CHAPTER 7

ASPECTS OF THE STANWAY CEMETERY

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INTRODUCTION

Stanway is an interesting and important funerary site for many reasons. Some are obvious and derive from some of the unusual objects and features which it contained, especially the medical instruments, the gaming boards, and the mortuary chambers. Others are relatively esoteric and are linked to personal and communal power. They relate to location, date, and a ruling élite known to us through histories and coin studies. In some ways the site conforms to its type, but in others it does not. Teasing out what was normal and what was not is part of the challenge in understanding the site and seeing what it can offer in terms of our understanding not just of funerary practice in south-eastern Britain around the time of the Roman invasion, but also of the political and military developments of its time.

The site lies on the periphery of Camulodunum. Part of the funerary sequence (Enclosures 3 to 5) belongs to that critical period when Cunobelin had just died and Claudius captured Camulodunum as the first stage in the Roman conquest of much of Britain. The people whose remains were buried at Stanway in Enclosures 3 to 5 were of high status. The character of the site and the objects buried there show that this was so. Those people must not merely have witnessed events which were to have such a profound effect on the country in the next few centuries to come, they must have been a part of them. As will be argued below, the Stanway site provides clues about who the inhabitants of Camulodunum were and their relationships with the Roman world across the English Channel.

The funerary aspect of the Stanway site is characterised by the following components: large funerary enclosures, timber mortuary chambers, cremation burials, pyre-sites, small ditched areas perhaps for pyres or structures for the display of the dead (our so-called '?mortuary enclosures'), pits with pyre debris, a single pit with broken funerary goods (but not pyre debris) and smashed pots in the ditches. These have been described in turn earlier in this report on a context by context basis. Most can be related to the seven-stage process of disposing of the dead defined by Pearce (1998, table 1). The various steps and the features associated with them can be summarised in a slightly extended form as follows:

1) preliminaries involving the construction of structures such as the enclosures, chambers, ?mortuary enclosures, and shaft/barrels,
2) the display or storage of the deceased and their grave goods in the chambers or perhaps in some cases above ground in the ?mortuary enclosures,
3) the act of cremation on the pyres with the consequent production of pyre debris,
4) pyre-side rituals involving the collection of burnt bones and pyre debris, the deposition of pyre debris in the shaft/barrels, the deliberate breaking of funerary goods away from the pyre, and perhaps the deliberate breaking of the goods on the pyre,
5) the collection from the pyre, and from the places where funerary goods were broken, of cremated bone, pyre debris, and burnt and/or broken funerary goods,
6) the interment and deposition in pits, chambers and shafts/barrels of intact cremated bone, grave goods, deliberately broken funerary goods, and pyre debris,
7) the marking of the chambers with mounds, and finally

8) commemorative feasting and the deliberate deposition of broken pots in the enclosure ditches and ?mortuary enclosures, and perhaps the construction of the structure in Enclosure 5 implied by the slot CF96.

Theoretical approaches would define the whole process thus: digging an enclosure and placing a body in a chamber or in a ?mortuary enclosure represents the initial rite of separating the dead from the living by placing them in a liminal situation, while the stages from the pyre to either burial or the ?scattering of ashes mark the transit of the dead person into an altered state, an 'other' world; the construction of a mound, the consumption of a funeral feast and the smashing of the pots used during the meal are symbolic of the dead person's final departure and disappearance from life (Pearce 1998, 105; Parker Pearson 2003, 50, 147). Theory aside, what is certain is that the burial rites practised at Stanway were highly structured, and they appear to have been graded to some degree in accordance with the status of each deceased person.

The following section is a review and discussion of the stratigraphic and finds evidence according to specific topics not already covered in the previous sections. In particular, some generalised conclusions are drawn about various categories of funerary context, especially the nature and structure of the chambers and the physical appearance and contents of the cremation burials. The evidence for dating and phasing is also reviewed at length and various inherent difficulties and limitations are highlighted. Finally, consideration is given to the (possibly contentious) question as to whether anything can be deduced about the likely identity of the people represented at Stanway as indicated by their funerary practices.

ASPECTS OF THE PHYSICAL REMAINS (FIG. 169; TABLES 75–8)

SYMMETRY AND ORGANISATION OF THE FUNERARY ENCLOSURES

The layout of the funerary enclosures and the features and finds from them all display a degree of organisation which can hardly have been random and must reflect the burial and other rites which took place inside them, as does the awareness of the points of the compass which is evident in many places. Aspects of the site which reveal or hint at an all-embracing symmetry and order can be summarised as follows. The chamber BF6 was centrally placed in its enclosure, the other three being axial. The pyre was central in Enclosure 3 as was the ?mortuary enclosure in Enclosure 5. The ?mortuary enclosure in Enclosure 4 was axial. No evidence of a pyre was found in Enclosure 1, but the position of the chamber there hints that it had been in the middle. All the cremation burials lay in the western halves of their enclosures. Those in Enclosure 5 were all about the same distance from the enclosure ditch (*i.e.* 8–10 m). The bulk of the partial pots not only in the ditches but also in the ditched pyre-sites BF32 and CF43–6 were in the eastern halves of their enclosures. The burial pits and the chambers were all aligned with their enclosures apart from AF18 which, not being rectilinear or square, could not be aligned with anything. The entrances of the enclosures were on their east sides (leaving aside Enclosure 1 where the location of the entrance cannot be determined).

CHAMBERS: STRUCTURE, MOUNDS AND BROKEN GRAVE GOODS (FIG. 169)

Of the four chambers, three were nailed. The earliest one (AF25) had been constructed without nails. The sides of the nailed chambers were made of vertical planks held in place in the base by a slot and nailed in place at the top. None of them appears to have had plank floors. BF6 seems to have had straw or hay spread over the floor. BF6 and CF42 were the largest and most complicated. Both incorporated a horizontal timber suspended along the length of the chamber to support the roof (FIG. 169). The ends of these timbers were carried on vertical posts placed in the centre of the north and south sides. Chamber AF25 was different in that the planks forming its walls appear to have been set horizontally. Support for this conclusion was provided by the absence of the slot around all four sides of the floor, which was a feature of the nailed chambers. The horizontal placement of the planks is likely to be related to the way the chamber

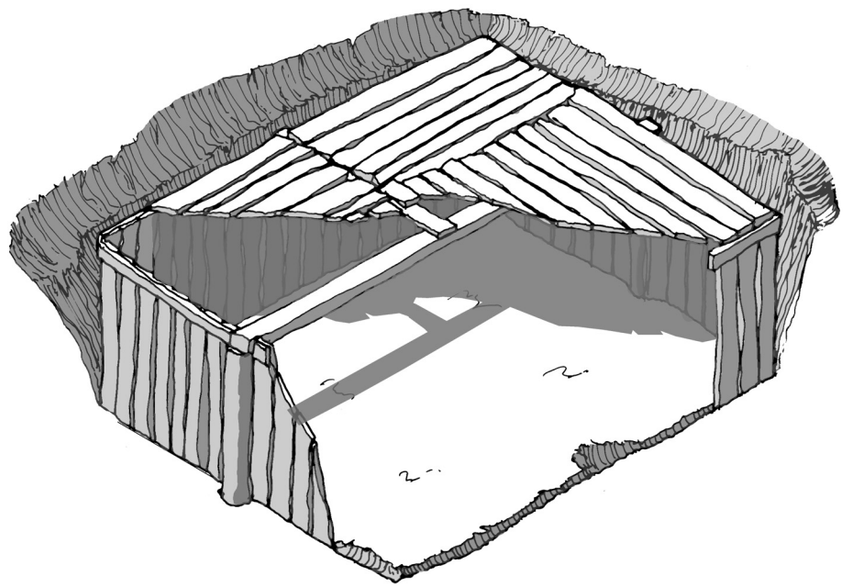

FIG. 169. Conjectural reconstruction of chamber BF6, viewed from the south-east (J. Chittenden)

was made, and suggests that it was constructed like some wooden wells, such as those found at Sheepen where the sides consisted of a series of horizontally laid frames. Here the use of nails was avoided by shoulder-jointing the planks to make the frames which were then stacked one above the other to form the walls (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 126–8, figs 38 and 40).

In all three nailed chambers, the distribution of the surviving nails indicates that many others around the edges must have been ploughed off, and thus implies that the roofs of the chambers had been close to the surface, if not at ground-level (FIG. 169). The proximity of the uppermost parts of those three chambers to the contemporary ground-level meant that it would have been impossible to cover them over without a mound of some sort. The bases of mounds which once stood over chambers BF6 and CF42 were very clear in section as 'sagging', dish-shaped deposits making up most of the fill of those chambers. The layers constituting the upper fills of AF25 and BF24 were not dish-shaped, but were bedded horizontally and gave the appearance of being simple backfill. The previous existence of a mound over AF25 is therefore uncertain but, as shown in BF24, its horizontally bedded upper fill does not rule out this possibility.

The mounds are likely to have been low since there were no surviving earthworks. Presumably they were destroyed by later ploughing and other agricultural activities. Nor were the mounds likely to have been very extensive, to judge by the proximity of other features. The maximum possible width for a mound over CF42 would have been 16 m, so as to leave clear the slot CF96 and the ?mortuary enclosure CF43–6. The alignments of both CF96 and CF43–6 and their proximity to the chamber raises the possibility of square mounds. A mound over BF24 could have been no bigger than 23 m across to keep clear of the enclosure ditch BF5. A mound over BF6 is not likely to have been wider than 38 m to allow for the Inkwell burial; presumably it was a lot less. There was nothing to indicate the likely area of a mound over AF25, if indeed one ever existed.

Burial rites must also lie behind not only the deposition pattern of the broken funerary goods and the cremated bone in the chambers (at least the material in Enclosures 3 to 5) but in the selection of their content. The debris (*i.e.* the lower fill of the chambers) must have been regarded as being of some significance since, in BF6, BF24 and CF42, it had been placed into the chamber from the north side. This is very clear from the distribution of the broken grave goods in all three chambers, where there were obvious concentrations of them at the north ends of their chambers. There is evidence too of selection in the material that was dumped on the

floor of the chambers. The human bone in the chambers appears to have been added deliberately after it had been picked out of the ashes of the pyre. This was clearest in BF6 where the burnt human bone seemed to lie in small scatters on or close to the floor, as if thrown into the chamber a handful at a time. There is also similar evidence in the distribution of the other material in the dumped deposits on the floors of the chambers. Although the broken pots and other items were scattered throughout the deposits, there were hints of some clustering of fragments from the same vessels in chamber CF42 which might show deliberate selection. And in BF6 and BF24, some of the other items, such as the spout BF6.25, the pedestal BF6.24 and some of the beads BF24.24, lay on or close to the floor as if they had been deliberately selected for early deposition in the dumping process. However, it is unlikely that individual sherds were picked out for redeposition in the chamber, but rather that the debris containing the broken items was picked over and parts with suitable concentrations of sherds were scraped up and redeposited in the chamber *en masse*.

Not only were the broken grave goods concentrated towards the north ends of the chambers, but they also occurred in greater numbers on or just above the chamber floors. These concentrations show that the broken material was deposited in the chambers from the north ends, with some selection early on in the depositional process when the pieces were relatively plentiful in the dumped material. Moreover, although the bits of broken pots lay scattered throughout most of the debris in a jumbled way, there were hints of limited clustering. The amphoras in BF6 had the most distinctive distribution, with a clear concentration near the north end of the chamber.

Interestingly, a similar concentration of broken objects was found in the Lexden Tumulus during the excavations of 1924 (Foster 1986, 166–9), in which the smashed artefacts were found throughout the lower fill of the grave but apparently with distinct concentrations on or near the floor. The similarities between Stanway and the Lexden Tumulus may also extend to the amphoras. Remains of at least 17 smashed vessels of this type lay near the centre of the north end of the grave (*ibid.*, 131). These were thought to have been broken by later 'robbers' (Laver 1927; Foster 1986, 163–4), but in the light of the evidence from Stanway, especially BF6, it is more likely that the vessels had been smashed at the same time as the other objects there and the resulting debris deposited in the grave from the north side just as at Stanway.

PYRES AND PITS WITH PYRE DEBRIS

At least two pyres had been lit in the centre of Enclosure 3, where vents in the shape of long pits showed where they had been sited. Elsewhere the locations of the pyres were difficult to determine, but the two ?mortuary enclosures BF32 and CF43–6 are plausible candidates. Both were in the form of clusters of small pits or post-holes within a squared ditched enclosure, but identification of these sites as the locations of pyres can only be tentative and, as is discussed below, there is the possibility that they represent the remains of structures, subsequently burnt, used for the display of corpses or their excarnation. Other pyre-sites must have existed in other places but, being largely surface features, they would be hard to detect without the deep vents, post-holes, and ditches present in the ones that we have found.

Pits with pyre-related debris are now widely recognised as a specific type of feature that occurs on cemeteries of the Late Iron Age and Roman periods. They are characterised by the inclusion of charcoal, fragments of burnt and broken funerary goods, and sometimes cremated bone. Difficulties on some sites in distinguishing between pits with pyre debris and unurned cremation burials mean that it is often impossible to determine reliable numbers. In the main Stanway site (as opposed to Site D), there were only two pits which contained pyre debris (BF17 and CF7). At Site D there were proportionally more, with four or five pits with pyre-related debris as opposed to only three cremation burials. However, there are so many factors governing the numbers, or at least the apparent numbers, of pyre-related features on sites that any ratios are not likely to be of much value. In Colchester, the cemeteries on the Abbey Field to the south of the town (excavated in 2000) and Turner Rise to the north (excavated 1996–97) produced around one pit with pyre-related debris to every four or five cremation burials (Crossan 2001

and Shimmin forthcoming resp.). Further afield at Westhampnett in West Sussex, the ratio was similar (Fitzpatrick 1997, 18), whereas at King Harry Lane in Verulamium, at one to twenty, it was considerably lower (Niblett 1999, 402). Moreover, in London thick layers of pyre debris show that this material may simply have been spread out over a wide area (maybe in wide scoops) rather than buried in pits (Barber and Bowsher 2000, 63).

Pits with pyre debris are hard to explain as a phenomenon, but generally they are felt to represent the deliberate burial of debris which had some special significance to those who buried it (Polfer 2000, 32; Fitzpatrick 1997, 231, 233–4). Although the dumped material in the bottoms of the chambers does not seem to have contained pyre debris, these deposits must have had a similar significance since they contained fragments of broken funerary goods and in the cases of BF6 and BF24 handfuls of cremated human bone, which appear to have been added as the material was being deposited.

?MORTUARY ENCLOSURES

The purpose of the two square ditched areas which we have termed '?mortuary enclosures' (*i.e.* BF32 and CF43–6) is unclear. BF32 had the appearance of a pyre-site because it incorporated a patch of scorched natural and included a few pieces of cremated bone, much charcoal, and a considerable amount of heat-affected metalwork, that is, the same sort of material that was associated with pyre-site BF1/BF16. Presumably the pits enclosed by BF32's ditch must have held posts which strengthened the pyre. However, CF43–6 was similar in plan to BF32 but there was little else about it to suggest that it too had been a pyre-site apart from a single, tiny scrap of heat-affected copper alloy. Had they both been pyre-sites, then their ditches perhaps should have contained much more debris from the pyres than they did.

A possibility that cannot be discounted is that each ?mortuary enclosure enclosed an above-ground type of structure used for excarnation (Carr and Knüsel 1997) or, perhaps more likely, the display of the body prior to cremation such as suggested for Acy-Romance in the French Ardennes (Lambot *et al.* 1994). Both ?mortuary enclosures appear to have been relatively short-lived, so that excarnation is probably the least likely of the two possibilities. Perhaps the explanation is more complicated; for example, they may have enclosed above-ground structures that were subsequently burnt *in situ* as part of a pyre. The enclosures would certainly make sense as places for structures used to display the dead since they would then have served as the above-ground equivalent of the wooden mortuary chamber. But Enclosure 4 contained both a chamber and a ?mortuary enclosure. Why have both, especially if, as appears to have been the case, there were no burials in the enclosure? On balance, they seem best seen as pyre sites in view of the burnt material and the scorched area in BF32, but this interpretation remains problematic.

CREMATION BURIALS: COVERS, DEPTHS, CHARACTER AND PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF A SERVICE (TABLE 75)

All the cremation burials were rectangular or square in plan (with the exception of AF18 and possibly CF403, the shape of which is unknown). The reason for their shape is that their contents were probably protected by a cover made of wooden planks. The remains of plank covers have been recognised in circular graves at Stansted and King Harry Lane, but the absence there of nails suggests that the planks were simply laid loose in the burial pit. Thus nailed wooden covers may prove more likely in rectangular or square burial pits. Other than shape, the evidence for covers at Stanway is limited. Wood from a fairly complicated cover survived in the Doctor's burial, as did many nails which seem to have been part of it (CF47.41). Nails in the Inkwell burial might also have been part of a cover (BF67.5). No wood or nails were found in the Warrior's burial that could be interpreted as having belonged to a cover, although it is possible that a cover was not thought necessary since the open vessels seem to have been protected by a cloak or blanket (BF64.36).

The height of the amphoras in the Doctor's burial and the Warrior's burial determined the depth of their burial pits because they had been placed upright or nearly so. This meant that both burial pits were much deeper than the others.

TABLE 75: TYPES OF CREMATION BURIALS

Inurned	*Unurned and with a service*	*Unurned and without a service*
AF18	BF64 (Warrior's burial) CF47 (Doctor's burial) CF115 (Mirror burial) CF403	BF67 (Inkwell burial) CF72 (Brooches burial)

The seven burials from the enclosures can be grouped according to content, *i.e.* inurned cremation burials, unurned cremation burials with a service, and unurned cremation burials without a service (TABLE 75). As mentioned above, the difference in the quantity of bone between the inurned burial and the others is probably the result of a slightly different rite for each of the two categories, and the distinction between burials which were inurned and those which were not is probably a meaningful one in terms of funerary practice. The inclusion or absence of a service clearly made a big difference to the size and appearance of a group of grave goods, but it is less certain how significant that might have been in terms of rite or status of the dead person. This much is made clear from the Brooches burial which, despite not containing a service, could be seen as relatively well endowed since it contained six brooches and an expensive cosmetic container in the form of a rare glass *pyxis*. Six brooches in one burial is a high number: out of 472 burials at King Harry Lane, the largest number in any one grave was four (Stead and Rigby 1989, appendix 6). In Colchester, a grave at Lexden provides an example of a pre-conquest example of a rich burial without a service but again with six brooches (Hull 1942). We can only speculate as to why burial groups with such high-quality grave goods should have excluded a service. It was not a matter of gender, since services could occur with both males (*e.g.* BF64) and females (chamber BF24).

GRAVE GOODS: SOCIAL STATUS AND FUNCTION (TABLE 76)

In Britain, there is a growing belief that the number and quality of grave goods should not be taken as an indicator of the status which the dead person enjoyed in life (Biddulph 2005, 38; Fitzpatrick 2000, 17; Parker Pearson 2003, 78–80). Certainly at the macro level, *i.e.* individuals within a specific cemetery, it would be too simplistic to suppose that, for example, a person interred with six grave goods had been a more important person than one with, say, three. The Brooches burial is a good illustration of this point. The burial contained relatively few objects compared with the Doctor's burial or the Warrior's burial, yet the glass *pyxis* and the high number of brooches show that this was probably the burial place of a relatively well-off person whose social standing and economic circumstances are now indistinguishable from the other two. Nevertheless, it does seem an inescapable conclusion that collectively the people interred in Enclosures 3 to 5 at Stanway were of a different social status than, say, those whose remains were buried on Site D. This is evident not just from the grave goods but also from the manner of burial in the first group, *i.e.* the presence of chambers, the existence and the scale of the funerary enclosures, and the very low density of burials within them. The difference can be presumed to be a consequence of Enclosures 3–5 and Site D being the burial places of two different social groups, separated not only by status but also by different ties of close kinship. Put in more general terms, the grave goods in a particular cemetery viewed as a group (communal burial grounds apart) ought to reveal something about the status and wealth of the dead buried within it, because the grave goods are likely to reflect the collective status and wealth of the family concerned. Martin Millett (1993, 275) made much the same point but preferred the less specific, wider construct of 'social network'.

The largest services at Stanway (in BF64, CF47, BF6, CF42 and BF24) give the impression of having comprised settings for two people (TABLE 76). Although they do not necessarily seem to split into two identical halves, there is nevertheless an impression in the range of sizes and forms of two roughly similar sets of bowls, plates and cups. A two-way division is most evident

TABLE 76: VESSELS RELATED TO FOOD AND DRINK

	Drink					***Food***	
	Storage	*Presentation/serving*			*Drinking*	*Eating*	*Presentation?*
	Amphoras	*Lagenae/flagons*	*Beakers**	*Others?*	*Cups*	*Shallow bowls and/or platters*	*Jars/deep bowls*
Cremation burials							
AF18	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
BF64	1	2	?1	hand-washing set	2 small 2 large	2 platters 2 bowls	1 samian cup
BF67	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
CF47	1 (**)	1	–	bronze saucepan, copper-alloy strainer bowl (***)	2 small 2 large	7 platters	1 samian bowl
CF72	–	1	–	–	1 small 1 large	–	–
CF115	–	1	–	–	1	–	–
CF403	–	–	–	–	–	1 platter	1 jar
Chambers (probably incomplete groups)							
AF25	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
BF6	2	–	–	copper-alloy strainer bowl	2 small 2 large	17	–
BF24	–	2	2	–	2 small 2 large	14 (different types)	–
CF42	1	–	1	–	2 small 1 large	5	1 glass bowl

* Beakers may have been used for presentation.
** May have contained *garum*, a condiment rather than a drink.
*** May have contained a tea-like medicinal drink made from artemisia.

in the cups, particularly in the Doctor's burial and, to a lesser extent, the Warrior's burial where the vessels seem to be paired according to size and shape. A similar split can occasionally be seen in some burials from elsewhere, *e.g.* the pair of silver cups from Welwyn (Stead 1967, 58). Powerful support for the idea that some of the groups made provision for two people is given by the gaming board in the Doctor's burial which, of course, was laid out as if in readiness for two people to play a game. This begs the question of who that second person might have been. One unlikely possibility is that burials with two settings (if that indeed is what they are) contained the cremated remains of two people. It is true that the cremated bone provided no indication of more than one person, but then little of the bone survives and, being cremated, it would be difficult to tell if the remains of more than a single person were present unless one had been an adult and the other a child. It is worth noting in this regard that the Lexden Tumulus may have contained the remains of more than one person (Foster 1986, 138–9).

As is invariably the case with burials of the Late Iron Age and Roman periods, the vessels were laid out face upwards in the graves with almost no nesting of one within another. The amphoras in the Doctor's burial and the Warrior's burial were placed upright against a corner of the burial pit. Although there was no evidence to indicate otherwise, the arrangements strongly point to the vessels having contained food and drink. Amphoras can be taken to have included wine (but see below). Flagons, *lagenae* (two-handled flagons), and beakers would have been for the presentation and serving of drink, presumably wine or beer, although beakers may have been used for communal drinking (Pitts 2005, 148). Bowls and jars are likely to have been used for the presentation of food, cups were for drinking and platters and shallow bowls for eating as well as serving (TABLE 76; Biddulph 2005; Pitts 2005). The upright position of the amphoras also

suggests that they had been opened before burial because their contents might have spilled or leaked out if they had been laid on their sides. (For a contrary point of view, see p. 304.)

The simplest combination of grave goods was found in CF115 where a small flagon had been deposited with a single cup. Unless food had been provided on wooden platters, it would appear that the dead person was sent off into the other world with nothing more than a relatively modest drink. CF403, on the other hand, seemed only to have been provided with something to eat, and, if the grave goods are to be taken at face value, the much earlier AF18 in Enclosure 1 apparently had nothing at all. It is, of course, not possible to tell what is missing. Wooden and leather items would have decayed completely without trace, and food and liquids could have been placed or poured either into the burial pit or on to the surface after it had been backfilled.

Chamber BF6 contained parts of two wine amphoras, chamber CF42 parts of another. The Doctor's burial and the Warrior's burial both contained a single amphora. The amphora in the Doctor's burial is a Beltrán I which, coming from Baetica, is universally regarded by amphora specialists as a container for *garum* rather than wine. Given that *garum* was a condiment, we have to wonder why it was considered necessary to provide the deceased with so much of it. The question applies equally if the *garum* was included for its medicinal properties (p. 300). Certainly it would make more sense if the Doctor's amphora had contained wine, given that a feature of Welwyn-type burials is the inclusion of one or more wine amphoras (Stead 1967, 44, 49; Cunliffe 1991, 510) and that the grave contained a saucepan for preparing heated wine-based drinks (p. 322).

Of the nine burial groups represented in Enclosures 3 to 5, four included gaming equipment. The Doctor's burial and the Warrior's burial each contained the remains of a board and a set of gaming pieces. The fragmentary remains in chambers BF6 and CF42 indicated that they had been similarly equipped, since the former included the corner of a board and the latter a single glass gaming piece. Out of 472 burials from the Iron Age cemetery at King Harry Lane, only two (graves 117 and 309, Stead and Rigby 1989, 109–10) appear to have included gaming boards, which is in marked contrast to the higher-status burial ground at Stanway. In the La Tène world, gaming was a pastime associated with the élite (p. 374). Two stories from the later literature stress the connection between board games and high-status protagonists. *The Wooing of Etain* from the Irish literature mentions games of fidchell (*fidhcheall*) played between Echu Airem, king of Temuir, and Mider of Brí Léith, in which the stakes were fifty superb grey horses and their enamelled bridles, fifty boars, a vat large enough to hold the boars, fifty gold-hilted swords, fifty white cows and fifty white calves, fifty wethers, fifty ivory-hilted swords, and fifty colourful cloaks (Gantz 1981, 52–3). *The Dream of Rhonabwy*, a medieval Welsh story attached to *The Mabinogion*, deliberately looks back to an earlier heroic age and its action centres around a series of games of *gwyddbwyll* played between Arthur and Owain, son of Urien (Jones and Jones 1970, 145–50). In both these cases the game boards are described as silver and the pieces as gold, no doubt chiefly as a poetic device designed to reinforce the high status of the players and to enhance the sense of awe and distance that the telling of the stories would raise in the hearers. Nevertheless, the two examples serve to paint a picture of a warrior society where board games formed part of the normal activities of the court and could be played for high stakes.

BROKEN FUNERARY GOODS AS INDICATORS OF RITUAL (TABLE 77)

Three different types of context contained parts of broken funerary goods, namely chambers, ditches, and pyres/pyre debris. The proportion of burnt material present in each of those types of contexts was different, as are the likely explanations for the condition of the damaged objects which they contained. The site at Alton in Hampshire (Millett 1986) is of particular relevance to Stanway since it provides useful contextual information about funerary rituals and the deliberate breaking of pots which is not so clearly visible at Stanway.

All four chambers at Stanway contained broken pots but no clearly identifiable pyre-debris (as indicated above all by charcoal). The absence of this material in the chambers shows that the parts of the broken objects they contained came from pots and other items broken sufficiently far away from the pyre to be unaffected by it. This rite accounts for the incomplete

metal objects in BF6 (*e.g.* the bronze pedestal BF6.24, the fragment of a bronze vessel BF6.25, and the parts of a gaming board BF6.26), and is clearly recognisable as similar to the Lexden Tumulus and Folly Lane where the funerary goods were broken or cut up but not burnt.

Like the funerary pots in the chambers, collectively the broken pot fragments from the enclosure ditches and ?mortuary enclosures at Stanway exhibit little evidence that they had been placed on a pyre. Those that do appear to have been heat-affected are so few in number (TABLE 77) that they are just as likely to have been wasters or seconds. The most obvious explanation for their presence on the site is that they were connected with feasting at the time of the funerals or (less likely) later during commemorative events in the cemetery. The range of pots represented in the ditches is different from that evident in the funerary goods in terms of fabric and type (p. 274). The funerary goods in the burial pits and chambers consist mainly of vessels for drinking, eating and serving, most of which are imported finewares. On the other hand, the pottery from the ditches consists predominantly of jars and beakers largely made in local wares. The composition of the group seems similar to the Sheepen assemblage taken as a whole (TABLE 40; p. 289), where the commonest vessels were jars and bowls (especially CAM 218 and 266) closely followed by butt beakers (mainly CAM 113) and where platters (mostly CAM 28), cups (CAM 56 and 58), and amphoras were relatively rare. In both places, the assemblages were dominated by jars, bowls, and butt beakers. The difference between the two

TABLE 77: POTS AND SHERDS ALMOST CERTAINLY BURNT OR SCORCHED POST-FIRING

Context	*Pot or sherd no.*	*When scorched or burnt*	*Total no. of pots from context*	*No. of scorched/ burnt pots*
Enclosure 1				
Chamber AF25	AF25.2	not clear, but possibly after or during breakage	2	1
Enclosure 2				
Enclosure ditch CF6	C1473	Late Iron Age grog-tempered sherd; not clear when burnt, but possibly after or during breakage	?2	1
Enclosure 3				
Chamber BF6	BF6.13	if scorched, then before breakage	23	?4
	BF6.16	if scorched, then before breakage		
	BF6.18	if scorched, then before breakage		
	BF6.19	if scorched, then before breakage		
Pyre site BF1/BF16	BF16.1	not clear if burnt, but if so, then before or after breakage	1	1
Burial BF64	BF64.13	if scorched then on one side of the pot and before breakage	15	?1
Enclosure 4				
Enclosure ditches BF40 and CF1	Pot 37*	not clear when	88	1
Enclosure 5				
Chamber CF42	CF42.4	possibly scorched on exterior, but unclear if this happened before or after breakage	7	1
Pyre site CF43–6	Pot 129	not clear, possibly after breakage	11	4
	Pot 130*	not clear when		
	Pot 138	scorched before breakage on one side of pot		
	Pot 141	not clear when		
Enclosure ditches CF2	Pot 135	scorched before breakage as sherds show differential scorching across surfaces	10	1
Outside enclosures				
Pyre debris pit CF7	CF7.1	scorched after or during breakage as there are differences in degrees of scorching between joining sherds	1	1

groups seems to show different eating and drinking habits. The funerary goods at Stanway reflect formal Roman-style dining whereas the material in the ditches appears in keeping with what was evidently everyday British-style eating practice, whereby beer was drunk from butt beakers and food eaten from deep bowls and jars rather than from platters.

Broken pots represented in pyres and pyre debris are limited in number to the extent that in the enclosures there are only about a dozen burnt sherds of this kind. These were found in the pyre-site BF1/BF16 and they are all amphora sherds, apparently from the same vessel (BF16.1). Given that amphora sherds form a relatively small component of the broken material from the site as a whole, the pieces in this pyre-site suggest that amphoras rather than any other kind of vessel were more likely to have ended up next to or on top of a funeral pyre. Indications of the same close association between amphoras and pyres are evident at other similar funerary sites. For example at Folly Lane, although no pottery was found on the pyre site itself, the pyre debris in the burial pit near the chamber contained almost 1.5 kg of burnt amphora sherds as opposed to only four small pieces of other pottery (Niblett 1999, 47–8, 51). And at Clemency, with its 'pavement' of hundreds of amphora sherds and its 'principal pyre site' containing 293 amphora sherds, the connection was even more marked. In each place at Clemency, the proportion of amphora sherds that were burnt was 41 per cent and the number of other kinds of vessels represented in those groups was tiny (Metzler *et al.* 1991, 38–40). It is not possible to determine if the amphora BF16.1 at Stanway was in pieces because it had been deliberately broken or if it had simply disintegrated in the heat of the fire, although the small size of the surviving sherds and the presence of so many deliberately broken pots elsewhere on the site point to premeditated destruction. Nor is it possible to know if the amphora had been empty when it was placed on the pyre (but *see* p. 430 for a discussion of this point).

Apart from amphora sherds, the only other objects found on the pyre-site BF1/BF16 were fragments of heat-affected copper-alloy items and ironwork. This is typical of pyre-sites generally. The copper-alloy pieces are presumably the remains of personal items worn on the body or placed by it in the pyre. The ironwork may indicate that broken-up wooden items of various sorts had been used as fuel, as suggested for Westhampnett (Fitzpatrick 1997, 106, 109). They might also derive from a bier or other item on which the body was burnt.

At Folly Lane, the main deposit of burnt funerary goods was found in the burial pit, not the chamber. Of all the broken pottery in the latter, only three sherds showed signs of having been burnt and these were in the backfilling not the primary deposit (Niblett 1999, 44). There was no obvious equivalent feature at Stanway to the burial pit at Folly Lane (unless it was the ?barrel BF17 in Enclosure 3).

Three of the burials in the cemetery at Alton in Hampshire (Millett 1986) are of particular relevance to Stanway. A very large assemblage of funerary goods had been placed intact on the floor of Grave 5. The group was made up of the usual range of dining and serving vessels. However, in the backfill of the burial pit was the remains of a collection of twelve broken identifiable vessels, consisting of jars and wide bowls just as in the ditches at Stanway. Two other burials from the same cemetery showed a similar pattern but with fewer pots present. The Alton pots are important to Stanway for three reasons. Firstly, they provide an example of the dichotomy which is apparent at Stanway: the vessels on the floors of the graves were appropriate for a formal Roman world whereas those in the grave backfills were more suited to everyday consumption in a local manner. Secondly, the Alton pots show with a precision not possible at Stanway that the deliberate breaking of pots of the sorts found in the Stanway ditches (*i.e.* for the 'informal' consumption of food and drink) could have occurred during the interment of funerary goods and thus could have been an integral part of that process. At Stanway, this means that we can be more confident that the breaking of the pots in the ditches occurred during the funerals rather than at later commemorative events. The stratification of the broken sherds in the ditch fills at Stanway suggests that this was likely to be so (p. 436), but the evidence is not as conclusive as at Alton. Thirdly, the Alton site shows that any of the cremations at Stanway, not just those associated with the chambers, could have been accompanied by the breaking of pots for the 'informal' consumption of food and drink.

WEIGHTS OF THE CREMATED HUMAN BONE (TABLE 78)

The weights of the recovered cremated human bone point to ritual practices at play, since the amounts fall far short of the 2 kg or so that might have been left in the ashes of the funerary pyre after the cremation of each adult (p. 377; Mays and Steele 1999, 108). The shortfalls not only from the chambers and heaped cremation burials but even from the inurned AF18, where a substantial amount of bone might be expected (TABLE 78), suggest that as full a recovery as possible of the burnt bone from the pyre was not considered important, or that the funerary rites at Stanway involved the disposal of most of the cremated bone in a way or ways that did not involve burial on the site, such as scattering in the open air (cf. Parker Pearson 2003, 49). The context with the most bone was the inurned cremation burial AF18 in Enclosure 1 (the only inurned cremation within the funerary enclosures) where the total quantity in the cremation urn was 640 g, representing about a third to a quarter of the bone produced by the average adult. The lower end of the estimated range can be as low as 1,000 g (McKinley 1993), which could make the amount recovered from AF18 closer to a half or two-thirds of the possible total, but it would still not represent full recovery of the bone from the pyre.

The bone in the other six cremation burials had been placed in one or more heaps on the floors of their burial pits or, in the case of the Doctor's burial, on top of a gaming board. The average weight of bone in these instances was around 150 g which is about a quarter the weight of the bone in AF18. This difference is unlikely to be simply a result of chance because the weights of the bone in the 'heaped' burials are fairly consistent. They show that the bone deposited in those places was probably only a small part of what was collected or could have been collected after the bodies had been burnt. The chambers cannot be considered to constitute burial places, at least in any material sense. This is clear from the chamber CF42 which contained no cremated bone whatsoever.

The under-representation of cremated bone is a familiar feature of Late Iron Age cemeteries both in Britain (McKinley 2000) and in Belgic Gaul, for example at Lamadelaine, where these deposits are seen more as tokens (Metzler-Zens *et al.* 1999, 252–7). The amount deposited does not appear to have mattered, even to the point that 'empty' graves such as CF42 at Stanway could have been regarded as cenotaphs (Boulestin *et al.* 2002; Fitzpatrick 1997, 236; McKinley 1997, 57, 71–2).

TABLE 78: WEIGHTS OF CREMATED HUMAN BONE IN THE CHAMBERS, PITS WITH PYRE DEBRIS, CREMATION BURIALS, ?MORTUARY ENCLOSURES, AND SHAFT/BARRELS IN ENCLOSURES 3–5

	Context	*Weight (g)*
Chambers	AF25	11.8
	BF6	45.0
	BF24	62.5
	CF42	0
Pits with pyre debris or broken funerary goods	AF48	3.4
	CF7	55.8
Cremation burials	AF18 (urned)	639.7
	BF64 (in a pile)	137.5
	BF67 (in a pile)	225.6
	CF47 (in a pile)	158.1
	CF72 (in a pile)	73.7
	CF115 (in a pile)	1.0
	CF403 (in a pile)	167.0
?Mortuary enclosures	BF32	0.1
	CF43-6	0
Shafts/barrels	BF17	0
	CF23	0

CREMATED ANIMAL BONE: HORSE AND OTHER REMAINS

The burnt head of a probable horse, or at least a part of it, lay in the mound of CF42. This is indicated by some burnt upper molars and premolars of a large equid, judged by A. Legge and A. Wade to be probably of horse (pp. 382–3). The teeth were poorly preserved, but they lay in a row showing that they had not been loose but were part of a cranium that had almost completely decayed as a result of the hostile soil conditions. A very similar find was made in the mound of BF6 (pp. 382–3). Considering how little was found in the two mounds, the presence of the burnt teeth in both strongly suggests that the deposition of a horse head or part of it in the mounds of CF42 and BF6 was part of the funerary rite.

The soil is too acidic for unburnt bone to survive, but burnt material is clearly a different matter, as the cremated human bone shows. It is, therefore, curious that more of the bone did not survive if the teeth had indeed been burnt. Perhaps the mounds were even more acidic than the fills of most of the pits and burials on the site, or perhaps the teeth were not burnt at all but just look as if they had been because of their heavily decayed state.

On balance, it seems likely that each of these deposits was limited to a fragment of a burnt cranium. However, it is impossible to judge how much of the horse had been deposited in the mound. Could it have been the whole cranium? Was the mandible included so that it was the whole head? Or could the whole carcass have been placed in the mound? Teeth are the most resistant of the bones to decay so that the presence of teeth alone need not preclude much more of the animal originally being present. However, we should also wonder why so few teeth survived. Was only a fragment of horse cranium placed in the mound, or could it be that the horse head had only been partly burnt?

No animal bone was found in the mounds of the other two chambers. The only other remains of this kind to survive in the chambers — or indeed any of the burials or pits with pyre debris — were teeth fragments in chamber AF25 (pig and an unidentified mammal) and the Warrior's burial (sheep/goat, cattle, and an unidentified mammal — all unstratified). The pig tooth in chamber AF25 lay very close to the floor and, like the horse remains in the mounds of BF6 and CF42, was probably all that survived of an animal or parts of an animal that had been burnt on the funeral pyre.

The pyre-site BF1/BF16 contained a ?sheep carpal and ?dog mandible, the latter again suggesting that the head only had been burnt. The presence of both horse and dog carcasses on a funerary site with élite graves can be taken to imply that they were slaughtered because they were animals associated with the élite pastime of hunting (Méniel 2002), but may alternatively be evidence for their chthonic aspects as the guides and guardians of the soul on its journey between life and death (Jenkins 1957, 65; Black 1983; Merrifield 1987, 46–7, 66–7; Green 1997, 178, 186). The dog motif on the samian bowl in the Doctor's burial (CF47.1) may also have been selected for deposition because of the animal's funerary associations, although it was also linked with healing deities and may have been chosen by or for the deceased for that reason.

RESIDUAL POTTERY: INDICATOR OF EARLY EPISODES OF POT-BREAKING?

Residual pottery can be identified in the backfills of the cremation burials and the mounds of the chambers. The material consists of discarded sherds of pottery that had lain in soil scraped or dug up to create the mounds covering the chambers or to backfill the burials and make any mounds that covered them. The residual sherds are very limited in number but they are of interest because they seem to reveal past funerary activities that are otherwise invisible. There will have been residual pottery in the ditch fills too, but distinguishing these sherds from the remains of deliberately placed partial pots is problematic. Residual material of various kinds was also evident in the pyre-sites BF1 and BF16 and the packing material behind the sides of BF6. It was relatively easy to identify, and this proved helpful in determining relationships between those three features.

The minimum number of vessels represented by the residual pottery from the chamber mounds and the cremation burials can be summarised in terms of fabrics and forms as follows:

chamber mounds
BF6: GTW jar or bowl × 1, GTW × 2, HZ (which is also GTW) × 1
BF24: GTW bowl × 1, GTW x 4, GFW flagon × 2
CF42: GTW butt beaker × 1, GTW jar × 1, GTW × 3
backfill of cremation burials
BF64: GTW × 4, RCVW jar × 1, GX × 2
BF67: RCW × 1, GTW butt-beaker × 1

We have already highlighted the differences in fabrics and forms between the pottery assemblages from the enclosure ditches as opposed to those from the chambers and burials (p. 431). The residual pottery from the chambers and burials, with its mixture of flagons, beakers and jars, is closer in terms of forms to the pottery assemblages from the ditches than those forming the grave goods in the chambers and burials. However, the dominance of grog-tempered wares (GTW) in the residual material shows that the two groups were nevertheless quite different, at least in broad terms. What, then, might be the origin of the residual material? Its high proportion of grog-tempered ware is reminiscent of the earliest material in Enclosure 1. The mix of beakers, flagons and jars/bowls, combined with the domination of the group by grog-tempered wares, suggests that the sherds may be the scrappy remains of pots that had been broken some time before Enclosures 3–5 were constructed. These few sherds may therefore be all that survives of cremation ceremonies which took place in that area during the long gap between chamber AF25 and burial AF18 and the first of the cremations in Enclosure 3. Such activities help give a context to the pit CF7 which would otherwise have been in complete isolation.

Of course, it should be asked, where are the cremation burials that would have accompanied this earlier phase of pot-breaking? The pit CF7 is hardly enough on its own. One possibility is that the burial of cremated bone was a rite which was only accorded to a few people and that most corpses, perhaps even the overwhelming majority of them, were subject to a process that did not involve the digging of pits, such as excarnation. Certainly, although we have suggested that the burials in Enclosures 3 to 5 were of people who were related to each other, it does seem as if only a few of them were buried there. It is true that, even where we find buried cremated bone, it only represents a small sample of the amount of bone that should have been left after the body had been burnt. Either the collection process was very inefficient or most of the bone was disposed of in a way that did not involve some kind of excavation. Moreover the number of burials even in Enclosures 3 to 5 seems small compared to the numbers that a wide kinship group might be expected to encompass. It is also striking that there are no children present, although their burial may have required a different rite. The enigmatic ?mortuary enclosures in Enclosures 4 and 5 may represent a later, more substantial expression of such a funerary process.

SEQUENCE AND CHRONOLOGY (FIG. 170; TABLES 79–80)

THE MIDDLE IRON AGE FARMSTEAD

The uppermost fill of the enclosure ditch of Enclosure 2 contained a small amount of grog-tempered and Roman pottery, whereas the features inside the enclosure itself contained only Middle Iron Age material. This distribution shows that the farmstead ceased to exist by or during the 1st century B.C. and that its enclosure ditch continued to survive as an earthwork. Grog-tempered pottery first appears around the middle of the 1st century B.C. (p. 56). The date when the farmstead was founded is a good deal more problematic, but there is no good reason to suppose that it pre-dates the Middle Iron Age. The currency bars appear, from their relationship with the sides of the enclosure ditch, to have been placed in position early in the life of the farmstead (p. 26), so that they should help date its foundation. However, as Richard Hingley explains, currency bars cannot be closely dated. In general, they seem to have belonged to the Middle Iron Age, although there is some evidence for their deposition as late as the Roman period (p. 33). The loomweights are also of limited help with dating since the triangular

form, of which there were many fragments associated with the farmstead (p. 38), is reckoned, rather like the currency bars, to have been current throughout the Middle Iron Age to just after the Roman conquest (p. 43).

The dating of the pottery assemblage has its problems too. Over much of southern Britain from the Late Bronze Age to the Middle Iron Age there was a trend from flint- to sand-tempered pottery which is so marked that the relative proportions of the two materials can be taken as a crude indicator of date (p. 50). Paul Sealey believes that the temper in the pots from the farmstead at Stanway contained much more flint than the pots from the nearby contemporary sites at Abbotstone (Pooley and Benfield 2005) and Ypres Road (Garrison Area 2: Brooks and Masefield 2005). A divergence such as this is at odds with the 'flint-to-sand' model and is surprising since, as Paul Sealey says, the sites were within easy walking distance of each other (p. 58). (Abbotstone is only 1.4 km west of Stanway and Ypres Road 3.9 km to the east.) One possible explanation for this divergence is that a substantial proportion of the sherds with flint tempering are residual and derive from an earlier phase of occupation which left behind no features apart from one or two pits (AF46 and possibly AF28) that we have elsewhere described as Early Iron Age (p. 16). The recognition of a significant Early Iron Age component on the site would be helpful since it would provide a less controversial context for the flints, which Hazel Martingell otherwise hesitates to date as late as the Middle Iron Age (p. 21).

THE FUNERARY ENCLOSURES AND ASSOCIATED CONTEXTS

The key dating evidence and probable dates for the funerary enclosures and the features and deposits in them are summarised below. However, it should be noted that there is no useful dating material from the lower fills of the enclosure ditches that can be used to indicate when they were dug. We must rely on the deposition of the partial pots to provide a *terminus ante quem* for this event. They were found at the top of the lower fill and the base of the main fill. A measure of how long it might have taken for the lower fill to have accumulated was found in 1996 when the base of the enclosure ditch CF6 was re-sectioned a year after it had been excavated in order to consider this very point. Around 100–200 mm of sand and gravel was found to have accumulated in the bottom of it, which more or less corresponds to the depth of the original lower fill. Too much should not be made of this agreement, given the range of different factors that are likely to have affected the rate at which the ditch would have begun to fill up; nevertheless, the investigation in 1996 suggests that the partial pots were likely to have been deposited in the enclosure ditches within weeks or months of their being dug rather than years.

The dumped material (lower fill) in the chambers

AF25 The pots in AF25 in Enclosure 1 are grog-tempered and wheel-thrown and thus should not pre-date *c.* 75–50 B.C. The terminal date for the two pots is more difficult to fix but should be set well into the 1st century A.D. Probable date range given the absence of Gallo-Belgic wares: second half of the 1st century B.C.
BF6 Five South Gaulish samian vessels are represented, all of which are of Tiberio–Claudian date. These include a stamped cup dated *c.* A.D. 25–50. Of the ten stamps on the Gallo-Belgic imports, the date ranges collectively point to a date of *c.* A.D. 25 to 50/60. A potter's pattern mark on one of the vessels (BF6.21) appears on a vessel in the Warrior's burial (BF64.6) and provides a link with it. Probable date range: *c.* A.D. 35–50.
BF24 The group is dominated by local copies of Gallo-Belgic forms which are difficult to assign a close date other than probably Claudio–Neronian. The assemblage includes a pre-Flavian Lyon-type ware cup and a glass unguent bottle which is Tiberio–Claudian but possibly not post-conquest in date. Probable date range: *c.* A.D. 40–60.
CF42 The pottery indicates a broad Claudio–Neronian date. There are no stamps, but the inclusion of a *terra rubra* vessel may indicate that the group pre-dates *c.* A.D. 50. The two glass vessels may be pre-conquest. Probable date range: *c.* A.D 40–50/60.

Cremation burials

AF18 The only vessel in the cremation burial is typically Late Iron Age in character. It is wheel-thrown and grog-tempered. The pot dates to between *c.* 75 B.C. and A.D. 65, but most probably belongs to the 1st century B.C. Probable date: late 1st century B.C.

BF64 The Gallo-Belgic pottery points to a date of *c.* A.D. 50–60. Other closely datable finds hint that the group may be slightly earlier. The South Gaulish samian cup is Tiberio–Claudian and stamped Primus, which places it *c.* A.D. 25–50. The Nertomarus brooches are likely to belong to the period *c.* A.D. 40–50/55 and one, possibly both, of the glass vessels may be pre-conquest. The same die on platters in BF64 (BF64.2) and the Doctor's burial (CF47.3) and the same pattern mark on vessels in BF64 (BF64.6) and BF6 (BF6.21) raise the possibility that those pots were purchased from the same consignments of goods from the manufacturers (p. 295). Probable date range: *c.* A.D. 40–50/55.
BF67 The pots indicate a date before A.D. 65 and the brooch probably dates to the 40s. Probable date range: *c.* A.D. 40–60.
CF47 The Gallo-Belgic pottery is Claudio–Neronian (*c.* A.D. 30–70 as indicated by the ten stamps). The stamped South Gaulish samian bowl is dated A.D. 40–50. Of the two brooches, one pre-dates A.D. 50/5, the other belongs to the period A.D. 40–50. There is also a die link with a platter in BF64. Probable date range: *c.* A.D. 40–50/55.
CF72 All six brooches are of forms that in Britain belong to the Claudian period. Five show the burial to be post-conquest; the Keyhole Rosette brooch could be pre-conquest but points to a date no later than *c.* A.D. 50/55. The glass *pyxis* is pre-conquest, probably Augustan. Probable date range: *c.* A.D. 40–50/55.
CF115 The group cannot be dated closely. The *terra nigra* cup is datable to *c.* A.D. 40–75 and the mirror is probably post-conquest. Probable date range: *c.* A.D. 40–60/75.
CF403 The jar is the only CAM 108 from the site. It is a common form in the Roman town and suggests that CF403 may be the latest of the cremation burials from the enclosures. The burial can thus be dated to *c.* A.D. 43–70 and more likely *c.* A.D. 43–60.

Pyre site

BF1 and BF16 No closely datable finds.

Pits with pyre debris

BF17 No datable finds.
CF7 The *Knotenfibel* brooch dates to *c.* 60–20/25 B.C. The pot is wheel-thrown and grog-tempered and thus dates to *c.* 75/50 B.C.–*c.* A.D. 65. Probable date range: *c.* 60–1 B.C.

Pit with broken funerary goods but no pyre debris

AF48 Parts of two grog-tempered vessels, one of which is very similar to the vessel in AF18. Probable date: late 1st century B.C.

Partial pots in the ?mortuary enclosures

BF32 The pottery assemblage consists of fragments of at least 28 vessels but contains few diagnostic pieces. Three *terra rubra* vessels, a sherd of Augustan–Tiberian Arretine, and a coin of Cunobelin combine to indicate a pre-A.D. 50 if not pre-conquest date. However, the predominance of Romanising coarsewares favours a date range of *c.* A.D. 40–50. Probable date range: *c.* A.D. 40–45/50.
CF43–6 The assemblage represents at least eleven vessels. It includes one *terra rubra* vessel plus some relatively late forms and fabrics not found elsewhere within the enclosures apart from the enclosure ditch of Enclosure 5. Probable date range: *c.* A.D. 40–55.

The enclosure ditches

Enclosure 1 A single Late Iron Age grog-tempered vessel datable to between *c.* 75–50 B.C. and the mid 1st century A.D. A coin of Cunobelin, A.D. 20–43.
Enclosure 3 Nine vessels which cannot be dated more closely than the late 1st century B.C. to the mid 1st century A.D., although the absence of some of the forms and fabrics which characterise the assemblages of the fortress and early *colonia* suggests that the group is pre-conquest. Probable date range: *c.* 10 B.C.–*c.* A.D. 50.
Enclosure 4 Eighty-nine vessels of which twelve are *terra rubra* and three are Claudian or ?Claudian samian. Stamped *terra nigra* points to a date of *c.* A.D. 45/50–65. Also two coins of Cunobelin and one other Late Iron Age coin. Probable date range: *c.* A.D. 40–50.
Enclosure 5 Ten vessels, including types commonly found in the legionary fortress/early town, *i.e.* a Drag. 33 (1st century), a reeded-rim bowl, a wide-mouth bowl, and a sherd of a flagon from the Brockley Hill/Verulamium region potteries. There is no *terra rubra*, although the number of vessels is too low for its absence to be meaningful. Probable date range: *c.* A.D. 40/45–55.

REFINED SEQUENCE AND DATING FOR ENCLOSURES 3, 4 AND 5
(FIG 170; TABLES 79–80)

The dates given above derive from a consideration of the items in each context in isolation from the others (TABLE 79). These dates can be refined by taking into account the temporal relationships between the various features and the breaking of the pots as far as they can be judged (TABLE 80). The stratigraphic and other relationships between the features in Enclosures 3–5 which indicate evidence of sequence are limited and are as follows.

a) The plan of all three enclosures suggests that Enclosures 4 and 5 were laid out as one and that both post-dated the creation of Enclosure 3. Such a chronology is broadly supported by the finds since the partial pots and the pyre debris in Enclosures 4 and 5 seem later than the equivalent material in Enclosure 3.
b) The chamber BF6 cut the pyre-site BF1 and therefore post-dated it. This indicates that each chamber and its enclosure were not necessarily laid out as one, despite the presence of a single chamber in each of the enclosures giving the impression that they might have been. Had each chamber been contemporary with the laying out of its enclosure, then it would follow that the chambers in Enclosures 4 and 5 were for two people who died around the same time. Of course such an event is not impossible.
c) Joining sherds linking the enclosure ditch in Enclosure 4 and the ?mortuary enclosure in the same enclosure suggest that the partial pots in both contexts were deposited at the same time as part of the same event. Most, if not all, of the partial pots in the enclosure ditch and the ditch of the ?mortuary enclosure in Enclosure 4 had been deposited near the top of the lower fills, showing that a period of weeks or months must have elapsed between the digging of those ditches and the deposition of the pot fragments in them. Although the stratigraphic evidence is not so clear, the same relationship between the broken pots in the ?mortuary enclosure and those in the enclosure ditch of Enclosure 4 probably applies equally to those of Enclosure 5. However, the situation in Enclosure 3 is different. In contrast to Enclosures 4 and 5, the partial pots in the enclosure ditch of Enclosure 3 lay on the base of the ditch, indicating that the event which produced those broken pots occurred immediately or very soon after the enclosure ditch was laid out.

A simplistic interpretation of the broken pots in the ditches and the chambers is that they were all the product of just one pot-breaking event in each of the enclosures. In other words, there were four events, one for each enclosure, when all the pots represented in the chambers and ditches in each of those enclosures had been deliberately broken. Such a conclusion is an obvious and reasonable one to make because the act of pot-breaking was clearly associated with the chambers. Indeed, it is clear from the small size of many of the sherds in chamber CF42 that the act of breaking pots was of importance in its own right, because some of the pots found there had not simply been broken but had been repeatedly pounded. However, we can make no certain connection between the breaking of the pots in the ditches and the breaking of the pots represented in the chambers. We only assume that this was so on the grounds that the rite was well represented in both places. In fact, there is evidence that links cremation burials with the breaking of pots, despite there being no deliberately broken pots in them. Firstly, the partial pots in Enclosure 3 lay at the base of the enclosure ditch. Thus, in view of the relationship between the chamber BF6 and the pyre-site BF1, it seems likely that the partial pots in the enclosure ditch were associated with BF1 rather than the chamber BF6 unless, of course, BF6 followed BF1 very quickly (which is possible). Secondly, the residual pottery in the backfill of the burials and the mounds of the chambers suggests that there were early occasions when pots were broken, which, as far as can be judged, must have pre-dated the chambers. Both pieces of evidence suggest that not only could pot-breaking events have taken place more than once in any of the funerary enclosures, but that pot-breaking episodes could have occurred during cremation ceremonies which were not associated with chambers. And of course, we can draw exactly the same conclusion in a more convincing manner from the cemetery at Alton in

Hampshire (p. 432). On balance, then, we may suspect that any pots deliberately broken during the interment of cremations are not likely to stand out in the ditch fills because they were swamped by larger numbers of partial pots produced by pot-smashing events linked to the chambers.

Taking into account the various relationships between the features in Enclosures 3 to 5 and the partial pots found in them, the chronology can be refined as shown in TABLE 80. This probably represents the best and most conservative scheme for this part of the site. It is noticeable how the dates are all very close to one another and all fall within a period of probably less than twenty years, *i.e.* A.D. 35–55, if not one decade, *i.e.* A.D. 40–50. The narrowness of these date ranges emphasises the fact that Enclosures 3 to 5 together represent the burial place of a single family.

There is one fact which may significantly affect our estimate of dates, and that is the presence of arms in the Warrior's burial. Dio Cassius (LX, 21) specifically records that Claudius disarmed 'the Britons'. That being so, the inclusion of a spear and shield in the grave could well point to the warrior having been buried before the invasion. It is true that the spear in the grave may have been better suited to hunting than warfare (p. 181), which may have allowed it to be excluded from any rigidly applied law of disarmament, and it is also true that the effectiveness and sustainability of total disarmament (as opposed to the *lex Julia*'s ruling about bearing arms in public) is questionable simply in practical terms, especially as in the provinces it only appears to have been used to control specific disaffected groups (Brunt 1975; 1990). Nevertheless, support for a pre-conquest date for the Warrior's burial comes from the other warrior graves known in Britain. There are less than fifteen of them, all believed to belong the last 200–300 years of the Iron Age (Whimster 1981, 139–42; Collis 1973, 129) and, of those, warriors with the full spear, sword and shield are late and are attributable to the 1st century B.C. and the opening decades of the 1st century A.D. (Sealey forthcoming a). Recently studied is the Kelvedon Warrior burial which, having been found only 9.5 km from Stanway, is particularly pertinent. He died *c.* 75–25 B.C. (*ibid.*), and again fits the pattern where all of the warrior graves pre-date the conquest by Rome. Our preferred date ranges as set out in TABLE 79 do indeed allow for a pre-conquest date for the Warrior's burial, even if it is only a marginal one. If we assume that he died on the eve of the conquest, then it is possible to refine the dates even further. This is done in Table 80, where not only is it assumed that the warrior died in or shortly before A.D. 43, but also certain of the other connections described above are taken into account, such as the presumed relationship between chamber BF6 and the pyre-site BF1.

Although TABLE 80 is an expression of our most refined date ranges for the various elements, it does not show at all clearly how these might have sequenced. Instead this is presented visually in FIGURE 170. Attributing close dates is a process fraught with uncertainty, but determining the likely sequence is even more problematic. FIGURE 170 is very hypothetical and takes some of the evidence further than can be rigorously justified. The idea is a fanciful one that pottery and other finds such as brooches and even coins can be used to date 2,000-year-old archaeological features to within a five-year period or even less. However, although the chances are remote that FIGURE 170 is correct in every detail, it is a useful exercise in trying to understand how the cemetery might have developed and how its constituent parts might have fitted together. The figure should be regarded as two statements that are independent of each other to a degree but rolled into one, *i.e.* our preferred sequence and our preferred dates.

The sequence begins with the construction of Enclosure 3 and the cremation of a body in the middle of it, in pyre-site BF1. In FIGURE 170, it is suggested that the body was that of our warrior, whose remains were then interred in the south-west quarter of the enclosure. At first sight, it seems odd to think that the first cremation was that of the warrior and was not connected to the chamber. However, the connection between BF1 and BF64 is a plausible one. The pyre-site BF1 included fragments of cavalry fittings, and our warrior could have been a mounted one in life. Then followed the construction of the chamber BF6 before any appreciable silt had accumulated in the ditch. The deceased and the grave goods were placed in the chamber for a short period of time. A wooden barrel was set into the ground near the

TABLE 79: REFINED CHRONOLOGIES FOR ENCLOSURES 3–5

(No links assumed)

Context	*Date range*	*Assumptions*
Enclosure 3		
digging of the enclosure ditch of Enclosure 3	*c.* A.D. ?25–50	could be as early as *c.* 10 B.C. but unlikely
pyre-site BF1	*c.* A.D. ?25–50	cut by BF6
shaft BF17	*c.* A.D. 25–50	is no later than BF6 but could pre-date it
chamber BF6	*c.* A.D. 35–50	post-dates BF1
deposition of many broken pots in the enclosure ditch	*c.* A.D. ?25–50	low proportion of GTW brings earliest possible date forward, well into 1st century A.D.
pyre-site BF16	*c.* A.D. 35–50	
Warrior's burial BF64	*c.* A.D. 40–50/55	
Inkwell burial BF67	*c.* A.D. 40–55	
Enclosure 4		
digging of the enclosure ditch of Enclosure 4	*c.* A.D. 40–45/50	
pyre-site BF32	*c.* A.D. 40–45/50	
chamber BF24	*c.* A.D. 40–45/50	
deposition of many broken pots in the enclosure ditch	*c.* A.D. 40–45/50	occurred after a period of weeks or months after the digging of the enclosure ditch
deposition of many broken pots in BF32 after the digging of the enclosure ditch	*c.* A.D. 40–45/50	occurred after a period of weeks or months
Enclosure 5		
digging of the enclosure ditch of Enclosure 5	*c.* A.D. 40–50/55	
pyre-site CF43–6	*c.* A.D. 40–50/55	
chamber CF42	*c.* A.D. 40–50/60	
Doctor's burial CF47	*c.* A.D. 40–50/55	
deposition of many broken pots in the enclosure ditch	*c.* A.D. 40/45–55	occurred after a period of weeks or months after the digging of the enclosure ditch
deposition of many broken pots in CF43–6	*c.* A.D. 40/45–55	occurred after a period of weeks or months after the digging of the enclosure ditch
Brooches burial CF72	*c.* A.D. 40–50/55	
Mirror burial CF115	*c.* A.D. 40–60/75	
cremation burial CF403	*c.* A.D. 45–60	
shaft CF23	*c.* A.D. 40–60	
slot CF96	*c.* A.D. 65–75	

middle of the enclosure to make a wood-lined shaft. (It is possible that the barrel was already in the ground and that it was related to the first pyre-site BF1.) The body was then taken out of the chamber and burnt on a pyre a short distance to the west on the pyre-site BF16. The grave goods were also removed from the chamber and deliberately smashed close to or on the pyre as part of the funerary rite. At the same time, mourners ate a funerary meal and then, in the eastern half of the enclosure, they broke the pots in which they had brought their food and drink to the cemetery, and deposited bits of them in the enclosure ditch, especially around the entrance. All this was done before any silt had accumulated in the ditch. When the pyre had cooled, debris from it was placed into the chamber from the north side, along with a few handfuls of cremated bone hand-picked from the ashes and some of the smashed grave goods, a few of which had been close enough to the pyre to be burnt. The roof of the chamber was fully replaced, and soil and turf scraped and/or dug up from somewhere in the vicinity was heaped up to cover the chamber and barrel/shaft and form a low mound.

Perhaps around this time there was another cremation which was to result in our Inkwell burial (BF67). But let us not forget the problem of the cremated remains of the people in the chambers. Were they dispersed in some way or were they buried on site? Could BF67 be the place where the rest of the bone from the body from the chamber was buried? On the face of

TABLE 80: THE MOST REFINED CHRONOLOGY WITH MANY LINKS ASSUMED AND THE WARRIOR'S BURIAL TAKEN TO BE NO LATER THAN A.D. 43

Context	*Date range*	*Assumptions*
Enclosure 3		
digging of the enclosure ditch of Enclosure 3	*c.* A.D. 35–43	the first pyre in the enclosure was on BF1
pyre-site BF1	*c.* A.D. 35–43	some of the pyre debris from BF1 was redeposited in chamber BF6
shaft BF17	*c.* A.D. 35–50	
chamber BF6	*c.* A.D. 35–50	the body in the chamber was burnt on pyre-site BF1
deposition of many broken pots in the enclosure ditch	*c.* A.D. 35–50	
pyre-site BF16	*c.* A.D. 35–50	
Warrior's burial BF64	*c.* A.D. 40–43	the inclusion of arms means that the burial dated to A.D. 43 at the latest
Inkwell burial BF67	*c.* A.D. 40–55	
Enclosure 4		
digging of the enclosure ditch of Enclosure 4	*c.* A.D. 40–45	
pyre-site BF32	*c.* A.D. 40–45/50	
chamber BF24	*c.* A.D. 40–45/50	
deposition of many broken pots in the enclosure ditch	*c.* A.D. 40–45/50	occurred after a period of weeks or months after the digging of the enclosure ditch
deposition of many broken pots in BF32	*c.* A.D. 40–45/50	occurred after a period of weeks or months after the digging of the enclosure ditch
Enclosure 5		
digging of the enclosure ditch of Enclosure 5	*c.* A.D. 40–45	
pyre-site CF43-6	*c.* A.D. 40–45	
chamber CF42	*c.* A.D. 40–50	
Doctor's burial CF47	*c.* A.D. 40–45	the Doctor's burial is broadly contemporary with the Warrior's burial
deposition of many broken pots in the enclosure ditch	*c.* A.D. 40–50	occurred after a period of weeks or months after the digging of the enclosure ditch
deposition of many broken pots in CF43–6	*c.* A.D. 40–50	occurred after a period of weeks or months after the digging of the enclosure ditch
Brooches burial CF72	*c.* A.D. 40–50	
Mirror burial CF115	*c.* A.D. 40–60	
cremation burial CF403	*c.* A.D. 45–60	
shaft CF23	*c.* A.D. 40–60	
slot CF96	*c.* A.D. 65–75	

it, the Inkwell burial seems far too modest considering the quantity of grave goods evident in the debris in the chamber, but such an unlikely equation is a neat one and ought not to be entirely dismissed. There were only two burials in the enclosure (at least as far as we know), and there are two pyre-sites. If the warrior was burnt on one of them, then maybe the person in the Inkwell burial was burnt on the other, in which case that person is one we are equating with the chamber. Moreover, the presence of an inkwell suggests that the dead person had been literate. A connection with the chamber seems an attractive one, not only because some of the pot fragments from the chamber had graffiti scratched on them, but also because this was the only place on the site where graffiti were found.

At about the same time Enclosures 4 and 5 were added as one unit to the south side of Enclosure 3, perhaps because two of our kinship group had just died, *i.e.* the 'Doctor' and the woman represented in chamber BF24. The Doctor's body was burnt on a pyre placed in the

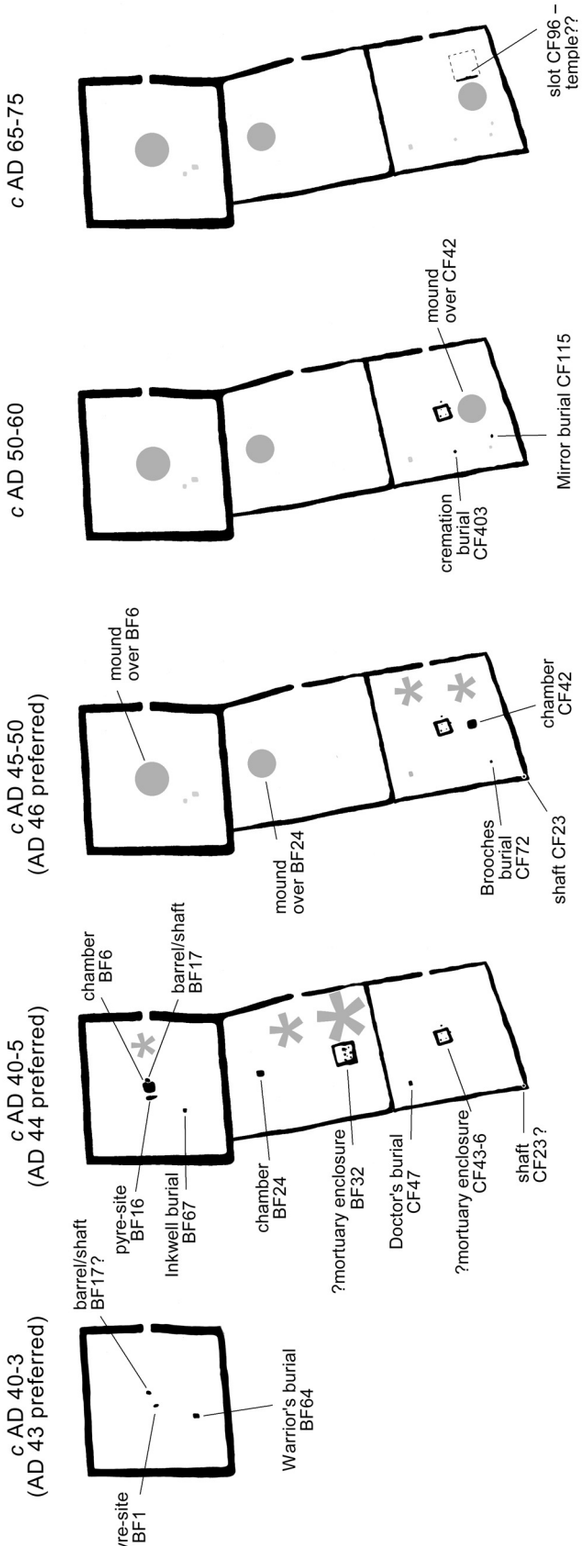

FIG. 170. Speculative sequence and dates for the development of Enclosures 3–5

centre of Enclosure 5 and his remains were buried in a pit symmetrically set in the north-west corner of the enclosure. A chamber (BF24) was constructed in the centre of the northern half of Enclosure 4 at around the same time and the body of the woman was laid to rest there for some weeks or months along with the customary service, food, drink and personal possessions. Her funeral pyre was constructed in the middle of the southern half of the enclosure, probably when the chamber was built and before any silt had begun to accumulate in the bottom of the enclosure ditch. Just as with chamber BF6, her body was subsequently burnt on the pyre during a grand pot-breaking rite involving mourners who ate a funerary meal and deposited parts of their food vessels in the ditch of the east side of the enclosure and all around the ?mortuary enclosure BF32. Again, debris from the pyre, including cremated bone, and broken grave goods were placed in the redundant chamber from the north side before it was buried under an earth and turf mound. A shallow vertical shaft probably lined with wooden barrels was dug in the extreme south-west corner of Enclosure 5, maybe as a replacement for the one which had just been buried under the mound over BF6.

By this stage, the focus of attention was now in Enclosure 5, and the central pyre-site was used at least three more times. First was the body that had been kept for a short while in a chamber (CF42) constructed in the middle of the southern half of the enclosure. The ceremony during which the body was cremated involved the usual breaking of pots at the end of a pyre-side funerary meal. The deposition of the pot sherds and debris from the pyre followed the same pattern evident in Enclosures 3 and 4, with the debris being placed in the chamber from its north side and the pot sherds being concentrated on the east side of the enclosure. Perhaps around this time another funeral took place, this one producing the Brooches burial which was sited neatly in the south-west corner of the enclosure so as to balance the earlier Doctor's burial. Then followed the cremation burial CF403 which, maintaining the symmetry of the Doctor's burial and Brooches burial, was placed neatly between the two so as to lie immediately west of the pyre-site. Finally came the Mirror burial which, like the Brooches burial before it, was placed in the south-west corner of the enclosure.

Iron shanks with glass heads in both the Brooches burial and the nearby chamber CF42, although not closely comparable as the example in the former is a simple version (or weak imitation) of those in the latter, hint at a link of some sort between the two and, just as with the Inkwell burial and chamber BF6, this raises the question again about the fate of the cremated remains of the bodies kept in the chambers. Could the cremated remains of the body which had been laid to rest for a while in the chamber have been buried in the Brooches burial? But like the Inkwell burial and the chamber BF6, there is a mismatch in the quality of the objects in both of them which suggests otherwise. Although the glass *pyxis* was indeed an exceptional object, it was chipped and incomplete when buried (the lid was missing) and, being old, its original (expensive) contents had no doubt long since been used up.

If it were true that the bodies in the chambers BF6 and CF42 ended up in the Inkwell burial and the Brooches burial respectively, then we need to consider where the cremated remains from BF24 might have been buried. The apparent absence of a burial in Enclosure 4 suggests that either one was missed during the excavation or the cremated remains were buried elsewhere. The interiors of Enclosures 3 and 5 were thoroughly checked (pp. 6–7), so it is very unlikely that any were missed there. However, Enclosure 4 had to be examined in a piecemeal way, and if a burial had been missed anywhere in that enclosure (although still unlikely), it would have been in the north-west corner, which was covered during much of the excavation by part of a large earth bank. This seems a likely spot since it is due west of the chamber BF24. Otherwise there is no obvious candidate anywhere else. The Mirror burial CF115 in Enclosure 5 was female (as in BF24) and might be a suitable candidate, although there is nothing to link the chamber and burial together.

On balance, it seems most likely that the bodies that had presumably been kept temporarily in the chambers were treated differently to the bodies represented in the cremation burials and that their cremated remains were not interred, at least in this cemetery.

STANWAY IN LOCAL AND WIDER CONTEXTS (FIGS 171–176; TABLE 81)

FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE DEAD

The spatial and physical relationships between all five enclosures and their enclosure ditches at Stanway help reveal a chronological sequence in the construction of the enclosures which has already been discussed. The whole group of five enclosures also shows a degree of cohesion, which suggests that there were factors at work which bound its members together despite the functional differences between Enclosure 2 and the rest. The intimate relationship between Enclosures 3, 4 and 5 points to an even closer bond between them than must have existed between them and the earlier Enclosure 1 (the other funerary enclosure). There can be little doubt that we can see in Enclosures 3–5 the funerary arrangements for at least a few of the members of a relatively high-status family unit, and it is from this group of enclosures that we can speculate that Enclosure 1 would have been the burial place of their ancestors. But those people died 50 or even as much as 75 years earlier, so that at least one subsequent generation must be missing from the cemetery. A characteristic of the Stanway site is the low number of burials it contained, especially in relation to the size of the enclosures. Perhaps the site was always a place where only a select few members of the family were buried and there was nobody in the missing generation or generations who qualified. Certainly the apparent absence of sub-adults in the cremated remains shows that a degree of selectivity did apply to who was interred there and who was not.

It is interesting to speculate on the possible relationships between the individuals represented in Enclosures 3–5. The important individuals seem to have been those who had their own chamber. This is supported by the fact that the grave goods in the chambers were the most extensive and the chambers occupied either a central or axial position in its enclosure. Of the assemblages from the chambers, BF6 appears to have been male, whereas certainly BF24 and probably CF42 were female. On this basis, we can speculate that BF6 was for a high-ranking man and that BF24 and CF42 were for his wife and a daughter, or perhaps a second wife or sister. The other burials would therefore have been for close relatives or servants. The warrior in the Warrior's burial may have been a brother of the man in BF6 or perhaps his armour-bearer. Even if unconnected by blood ties, he could be of high status, as evidenced by Vellocatus, the armour-bearer of the Brigantian Venutius and his replacement as the husband of Queen Cartimandua (Tacitus, *Annals*, XII, 40; *Histories*, III, 45). In a similar vein, the Inkwell burial might represent the clerk or even tutor of BF6 (assuming of course that they were not one and the same person (pp. 440–3)) just as, for example, Seneca was tutor and then advisor to the young Nero. The rest of the burials seem to have been of females with the exception of the Doctor (p. 445). He may have been another brother of the man represented in BF6 who had developed special skills in medicine and divination, or he might have been somebody who had a special duty of care towards the person in CF42.

The nature of the relationship between Enclosure 2 and the other enclosures poses a difficult problem of interpretation. Although clearly Enclosure 2 must have survived as a visible landscape feature when Enclosure 1 was laid out, it is debatable whether the people who built it were ancestors of those who followed. This point will be explored further below (p. 456).

THE IDENTITIES OF THE 'DOCTOR' AND THE 'WARRIOR'

By Nina Crummy

While acknowledging that current thinking tends to stress the diversity and mutability of cultural identity (p. 320), it is fair to state that there can be no doubt but that the 'Doctor's burial' was the resting place of a Briton. Of the two brooches present one is a Rearhook, probably of Icenian manufacture. The other is a Langton Down, an imported form well represented in Camulodunum but not occurring in the Roman fortress or *colonia* (p. 316). Ralph Jackson considers some of the tools in the medical kit to be insular interpretations of Roman forms (p. 247). The carinated strainer bowl is a vessel-type found in both metal and

pottery principally in eastern England, especially in and around Camulodunum, and a failed casting of a spout of the same form as that on the bowl in CF47 is paralleled at Sheepen.

The practice of medicine in the ancient world went hand in hand with the practice of magic, as invocations to the gods formed an essential part of treatment. Other than the medical kit, there are several items within the grave that may be postulated as belonging to the magico-medical rôle of the dead individual, and all were found at the end of the grave containing the kit and other personalia such as the game board and counters. A large jet bead was almost certainly as much a piece of professional medical equipment as a dress accessory; the healing properties of the black mineral are described by Pliny, who also mentions that it was used in divination (*Historia Naturalis*, 36, 141–2). Eight enigmatic rods of iron and copper alloy were probably also used in divination, as may have been eight equally enigmatic rings. A reference to medicine may also be seen in the choice of a samian bowl decorated with a dog motif, as the animal is associated with healing deities, among them Apollo and Aesculapius from the Graeco-Roman world, and Nodens from Britain (Green 1997, 70, 155, 175–6).

To describe the individual buried in CF47 as a druid, as Ralph Jackson has done (p. 250), may be too specific and overly interpretative of the grave goods, given that druids acted not only as priests but also as lawgivers and natural and moral philosophers, activities that have no material artefacts essential to their practice and so are undetectable in the context of a grave, and that Caesar omits all mention of medicine in his description of the duties of druids (*de Bello Gallico*, VI, 13–14). Nevertheless, even if it cannot be proven, such an interpretation is not inconsistent with the evidence.

The sex of the Doctor may remain a matter for speculation, but some evidence that the grave is that of a male is supplied by the saucepan for preparing wine-based drinks to accompany a formal Roman-style meal or a feast (p. 322), and by the two brooches, which were found some distance apart and must therefore have been pinned to two cloaks, or at opposite corners of one very large cloak, rather than to the shoulders of a woman's tube dress. Indeed, the dress accessories mirror those in the Warrior's burial BF64: two brooches, and a single large bead, which points to a parallel style of dress and therefore a parallel gender. It is only fair to point out, however, that wearing a single bead is not necessarily a gender-specific practice, as shown by the bead in CF72, which is almost certainly the grave of a female.

The Warrior's burial is assumed to be that of a male and was so named because of the presence among the deposited objects of a shield and lance (Cunliffe 1991, 510). As well as these pieces, several other items call for attention as indicators of the buried individual's character, rank and sex, some with explicit iconography, some by virtue of their rarity. The choice of animal imagery appears to be deliberate. The colour-coat jug (BF64.14) is decorated with cranes, perhaps referring to the major Celtic deity, Esus, who can be connected with both Mercury and Mars, the latter in not only his military but also his fertility aspects, although the figure type may derive from samian ware (p. 175; Lucan, *Pharsalia*, 499; de Vries 1961, 97–8; Ross 1967, 279–81; Thevenot 1968, 142–4; Green 1997, 187). The basin with a ram's head handle (BF64.26) and the jug with lion decoration (BF64.25) are common enough items in the Roman Empire (there are large numbers from Pompeii alone), but it is worth noting that the image of the ram is one of male sexual potency. The lion design speaks both of royalty and of male aggression, here made exotic and dramatic as only Britons who had travelled abroad might have seen a live lion, although the animal does occur on a coin-type of Cunobelin, the image having been copied from a Roman *denarius* (van Arsdell 1989, no. 2107-1; Creighton 2000, 121).

The two brooches in the Warrior's burial (BF64.19–BF64.20) are of a form made in a workshop in central eastern France or western Switzerland that is not well represented in Britain; at least one is stamped with its Gaulish maker's name (BF64.19), which may well have increased its value, whether real or perceived. A large arm-ring (BF64.21) and bead (BF64.22) are also unusual. Both are of La Tène style and were probably made in Britain. The bead, when seen in the context of the jet bead from the Doctor's burial, may have been credited with amuletic powers.

The shield boss (BF64.23) is similarly distinctive, although idiosyncracy is a major characteristic of La Tène bosses, and the lancehead (BF64.24a) is exceptionally long and slender. Three incised circles on the top of the boss repeat a motif also found on a brooch in CF47 (CF47.17), and may perhaps be perceived as protective, probably solar, symbols. The drop-handles (BF64.29a and b) from the game board (BF64.29) are particularly well-made examples of their type and lack very close parallels, although drop-handles are common enough as general site finds. The beautiful and unusual large amber glass bowl (BF64.16) had been deposited within a large wooden box with iron strap-fittings (BF64.31), and another large box (BF64.30), with iron fittings of a different type, lay in the north-west corner of the burial pit. Whatever it held has not survived, and can be presumed to have been organic, most likely clothing, although nothing remains in the corrosion on the iron fittings to assist identification. What is certain is that the contents of this box would have matched the quality of the metal, glass, and ceramic grave goods. However, as neither box in BF64 has decorative copper-alloy fittings, they do not seem to have been intended for display. The box containing the amber bowl can be presumed to have been used specifically to store it and may even be the original 'packaging' in which it was imported. The other may have been simply used for storage, but could also have been used to transport personal belongings when travelling (Metzler-Zens *et al.* 1999, 387). If the person buried in BF64 *did* travel, then the continental-made grave goods need not have been imported into Britain and then acquired, but may represent a personal collection formed abroad. All these objects can be variously defined as statements of individuality, of strength, of display, perhaps even of what might be termed connoisseurship, and together they attest to a much more complex character than that simply conveyed by the term 'Warrior'.

It remains to be considered whether this is the burial place of an auxiliary in the service of Rome, as has been suggested for the Folly Lane burial, Verulamium, and for many Gallic warrior burials, usually those containing swords (Foster 1999, 176; Metzler 1984, 99; Metzler *et al.* 1999, 174; Ferdière and Villard 1993, 281–2; Dieudonné-Glad 1999, 56). The similarities between the grave goods in BF64 and those in some of the rich continental graves are striking, but while the weapons in the latter graves can be paralleled by Roman or Germanic military equipment, the shield boss in BF64 is not recognisably a 1st-century A.D. continental type, nor are the brooches in the grave common Roman military types, while the lancehead, arm-ring and bead are of La Tène style. The lance need not be a weapon of warfare, but could well have been used for hunting, which was an aristocratic pursuit (Méniel 2002; Struck 2000, 88).

Many auxiliaries were not mounted, and there is no horse harness from BF64, nor in the burials at Fléré-la-Rivière, Berry-Bouy, and Antran. The Folly Lane horsegear is associated with a nave hoop from a wheeled vehicle and at least one other fitting associated with driving harness; all the fittings may therefore potentially have come from a driven rather than ridden animal (*pace* Foster 1999, who suggests that the bit was best suited for riding). It should perhaps be borne in mind that some Roman military horse equipment came from BF6 in Enclosure 3, but it may pre-date the burial in BF64. However, the possibility that the warrior was cremated on the pyre-site BF1 (p. 439) means that he might be able to claim as his own the military horse equipment not only from BF1 but also from the pyre site BF16 and the chamber BF6. Whichever burial the harness fittings at Stanway were originally associated with, they may have been acquired through other means, such as inheritance, purchase, gift-exchange, or even plunder. A parallel can be drawn here with the chain mail in Colchester's Lexden Tumulus, dated to *c.* 15–10 B.C. (Foster 1986, 178), which might have been acquired during service in the auxiliaries, but is surely just as likely to have been purchased or received as a gift, as are the other continental-made items among the deposits in that grave.

On balance, therefore, although auxiliary troops used their native weapons and fought in their own style (Feugère 2002a, 42), the idiosyncratic weapons in the Stanway warrior grave place it in the tradition of Late Iron Age British weapon burials, and there is no reason to assume that it is the burial of someone who has served as a Roman auxiliary when no Roman military equipment is directly associated with it. Indeed, any such notion rests on the assumption that interpretations of other warrior burials as those of auxiliaries are correct, and

ignores the line of similar richly furnished burials of warriors and weapon-bearing princes that pre-dates the use of auxiliaries by the Roman army, a line that stretches back in Europe to the Early Iron Age and earlier still, making it unnecessary to invoke a connection with the Roman army or empire to explain the presence of weaponry among the other grave goods (*e.g.* Kimmig and Rest 1954; Kimmig 1981; Biel 1985; Brun 1987, 57–8; Cunliffe 1997, 57–62, 93–105).

SIMILAR FUNERARY SITES (FIGS 171–6; TABLE 81)

The closest parallel to the Stanway enclosures in Britain is the single, rectangular-shaped enclosure at Folly Lane, St Albans (FIG. 171; Niblett 1999), but no doubt there were others, although given that the known sites are of high status, they are likely to prove rare in Britain.

The Folly Lane enclosure has much in common with Stanway. The date is very similar to Enclosures 3–5 at Stanway, and it has a pyre site and a wooden chamber containing fragments of funerary goods broken at the time of the cremation ceremony. But there are significant differences too. Folly Lane seems largely to have been concerned with one person — somebody who was a king, whose chamber was much larger than the largest of those at Stanway and whose funerary goods were far more numerous, varied and rich. His greater importance is reflected in the size of his enclosure and presumably the later construction within it of a temple. Folly Lane in many ways is more akin to the Lexden Tumulus than to Stanway.

The square ditched temple enclosure at Gosbecks may be another comparable site, since it looks as if it might, in physical terms, represent a cross between Stanway and Folly Lane. Like

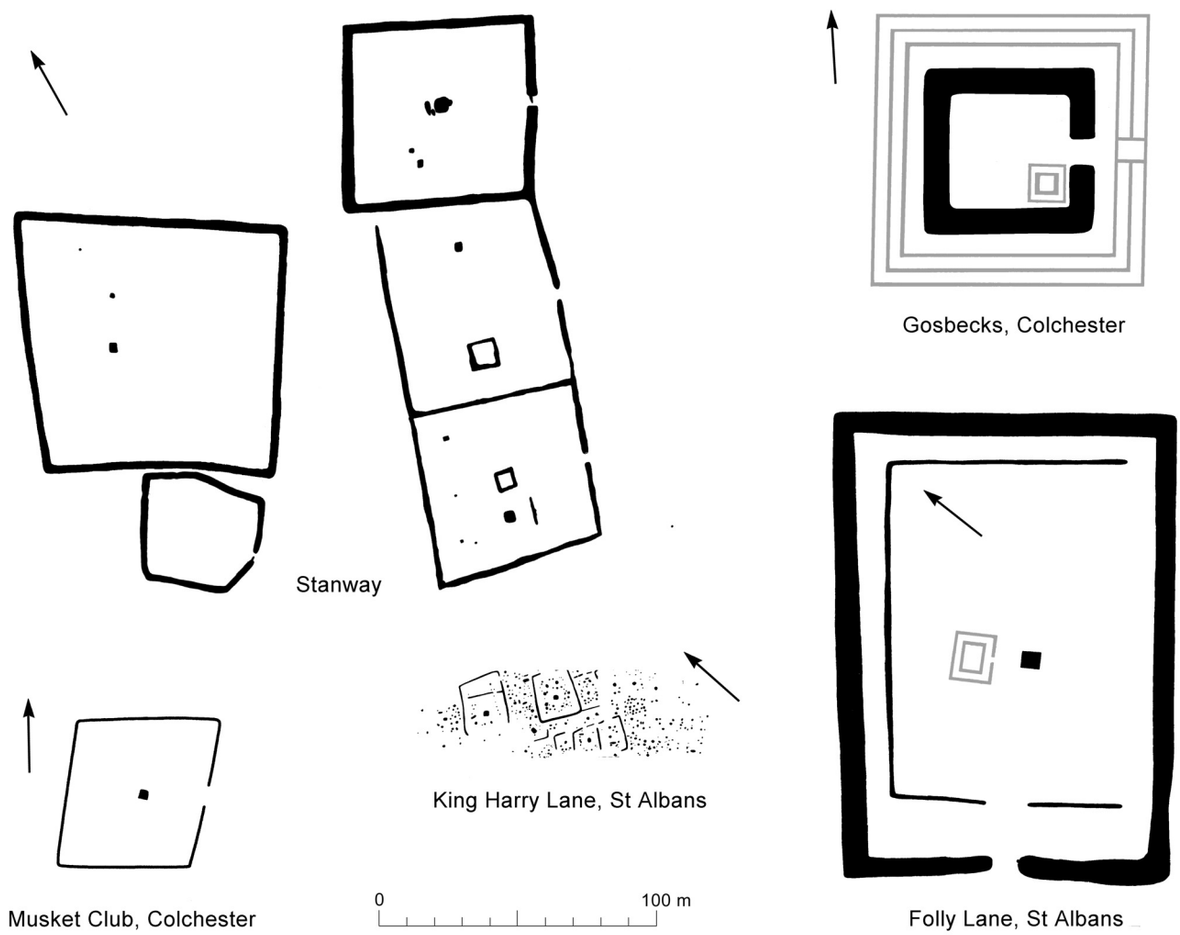

FIG. 171. The funerary enclosures at Stanway in comparison with sites in Colchester and Verulamium, St Albans

the latter, Gosbecks features a Romano-Celtic temple inside a large enclosure demarcated by a very substantial ditch (FIG. 171). The most obvious conclusion to draw from the location of the site and its monumental nature is that it was a funerary enclosure in the Folly Lane/Stanway tradition where Cunobelin was cremated. The other possibility is that the Gosbecks site was a religious one which should be compared with a major temple site such as Hayling Island rather than Folly Lane (King and Soffe 2001; Creighton 2006, 130–5) .

A limited programme of archaeological excavation and geophysical survey was undertaken on the site of the Gosbecks temple between 1995 and 1999 (report in preparation) for Colchester Borough Council who had just acquired the site. Two trenches were excavated across the temple, a single section was cut through the enclosure ditch, and a series of small trenches were placed at strategic places to fix the position and determine the exact dimensions of the surrounding portico. The trench across the enclosure ditch showed it to have been dug around the middle of the 1st century A.D. and to contain near the bottom some fragments of a few mid 1st-century pots reminiscent of the broken vessels in the enclosure ditches at Stanway. The excavations were accompanied by an exhaustive programme of geophysical survey of the interior of the ditched enclosure (first by Peter Cott and then by Tim Dennis of the University of Essex, aided by Aline and David Black). The techniques employed were ground-penetrating radar, magnetometry, and resistivity. All proved to be effective in their own particular ways and various anomalies were identified that were of particular interest in terms of Stanway.

The central area of the enclosure proved to have been occupied by a major feature which measures 14 × 16 m and has an approximate square-within-a-square plan (FIG. 172). On the east side of the feature is a large irregularly shaped anomaly that is probably a pit of some kind, and further east there appears to be a rectangular pit about 3.5 × 3.0 m in area. The feature in the centre of the enclosure might be the remains of a temple that pre-dated the one in the south-east corner of the enclosure or it could be a very large example of a pyre/excarnation site of the sort seen in Enclosures 4 and 5 at Stanway. The larger (outer) square looks at first sight as if it is made up of many small pits or post-holes, especially along the south side. But this is probably illusory, and these apparent post-holes merely represent parts of a single slot or trench which continues around all four sides to make up the outer square. Either way, the results of the geophysical survey suggest that there was no chamber or other large excavated feature in the centre of the enclosure. The rectangular-shaped pit to the east lies on the central east–west axis of the enclosure, opposite what was later to be the site of the doorway in the north side of the temple. The most obvious interpretation for this anomaly is that it represents the remains of a burial chamber, since its shape would fit such an explanation, and its position in relation to the enclosure and temple corresponds closely to that of the chamber at Folly Lane. However, if this is indeed what it is, then the chamber seems to have been around the size of BF6 at Stanway (TABLE 81) which seems far too modest to have been associated with Cunobelin. Thus, in summary, the geophysical surveys have helpfully revealed very interesting features at the Gosbecks temple site, but unfortunately only excavation can show what they represent. A funerary enclosure like the one at Folly Lane and those at Stanway seems a plausible explanation at the moment, although a multi-period temple site is another possibility.

TABLE 81: DIMENSIONS OF THE CHAMBERS AT STANWAY AND FOLLY LANE AND POSSIBLE CHAMBERS ELSEWHERE

		Length (m)	*Width (m)*
Stanway	BF6	4.2/4.3	3.4/3.6
Stanway	CF42	3.0	3.0
Stanway	AF25	3.3	2.5
Stanway	BF24	3.3	2.3
Folly Lane		6.8/7.1	6.6/7.1
?Lexden Tumulus		?4.0 (very approx.)	?4.0 (very approx.)
?Gosbecks		3.5	3.0

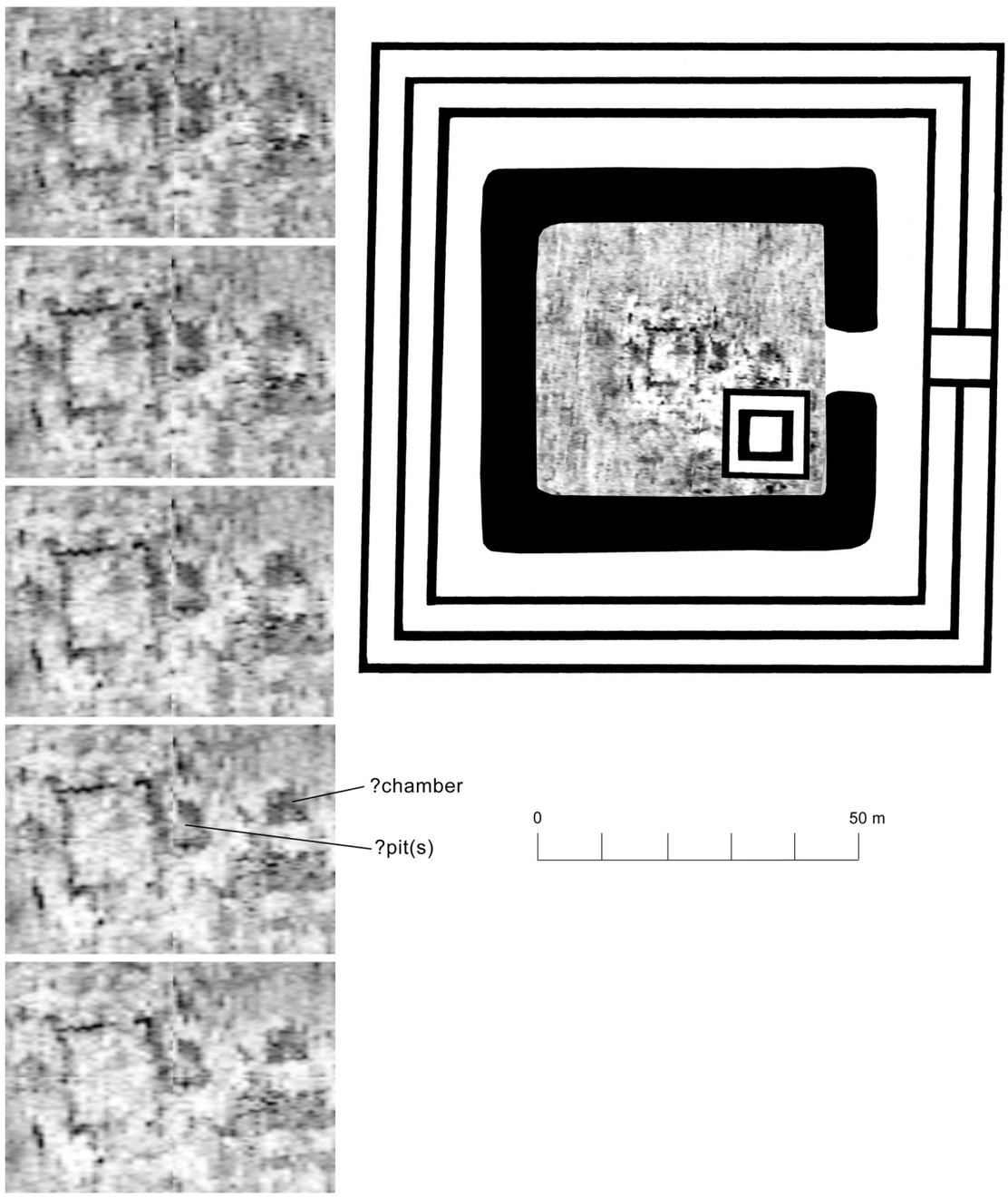

FIG. 172. The Gosbecks temple site. The ground radar survey was undertaken by Peter Cott, Dr Aline Black and David Black. Dr Tim Dennis of the University of Essex carried out the signal processing

Another possible example of a Folly Lane/Stanway type funerary site in Colchester is known as the 'Musket Club enclosure' (FIG. 171). It was spotted and photographed from the air as a cropmark many years ago. The enclosure has all the characteristics of those at Stanway, being rectangular in shape and aligned north–south with a similarly aligned rectangular chamber-like pit in the centre and an entrance in the middle of the east side. At 54 × 52 m, its size is also comparable. Six sections were dug across the enclosure ditch in 2004–2005 with no positive outcome since the investigation produced almost no finds except for a few sherds of Early and Middle Iron Age pottery, and the central feature could not be explored (Brooks 2005). The site lies about 1.6 km due east of the temple enclosure at Gosbecks. Presumably coincidentally, a straight line on an east–west alignment can be drawn exactly through the centres of the Gosbecks and Musket Club enclosures and Enclosure 5 at Stanway.

Yet another possible example has been suggested at Birch, 2.8 km from the Stanway site, where a complex of two large enclosures and two small ones has been recognised from aerial photography (Bennet 1995, 233, fig. 7). The two largest enclosures bear a striking resemblance to Enclosures 1 and 2 at Stanway. The largest of the Birch enclosures is rectilinear and about 85 m across. It has two small rectilinear pits in the interior, although neither of them is in a coaxial position, which might be expected had the enclosure been funerary in function.

There is a hierarchy evident in the arrangement of the burials and chambers within Enclosures 3 and 5 which is reminiscent of the hierarchical and distinctive clustering of burials at the King Harry Lane site at St Albans, Hertfordshire (Stead and Rigby 1989). Indeed, a careful comparison of these sites suggests, surprisingly, that in many ways Stanway was closer to King Harry Lane than to Folly Lane. At King Harry Lane, the burial area was divided up into small rectilinear plots (FIG. 171). The burials form distinct clusters, many of which have as their focus a central larger burial. These clusters and enclosures are each seen as the burial place of individual families with the central burial being the resting place of the dominant person in that group (Stead and Rigby 1989, 80–3, but see Fitzpatrick 1991 for a contrary view). All this is mirrored at Stanway, but on a much larger scale. In a few of the King Harry Lane enclosures the burials show a degree of internal organisation, especially in the two enclosures with graves 41 and 241 at their centres as in Stanway's Enclosure 3. The enclosure focused on grave 41 has an internal division to form what in effect were two conjoined enclosures, rather like Enclosures 4 and 5 at Stanway. The burials in the ditched enclosures look as if they have been deliberately set back from the edges of the ditches and kept clear of the central burials. Earthworks could explain the patterning, *i.e.* a bank along the inside edges of the ditches and a mound over each of the central burials. Whatever the explanation, the four burials inside Enclosure 5 at Stanway appear to bear similar relationships to their enclosures.

But the similarities between the two sites go further. Rosalind Niblett (1999, 401–2), following observations by Martin Millett about pyre debris (Millett 1993, 226), noted that, although there was not much pyre debris at King Harry Lane, what there was of it showed a distribution biased towards the central features in its enclosures (FIG. 173). Moreover, although in general there was no clear evidence for the deliberate breaking of pottery vessels, two of the six amphoras were represented in their graves only by token sherds (Stead and Rigby 1989, 202–3). One of these (grave 241) was in a central grave. Also the central burial grave 41 (FIG. 173) included two pots. One was complete but the other had been broken before deposition, and only part of it placed in the burial pit. Cremated bone lay in a pile near the centre of the floor. A pit cutting into the burial pit gave the impression that it had been robbed. However, were it not for this secondary pit, the burial and its contents would have recalled the chambers at Stanway, especially AF25.

All in all then, there are elements in King Harry Lane that resonate with Stanway. The rites practised at both sites had much in common with each other except that there were differences in scale and numbers of funerary goods which are explicable in terms of social standing. King Harry Lane was arguably the burial ground of a series of families, each with their own plot. The common burial practices and the spatial relationships between these plots show the families to have been parts of the same close-knit community. At least eight different family units can be

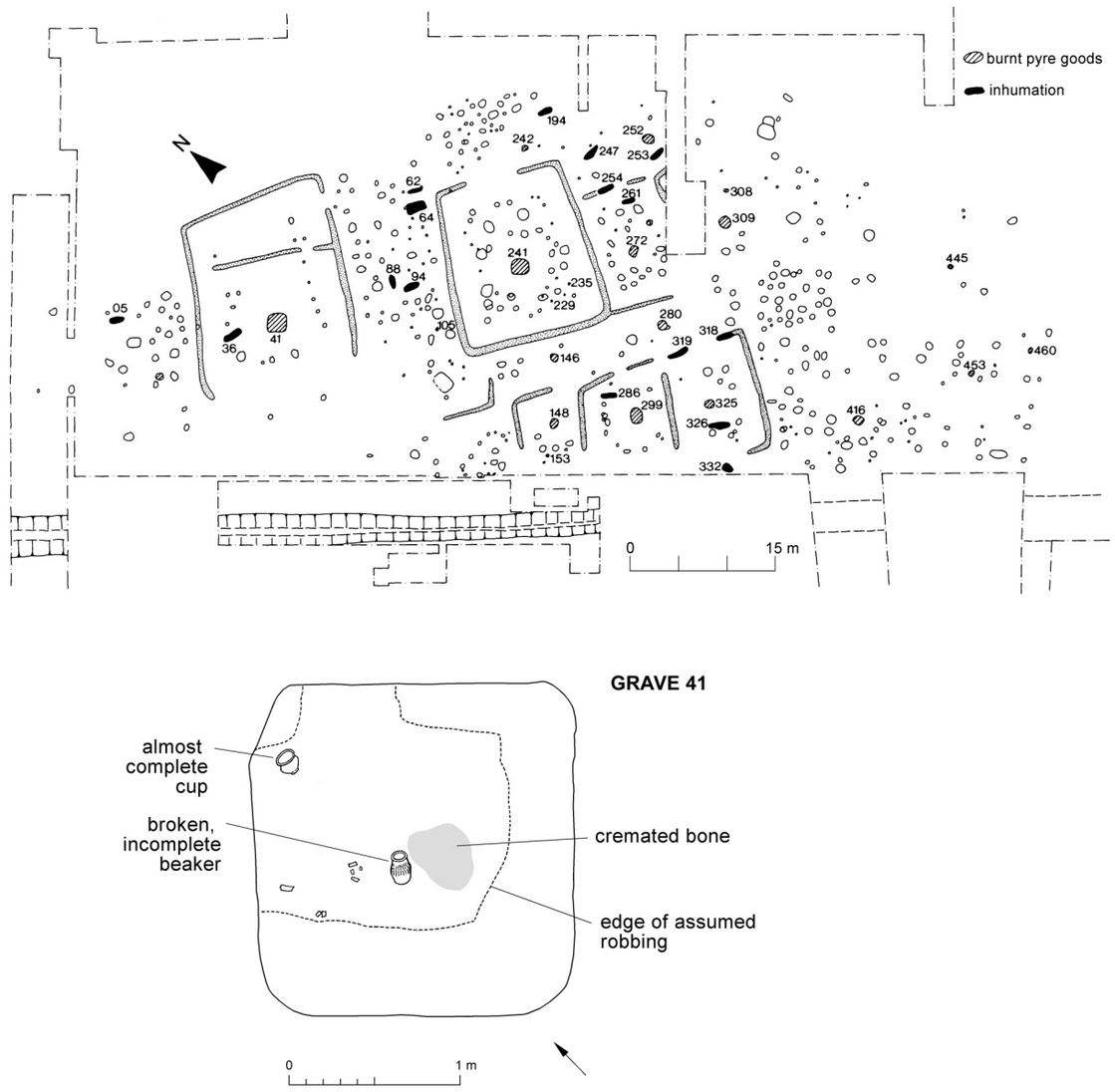

FIG. 173. King Harry Lane cemetery. Above: plan (adapted from Niblett 1999, fig. 114 which is after Stead and Rigby 1989, fig. 182). Below: detailed plan of grave 41 from the same cemetery (after Stead and Rigby 1989, fig. 95)

postulated in the burial clusters and enclosures there. Collectively they seem likely to have represented the ordinary members of one of the clans which formed the Catuvellauni. Stanway, on the other hand, represents the burial place of a high-ranking kinship group at Camulodunum, whose standing in the community was such that they were not buried with ordinary clansmen. Indeed, the numbers of graves seem so low in the Stanway enclosures that some degree of selection must have been in play when it came to deciding who was to be buried there and who was not. It would be the same mechanism that would explain why, when it came to somebody at the top of the social scale as at Folly Lane, the dead person did not have to share his funerary space with anyone else.

There can be little doubt that the inspiration for the burial practices such as are evident at Stanway, Folly Lane, and King Harry Lane lay in the part of north-west Europe closest to the coast of Britain (FIG. 174). There are plenty of parallels in that part of the world for the rich burials termed 'Welwyn graves' (Stead 1967), of which the Stanway Doctor's and Warrior's burial are good examples, and there is also evidence for the use of wooden mortuary chambers

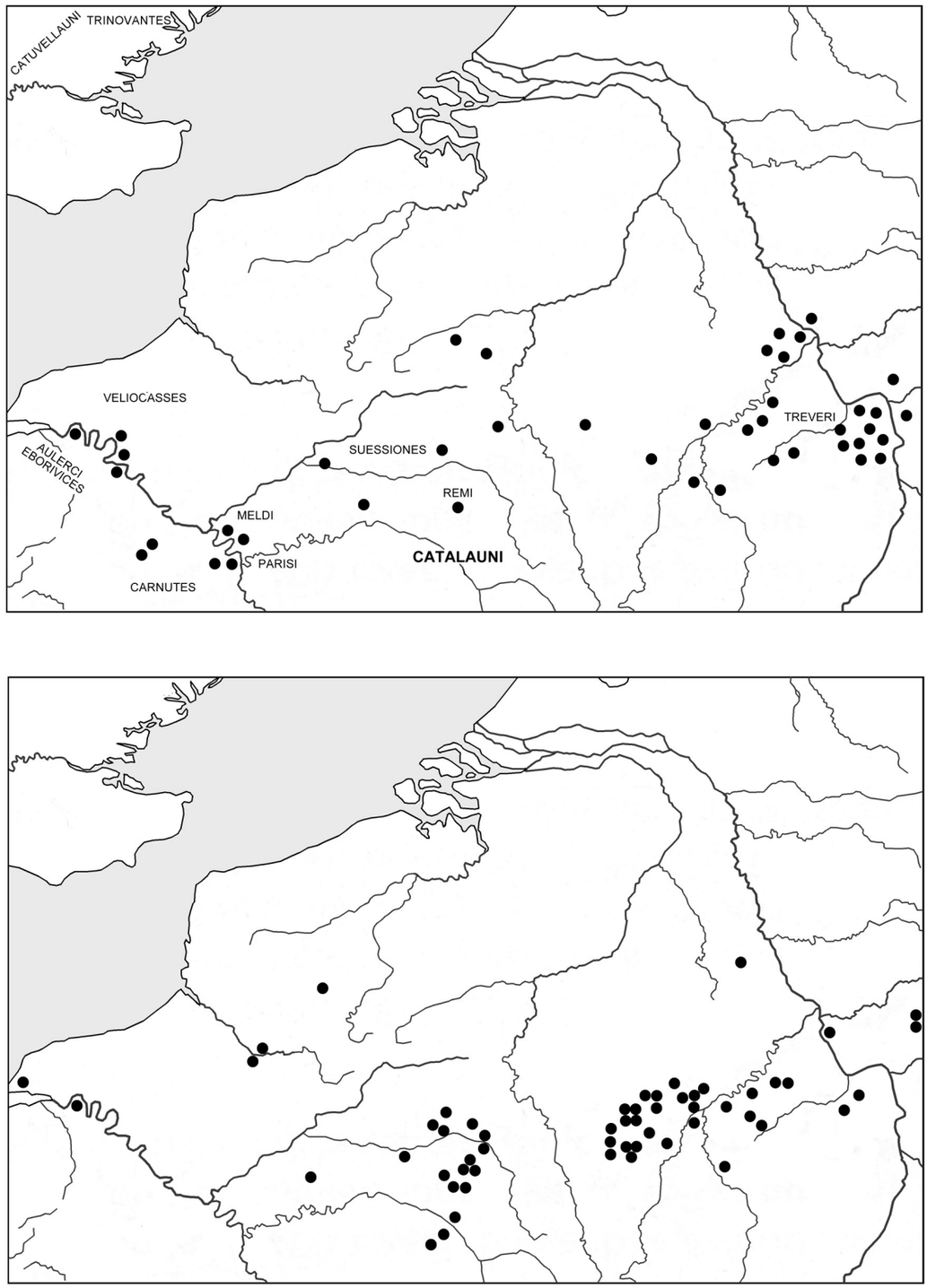

FIG. 174. Above: distribution of the Middle and Late La Tène chariot burials in northern Gaul (based on Metzler *et al.* 1991, fig. 113 which in turn is based on Haffner-Joachim 1985 and Duval 1985). Below: distribution of Late La Tène burials in northern Gaul which contained Italian imports (based on Metzler *et al.* 1991, fig. 114)

in the late La Tène, notably at Clemency in Luxembourg (Metzler *et al.* 1991), Goeblange-Nospelt in Luxembourg (Thill 1966; Waringo 1991, 112–16; Metzler 2002, 182), and Wederath in Germany (Haffner 1971; 1974; 1978; Waringo 1991, 132–4).

In this part of the world there are also aristocratic cemeteries similar in appearance to Stanway. These take the form of square or circular enclosures, sometimes of a considerable size and set out in rows, containing centrally placed rectangular chambers with secondary burials around. Two examples (Avaux and Avançon) are shown here in FIG. 175, out of 37 examples illustrated by Bernard Lambot in his study of the northern part of the Champagne region of northern France (Lambot 1993, 132–5, figs 11 and 13). Of particular importance to Stanway is the cemetery at Vieux-les-Asfeld (*ibid.*, 124–7; 2002, 91–3), which, coincidentally, is very close to the sites at Avaux and Avançon. Here three wooden chambers have been excavated (Graves 1, 3, and 5), which have much in common with those at Stanway, not only in plan and in section (FIG. 176), but also because they contained only the remains of broken funerary goods. Each of the chambers lay in the centre of three circular ditched enclosures which were *c.* 20 m in diameter and strung out in a line (Lambot 1993, 133, fig. 11, no. 8). All three chambers dated to the 1st century B.C. They were comparable in size to those at Stanway, being smaller than BF6 and CF42 but larger than AF25 and BF24. Grave 3 included eight posts around the perimeter of the pit in a manner reminiscent of chambers BF6 and CF42. The timber planking around the sides of Graves 1 and 5 was supported in a slot around the edge of the floor just as in BF6 and BF24 at Stanway except that, being 0.3 m deep, the slots at Vieux-les-Asfeld were much more substantial.

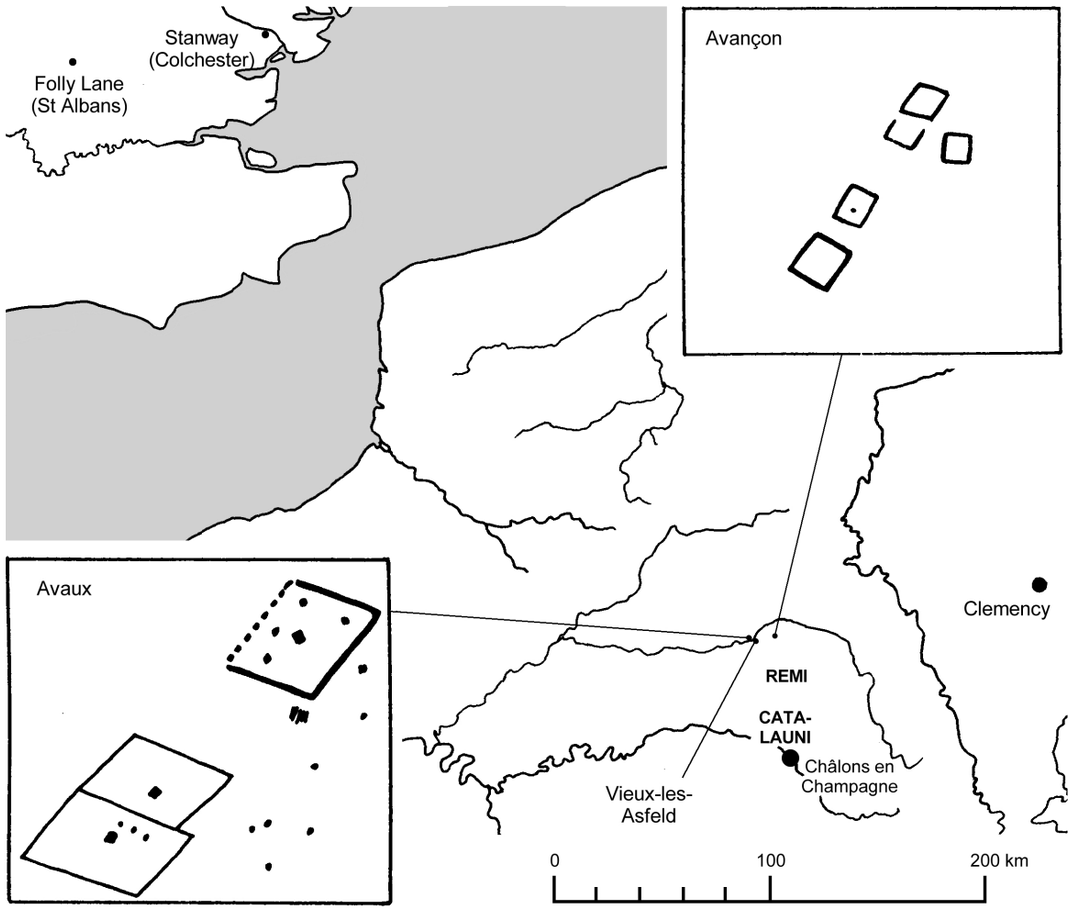

FIG. 175. Plans and locations of the aristocratic cemeteries at Avaux and Avançon in the Champagne region of France. The plans of Avaux and Avançon (Lambot 1993, fig. 11, no. 6 and fig. 13, no. 2) are reproduced with the kind permission of Bernard Lambot

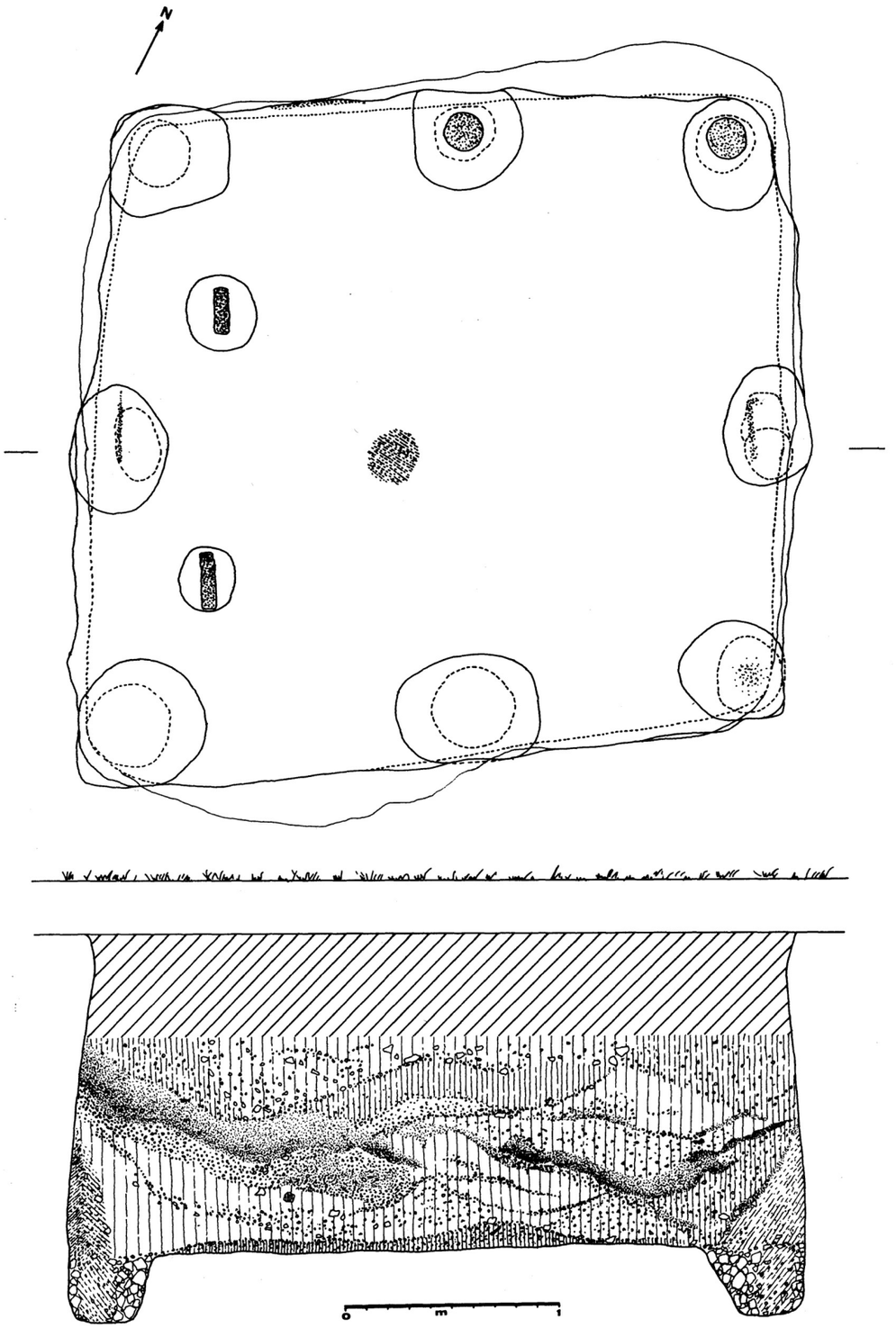

FIG. 176. Grave 3 at Vieux-les-Asfeld in the Champagne region of France. The illustration (Lambot 1993, fig. 4) is reproduced with the kind permission of Bernard Lambot

In northern Gaul and Germany, especially in and around the territory of the Treveri (FIG. 174), the inclusion in rich graves of fragments of chariots is a recurrent pattern regarded as an example of the rite of *pars pro toto* (Metzler 2002, 176–81). These vehicles were burnt on the pyre, and the deliberate breaking of funerary goods away from the pyre as a separate step in the funerary process is something which seems harder to find and recognise in the archaeological record both in Britain and on the Continent. At Clemency the remains of six bowls lay in a way that suggested to the excavators that they had been thrown or placed in pieces on the roof of the chamber (Metzler *et al.* 1991, 33, fig. 25). The rite is otherwise absent at Clemency. Broken amphoras in one corner of the chamber there are interpreted as evidence for Augustan-period looting (Metzler *et al.* 1991, 33, fig. 25). A similar explanation is put forward to explain the broken pottery scattered in the fills of the three excavated chambers at Vieux-les-Asfeld. Bernard Lambot, the excavator, has no doubt that the tombs had been pillaged, an important piece of the evidence for this conclusion being what appears to be an intrusive sherd of a Drag. 33 vessel in the fill of Grave 5 (Lambot 1993, 93). However, there is no denying the striking stratigraphic similarities between the chambers at Stanway and Vieux-les-Asfeld (*e.g.* cf. FIGS 42, 56, 67 and 176), similarities so marked that it is hard to imagine that the chambers at one place were pillaged and the chambers at the other were not. Rosalind Niblett came to the same conclusion when considering Vieux-les-Asfeld in relation to Folly Lane (Niblett 1999, 397). If the chambers at Stanway had been looted, then they must have been broken into before the roofs collapsed through decay. This is quite plausible, but we would need to accept that at least one of the grave robbers' purposes was to remove or break whatever they found there and take away much of the resulting debris from the chamber. Moreover, we would have to conceive of a process of withdrawal by the grave robbers that would result in the broken debris left behind in the chambers being mixed with lots of soil and in the careful replacement of the roof. None of this is entirely inconceivable, but given the presence of the broken pots in the ditches at Stanway, which can hardly have been the result of looting or later deliberate destruction, it is hard to explain the presence of broken pottery and other damaged items in the chambers as a product of robbing or even desecration.

CONTINUITY AND THE CATUVELLAUNI

Stanway provides some useful evidence in relation to the difficult issue of the origin of Camulodunum. Until the 1990s, the earliest date attributable to Camulodunum was *c.* 25 B.C. (*CAR* **11**, 174–8). The date is very approximate and takes into account the following three factors: CAM on an early coin of Tasciovanus dated to the mid to late 1st century B.C. (Hobbs 1996, 19), the Lexden Tumulus dated to *c.* 15/10 B.C. (*CAR* **11**, 85–94), and a small cemetery near the tumulus dated to *c.* 50 B.C.–15/10 B.C. (*ibid.*, 164–70). Stanway conforms to this supposition since Enclosure 1 and the nearby pit CF7 together point to a date somewhere in the range *c.* 60–1 B.C. for the earliest of the funerary activities there. Of course, this still does not mean that Camulodunum necessarily existed any earlier than *c.* 25 B.C., but it reinforces the possibility that it might have done. Significantly, Stanway thus lends support to the possibility that Camulodunum was in existence when Julius Caesar invaded Britain in 55 and 54 B.C.

As we have explained, it would seem reasonable to suppose that all four enclosures at Stanway represented the burial places of a closely related group of people living in or close to Camulodunum over a period of at least fifty years, given the similarities between Enclosures 3–5 and Enclosure 1. The burial practices employed in Enclosure 1 look too much like those evident in Enclosures 3–5 fifty or more years later to suggest anything other than continuity of habitation in the vicinity. They suggest that the people living and dying in Camulodunum around the time of the Claudian invasion were the descendants of the people living and dying in the settlement at least half a century earlier, if not long before. Since Cunobelin was Catuvellaunian, then it follows that Camulodunum is likely to have been a Catuvellaunian stronghold quite probably from at least the late 1st century B.C., if not from its origin, whenever that might have been.

The continental burial rite that is so well expressed at Clemency in Luxembourg, with its wooden chamber, mound, and square ditched enclosure (Metzler *et al.* 1991) and so closely paralleled in certain details at Vieux-les-Asfeld, seems so similar to that used at Stanway and Folly Lane that we must wonder if all this can simply be put down to close contact through trade and exchange.

It seems an odd coincidence that the two places where mortuary chambers have been discovered in Britain were the main Catuvellaunian centres. Others may be found elsewhere in due course, but we need to wonder if their distribution will turn out to be limited to high-status sites. Perhaps we should recall the debate about migrations of the Belgae long since down-graded in favour of continuous continental contact and acculturation (*e.g.* Birchall 1964; 1965; Collis 2003, 180–2; Cunliffe 1991, 108–10; Hawkes 1968; 1980; Hawkes and Dunning 1930; James and Rigby 1997, 14; Stead 1976, 402). The character of the Stanway and Folly Lane sites appears to provide support for the view that there had indeed been significant emigration of Belgae from northern Gaul into Britain, but the numbers need only have been small and led by members of the ruling élite. Certainly the distributions of the coins of Epaticcus (self-proclaimed descendant of Tasciovanus), Cara (?Caratacus, son of Cunobelin), and Amminus (?Adminius, son of Cunobelin) south of the Thames (Hobbs 1996, 20–22; Van Arsdell 1989, 109–10, 183, 476) can be taken as evidence that the Catuvellauni (or at least some of their leading members) were mobile. Camulodunum can be viewed as an earlier example of these movements whereby a group of Catuvellauni settled in an area that had presumably been Trinovantian. An intrusion such as this in the mid 1st century B.C. could neatly explain the serious problems between Cassivellaunus and the Trinovantes, which Caesar touches on in his *de Bello Gallico* (V, 20). (This of course assumes that Cassivellaunus had indeed been Catuvellaunian which, to judge by the location of his territory as evident in Caesar, must surely have been the case.)

Thus the distinctive Folly Lane/Stanway burial rite can be seen as being a direct expression of what it was to be Catuvellaunian, rather than something acquired through social contact and material exchange. Arguably the groups who practised these rites in Camulodunum and Verulamium seem more likely to have been the descendants of immigrants from northern Gaul rather than any indigenous British (represented earlier at Stanway by Enclosure 2). As Christopher Hawkes and others wondered many years ago (Hawkes and Dunning 1930, 245–6; Hawkes 1968, 9), the obvious candidates are the Catalauni from the southern part of the Champagne region in France. Perhaps significantly, the Catalauni were clients of the Remi, the neighbouring tribe in whose territory lay the cemeteries at Vieux-les-Asfeld, Avaux, and Avançon. Certainly, enduring political and cultural ties between ruling élites on either side of the English Channel in this early period are implicit in that often-quoted passage in Caesar to the effect that the authority of Diviciacus, king of the Suessiones, extended to Britain (*de Bello Gallico*, II, 4). The appearance on coinage in southern Britain of the name Commios, if equatable with Caesar's Commius or one of his descendants (*ibid.*, IV, 27; Hobbs 1996, 17; Collis 2003, 114), appears to provide not only an example of how a member of the Belgic ruling élite could migrate, settle and dominate, but also more evidence of the existence of strong connections between the upper classes of northern Gaul and Britain. The Romanisation of the Catuvellauni at Verulamium and Camulodunum in the century or so leading up to the Claudian invasion of Britain was thus likely to have owed as much to contact with their kinsfolk in northern Gaul who, under Augustus and Tiberius, were fast becoming good Roman Gauls, as to other mechanisms such as trade or the enforced education in a Roman environment of the offspring of the ruling élite (Creighton 2000). Once settled in Britain, the Catuvellauni and immigrant groups like them are likely themselves to have played a significant rôle in the process of Roman acculturation among the pre-existing population.