at least one occasion, and that a gravel path lay on its south side. Correctly he assumed that it was the same ditch that he had observed much closer to the Palace in the 1983 trial excavations, and the same ditch was to be discovered in excavations by Southern Archaeology in the

1990s to the east of the A27. We now know that this ditch functioned as an aqueduct in Phase AC, and probably contained a timber conduit, leading water towards the area occupied by the later Palace. There is an immediate stratigraphic problem here. Alec indicated that Ditch 4B cut the arrangement of linear bedding trenches. Therefore, if our dating of the aqueduct is correct, at least some of the bedding trenches would have to be earlier than AD 70. The difficulty here is that the Palace was not constructed until AD 75/80. So if this particular group of bedding trenches were not, in fact, such, what could they be? An alternative interpretation would be to see them as the ephemeral remains of the foundations of timber buildings, aligned north–south.<sup>36</sup>

Another feature we want to consider briefly is Ditch 11 (Fig. 270). The first thing you notice about the reproduced plan of Ditch 11 (Cunliffe *et al.* 1996, 43, fig 2.18) is that the sides of the ditch are very straight; it is orientated east–west. Down records several interesting aspects of this ditch: it was large and deep, and had partially silted up before being backfilled with clay; brushwood lay on the south-side of the ditch which Down interpreted as some form of revetting. From the presence of ceramic water-pipes in the back-fill, he thought that the ditch may have carried a piped-water supply to the Palace. A north-south ditch (Ditch 5) cut through the top of the back-filled Ditch 11. Down surmised, we think correctly, that Ditch 5 would join up with Ditch 4 to the south, and we think Ditch 5 is a feeder channel leading water down from the north into

Table 26. Excavations east of the A27.

<b>Excavation year and name</b>	<b>Main results (relevant to this report)</b>	<b>Main finds</b>	<b>Reference</b>
1992 – Westward House	Phase 2: a number of pits, including cremation burial, including a butt-beaker; two timber buildings aligned east–west; three gullies  Phase 3: further sections of the aqueduct recorded by Alec Down	quantities of Arretine and early imported wares  ceramic pipe in the north–south feeder channel	ACD <sup>39</sup> 1992  ACD 1992
1994–95 – 51 Fishbourne Rd East	Two large ditches, aligned north–south, were filled with clay early in the Roman period		ACD 1995
1995 – 36 Fishbourne Rd East	part of a ring gully that could mark the site of a round-house maybe Iron Age; later aqueduct and north–south feeder channel	feeder channel contained large quantities of 1st century <sup>AD</sup> domestic refuse including high-status pottery, and a gold signet ring - Tiberius Claudius Catuarus	ACD 1995
1998 – Glebe Meadow	east–west aqueduct again observed on the same line; considerable number of post-holes, pits and ditches	military belt-buckle of 1st century <sup>AD</sup>	ACD 1995

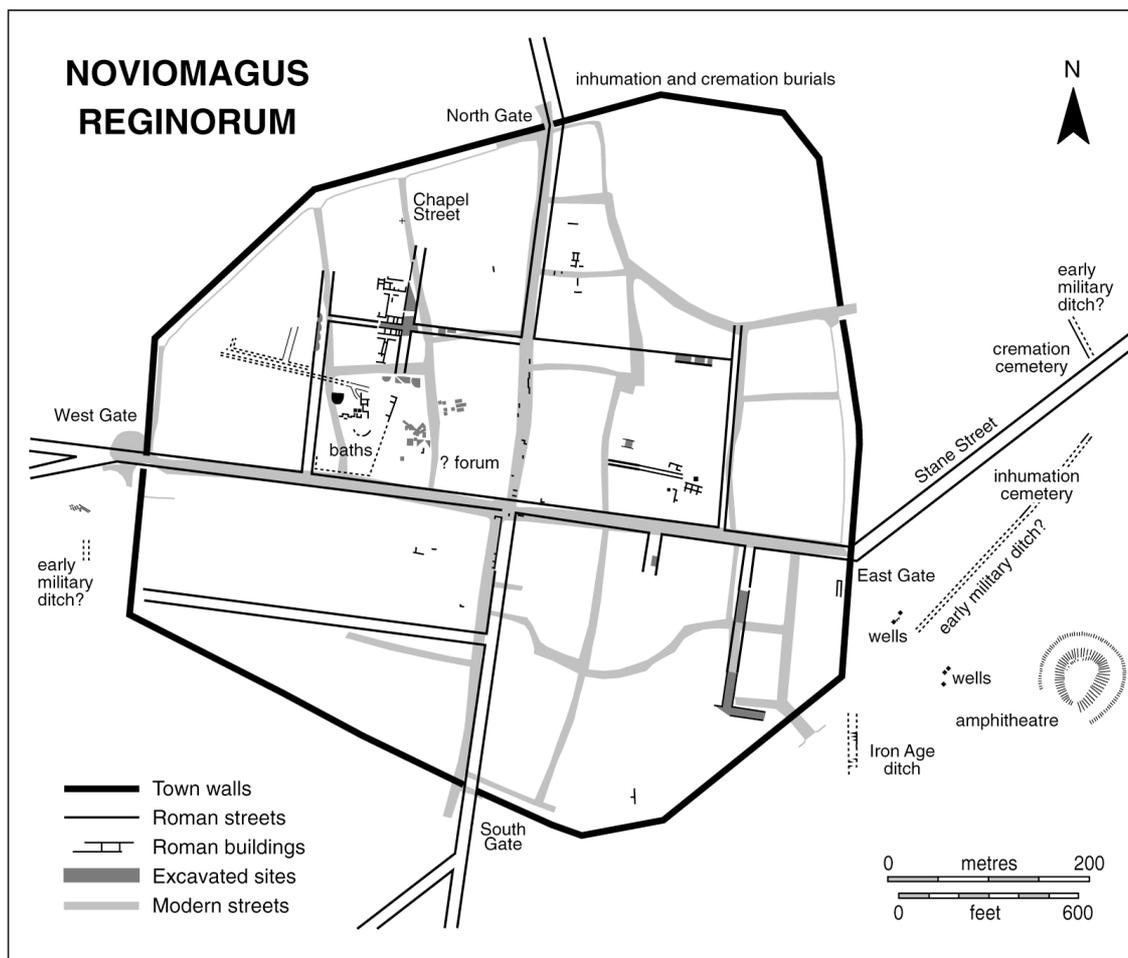


Fig. 271. Plan of Roman Chichester (original artwork by Sue Rowland).

the east-west aqueduct represented by Ditch 4. But there is another stratigraphic and phasing problem here. Down, working within the phasing framework from the Palace excavations, placed Ditch 11 in Period 2, phase 1 (i.e. post AD 75) and Ditch 5 slightly later. However, Ditch 5 contained mainly pre-Flavian fine wares and included fine and coarse wares from the Neronian kilns in Chapel Street, Chichester, together with a few sherds of pre-conquest Arretine (Cunliffe *et al.* 1996, 42). It would seem that Ditch 5 might have been dug in pre-Flavian times, and Ditch 11 earlier still. Ditch 11 was clearly the same ditch as appeared in our excavations in Area B.<sup>37</sup> Before turning to the finds, it is worth noting in passing that, underneath the main approach road to the Palace, Down uncovered two parallel lines of

post-holes, 12 metres apart, and aligned east-west. These clearly formed part of a larger structure which Alec assigned to the early Roman period and interpreted as stockades, possibly for cattle. Two large square-cut post-holes along the south side could have represented an entrance about 2 m wide.

When we turn to the pottery finds from Down's excavations, and particularly to the specialist reports on those finds, we discover some equally fascinating and equally problematic evidence; this concerns the pottery found, which can be dated to pre-AD 43. Dannell records a number of plain Arretine sherds dated to the Augustan-Tiberian period (Cunliffe *et al.* 1996, 110); they all were found in the northern part of the excavations, and some of the sherds are clearly residual (e.g. number 9 from D1002, Ditch

5). When Valery Rigby commented on the fine wares she indicated that a number of small sherds had been imported to the site before AD 43; again there was a concentration in the north of the excavations. Significantly, she went on to suggest that the late Augustan vessels were of particular importance because they complemented similar vessels found by Barry Cunliffe in the 1960s excavations underneath the Palace. She differed from the earlier interpretations, claiming that these early sherds did 'not have to be explained away as heirlooms from Roman officer's baggage, or out-of-date stock unloaded upon unsuspecting natives in the immediate post-Conquest period' (Cunliffe *et al.* 1996, 117). Instead she saw these sherds as evidence of trade and exchange in the early 1st century AD, by the native elites within Late Iron Age oppida, such as those demarcated by dyke systems around Chichester and Fishbourne, and similarly at Camulodunum. The quantity of pre-AD 43 material from the Fishbourne area was clearly increasing, and, in a discussion of Terra Nigra and Terra Rubra, Gallo-Belgic imported fine wares dating from 15 BC to AD 85, Rigby pointed out that the early material now came from three separate excavations: those in the 1960s under the Palace, those along the route of the A27 east of the Palace, and from excavations in Chichester itself. Some 286 pre-Conquest vessels had now (i.e. by the early 1990s) been found at Fishbourne and Chichester. The only difficulty remained a lack of Late Iron Age indigenous features to associate with this pottery.

Alec Down's excavations were followed in the 1990s by a series of excavations undertaken by the now defunct Southern Archaeology east of the A27. Only the briefest of interim reports as yet record this important series of excavations.<sup>38</sup> The excavations east of the A27 indicated that, especially the northern part of the area, was heavily utilised in the Roman period. The principal results of the excavations are presented in Table 26.

Without full publication it would be unwise to place too much interpretation on these preliminary reports. However, the presence of a possible roundhouse, the rectangular timber buildings and the Arretine add significant elements to the archaeology east of the Palace. In addition, the discovery of the signet ring, with a Celtic cognomen, *Catuarus*, implies the owner was a British chief enfranchised by Claudius or Nero (Tomlin 1997).

The final site to consider is the nearby town of Chichester (Fig. 271). Here too there is very little

evidence of indigenous, Iron Age, structures. On the so-called Cattle Market site, by the East Gate of the later Roman town, the remains of two sub-rectangular huts and one circular hut were located, the former having sunken floors. Associated finds included a handmade platter in black ware, a wheel-turned small globular beaker, sherds of Dressel 1B amphorae, three Roman Republican coins and five pre-conquest denarii. Traces of a ditch 7 metres wide were also located nearby, quite possibly part of the north-south section of the Chichester Dykes (Down 1989, 59–61). Further to the north-east, and to the north of Stane Street, a possible military ditch (some 4.5 metres wide and 2.14 metres deep), with a possible palisade trench to the east, was found. The ditch was not open for very long and its fill contained pre-Flavian samian and imitation Gallo-Belgic wares; the ditch had been deliberately filled in. Alec Down surmised that the ditch might have been part of a defensive work associated with a detachment of the invading army in AD 43 (Down & Rule 1971, 67). Another section of ditch was located underneath the Needle-makers' site, south of Stane Street. Here the ditch measured some 5.2 metres wide by 2 metres deep, with three sherds of samian (one pre-Flavian) above the silt in the bottom of the ditch. Down (1981, 84) hypothesized that these two ditches might be sides of the marching camp of the Second Legion in AD 43.<sup>40</sup> The final early ditch section was excavated on the site of the Theological College outside the West Gate of the Roman town. Here, a V-shaped ditch ran north-south across the site; it appears to have been about 3 metres wide and 1.4 metres deep. The ditch was backfilled with brickearth and the finds included a number of sherds of Terra Nigra, all pre-Flavian, the majority being pre-Claudian (Down & Magilton 1993, 54). In the same volume Dannell (p. 149) lists 12 sherds of Augustan-Tiberian Arretine from the site, describing the majority of finely slipped, well-moulded pieces as similar to the range from the fort at Haltern in Germany, which was abandoned in AD 9.

Military finds that were deemed to date to AD 43 or later were found in the north-west quadrant of the later Roman town, and have subsequently been located in other areas. On the County Hall site sherds of Tiberian samian, and early Gallo-Belgic wares associated with a number of fragments of legionary equipment, including a ballista bolt, pieces of lorica and a belt buckle were located (Down 1989, 2).<sup>41</sup> On the west side of Chapel Street a number of

Table 27. Early Roman pottery and features from the Fishbourne/Chichester excavations.

Site	Feature(s)	Pottery
Palace excavations	Timber buildings	some Claudian samian, girth and butt beakers; Arretine dating to before AD 30
A27 excavations by Alec Down	ditches and gullies	Arretine sherds dated to the Augustan-Tiberian period; late Augustan fine ware imports
Excavations east of the A27	ditches, post-holes, gullies	quantities of Arretine and early imported wares
Chichester excavations	timber buildings; ditches	Terra Nigra, Terra Rubra and Augustan-Tiberian Arretine
1995–99 excavations east of Palace	early ditch	Augustan Arretine

rectangular buildings were located, of which one phase, and probably two others, were constructed by the Roman military. The regularity of the plan suggested to Down that they were part of barrack blocks, and the quantity of 1st century legionary equipment led him to claim, beyond doubt,<sup>42</sup> this area as part of the Second Legion's base camp in AD 43 (Down 1978, 43). Some of these structures were clearly associated with Arretine wares, Tiberian-Claudian samian and Gallo-Belgic fine wares (Down 1978, 52, 54), summarized by Dannell as amounting to some 206 sherds (Dannell, in Down 1978, 227). Later excavations in the same area in the late 1970s again produced evidence of military timber buildings, and a quantity of Augustan-Tiberian Arretine from the ATEIUS workshops. There was also a collection of Italian and Gaulish vessels from a pit (pit X 165), which Dannell estimated to be of the period AD25-40 (Dannell, in Down 1981, 263–4).

In conclusion it can be noted that the Fishbourne and Chichester areas have so far failed to produce significant evidence of Late Iron Age indigenous structures; the possible round-house on Fishbourne Road East, and the three structures on the east side of Chichester are the sum total. Yet both areas have produced evidence of features that could be interpreted as belonging to the Roman military, and some of these features have been associated with Arretine ware or early imports dating to pre-AD 43. Table 27 selectively summarizes the overall evidence.

It remains to discuss how this evidence relates to the early Roman occupation of southern Britain. This will be the subject matter of the final part of this report.

6. In bringing together this evidence it must be remembered that we are nowhere near able to reconstruct the Late Iron Age or early Roman archaeology of the Fishbourne and Chichester ar-

reas with any degree of certainty or conviction. In all probability the area between Fishbourne and Chichester was densely occupied in the Roman period and we only have a few keyhole windows open to try and understand what is clearly a much larger whole. Our difficulties are compounded by the fact that our understanding of the presumed Late Iron Age Chichester Dykes, and what they might have contained within their perimeters has hardly advanced over the last 30 years, apart from some notable exceptions (*e.g.* Westhampnett – Fitzpatrick 1997). For the Fishbourne area at least, it seems plausible that the construction of the Palace, with the presumed establishment of a large estate to go with it, essentially fossilised the landscape in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, bringing to an end a complicated series of developments that we can now only glimpse. What seems clear is that, for whatever reason, Fishbourne appears to have had a very special status in the Roman period.

We do not intend here to go into a detailed resume of the arguments concerning the status of Fishbourne during the invasion of AD 43. One of us (Manley 2002) has elsewhere discussed at length the possibility that the main thrust of the invasion force in AD 43 was through Fishbourne (or at least the Solent) and not through the conventional beachhead of Richborough in north-east Kent. The questions which concern us here, rather, are threefold:

1. What conclusions should we currently draw from the distribution of Arretine or fine ware imports in southern Britain prior to AD 43?
2. Is the distribution of such material in the Fishbourne and Chichester areas somehow different in date, quantities, contexts or forms from the dated imports elsewhere?
3. Were there Roman soldiers (or Roman *negotiatores*) in the Fishbourne area prior to AD 43, and, if so what was their role?

The orthodox answer to question 1 is that the presence of Arretine and fine ware imports prior to AD 43 reflects an acquisitive Late Iron Age aristocracy, keen to get its hands on fine Roman tableware, and perhaps to adopt some continental eating and drinking habits. According to Geoff Dannell, the centres importing these wares were not necessarily 'capitals', which might be adduced to, say, Camulodunum, Verulamium (Prae Wood) or Canterbury, but also sub-sites, which perhaps were ruled by members of 'royal houses' — Skeleton Green for instance. In answer to question 2, there is a hint that the material from Fishbourne spans the decades either side of AD 0, but then stops around AD 25 and does not continue through to the conquest of AD 43. In comparison, the Arretine at Camulodunum appears just as early and does continue through to AD 43. However, as Dannell would readily admit, there is a great need to study this material afresh, particularly the Arretine, the early amphorae and the early fine wares, in order to re-evaluate this subject.

The last question concerns the role of Roman soldiers (or *negotiatores*) in the Fishbourne area prior to AD 43. The arguments that there was regular, meaningful and intense contact between the Roman world and the indigenous elite of southern Britain prior to AD 43 has been well stated by Creighton (2000) and the reader is referred to that source for detailed information. Suffice it to say that Creighton makes a convincing case that local Atrebatian chiefs such as Tincomarus, Verica and Togidubnus may all have spent time growing up in Rome, being acculturated in the Roman way of life, and even fighting in the Roman army. The possible contexts for a Roman military presence on the south coast of Britain prior to AD 43 might be in terms of a detachment of auxilia assisting someone like Tincomarus or Verica at Fishbourne.

What historical evidence do we possess for the practice of stationing Roman troops beyond the formal frontier of Roman rule? There are several instances which include Caesar's stationing of three or four legions with Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XIV in Egypt when he left the country; Herod's arrival in Jerusalem in 37 BC with the support of a Roman legion; the accession of Cotys I in the Bosphorus aided by Roman forces led by Aulus Didius Gallus; the presence of an auxiliary unit in Armenia in AD 31 under a Roman commander, Caelius Pollio; the

gift by the Emperor Hadrian to King Pharasmanes of Iberia of 'an elephant and a quingenary cohort'; an inscription dated to a little after AD 84 which records a detachment of the Legio XII Fulminata in Albania;<sup>43</sup> and finally the arguments that the Romans maintained garrisons in each of the Caucasian client kingdoms (Colchis, Iberia and Albania) to help secure their control of three Caucasus passes through which the Alani might penetrate, as they had done in the past.<sup>44</sup>

Alternatively, both Tincomarus or Verica might have become so accustomed to Roman ways that they could have conceivably trained some of their own troops in the fashion of the Roman military. A third possibility is that Roman *negotiatores* might have been stationed at Fishbourne under the protection of Roman troops prior to AD 43. A minor difficulty here is the identity of the homes of the local Late Iron Age elites with whom they were trading, but this is a difficulty that in due course will be resolved as a result of further archaeological discoveries.

For the time being, until further work is carried out in Area B and its immediate surroundings, there is little point in speculating further. The slighted ditch in Area B, Barry Cunliffe's timber buildings of his Phase 1b, and Building 3 may all float uncertainly in an early historical period which spans the first 25 years after AD 43. Lastly, if Building 3 does have a military origin, as we think is likely, then it is interesting to consider why it was allowed to remain so close to the front of the Palace once the Palace was constructed around AD 75. If there are answers to this apparent anomaly they might be sought in at least three factors: a) the religious aspects of a principia which guaranteed the building some sanctity; b) the fact that this particular principia was revered, perhaps because of its antiquity; c) our assumptions about what kind of landscape and buildings would be situated in front of the Palace. With regard to the latter, I do not wish to rehearse here the arguments presented elsewhere (Manley 2003). Suffice it to say that Fishbourne Roman Palace was a Palace whose architecture focused inwards and not outwards. It was not a Palace designed to look out over carefully designed landscapes in front of it. The reality may have been that *Facing the Palace* was a very congested and built-upon Roman landscape, and a landscape in which Building 3 may not have looked so out of place as we might imagine.

