



EXCAVATIONS AT THORNHAM
WARHAM, WIGHTON and
CAISTOR, NORFOLK

East Anglian Archaeology

Norfolk Archaeological Unit, Norfolk Museums Service 1986

EAST ANGLIAN ARCHAEOLOGY



Frontispiece R. Rainbird Clarke *c.* 1960

**Excavations at
Thornham, Warham,
Wighton and
Caistor St. Edmund,
Norfolk**

**by Tony Gregory
and David Gurney**

with contributions from
H.E.M. Cool, Brenda Dickinson, Brian Hartley,
Kay Hartley, Frances Healy and
Jennifer Price

illustrations by
Steven J. Ashley, Denise Derbyshire,
Tony Gregory, David Gurney, Frances Healy,
Hoste Spalding and Susan White

and photographs by
Hallam Ashley, the late R.R. Clarke and
Peter Wade-Martins

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Alan Carter, Director, Norwich Survey
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Cover Illustration Caistor St. Edmund: looking south at the excavation of
the gateway into the Romano-Celtic temple site, 1950.
Rainbird Clarke in centre, wearing hat. *Photo: Hallam Ashley*

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Contributors

H.E.M. Cool, PhD.,
Research Assistant, Department of Adult and Continuing Education, University of Leeds

Denise Derbyshire,
Formerly Illustrator, Norfolk Archaeological Unit

Brenda Dickinson, B.A.,
Romano-British pottery consultant

Tony Gregory, M.A., A.M.A., M.I.F.A.,
Deputy County Field Archaeologist, Norfolk Archaeological Unit

David Gurney, B.A., M.I.F.A.,
Research Officer, Norfolk Archaeological Unit

Brian Hartley, F.S.A.,
University of Leeds

Kay Hartley, B.A.,
Romano-British pottery consultant

Frances Healy, B.Sc. (Econ.), PhD., M.I.F.A.,
Research Officer, Norfolk Archaeological Unit

Peter Lawrance, B.Sc.,
Formerly Assistant Keeper (Geology) of Natural History, Norfolk Museums Service

Jennifer Price, PhD., F.S.A.,
Lecturer, Department of Adult and Continuing Education, University of Leeds

(Contributors to this report can be contacted through the Norfolk Archaeological Unit)

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Thornham, Warham Barrows, Warham Camp and Wighton

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Caistor St. Edmund

It is proper first to acknowledge the principal excavators of the site whose work is published here, namely Miss

A.S. Mottram (now Mrs A.S. Hankinson), Mr A.P. Baggs, the late R.R. Clarke, Mr G.P. Larwood, the late Group Captain G.M. Knocker and Mr R.G. Hughes.

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The computer-rectified plot of the cropmarks on which Figure 31 is based was provided by Dr Rowan Whimster (Cambridge University Committee for Aerial Photography).

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Preface

The reports in this volume are mostly of projects organised by the late R. Rainbird Clarke, but never published by him. It is the last of his work to be published, apart from an excavation at Thetford Castle (to be included by Tony Gregory in his forthcoming report on the Iron Age and early Roman site of Fison's Way, Thetford). It would therefore seem an appropriate moment to review his achievements as an archaeologist, and the following has kindly been provided by Barbara Green, Keeper of Archaeology at the Norwich Castle Museum (ed.).

Roy Rainbird Clarke, 1914-1963: An Appreciation

Roy Rainbird Clarke was a man of tremendous energy, with a deep and consuming interest in the archaeology of East Anglia. This interest he was keen to communicate to specialist and layman alike. His curiosity about the past was perhaps inherited from his father, W.G. Clarke, a local journalist, self-taught archaeologist and local historian, who helped to found the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia, now the Prehistoric Society. W.G. Clarke died in 1925, but Rainbird's archaeological interest was fostered by the Rev. H. Tyrrell-Green, Rector of Santon. Together, in 1926, they excavated a Roman site at Santon (Clarke 1933).

Rainbird Clarke read archaeology at Cambridge where fellow students included Glyn Daniel, Shepherd Frere, Terence Powell and Peter Hunter Blair. While there he founded an undergraduate archaeological society and helped to found the Norfolk Research Committee. This latter, inspired by the Fenland Research Committee, was set up as a meeting place for people working on all aspects of Norfolk's history, natural history and geography. While still at Cambridge he published his paper on the Brandon flint-knapping industry (Clarke 1935), still the standard work, and began the revision of his father's *In Breckland Wilds* (Clarke 1937, 2nd edition published 1974). In 1933 he began one of his most enduring contributions to Norfolk archaeology; he became one of the local correspondents appointed to assist O.G.S. Crawford, the Ordnance Survey's Archaeology Officer, with the revision of antiquities on OS maps. For this he began to index archaeological objects and sites, recording new finds as they were made and extracting information from published sources. He assisted too in a survey of Norfolk barrows, organised by J.E. Sainty, A.Q. Watson and L.V. Grinsell.

After Cambridge he worked as a voluntary helper at Norwich Castle Museum until, in 1937, he became Assistant Curator of the Somerset County Museum at Taunton. In 1940 he joined the army, eventually taking part in the war in Europe. While there he spent his spare time studying local archaeology, particularly in Holland. After demobilisation he returned to Taunton but, in 1946, he was appointed Deputy Curator of Norwich Museums and then, in 1951, Curator. Here he remained for the rest of his life. Much of his working day was spent administering four museums — most of his

archaeological work, even though he was also Keeper of Archaeology, was done outside normal working hours.

Rainbird believed in popularising archaeology. He wrote articles in the local papers and journals, and he lectured to groups all over the county and beyond. He persuaded the Museums Committee to invest in a series of archaeological dioramas in an attempt to bring to life the flints, bronzes and pots displayed in the archaeology gallery above. He appeared on local radio and television to talk about new finds. The most important was probably *Once a Kingdom*, a series on the archaeology of Norfolk and Suffolk produced by Anglia Television in 1962.

As a result of this publicity for archaeology, large numbers of people brought their finds to the museum for identification and recording in his Sites and Monuments Index. This record formed the basis of the scholarly surveys he produced. These included: a general survey of the prehistory of Norfolk (Sainty and Clarke 1946); the Iron Age (Clarke 1940); the Roman period (Clarke 1950a); the Early Saxon period (Clarke and Myres 1939-40); and general summaries of finds (e.g. Clarke 1950b; 1957). He wrote many papers on important new finds, of which perhaps the two most significant were those on the Ringstead Hoard (Clarke 1951) and the Snettisham Treasure (Clarke 1954 and 1956), both of which date to the Iron Age, his favourite period. He was less interested in the medieval and post-medieval periods, as the Sites and Monuments Index shows, but this did not prevent him working actively with other members of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society to arrange excavations in post-war Norwich before redevelopment began (Jope 1950).

Rainbird's enthusiasm fired the interest of many people. He was unfailingly kind and helpful to those who wished to study archaeology of any period. He gave the same welcome and attention to students and renowned scholars alike who came to work on the Museum collections and records.

Although Norwich City Council, who ran the museums, refused to support excavations, Rainbird was able to carry out a number of short-term, small-scale excavations through the Norfolk Research Committee, using a group of enthusiastic volunteers. Although many were local members of the Committee, some diggers came for several years from other parts of the country. Unfortunately, pressures of work prevented Rainbird from writing up many of these excavations; some are the subjects of this volume.

For a number of years much of his archaeological research was directed towards the publication of *East Anglia* (Clarke 1960), a volume in the *Ancient People and Places* series. Although the dating and some of the cultural terminology have been considerably revised after twenty-five years, much of the basic description and many of the conclusions still stand.

In the Museum he established a collecting policy based on preserving evidence for sites, that is, whenever possible he kept the broken potsherds and waste flint flakes when the provenance could be recorded, as well as items more suitable for display in the gallery. This integration of museum collections and sites and monuments record has proved to be one of the most valuable aspects of his work and is a continuing policy.

In such a short summary it is impossible to do more than touch on certain aspects of Rainbird Clarke's contribution to Norfolk archaeology. His two greatest achievements were the establishment of a sites and monuments record and its integration with the Museum's collection to provide a coherent picture of the study of archaeology in Norfolk. His interest was regional but his standards of scholarship were always of the highest.

Barbara Green
January 1986

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General Introduction

Part I: Thornham, Warham Burrows, Warham Camp and Wighton

In the years between World War II and his death in 1963, Rainbird Clarke, as Curator of Norwich Castle Museum, was largely responsible for excavations in Norfolk. These were carried out by the amateurs of the Norfolk Research Committee under his direction, working for a few weeks each summer. The excavation strategies, methods and recording systems were typical of their day, and very different from those of modern professional field archaeology, but the evidence has been preserved which has allowed these reports to be written. In the absence of the excavator a great deal of unrecorded information has been lost, not least the hunches and intuitive flashes which would have fleshed out the rather bare bones presented here. Nevertheless, it is a great tribute to Rainbird and to the Norfolk Research Committee that these reports could be written at all.

Part II: Caistor St. Edmund

Rainbird Clarke also initiated excavations at Caistor St. Edmund in 1950, the findings of which were to prompt further research by other excavators and members of the Norfolk Research Committee between 1950 and 1957. No doubt Rainbird, after his own work in 1950, was at hand in the following years to encourage and advise those who continued work on this site. Here too, the shortcomings of excavation and recording techniques must be viewed against the background of the period. Nonetheless, the excavation records by all those who worked here provide a valuable account of the archaeology of this important temple site.

Part I

1. An Enclosure of the First Century AD at Thornham

by Tony Gregory

I. Summary

A strongly-defended enclosure was built on the site of earlier occupation in the mid first century AD on a slope overlooking the North Sea. On historical and structural grounds it is thought to have been constructed by native, rather than official, Roman, authorities. The site was occupied again in the second century AD, and later used for an Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

II. Discovery

In 1948 R. Rainbird Clarke, then Curator of Norwich Castle Museum, recognised the cropmark of a rectangular enclosure on a vertical air photograph taken by the R.A.F in 1946; he tentatively interpreted the enclosure as a signal-station serving the system of forts of the Saxon Shore. Further photographs were taken by Dr (now Professor) St. Joseph of the University of Cambridge which confirmed the original discovery and added further details (Pl. I). In 1952 a trial excavation was conducted by R.M. Butler, then preparing a doctoral thesis on late Roman fortifications; this was followed by further excavations in 1955, 1956 and 1960 by the Norfolk Research Committee under the direction of Rainbird Clarke.

III. Site Description

(Figs 1-2)

The enclosure (Site 1308, Ancient Monument No. 246) is located at about 125ft (45m) OD on the north slope of the chalk ridge which runs through west Norfolk. At present it has an uninterrupted view across the Wash to the coast of Lincolnshire between Boston and Skegness. A little more than a mile to the north-east lies the modern village of Thornham with a small natural harbour. On the site itself 50-90cm of ploughsoil overlie a layer of brown loam with chalk and flint pebbles, about 40cm thick. Below this is the chalk, of which the upper 60cm are badly disrupted by glacial action.

Two and a half kilometres to the west is the Roman road known as Peddars Way, which reaches the coast at Holme next the Sea, while the prehistoric trackway, the Icknield Way, runs towards Hunstanton, a further two kilometres to the west (Lewton-Brain 1965). Iron Age sites and finds are relatively common in this area, including the torc finds at Sedgeford and Bawsey, the Snettisham hoards (R.R. Clarke 1955), a hoard of metalwork including pony-bits from Ringstead, and a bronze linchpin found in the present village of Thornham (Fig.28; p.36). Recent excavation outside the Roman fort at Brancaster (Hinchcliffe with Sparey Green 1985) produced a few sherds of Iron Age pottery. Occupation of the Roman period is clearly concentrated on the western slopes of the chalk ridge which are dissected by the valleys of small

streams flowing westwards into the Wash. This area is particularly rich in Romano-British sites, particularly in major buildings such as Gayton Thorpe (Atkinson 1929) to an extent unparalleled in the rest of the county; to some extent this can be explained by the combination of the slopes providing shelter from winds off the North Sea and the varied resources provided by the valleys (Gregory 1982) but this part of Norfolk has also been favoured by extensive fieldwork by Messrs Lewton-Brain, Nicholls, Schwabe, Smallwood and Thatcher which has weighted the distribution of sites in its favour. The north slopes of the chalk ridge were apparently much less densely occupied, the principal known site being the Saxon Shore Fort and settlement at Brancaster, six and a half kilometres to the east of the Thornham site. Nearer to Thornham is the small Romano-British occupation site at Choseley with its two third-century coin hoards, and an urned cremation of the late first or early second century has been found in the present village of Thornham (Fig.28; p.36).

Aerial photography has revealed several features of archaeological interest in the immediate vicinity of the enclosure (Fig. 2); to the north-west are a pair of ring ditches (Site 1310), assumed to be the remains of round barrows, and to the east an area about 30m square is surrounded by a diffuse pale band, possibly an embanked enclosure without a ditch (Site 1340). To the south-east a pair of parallel pale lines run south-west to north-east (Site 13772), resembling the double-ditched tracks so common in Roman Britain. Parallel to these and about 200m to the north-west is a linear feature (Site 13773), appearing pale in some fields and dark in others, which crosses the Bank Road, runs along the south-western side of the large chalk pit which cuts the main enclosure, and runs off north-eastward towards Thornham village. This feature is shown as a road on Faden's map of Norfolk (surveyed 1790-4) but not on that of Bryant (surveyed 1824-6). Its continuation to the south-west is shown on the 1609 map of Holme (Ward 1935, fig. 3). The coincidence of the road with the south-eastern edge of the chalk pit, suggests that it may have been working and supplying the kiln in the late 18th century. The two rectangular enclosures are surrounded, on the 1946 R.A.F air photograph, by a thin, sharply-defined pale line visible to the north, west and south-east. It appears to overlie the road (Site 13773) and thus is unlikely to be connected with the main enclosure; indeed it may be of no archaeological significance at all.

To the south of the site is a road known as Greenbank (Site 1338) which Rainbird Clarke, on topographical and instinctive grounds, considered to be of considerable antiquity. To the west is a north to south road presently known as the Bank Road, which follows a straight line into Thornham salt-marsh. It marks the parish

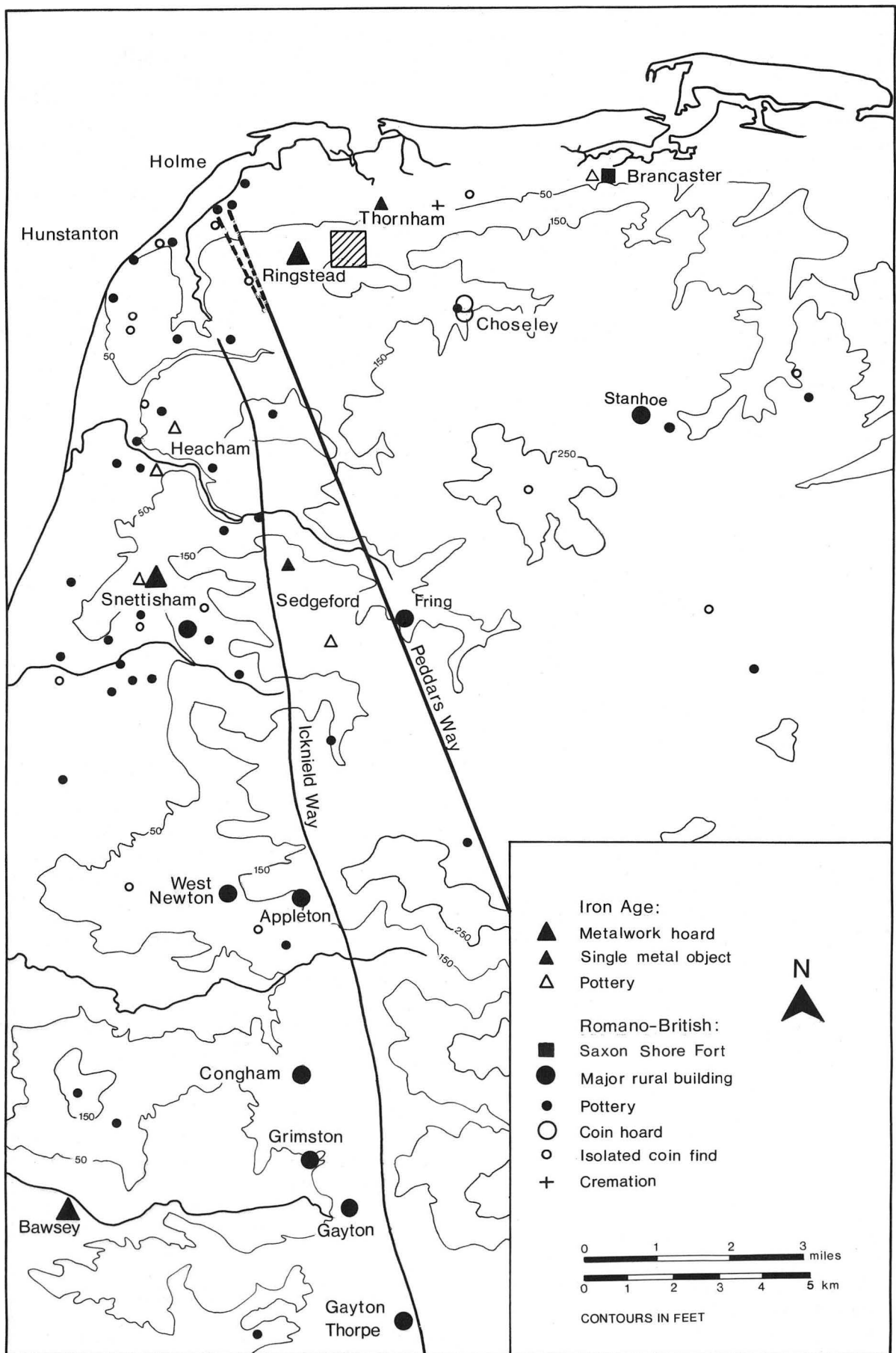


Fig. 1 Iron Age and Romano-British sites and finds in north-west Norfolk. For shaded area see Fig. 2. Scale 1:12,500

boundaries between Thornham and Holme and between Thornham and Ringstead. On the 1609 map of Holme (Ward 1935) this road is referred to as the 'Laundyche Road'; and an entry or 1465 in the Register of Ramsey Abbey (N.& N.R.O. Hare 2 232x fo. 187b) refers to the 'Laundyche' dividing the parishes of Holme and Thornham. In a letter of 1960 in Norwich Castle Museum, O.K. Schramm reported to Rainbird Clarke that he had traced documentary references to this feature back to 1382; the earliest document is not detailed but was apparently among the *Lestrangle* documents. This suggests an earthwork of medieval or earlier date, sufficiently prominent to be used as a parish boundary, and possibly similar in nature to the probably Dark Age earthworks of central and west Norfolk (Wade-Martins 1974). A slight bank now survives in the east verge of the road and was sectioned in 1956 at point A in Figure 2; no evidence of make-up or of a ditch were discovered so the structural detail of this 'Laundyche' remain a mystery.

IV. The Excavation

Surveying and recording

In publishing the work of a deceased excavator it is easy for the present-day student to criticise the standards of the

past and to make them the scape-goat when he fails to extract all the information for which he had hoped. The present writer has made a conscious effort to avoid this and although little of the excavated material is stratigraphically useful, this is due to the nature of the site rather than to standard of the excavations. However the records of Rainbird Clarke's excavation present a serious problem of surveying which must be discussed in detail. The problem is simple: the enclosure is shown by aerial photography and by inspection of the site on the ground to be a simple rectangle (Fig. 2), but the final plans drawn up after the excavations in 1960 do not agree (Fig. 3). They were drawn at 1:48 on two extremely large sheets and apparently never reduced for more convenient appreciation; hence the various sections across the ditch and the rampart were never joined up to reconstruct the lines of the enclosure. The alignments on Figure 3 show two problems; there appear to be two distinct alignments of bank and ditch, one from the excavations of 1952, 1955 and 1956 (Cuttings A, B, D, F, G, J, K, L, M, O and Q) and a second from the excavations of 1960 (Cuttings U, V, X, Y, Z and AA). The 1960 cuttings were plotted on a 20 ft square grid erected on the survey points used in the earlier excavations. Unfortunately some of these points

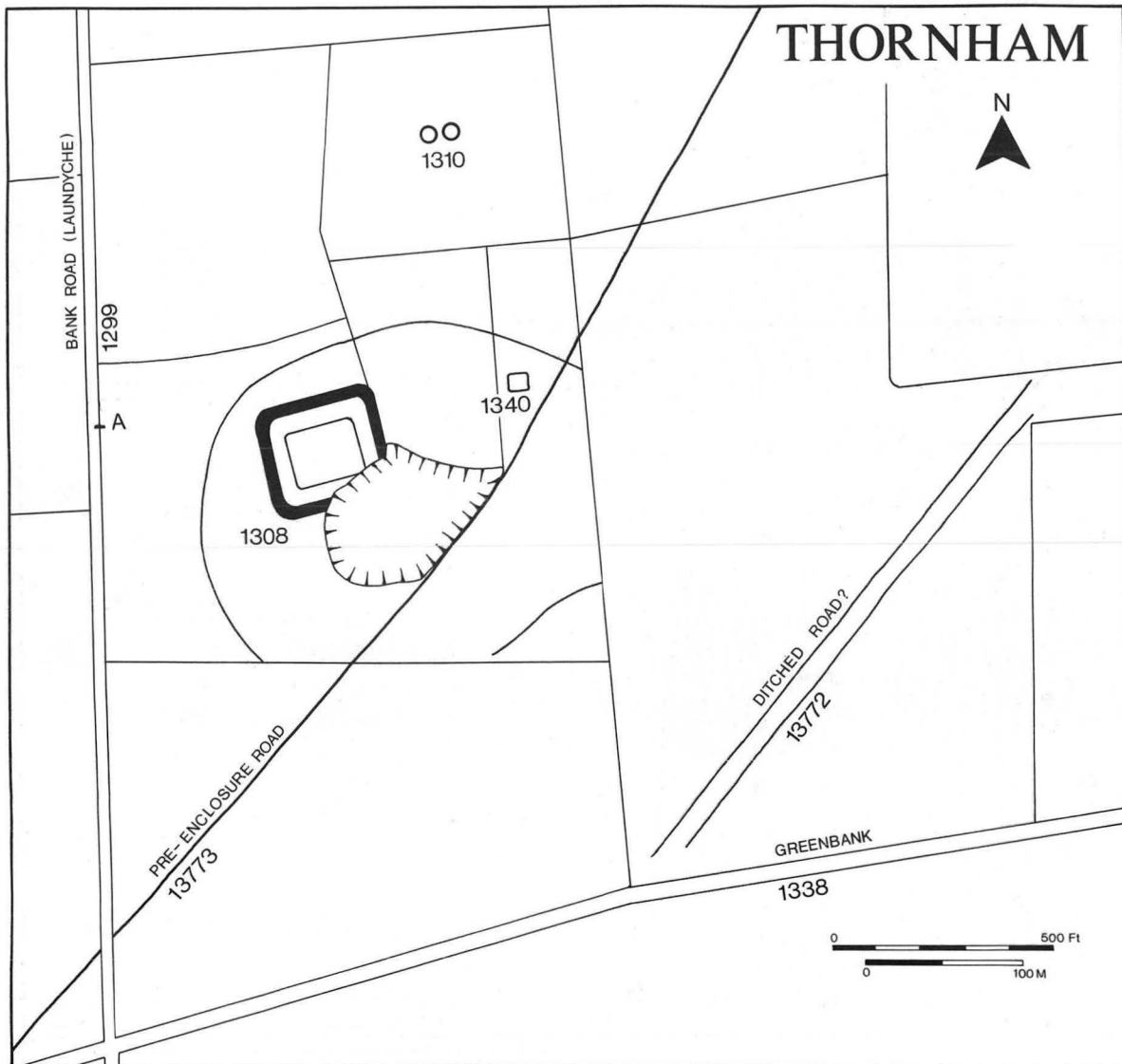


Fig. 2 Thornham: cropmarks and archaeological features around enclosure. Trench across 'Laundyche' at A. Scale 1:5000

(concrete blocks in the hedges) were disturbed when hedges were grubbed out in the late 1950s: thus the 1960 cuttings were correctly surveyed with respect to each other, but their relationships with earlier cuttings were not recorded correctly. This has been resolved for the purpose of the present report by swinging the 1960 grid to align the ditch in Cuttings V, X and Y with the ditch in Cuttings A; this has brought the rampart sections into line at the same time, and has provided an acceptable alignment for the north ditch in Cutting Z.

The second problem concerns the line of the rampart on the north and east sides of the enclosure; in 1956 these two sides were investigated in Cuttings J, K, L, M, and O, and the north rampart was revealed in Cutting B in 1952. The problem arises in Cutting O, where the north-east corner of the enclosure is shown 7m north of the alignment of the north rampart shown in Cuttings B, J and K, and in Cutting M where the rampart appears 3m south of the main line. This is all at odds with the

evidence of the air photographs which show a single straight rampart. Cuttings K and M were open at the same time and were physically connected by Cutting Q; it would therefore be most surprising if any surveying mistake had been made there. Cutting J was surveyed in at the same time, from the same points, and the recorded measurements have been checked by replotting. The misalignment of the rampart in Cutting M remains a mystery. The failure of Cutting Z to locate the rampart suggests that it was ploughed away between 1956 and 1960 and any opportunity to explain the mystery has probably now gone. On the other hand, Cuttings O and L were not surveyed in direct relationship to the cuttings across the north rampart, but were tied in to the survey stations. The survey records are unfortunately not sufficiently full or legible to reconstruct the exact position of Cuttings O and L, but it seems most likely that this is where the error crept in. Since the relationship between the north and south ramparts are given by

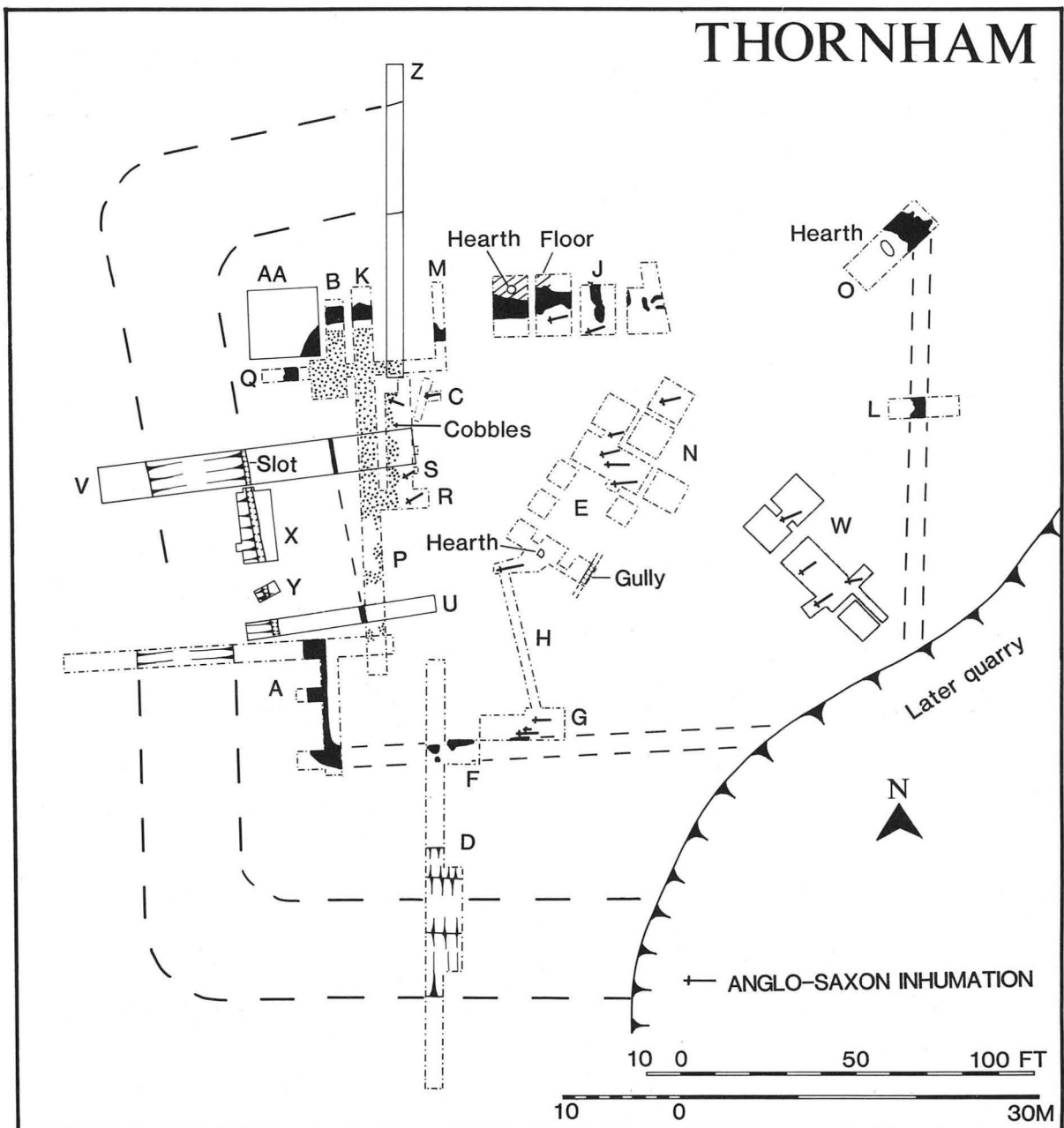


Fig. 3 Thornham: plan of enclosure as recorded. Scale 1:600

Cutting K/P which located the earlier Cutting A, the position of L and O has been adjusted for the purpose of Figure 4.

Figure 4 is a tentative reconstruction, based on excavated details and air photography, of the banked and ditched enclosure. So far as it disagrees with the excavators' records it is unsatisfactory, but is offered here as the best compromise between apparently inconsistent records. Confirmation of the ditch line would still be possible by excavation, but it appears from the 1960 excavations that ploughing has been causing so much damage to the rampart remains that they cannot be re-examined.

Pre-enclosure occupation

The earliest known occupation of the site is represented by fifteen scraps of pottery of Beaker type. Nine of these were found in the brown loam sealed by the rampart in

Cutting V, while the rest occurred in Cuttings E, K, N, O and U. Four flint scrapers are also preserved, from Cuttings L, O, V and Z. While no flakes were recorded or kept it is possible that they were found and discarded.

Iron Age occupation is attested by a scatter of sherds from hand-made vessels in hard, coarse, sandy fabrics, from Cuttings M, O, Q, S, U and V. Two concentrations occurred, one consisting of five sherds from Cutting O, found behind the rampart and distinct from the concentration of wheel-made pottery (p.13). The second concentration was found in Cutting J (Pl.II; Fig. 5) where a layer of packed clay covered by a thin layer of burnt clay with what the excavator described as 'thatch impressions' was discovered partly underlying the rampart; Rainbird Clarke interpreted this as an Iron Age hut floor with the remains of clay walls destroyed by fire. While the section (Fig.5) shows a deposit 1.5m from north to south, the plan (Fig.4) shows the deposit extending to the northern side of the cutting, a distance of 3.4m. The plan shows

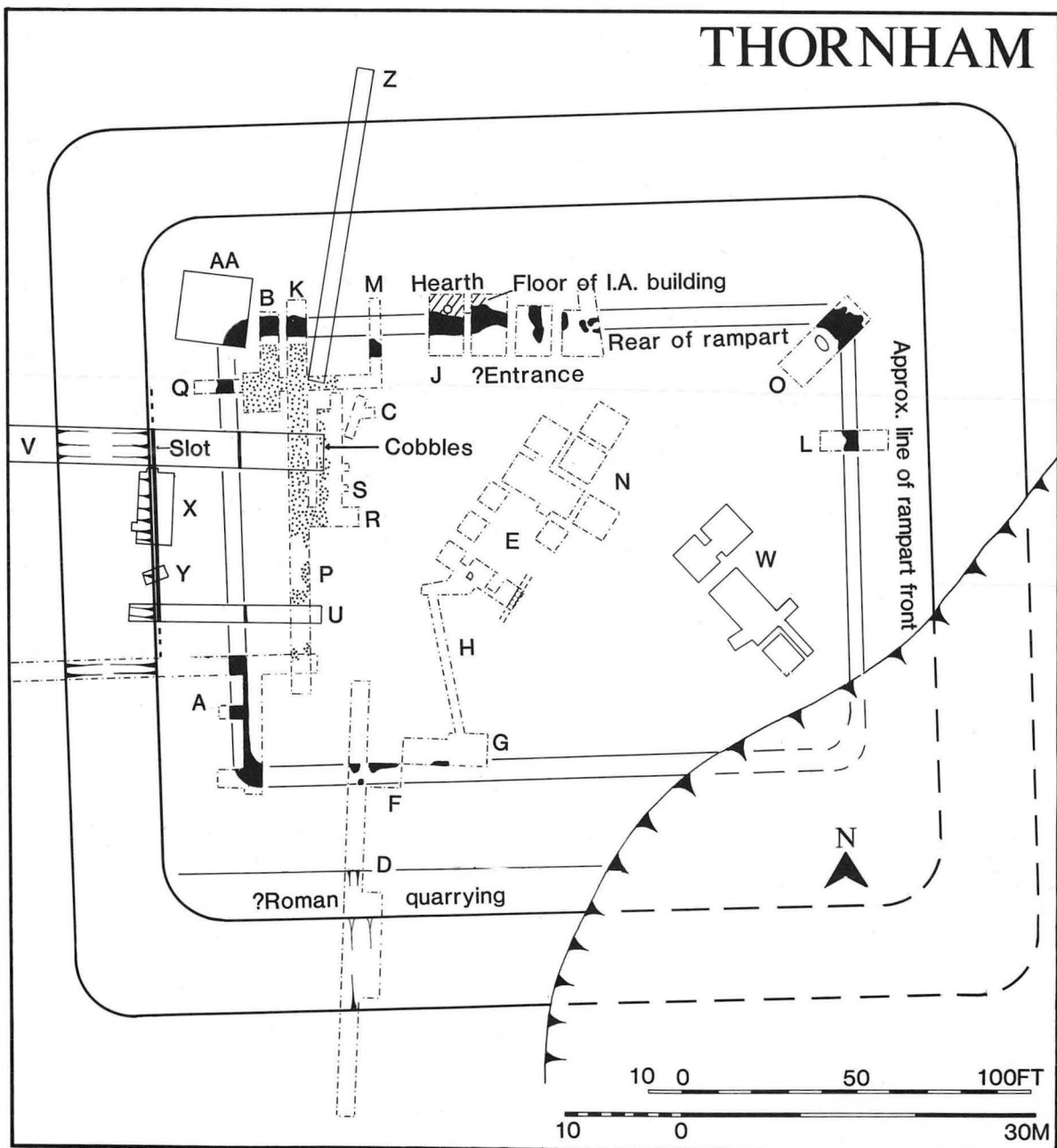


Fig. 4 Thornham: plan of enclosure as corrected. Scale 1:600

the east to west dimension of the floor to be 5m, but in his notes for his 1957 lecture to the Society of Antiquaries Rainbird Clarke states 'no complete plan of hut excavated but that under N. rampart was about 26?ft' (8m). The latter dimension would extend the floor into the third box of Cutting J, and since the planned dimension is 16ft it is wisest to attribute the larger dimension to a slip of the pen. All finds were recorded in three dimensions, usually without reference to stratigraphy, so it has been necessary to try to reconstruct the group of material from the floor from measurements. The restricted area of floor as shown in the section seems to have produced seventeen sherds from five hand-made Iron Age vessels, and three sherds from one wheel-made vessel, probably of Claudio-Neronian date; it is impossible to say whether any of these sherds were found in the packed clay, the burnt clay or the loam beneath the floor. Consequently it is uncertain whether the pottery represents occupation on the floor or rubbish incorporated at the time of the destruction, but all should predate the rampart. The hearth shown on Figure 3 was not described elsewhere, but a passing mention in the 1957 lecture notes suggests that it was part of the floor.

In Cutting U sherds of a *terra nigra* platter (Fig.8, No.1) and body sherds of a wheel-made jar were found associated with a concentration of oyster shells in the loam beneath the rampart. In a similar context in Cutting V were found three wheel-made vessels in association with animal bone and charcoal (Fig.8, Nos 2-4). So we have evidence of occupation until the middle of the 1st century AD, before the construction of the rampart. Whether the Iron Age sherds should be regarded as the products of a residual native tradition surviving alongside the wheel-made pottery or as evidence for earlier occupation is a question which must remain unanswered until a great deal of further research on sites of this period in East Anglia has been completed.

The south-west end of Cutting O also produced large quantities of wheel-made pottery in similar fabrics to those encountered below the rampart in Cutting V (Fig.8, Nos 5,6); one sherd from below the rampart in Cutting O almost certainly belongs to Figure 8, No. 5, suggesting that all this material belongs to the pre-enclosure occupation. The hearth shown in Cutting O (Fig. 3) was actually constructed on the spill behind the rampart, according to Rainbird Clarke's trench notes, but this is contradicted by the notes for the Society of Antiquaries lecture which attribute it to the occupation material already discussed, which was interpreted as a hut floor.

The enclosure

As indicated above (p.3) the plan of the enclosure (Fig. 4) can only be regarded as tentative; the ditch encloses 75m×60m or 0.4ha. (1 acre) while the rampart encloses 50m×36m or 0.2ha. (0.5 acre); the berm separating the two varies although in no cuttings was the front of the rampart clearly defined. As a result the width of the rampart is difficult to determine. The aerial photographs suggest a clearly-marked back to the rampart, with a spread of chalky material running right through to the inner edge of the ditch. In excavation a band of chalk rubble some two metres wide was detected in the 1952, 1955 and 1956 excavations (Pl. III; IV). In Cutting A a revetment of flat chalk blocks, apparently one block deep and surviving to a height of three courses, formed the back edge of the rampart. By 1960 this revetment

survived only as a single course, detected only in Cutting V. Details of the rampart front are very difficult to obtain: no rampart sections of Cutting A were drawn in 1952, and in 1955 and 1956 the sections were purely schematic. Photographs of the rampart in Cuttings J and K (Pls. II; III) suggest that the excavations defined what remained but the irregular front line seen in those photographs perhaps would suggest that the front of the rampart had been entirely removed. In 1960 Cutting V showed a spread of chalk rubble about 5.8m wide, separated from the inner edge of the ditch by a berm of about 4.5m.

It is clear from the site records that the standards of excavation and interpretation were much higher in 1960 than in the previous excavations. This, coupled with the wide spread of chalky material seen on the aerial photographs, lead the present writer to opt for a wide rampart, 5-6m wide, and to interpret the rubble band shown solid in Figures 3 and 4 as it remains, after a purely hypothetical demolition of the rampart front.

No definite evidence for an entrance was discovered, nor shows on the aerial photographs. A clear gap in the rampart remains in Cutting J, which could be anything between 3m and 9m wide, is a possible contender. A line of rubble, running at right angles through the gap, could divide such an entrance into two carriageways. However, surface indications and the aerial photographs suggest that the ditch is not crossed by causeways anywhere in its surviving length, and the rampart traces are generally so fugitive that this must remain the most tentative of suggestions.

Behind the rampart in the north-western part of the site, separating it from the internal cobbling, Cuttings B and K revealed a gully of slack U-profile, 0.35m wide and 0.15m deep. The plan suggests a similar feature in Cutting Q, and any evidence in Cutting V was removed by the destruction, by ploughing, of the cobbling. Where the section of the gully was recorded it appears to be so definite a gap between the two that it is likely that a timber was laid between the rampart rear and the cobbling when the two (or the later of the two if they are not contemporary) were constructed. How this relates structurally to the rampart is not at all clear. It is likely that such a gully ran all the way around the inside of the rampart, but was not traced elsewhere because its fill so closely resembles the loam into which it would have been dug.

The ditch was located in Cuttings A, D, U, V, X, Y and Z, but only completely sectioned in D and V. On the west, in Cutting V, it appears to have been 5m deep and about 7m wide with straight steep sides and a flat bottom 1.5m wide. Except for the lip, the profile is unweathered. The lowest fill consists of a deep layer of loam with some chalk rubble, and an enhanced chalk content on the east side, no doubt due to the proximity of the rampart (Layers 7 and 8). However there is not sufficient chalk rubble in these layers to suggest that any quantity of rampart material found its way into the ditch at this time. In the chalky loam (Layer 8) was found part of a carinated bowl of mid-first-century-type, (Fig.8, No.7) while in the top of that layer was found what Clarke describes as a 'rubbish dump', a concentration of Roman brick fragments, more than 2700 oyster shells and sherds from a least twenty-two vessels of second century date (Fig.8, Nos 8-12). This was followed by layers of loam and chalk rubble, of which layer 4 contained a single sherd of unglazed medieval pottery. A partial section of the ditch in Cutting A

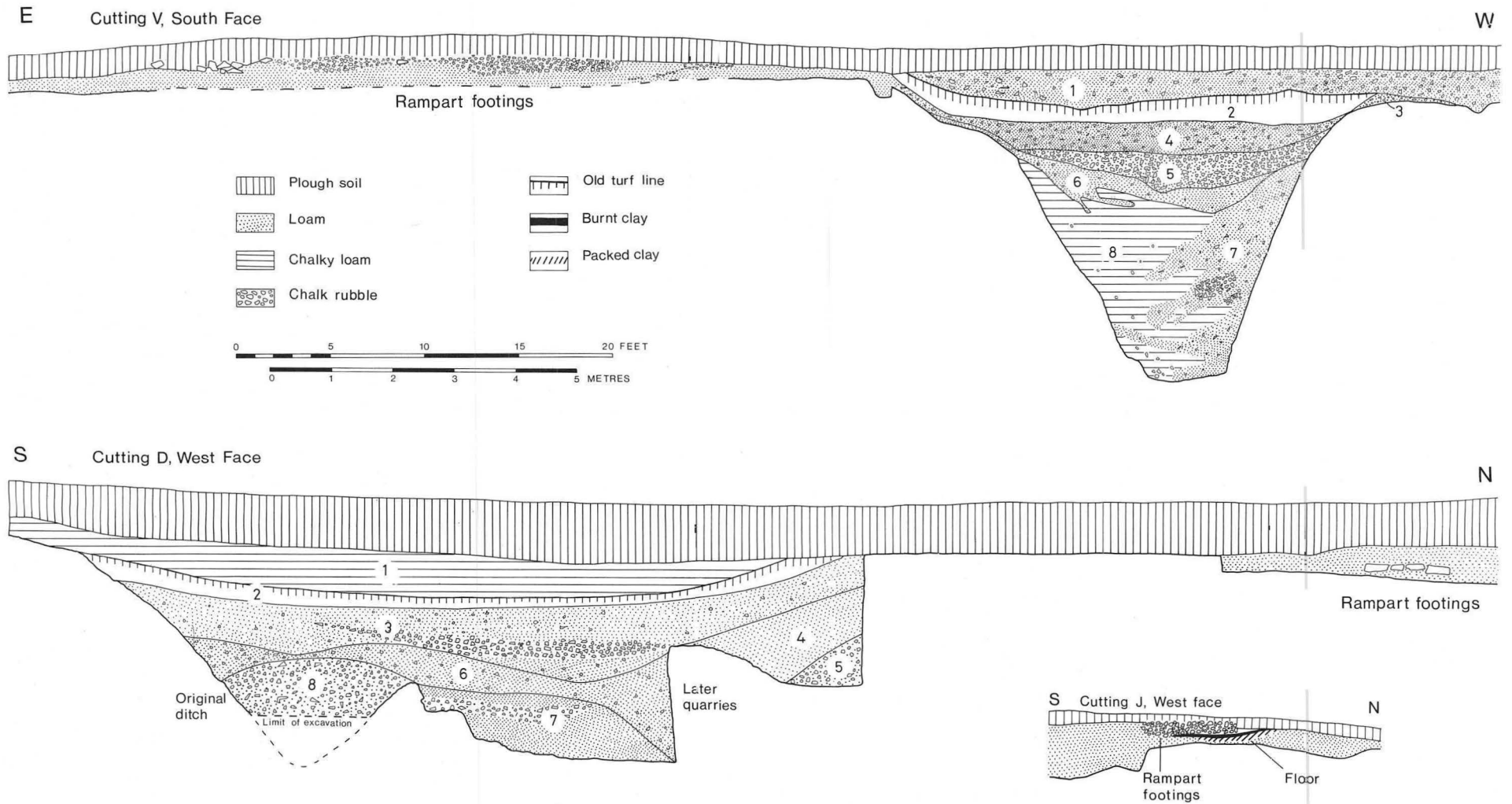


Fig. 5 Thornham: sections. Scale 1:100

suggests similar proportions, shape and fill.

In Cutting D a different profile was observed (Fig. 5): the original ditch, although not bottomed, may be assumed to have been between 3m and 5m in depth, and about 7m wide. Only Layer 8 belongs to the original ditch, which is much shallower, with sides much less steep, than the ditch on the west side. A series of later quarry cuts filled by Layers 3-7 destroyed the upper fill of the ditch, and while the exact plan of these cuts is unknown the air photographs show slight evidence of an increased width and diffuseness along the north edge of the south ditch; the line of the quarrying is reconstructed accordingly on Figure 4. The quarry fill contained only Roman pottery, giving a *terminus post quem* of the second century AD; in the absence of obvious rampart material in any of the ditch sections it is possible that the rampart was robbed out at the same time as the quarrying along the south ditch.

Along the inner lip of the ditch in 1960 (Cuttings U, V, X and Y) was found a slot with straight, almost vertical sides and a flat bottom, 0.28m deep and 0.33m wide at the top. From the Cutting V section it appears that the slot was probably about 1.5m from the original inner lip of the ditch which eroded back into the fill of the slot during the filling of the ditch (Fig. 5). In the excavation notes this feature is described as a palisade trench on the basis of its profile, although no evidence for posts was found in its fill. In view of the gap between the slot and the original ditch lip the slot is best interpreted as an intervening defence line between the ditch and rampart, or as an earlier enclosure line, possibly to be associated with the occupation found below the rampart. However, the coincidence of the slot and the present lip of the ditch is extraordinary, if the present writer is correct in assuming that the lip is the result of weathering. This might suggest that the slot contained timbers, or lay below a build-up of soil and vegetation resulting from the former presence of posts, and that this provided enough protection to slow down the erosion of the ditch at this point.

The interior of the enclosure

Evidence of occupation within the enclosure is sparse: an area of heavy chalk cobbling was found in the north-west corner in 1955 and 1956. Photographs (Pls. III; IV) show it to have been constructed of large pitched chalk blocks, but in the notes it is described as 'chalk rubble', and the only section drawn (Cutting K) is too sketchy and stylised to be of any use; however that section does show it to be about 30cm thick. It also suggests that the rampart and cobbles were of one construction, with the gully at the back of the rampart dug into, but not through, the cobbling which is otherwise dated only by a single sherd of hand-made pottery of Iron Age type below it, and the graves of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery which cut its east edge.

In the absence of better dating and fuller records of the cobbling it is difficult to interpret: Rainbird Clarke's own interpretation changed over the years; in his notes for the 1957 lecture to the Society of Antiquaries he wrote:

On western side 2ft behind inner edge of rampart was extensive rectangular foundation of similar (to rampart) chalk blocks now 1ft thick. Extent 74ft N-S and

26ft E-W. What was function of this massive foundation? The size of the ditch may suggest answer. Even if rampart was 7ft thick and 7ft high the ditch was large enough to have provided chalk for at least 8 ramparts on this scale. What was the rest of the chalk used for? I suggest for constructing a signal tower or navigation mark of gleaming white chalk piled on this foundation.

(Clarke then continued by discussing the possibility of a ferry linking the end of Peddars Way at Holme with the road from Lincoln to Burgh Le Marsh, with the Thornham tower serving as a sailing mark for the Norfolk-bound ferry).

However, the results of the 1960 excavations led to a re-interpretation; the chalk rubble in the east ends of Cuttings U and V, which in 1956 would have been interpreted as part of the foundation, was seen instead as part of a rampart 35ft wide (R.R. Clarke 1961). This re-interpretation was not followed through in writing, but it implies that the cobbling in all cuttings in the north-west corner was interpreted as part of a wide rampart and that the slot at what had earlier been considered the back of the rampart was actually an intrusive feature, or a structure within the rampart. Difficulties arise in trying to reconcile this with the narrow rampart in Cuttings J, O and L, and in the absence of detailed arguments by the excavator in favour of the wider rampart the earlier hypothesis of a rampart with internal cobbling is accepted for the reconstructed plan (Fig. 4).

The only other internal features discovered were a hearth in Cutting O, possibly built on the spill behind the rampart, (but see p.4) an irregular gully in Cutting E, and near the latter a triangular hearth which produced charcoal and a bronze-sheathed iron ring (Fig.6, No.2).

In the topsoil and in the loam above natural chalk inside the enclosure were found seven Roman coins of the second to fourth centuries AD, eight sherds of samian ware, three of which are from the same vessel as the sherd from the 'rubbish dump' in Cutting V, sherds of coarse pottery of late second century types and a *tegula* fragment. These, together with the bricks and pottery from Cutting V suggest occupation within or near the enclosure in the late second century. The later coins are unsupported by any contemporary pottery and may be connected with Anglo-Saxon use of the enclosure.

The Anglo-Saxon cemetery

The cemetery which occupied this site, after an abandonment of several centuries, will be published at a later date by Barbara Green. The distribution of Anglo-Saxon inhumations across the site is shown in Figure 3.

V. The Artefacts

The finds from the excavations were given to Norwich Castle Museum (hereafter abbreviated to NCM) by Mr H.B. Brett (acc. nos. 49.953, 166.955, 244.956 and 391.960).

Coins

(Not illustrated)

1. Antoninus Pius, *as*, reverse illegible, AD 138-161. S.F.60; Cutting B, topsoil over rampart.
2. Antoninus Pius, *as*, reverse illegible, AD 138-161. S.F. 80; Cutting B, topsoil.

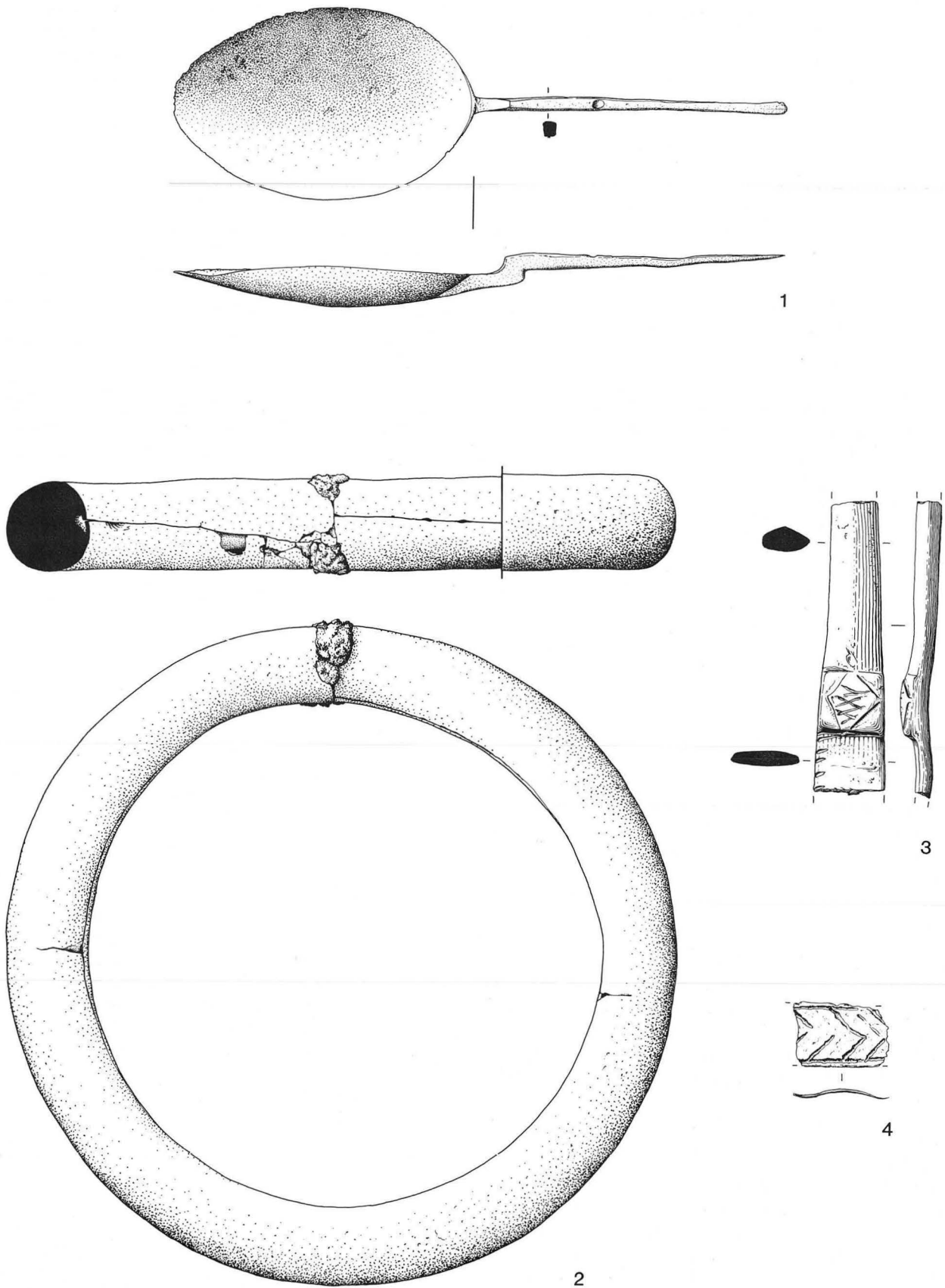


Fig. 6 Thornham: copper alloy objects. Scale 1:1

- Julia Mamaea, *sestertius*, FELICITAS AVG SC, R.I.C. iv 670, AD 222-235.
S.F. 343; Cutting W, topsoil.
Note: this coin has been pierced and so might originate from an Anglo-Saxon grave.
- Barbarous radiate, probably a copy of Tetricus I, late 3rd century AD.
S.F. 261; Cutting S, found by elbow of Inhumation 17.
- House of Constantine, URBS ROMA, wolf and twins, R.I.C. vii, Trier, 529, AD 330-331.
S.F. 370, Cutting W, topsoil.
- Ae 3, Valentinian I, SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE, mint uncertain, but as R.I.C. ix, Trier 7, AD 364/375.
S.F. 368; Cutting W, loam below topsoil.
- As 6 above.
S.F. 344; Cutting W, topsoil.

It is important to note that coins 3-7 are all from the area of the Anglo-Saxon graves: Nos 3,5,6 and 7 are from Cutting W, where graves were the only archaeological features recorded, while No. 4 was actually found in the grave, although it cannot be shown to have been a grave-good. It would certainly be most logical to regard the two Antonine coins, Nos 1 and 2, as belonging to the later occupation of the enclosure, and to connect the rest with the burials.

Copper alloy objects

(Fig. 6)

- Spoon;** handle broken and fracture smoothed to allow re-use. David Sherlock writes: 'The shape is a common one, but only roughly dated to the third century plus or minus fifty years . . . The total length would have been about 16cm. There is an identical bowl from Coptthall Court in the Museum of London (59.94/22).
S.F. 259; Cutting S, unstratified.
- Ring** of copper alloy sheet around an iron core. The long edges of the sheet meet neatly on the inside of the ring, where short nicks have prevented the sheet from crumpling. The cladding of an iron ring with bronze is typical of Iron Age horse gear; side-rings of bits from Arras Culture graves (Stead 1979, 47-50), from Ulceby in Lincolnshire (C. Fox 1958, 35) and from Ringstead, Norfolk (R.R. Clarke 1951) as well as harness rings (Stead 1979, 51) all display this technique. The Thornham piece is rather larger than the usual bit side-rings which are around 9 cm diameter; it also differs from others in that they are often cast on to the side-links or, if free-running, are fitted with stops, whereas the Thornham ring would have been free-running without stops, similar to the La Tene I bits of Champagne which are usually of iron (Bretzmahler 1971, pl. 135, nos 1 and 2). The alternative explanation, that it was a ring-handle from a cauldron of Iron Age, Roman or Saxon date, was favoured by Rainbird Clarke; cauldron-handles are more commonly of iron alone but bronze-sheathed examples do occur, such as the elaborate handle from the second century hoard from Prestwick Carr, Northumberland (Joass 1892).
S.F. 71; Cutting E, from hearth.
- Bar**, with broken ends. Rough incised decoration on central lozenge and at one end. Possibly a handle, or a fragment of an Anglo-Saxon girdle hanger.
S.F. 87; surface find within enclosure.
- Strip**, with incised decoration; does not belong to any of the familiar types of Romano-British bracelet (H. Cool, Pers. Comm.).
S.F. 558; Cutting Z, from outer lip of ditch.

Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age pottery

(Fig. 7)

by Frances Healy

This consists of fourteen body sherds and one fragment of a slightly concave base angle. All are small, the maximum dimension of the largest being 3.9cm, and of the smallest 1.2cm, and none are in fresh condition. It is impossible to reconstruct any complete pots from them. In the following description they are referred to by their original Small Find Numbers, individual sherds within the same small find being indicated by bracketed numbers.

Fabrics (Table 1):

External surface colour ranges from buff to orange-brown; cores and interiors are generally reduced. Sand is the commonest temper, especially in the finer sherds, which are quite thin and hard. The four

coarser sherds (S.F. 174, 546 No.2, 573 (2) and 573 (4)) are all grogged, in three cases with some admixture of sand. Only one sherd (S.F. 573 (1) No. 6) is tempered with angular fragments of flint.

Decoration:

Eight sherds are decorated (S.F. 293, 357, 564, No.2), 566 (No.5), 573 (1) (No. 6), 573 (3), 560 (No. 4) and 578). The only coarser sherd amongst them (S.F. 564, No. 2) seems to have come from a finger-tip rusticated pot: there is one circular depression in the centre of its exterior, and it seems to have broken along the edge of another. The remaining seven decorated sherds consist of four impressed with toothed stamps (S.F. 560 No. 4, 573 (1) No. 6, 573 (2) No. 3 and 578). One (S.F. 566 (1) No. 5) combines wedge-shaped impressions with a line possibly impressed with a toothed stamp, and two (S.F. 293 and 357) are so abraded that their decorative technique cannot be determined.

All the decoration falls within the range defined by D.L. Clarke (1970) for Beaker pottery. In addition to the probable finger-tip rustication of S.F. 564 No. 2, the motifs used are Clarke's nos. 1 (S.F. 357, 560 No. 4 and 573 (1) No. 6, 2 or 3 (S.F. 293, 350, 560 No. 4), 7 (S.F. 573 (2) No. 3), and possibly 6 (S.F. 566 (1) No. 5). These all belong to his basic European motif group 1 which consists of motifs used frequently in all Beaker groups (D.L. Clarke 1970, 429). They are thus no indication of the style or date of the Beakers represented.

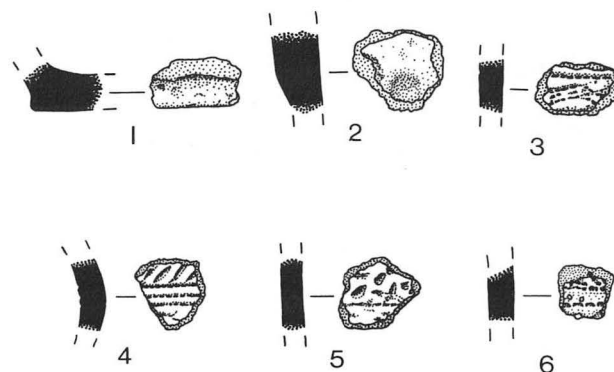


Fig. 7 Thornham: Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age pottery. Scale 1:2

The same range of fabrics occurs among decorated and plain sherds, although finer texture is more frequent among the decorated ones. All are consistent with Beaker fabrics from elsewhere in East Anglia, although the scarcity of flint temper is unusual. It may be significant that the only flint-gritted sherd (S.F. 573 (1), No.6) is impressed with a markedly larger-toothed stamp than the others.

The small size and scattered distribution of the sherds, together with the presence among them of coarse, plain, and, in one case rusticated pieces suggests that, few as they are, they are the residue of settlement rather than of burial.

Iron Age and Romano-British pottery

Samian

This report is compiled from notes supplied to Rainbird Clarke by Brian Hartley in 1960.

- Two sherds, possibly from same vessel, form 15/17R or 18R. South Gaulish, first century AD.
S.F. 53, 55; Cutting B, topsoil.
- Part of footing of form 15/17 or 18. South Gaulish, pre-or early Flavian.
S.F. 141; Cutting L, topsoil.
- Four sherds, from one form 31R. Central Gaulish, c. AD 160-195. S.F. 279, 285, 294, 551; Cutting S, loam above natural chalk, and Cutting V, rubbish dump in ditch fill.
- Sherd from form 33. East Gaulish, probably Argonne, c. AD 160-195.
S.F. 54; Cutting B, topsoil.

The small number of samian sherds, and the fact that only one was stratified in a sealed or undisturbed deposit, reduces their value for dating the occupations of the site. There is nothing here, however, to contradict the dates suggested by the coarse pottery.

Cutting/ Context	E4 (topsoil)	K (topsoil)	K (below cobbles)	N (gravel)	O (topsoil)	U (topsoil)	V (loam below rampart)	V (loam below rampart)	V (loam below rampart)	V (loam below rampart)	V (loam below rampart)	V (loam below rampart)	V (loam below rampart)	V (loam below rampart)
S.F. No.	72	174	188	293	243	357	564	566 ¹	566 ²	573 ¹	573 ²	573 ³	573 ⁴	560
Illus. No.					1		2	5		6m	3			4
Colour														
Exterior	0-Bf	0-B	f0-Bf	0	0	0-Bn	0-f	0-Bf	0	0-Bn	Bf	Bf	Bf	0
Core	G	G	G	Bf	G	G	G	Bf	G	Bk	G	G	G	0
Interior	G	G	G	Bf	Bf	Bf	G	Bf	G	Bk	G	G	G	0
Texture														
Fine			*	*	*			*			*			*
Medium	*					*			*	*				*
Coarse		*					*			*		*	*	*
Hard			*	*	*				*	*				*
Soft		*					*				*			
Laminated										*				*
Soapy	*													
Thickness														
0-5 mm			*					*						*
6-10 mm	*	*		*	*	*			*	*	*	*	*	*
11 mm*							*							
Temper														
Dense		*				*	*		*					*
Average	*		*		*			*		*	*	*	*	*
Slight				*										*
Large		*					*							*
Medium			*					*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Small	*			*	*	*								*
Angular Flint										*				
Sand		(*)	*	*	*	*	(*)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Grog	*	*					*	*	*		*	*	*	*
Surface														
Exterior														
Smoothed		*	*	*	*				*	*				*
Burnished	*							*						*
Weathered						*			*		*	*	*	*
Interior														
Smoothed	*	*	*	*			*	*		*	*			*
Burnished												*	*	*
Weathered						*			*		*	*	*	*

Bf=buff, Bk=black, Bn=brown, G=grey, O=orange

Table 1 Thornham: later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age fabrics, subsidiary tempers bracketted

Coarse pottery (Fig. 8)

From loam, below rampart:

- Terra nigra platter**; medium hard, fine; exterior mid-grey, core and interior light grey.
S.F. 362, Cutting U.
- Shouldered bowl**; medium hard, slightly sandy with sparse mica; surfaces dark grey-brown on orange, core light grey.
S.F. 352, Cutting V.
- Jar**; medium soft, coarse with sparse mica; surfaces dark grey, core orange-red.
S.F. 575, Cutting V.
- Butt-beaker**; medium hard, fine but friable, slightly sandy; orange.
S.F. 568, Cutting V.

Occupation material behind rampart in Cutting O:

- One sherd from No. 5 was found below the rampart, and this is confirmed by close similarities in style and fabric with No. 3 and unillustrated body sherds from below the rampart in Cutting V.
- Shouldered bowl**; medium soft, fine, with sparse mica; surfaces dark grey, core red-brown.
S.F. 208, 209, 239, 240, 243, 245, 258, Cutting O.
 - As 5.
S.F. As 5.

From fill of ditch:

- Carinated bowl**; hard, coarse, gritty, surfaces brown, core mid-grey.
S.F. 599, Cutting V, Layer 8.

All the above vessels are clearly of Claudio-Neronian types. It is interesting that apart from the vessels of Gallo-Belgic tradition, Nos 1 and 4, there is a clear difference between the Thornham material on one hand and that from Thorpe (Gregory 1979), Needham (Frere 1941) and Fison Way, Thetford (unpublished) on the other. Thornham and Needham share the concave-sided carinated bowl (Fig. 8, No. 7 and Frere 1941 fig. 6, no. 31), but the biconical bowl (Frere 1941, fig. 6, no. 38) seems to be replaced at Thornham by round-bodied forms (Fig. 8, Nos 2, 3, 5 and 6); in the absence of detailed knowledge of pre-Conquest potting traditions in Norfolk no explanation can yet be offered for this difference.

From ditch fill, Cutting V, top of Layer 8 'rubbish dump':

- Dish**; hard, medium fine with pimply surfaces; surfaces mid grey core orange-pink.
S.F. 544.
- Dish**; hard, medium fine; surfaces dark grey on red, core mid grey.
S.F. 551.

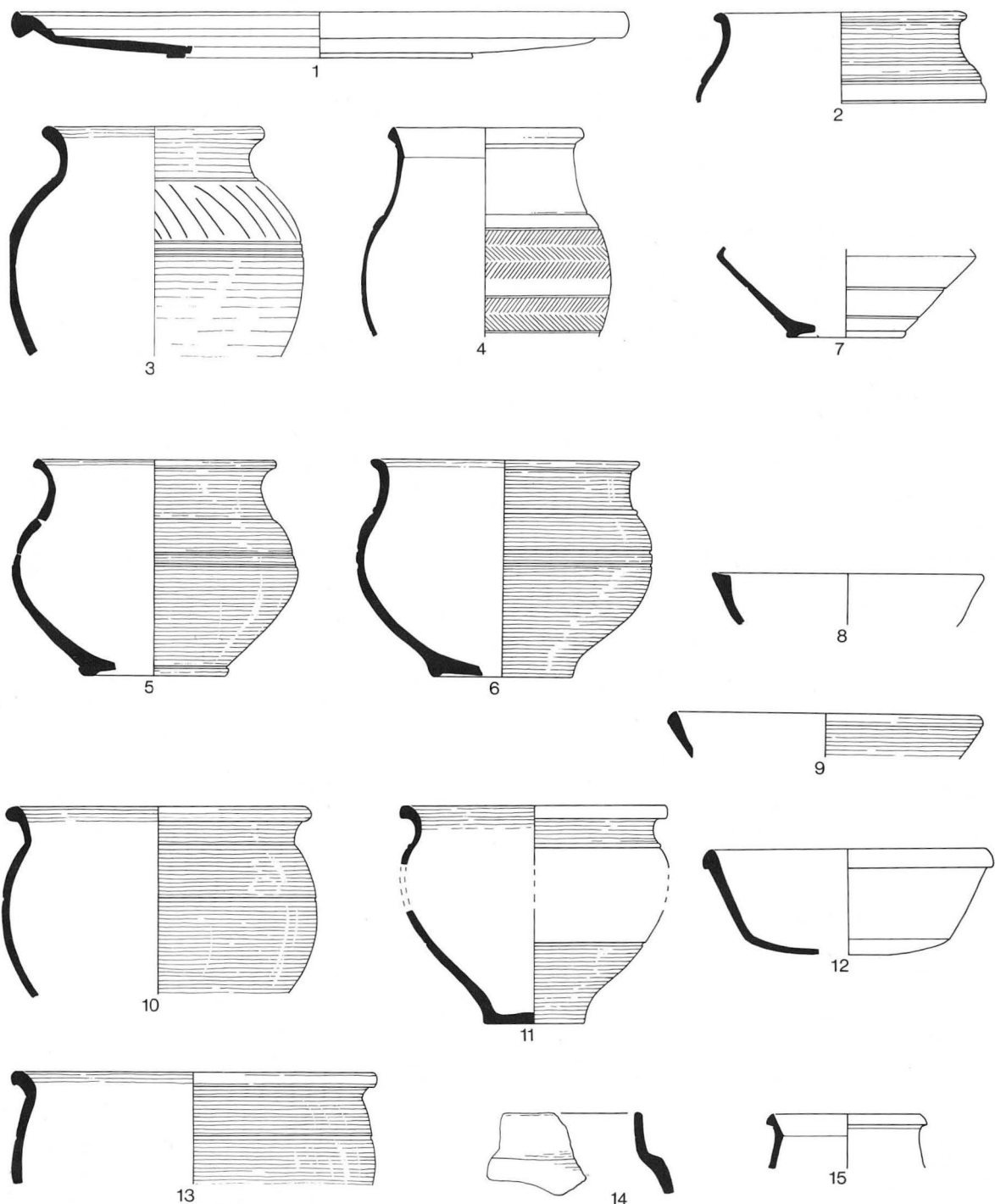


Fig. 8 Thornham: Iron Age and Romano-British pottery. Scale 1:4

- 10. **Bowl or jar**; medium hard, fine; exterior dark grey, core red, interior mid grey.
S.F. 551.
- 11. **Bowl**; hard, medium coarse, slightly sandy; surfaces dark grey on buff, core dark grey.
S.F. 551 and 554.
- 12. **Bowl**; medium hard, fine; surfaces mid grey, core light grey.
S.F. 552.
- 13. **Bowl or jar**; hard medium coarse, slightly sandy; exterior dark grey on light, core dark grey, interior mid grey on light.
S.F. 551.

All these forms would be acceptable in late second century context as indicated by the samian ware sherd (No.3).

Sherds not significantly stratified:

- 14. **Jar**; medium hard, coarse, sandy; surfaces and core black, exterior mottled with buff. Hand-made and of Iron Age type.
S.F. 367; Cutting W, loam below topsoil.
- 15. **Butt-beaker**; soft, fine, sandy; orange-brown.
S.F. 323; Cutting S, fill of grave of Inhumation 17.

Struck flint

(Fig. 9 Nos 1-4)

by Frances Healy

Four scrapers were found, which are described below and drawn. They are small and neatly-made, like those associated with Beaker pottery (Clark *et al.* 1960, 219) and seem likely to be contemporary with the Prehistoric pottery (see above). The fact that the only struck flint

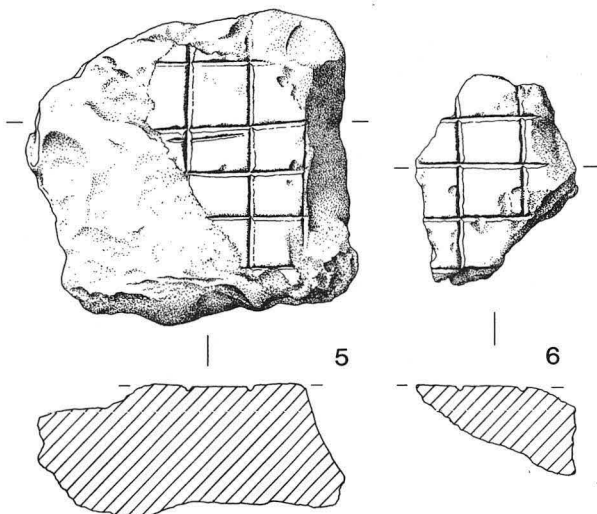
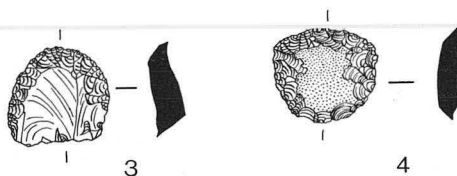
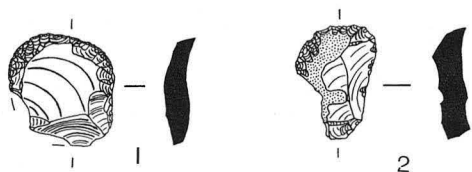


Fig. 9 Thornham: struck flints (Nos 1-4) and chalk objects (Nos 5-6). Scale 1:2

recovered consists of conspicuously retouched pieces suggests strongly that less recognisable worked flint may also have been present.

1. **Fragmentary flake scraper.**
S.F. 159; Cutting L, topsoil.
2. **End scraper** on naturally constricted flake.
S.F. 253; Cutting P, topsoil.
3. **Side/end scraper.**
S.F. 572; Cutting V, topsoil.
4. **Disc scraper.**
S.F. 577; Cutting Z, loam below rampart.

Chalk objects

(Fig. 9, Nos 5-6)

Two chalk fragments with incised irregular grid; parts of a gaming board.

S.F. 52; Cutting A, unstratified.

VI. Zoological Evidence

Animal bone

by Peter Lawrance

The animal bones from Thornham are a poor collection, consisting of less than 200 bones, mainly fragmentary, few of which are from well-stratified contexts. There are certainly not sufficient quantities to detect any differences between bone assemblages in the different periods of occupation of the site, and the assemblage must be treated as a whole in order to present sufficient numbers of bones for any sort of appreciation.

Domestic species:

- Cattle:** 4/5 adult, 1/2 juvenile
Horse: 1/2 adult
Pig: 3 adult

- Sheep:** 1/2 adult, 1/2 juvenile
Dog: 1 adult
Domestic fowl: 1 male, 1 female

Most parts of the skeleton are represented for each species, which suggests slaughtering on site, although, unusually, none of the bones show any butchering marks.

Wild species:

- Red Deer:** 1 individual
Fox: 1 adult
Frog/toad, rat and vole also present.

VII. Chronology and Interpretation

Apart from the small number of Beaker sherds and scrapers, occupation of the site begins with a scatter of coarse, hand-made sherds of Iron Age types, of which only a single rim is worth illustration (Fig.8, No.14). The two concentrations of this material, in Cuttings J and O, neither of which can now be regarded as securely stratified, both included sherds of early Romano-British pottery, so it is impossible to tell whether the 'Iron Age' pottery predates the early Romano-British, or whether it represents a native ceramic element surviving in the early years of the Roman occupation. The early Romano-British material from these concentrations and from Cuttings U and V represents occupation of Claudio-Neronian date, possibly within a palisaded enclosure, for which the rubbish dump in Cutting V gives a *terminus ante quem* in the second century. On purely archaeological grounds, the construction of the enclosure should be put between about AD 50 and AD 150. The political history of early Roman Norfolk suggests closer limits on the period in which this enclosure is likely to have been constructed. It is clearly defensive with a ditch of massive proportions enclosing an area of 0.4 ha (1 acre) within which the rampart or wall encloses 0.2 ha (0.5 acre). The proportions of the ditch and rampart are totally alien to standard Roman military practice. The Thornham enclosure should therefore be seen as the product of native planning.

Its construction stratigraphically must post-date the Roman invasion of AD 43; a native-style defence work is unthinkable between the Boudiccan revolt and the late second century AD. We must therefore attribute its construction and use to the period AD 43-AD 61.

Whatever date is assigned to the enclosure there is some problem regarding its occupation; the material which would on chronological grounds be most acceptable as debris from the enclosure's occupation is that which was found below the rampart and so pre-dates the enclosure. Indeed it is noticeable that most of the Claudio-Neronian material from the site seems to have been found under the rampart, or in the case of Cutting O in a stratigraphically equivalent position. Perhaps this can be explained by a short period of occupation, firstly by the builders, within a temporary palisaded enclosure, producing large quantities of occupation debris because of the large size of the labour gang needed to dig such a ditch, followed perhaps by a few years of occupation by a small number producing little datable occupation debris.

2. The Iron Age and Romano-British Sites at Warham and Wighton

by Tony Gregory

The three other enclosure sites considered here lie in a stretch of valley of the River Stiffkey in north-central Norfolk, some 2 km in length. The Stiffkey, and the Burn to the west, drain a strip of north Norfolk about 15 km wide north of Fakenham, distinguishing this area from the main plateau of central Norfolk which drains into the Wensum system. The watershed between the Stiffkey and the Burn is crossed from south to north by a Roman road from the roadside settlement at Toftrees to the coast at Holkham. Further east, a suggested length of road has been identified, running more or less parallel, through Great and Little Snoring. An east to west road can be

suggested from a series of probable road-alignments; this road is still somewhat obscure but would appear to cross the Stiffkey valley at Wighton. If the Snoring road is projected to the north it would cross the east to west road on the east slope of the Stiffkey valley in the area of the concentration of settlement shown in Figure 10.

As in the north-west corner of the county (Fig. 1), settlement in the Roman period (and also in the Iron Age but in this case on very scanty evidence indeed) is concentrated on the river valleys; the layout of the Roman road system would appear to be dictated by other factors. We are probably seeing a Romano-British settlement

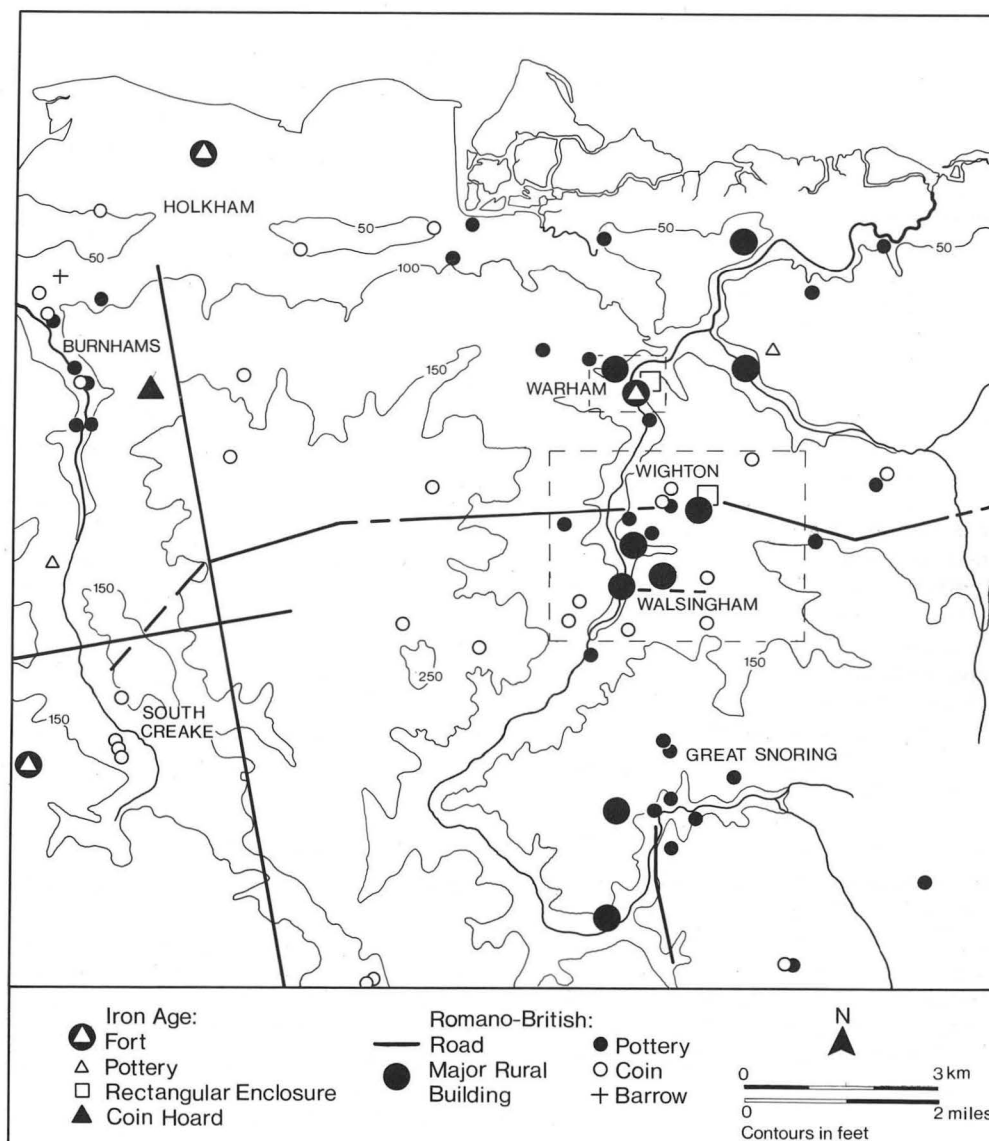


Fig. 10 Iron Age and Romano-British sites and finds in north-central Norfolk. This map continues Fig. 1 from the west. The areas covered by Figs. 12 and 13 are shown in broken line. Scale 1:125,000

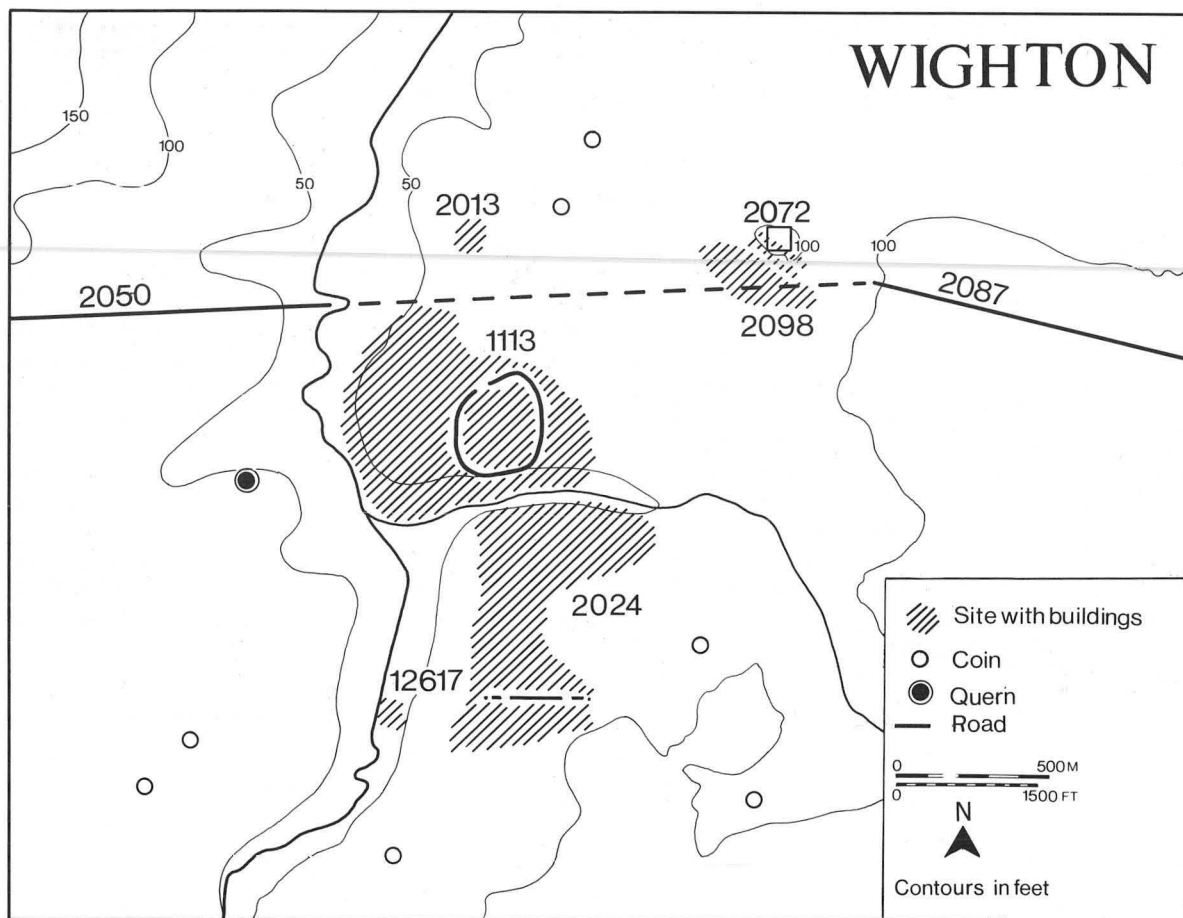


Fig. 11 Sites at Wighton. Scale 1:25,000

pattern developing from earlier patterns, and a road-system superimposed on it in response to the needs of central or regional government rather than local administration. This road system appears to have done nothing to alter the established pattern, unless the density of settlement at Wighton where the east to west road crosses the river is seen as a roadside settlement of the familiar Romano-British type.

Along the Stiffkey there are three concentrations of settlement (Fig. 10): in its upper reaches, around the Snorings, two major buildings and a series of uninvestigated pottery finds suggest a group of farms, possibly exploiting the valley and the promontory formed by the loop of the river. To the north (Fig. 11) the east to west road passes just south of the Wighton enclosure (Site 2072, see below), while a 10 ha (25 acre) scatter of tegulae and second to third century AD pottery (Site 2098) lies astride its line. To the south of this, amidst a general scatter of casual finds of coins and a quernstone, a series of surface finds suggest a major area of settlement some 1.5 kilometres by 750 metres on both sides of a stream feeding the Stiffkey from the east. These sites (principally 1113 and 2024, with 2013 and 12617 as outliers) have produced large quantities of pottery of the second to fourth centuries AD, coins of the same date, roof-tiles, flue-tiles and window glass, suggesting a major settlement of some substance. This settlement includes

the 20 acre oval enclosure excavated by Andrew Lawson (1976) which was constructed in the late Roman or early post Roman period on a site which already boasted a ditch and five inhumations. To the south of the stream, poor crop growth suggests a possible east to west street within the settlement, but it should be noted that it would also line up quite well with another east to west road line from the west, suggesting that there may have been two roads across the valley.

Further north, (Fig. 12) where the Stiffkey begins its bend to the east, there lies another concentration of settlement. The rectangular enclosure known as Warham Burrows is situated on the plateau to the east of the river, while 80m to the south-west, on the very edge of the valley and impinging on the flood-plain is the circular bivallate fort, Warham camp. To the west of the river lies an undated cropmark site (Site 13100) and an extensive settlement site (1826) known principally from a 14 acre spread of surface finds. These range from Iron Age to Early Saxon, but Romano-British predominate, particularly pottery of the second to fourth centuries AD. The presence of substantial buildings is indicated by finds of roof-tiles, flue-tiles, *tesserae* and wall-plaster. The Iron Age pottery differs little from that found at Warham Burrows, but there is as yet insufficient evidence to begin drawing conclusions about the relative dates of this and the two sites to the east of the river.

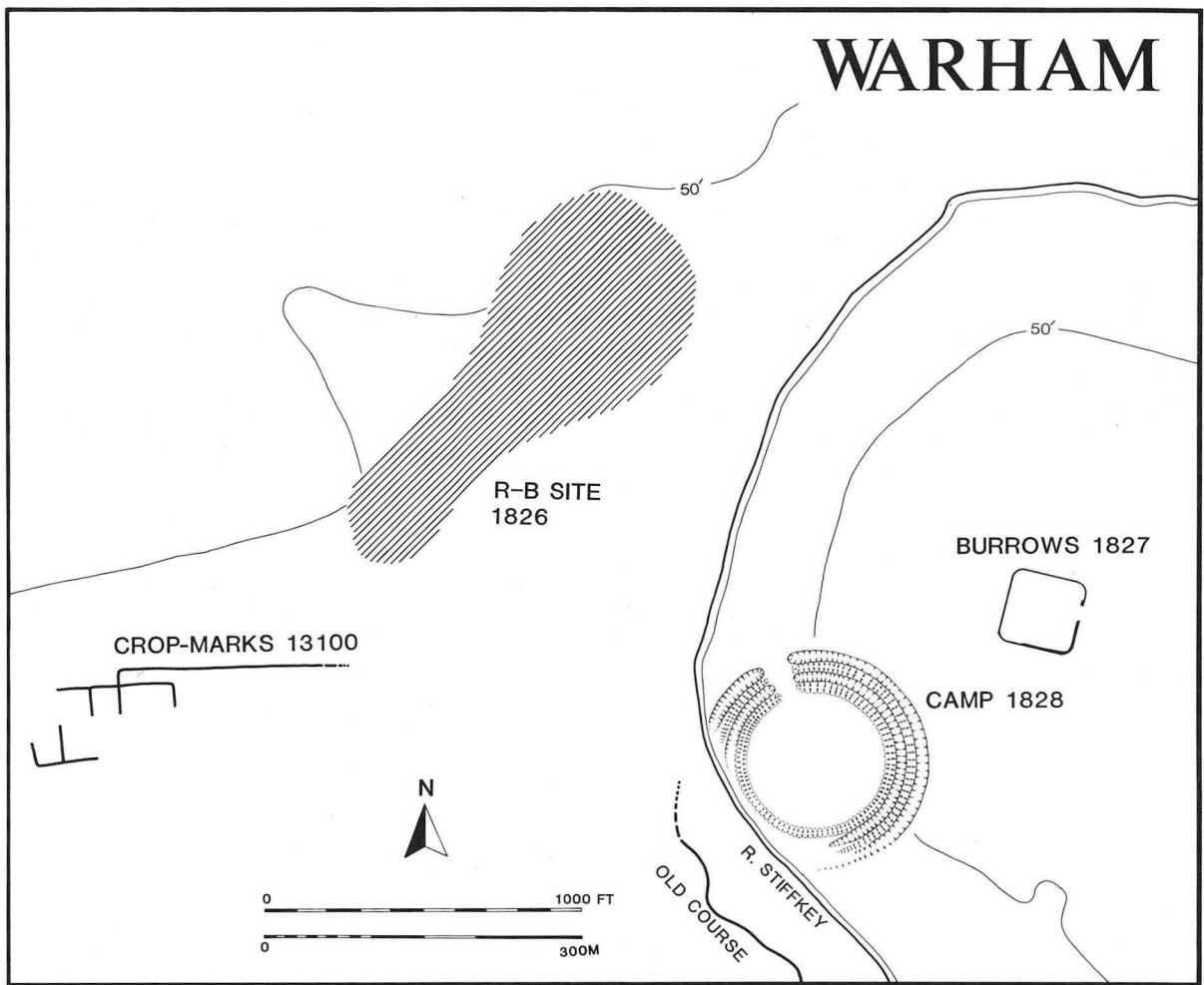


Fig. 12 Sites at Warham. Scale 1:8000

3. Warham Burrows

by Tony Gregory

I. Summary

A rectangular ditched enclosure of one acre was constructed in the late Iron Age close to Warham Camp; widening of the ditch was abandoned before completion.

II. Discovery

The enclosure was discovered from the air by Dr J.K. St. Joseph in 1951 (Pl. V). Excavations were carried out in the summer of 1959 by the Norfolk Research Committee under the direction of Rainbird Clarke to test the initial hypothesis that the site was a Roman siege- or garrison-fort related to the native defences of Warham Camp, which was investigated that same summer. Although Clarke wrote in an interim report of the summer's work 'Further investigation of both sites is clearly required before the relationship of the two forts can be fully determined' (duplicated report in site archive), no further excavations have been conducted.

III. Site Description

(Fig. 13)

The enclosure (Site 1827) occupies an area of level ground overlooking the Stiffkey valley to the west. The bedrock is chalk, of which the upper 4ft (1.2m) is heavily glaciated. It lies 500m from the present course of the river and 80m north-east of the outer ditch of Warham Camp. The name 'Burrows' was given to the enclosure by the excavator, Rainbird Clarke, from the 1783 map by H.A. Bilderman in Holkham Estate Office where the name is actually applied to the western part of the present field, west of the wood which then covered the site under consideration here. However, twenty-seven years later Evans and Britton (1810, 319) followed their account of Warham Camp thus: 'Two other entrenchments, of less dimensions, are in the adjoining parish, and together are known by the name of *the burroughs*'. The boundary between the ecclesiastical parishes of Warham St Mary, in which the Camp is situated, and Warham All Saints actually passes through the site. There are no signs on the ground or on aerial photographs of a second structure, and it seems likely that the two entrenchments referred to are actually the two separate lengths of enlarged ditch on either side of the entrance into the enclosure.

IV. Resistivity Survey

(Fig. 14)

A resistivity survey was carried out during the excavation by Tony Clark, now of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory of the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, and John Nicholls of Kings Lynn Technical College. Four traverses of measurement at four-foot intervals, VI, VII, VIII and IX were laid out across the suspected lines of the four sides of the enclosure. These revealed marked anomalies in VIII and IX of which the former proved to be the east ditch, and less marked ones in VI and VII, which are really only

identifiable as ditches after excavation showed them to be there. However, excavation showed that the anomaly in Traverse IX was unlike the enclosure ditch seen in other cuttings, and was identified with an additional cropmark on the air photograph, running from west to east from outside the enclosure to stop just short of its east side (Feature III). An additional Traverse (X) was therefore surveyed parallel to VI and IX extending further north than the latter, revealing a marked anomaly at its north end. This matches the position of the north ditch on the aerial photograph and is therefore taken to define the enclosure on that side although it was not tested by excavation. In view of the great background variation in resistivity seen in Traverse X, the predictive value of resistivity on this site should be treated with some caution.

V. The Excavation

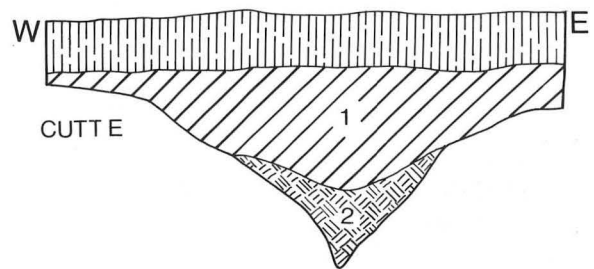
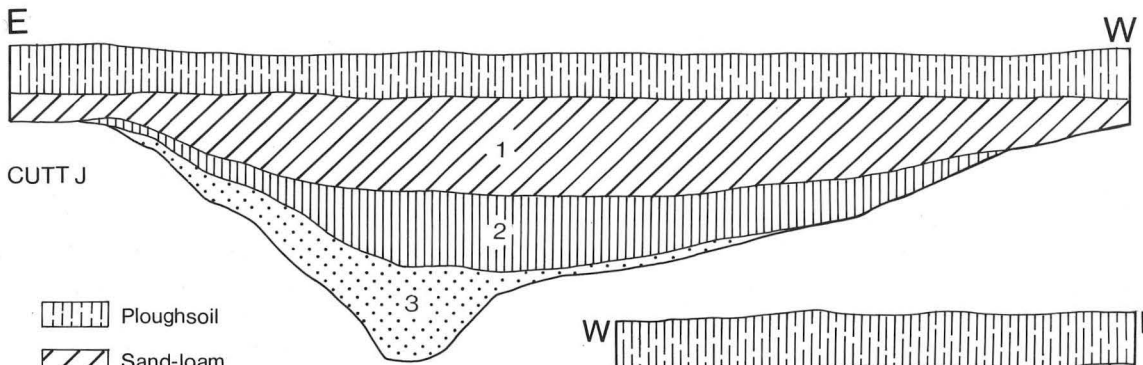
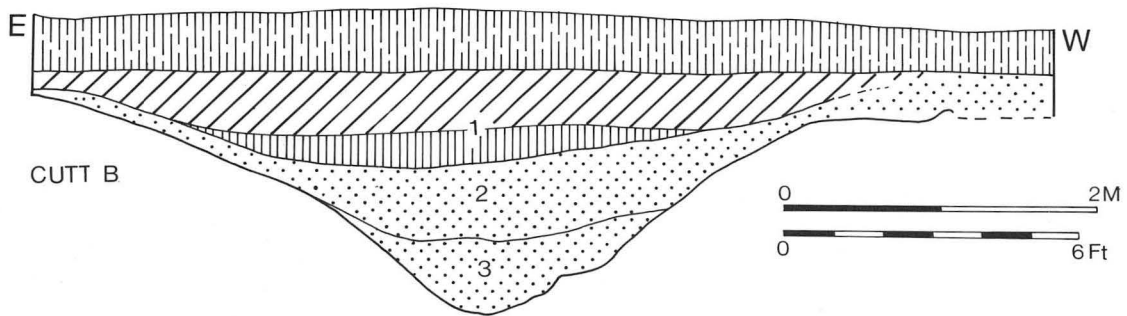
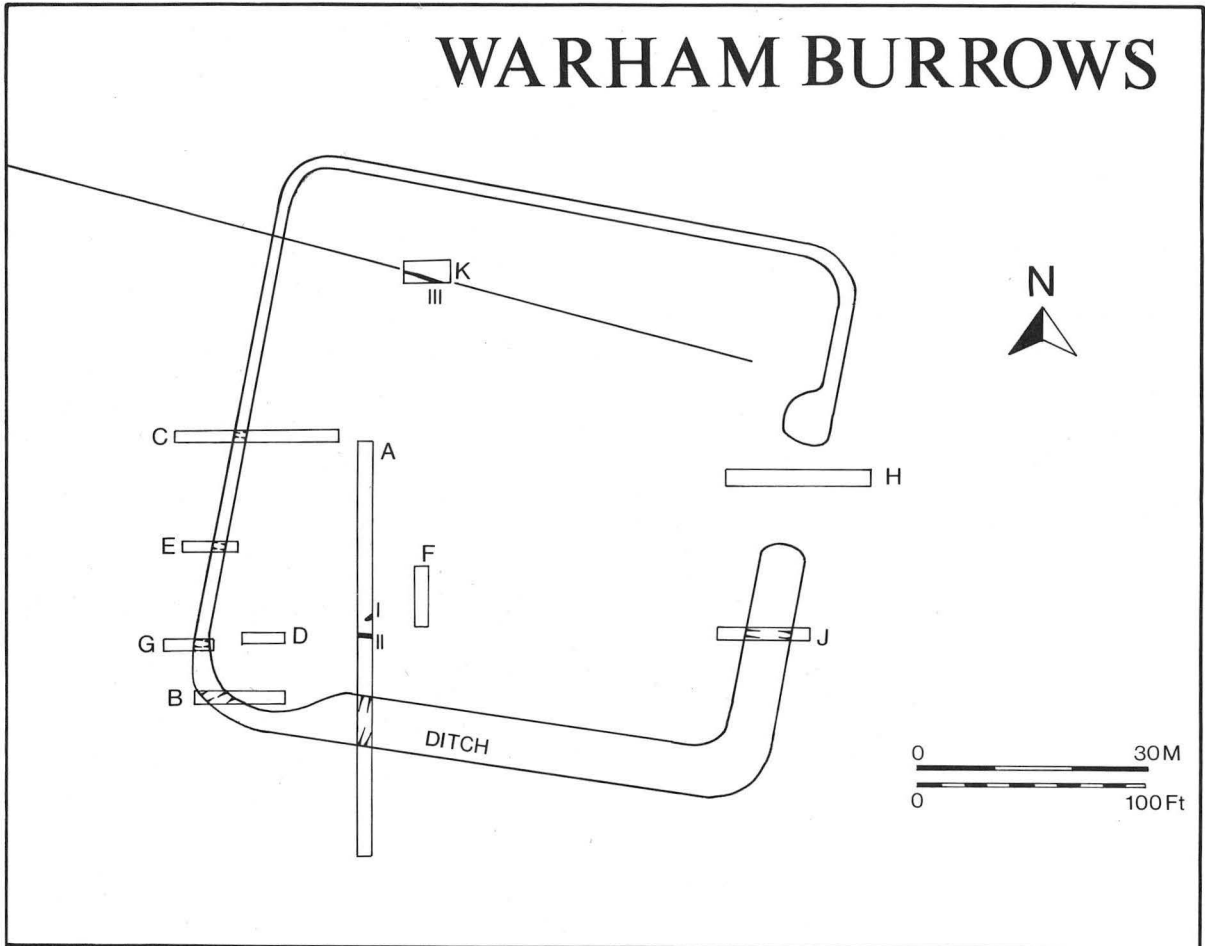
(Fig.13)

The ditch-sections, combined with the evidence of aerial photography and resistivity survey show that an area 240ft (70m) north to south and 230ft (67m) east to west was enclosed by the ditch. Seven trenches were dug along the ditch-line, which the aerial photograph showed to be broad along the south side and the south part of the east side, but to thin dramatically just before the south-west corner and just north of the entrance, which is clearly visible in the middle of the east side. The width of the entrance and its exact location were not established by excavation, but the aerial photograph shows it to be about 45ft (14m) wide.

Figure 13 shows the two distinct ditch-profiles; in its wider form in Cuttings A and J on the south and east sides of the enclosure it is respectively 18ft (5.65m) wide and 6ft (1.8m) deep from the base of the ploughsoil, and 19ft (5.8m) wide and 5ft 6in (1.65m) deep. Much of this width is accounted for by a pronounced hollow on the inner edge of the ditch which appears to be secondary to the original profile, but to predate the end of the lower fills. Otherwise the ditch is fairly flat-bottomed, being cut through the glaciated levels into underlying solid chalk. On the other hand, the narrower ditch in Cuttings B, G, E and C is 8ft (2.4m) wide, shallowing as it runs north from 5ft (1.5m) in Cutting B to 3ft 6in (1m) in Cutting C. Discounting the distorted oblique section in Cutting B, the narrower ditch has a sharp V-profile and appears to be largely unweathered. It is difficult, in the absence of ditch-sections on the north side to decide precisely what is happening. A possibility is that the hollow on the inside face of the wider ditch represents a partial or incomplete widening, while the shallowing of the narrow ditch as it runs north results from different causes; this could be tested by further excavation.

The difference between the wider and narrower ditch is also reflected in the fills, although it is interesting to note that in Cutting B, where the ditch shows the narrower profile but is nearest to the wider ditch, the fills relate to those in the latter. The lowest fill in the wider

WARHAM BURROWS








-  Ploughsoil
-  Sand-loam
-  Humified sand-loam
-  Chalky loam
-  Chalky marl

Fig. 13 Warham Burrows: site plan and sections. Scale 1:1000

WARHAM BURROWS

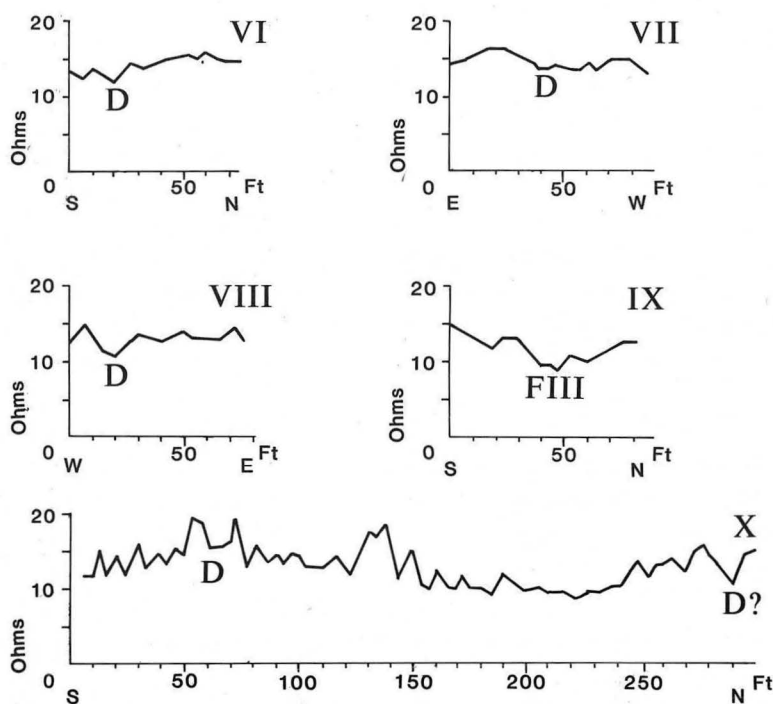
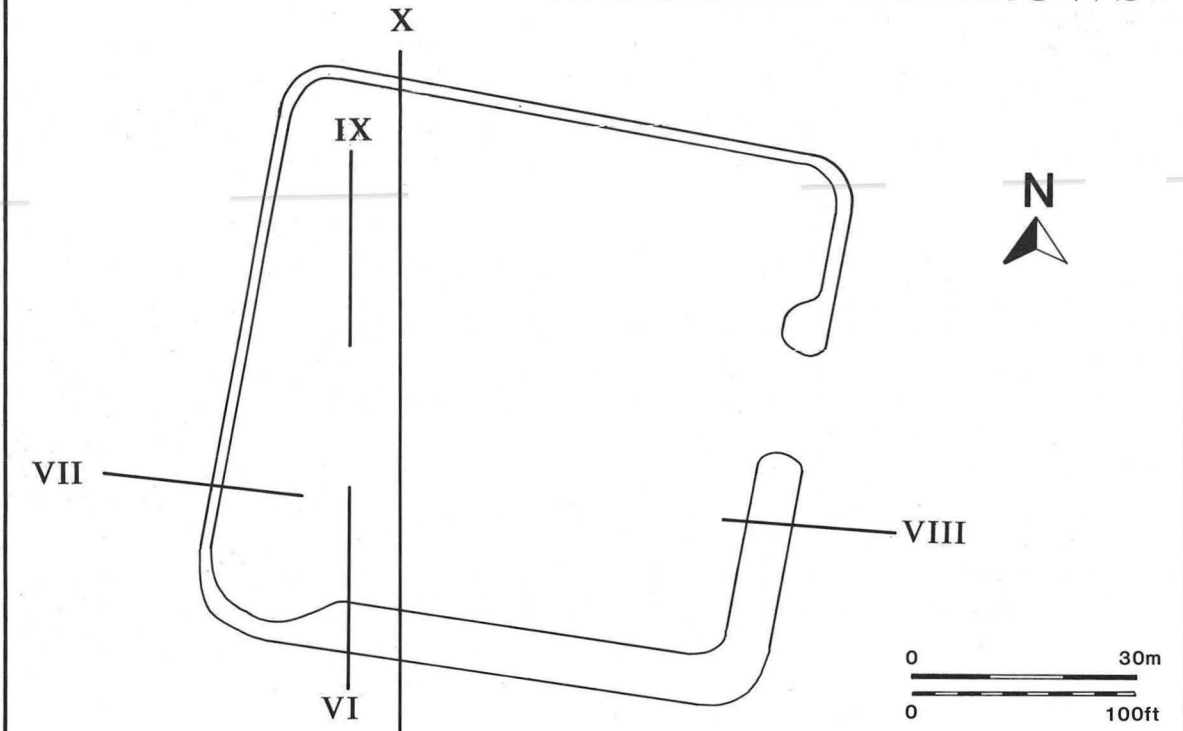


Fig. 14 Warham Burrows: results of resistivity survey; 'D' indicates enclosure ditch. Scale 1:1000

ditch is a chalky loam with lines of chalky wash showing it to have accumulated naturally. With a thickness of up to 4ft (1.2m) this layer clearly accumulated over a considerable period of time, and at least in its latest stages post-dates the hollow on the ditch's inner edge which may represent the widening. Above this is a layer of more or less stone-free humified sand-loam, below a layer of sand-loam which levelled the filling of the ditch and may be connected with the arable use of the site after the occupation. The narrower ditch, however, on the west side, was filled first with a layer of stiff chalky marl which came into position before any substantial weathering of the ditch sides. Above this a layer of sand-loam similar to the upper fill of the wider ditch levels it off. This suggests a different history of filling for the narrower and wider ditches.

However, in his notes Rainbird Clarke suggested that the narrower ditch was a marking-out trench intended to be followed by the more substantial ditch, but the project was abandoned before the digging of the ditch proper had proceeded more than half-way around the enclosure. The present writer finds this idea untenable for two reasons; firstly the narrow ditch seems grossly out of proportion for a marking-out trench, which requires no more than a single spit, and secondly because the sharply contrasting lower fills of the narrower and wider ditch suggests that the former was partly filled before the latter was dug. It is surely more likely that the enclosure was in use for some time with a narrow ditch which was being replaced by a wider ditch, though not necessarily a deeper one. If this is the case then the work appears to have been done in two stages, the chalk marl fill of the original ditch being cleared out some distance in advance of the ditch-widening. The work was abandoned when the widening of the ditch had proceeded only a few metres west of Cutting A, but the clearing of the chalky-marl had reached a point somewhere between Cuttings B and G. The evidence of the cropmark suggests that work had barely begun on the widening of the ditch north of the entrance.

The dating of the ditch fills is far from satisfactory: the upper ditch fills (Layer 1) contain Iron Age, Romano-British, medieval and post-medieval pottery. Of the seventy-nine sherds of Iron Age pottery found, thirty-three were in these layers and were assumed by the excavator to be residual in a post-medieval levelling episode connected with the cultivation of the site. No pottery was found in the lowest fill of the narrow ditch, but all five sherds from the lowest fill of the wider ditch (Cutting A, Layer 2) including Figure 17, Numbers 1 and 2 are Iron Age. The early Romano-British cordoned bowl (Fig. 17, No.3) was found in the middle fill of the wider ditch, and is the only Romano-British sherd on the site which is likely to be of first century date. The very small number of stratified sherds does not inspire confidence, but the most sensible suggestion is that both the narrow ditch and its widening belong to the Late Iron Age, after

about the third century BC, but it can equally be argued that the enclosure was constructed in the Roman period on a site with earlier occupation.

Evidence for the interior of the enclosure is poor indeed; no evidence for an internal bank survived. Two gullies were excavated in Cutting A, I being the butt of a north-east to south-west gully 2ft (0.6m) wide and 1ft 2in (0.36m) deep, and II an east to west gully 2ft 3in (0.68m) wide and 1ft (0.3m) deep. All finds from Feature II were of Iron Age date whereas the predominantly Iron Age sherds from Feature I included two scraps of Romano-British grey ware. Feature III in Cutting K, which shows both as a cropmark and as a resistivity anomaly (Fig. 14, Transect IX) is unrecorded apart from a note on the site plan reading '2ft 9in deep with medieval bricks and animal bone from bottom'. This is assumed to be a later boundary.

VI. The Artefacts

Copper alloy objects

(Fig. 15)

1. **Needle** of circular section widely expanded around the eye. S.F. 16, Cutting A, Feature II. Date uncertain; associated with Iron Age sherds and two scraps of Romano-British grey ware.

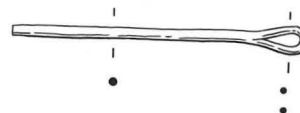


Fig. 15 Warham Burrows: copper alloy object. Scale 1:1

Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age Pottery

(Fig. 16)

by Frances Healy

Seven small abraded sherds were found and are provenanced and described below. The four illustrated (Fig. 16, Nos 1 - 4) retain some elements of form and decoration, two being of fine and two of rusticated Beaker. The fabrics of the three remaining sherds are also compatible with their being Beaker. Figure 16, Numbers 1 and 2 are assigned to Clarke's Southern British tradition (1970) and to Lanting and van der Waals' steps 5 - 7 (1972) by their incised decoration and the inturned rim of No. 1. Available radiocarbon dates place these stages of Beaker development between c. 1800 bc and c. 1450 bc.

1. **Abraded Beaker** sherd, almost certainly from a rim but possibly from a carination. Exterior brown (7.5YR 5/4), core dark grey (7.5YR 3/0), interior brown-orange (7.5YR 5/6); hard, medium texture, sand filler. Decoration incised line and impressed marks. S.F. 17, Cutting A, ditch Layer 1.
2. **Beaker** sherd, orientation suggested by curvature and internal smoothing marks. Exterior orange-grey (5YR 4/4), core and interior grey (5YR 3/1); hard, fine texture, sand filler. Incised decoration. S.F. 20, Cutting A, ditch, Layer 1.
3. **Rusticated Beaker** sherd. Exterior orange-grey (2.5YR 4/6), core orange-brown (7.5YR 4/2), interior orange-grey (5YR 5/5); hard, medium texture, sand filler with some grog. Finger-nail impressed decoration. S.F. 4, Cutting A, ditch, Layer 1.

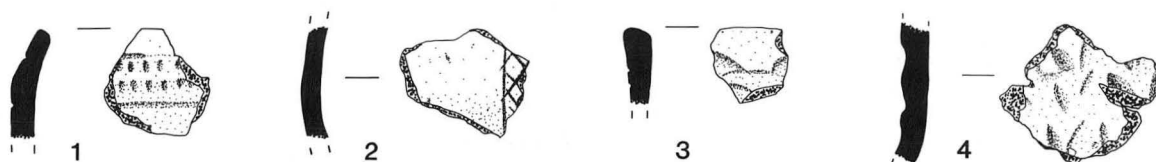


Fig. 16 Warham Burrows: Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age pottery. Scale 1:2

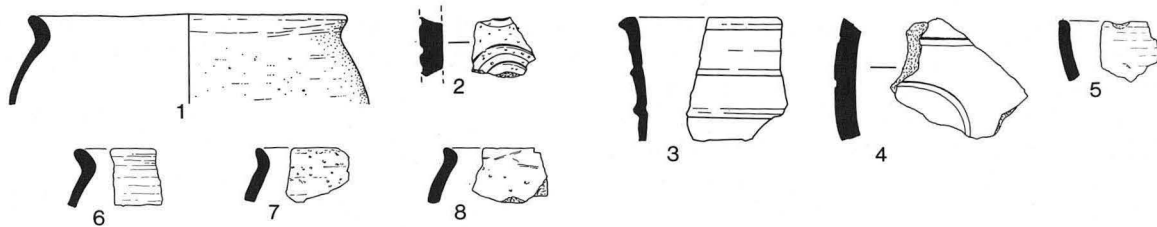


Fig. 17 Warham Burrows: Iron Age and Romano-British pottery. Scale 1:4

4. **Rusticated Beaker** sherd. Exterior buff (7.5YR 6/4), core grey (7.5YR 3/0), interior grey-buff (7.5YR 5/2); hard, coarse, flint filler with some sand. Finger-pinched decoration. S.F. 13, Cutting A, ditch, Layer 1.

Not illustrated:

5. Exterior and interior buff-orange (7.5YR 5/4), core orange (2.5YR 5/6); friable, medium hardness, sand filler with some flint. Abraded, incised (?) decoration. S.F. 14, Cutting A, ditch, Layer 1.
6. Exterior orange (5YR 6/8), core dark grey (5YR 3/1), interior brown (7.5YR 5/4); friable, medium hardness, sand filler. S.F. 16, Cutting A, Feature II.
7. Exterior orange (5YR 5/4), core and interior grey (5YR 4/1); hard medium texture, sand filler. S.F. 99, Cutting B, ditch, Layer 2.

Iron Age and Romano-British Pottery (Fig. 17)

The bulk of the finds consist of sherds of hand-made pottery in the Iron Age tradition. Since the use of the potters' wheel cannot be shown to have been widely adopted in Norfolk before the middle of the first century AD, and it is uncertain how long vessels of Iron Age tradition continue in use beside those of Roman tradition, accurate dating of the pottery is not yet possible. A general Late Iron Age date, from the third century BC to the first century AD is likely; the simple everted rims of jars (Nos 1 and 6-8) are too generalized to help, and while curvilinear furrowed decoration of Nos 2 and 4 occur on vessels in other groups in East Anglia, such as New Addenbroke's (Cra'ster, 1969, fig. 9) and the Arminghall henge (J.G.D. Clark, 1936, fig. 7, no. 16), these also lack independent dating evidence.

All rims and decorated body sherds are illustrated here; hand-made fabrics have been grouped as follows:

- Fabric A:** Fine, black, often with orange-red layer immediately below exterior. Dense mica, with rare angular flint and sub-rounded quartz. Exterior smoothed or burnished. See also F.

Fabric B: Coarse, grogged, various colours. All sherds very scrappy.

Fabric C: Fine, exterior black, core and interior dark brown. Small angular flint inclusions. Exterior burnished.

Fabric D: Coarse, thick, with angular large white flint. Various colours.

Fabric E: Coarse, red with buff surfaces. Rare subrounded quartz inclusions.

Fabric F: Coarse, thick, unburnished version of Fabric A. exterior occasionally grass-marked.

Illustrated sherds (Fig. 17):

1. Fabric A. S.F. 68, Cutting A, ditch, Layer 2.
2. Fabric C. Orientation and pitch of sherd uncertain; decorated with curvilinear grooves running off in opposite directions. S.F. 34, Cutting A, ditch, Layer 2.
3. **Cordoned bowl**; dark grey surfaces, light grey core. Hard, fine and sandy, with profuse mica and sparse subrounded quartz. Early Romano-British. S.F. 128, Cutting A, ditch, Layer 1.
4. Fabric A. Orientation uncertain. S.F.12, Cutting A, ditch, layer 1.
5. Fabric A. S.F. 9, Cutting A, ditch, Layer 1.
6. Fabric A. S.F. 85, Cutting A, Feature I.
7. Fabric C. S.F. 78, Cutting A, Feature II.
8. Fabric F. S.F. 78, Cutting A, Feature II.

Seventeen other sherds of Romano-British pottery, in addition to No. 3, were found in the topsoil and in the upper ditch fill. All are small undiagnostic scraps of grey ware, and there is nothing to suggest any more than a manure scatter. Similarly the thirty four sherds of medieval and post-medieval pottery which were found in the topsoil and upper ditch fill are likely to have arrived on the site casually after the end of the occupation.

VII. Zoological Evidence

Small numbers of animal bone fragments and mollusc shells were recovered. The quantity and their contexts do not justify a report.

4. Warham Camp

by Tony Gregory

I. Summary

Sections across the defences of the bivallate fort revealed structural details of the ramparts and the remains of a timber structure at the top of the inner rampart. A cutting beyond the River Stiffkey showed that the fort had originally been circular. No useful evidence for the date of construction was obtained.

II. Site Description

Detailed description is rendered unnecessary by St. George Gray's detailed discussion (Gray 1933). It is sufficient to repeat that a circular area of 3.5 acres (1.5 ha.) is enclosed by a pair of ditches and ramparts. The defences are missing in the south-western sector, the River Stiffkey running where they might be expected, and the surviving part of the circuit is pierced by two major entrances, on the south and north-west and by a narrow path on the east. Gray's Cutting I showed that the north-western entrance is a secondary feature and that the defences were originally continuous at this point.

III. The Excavation

In September 1959 four cuttings (Fig. 18) were excavated by the Norfolk Research Committee under the direction of Rainbird Clarke, Cutting X across the outer rampart and ditch, XI across the back of the inner rampart, XII across the inner ditch opposite the gap in the inner rampart, and XIII beyond the river to investigate the possibility that the river had been diverted, destroying the defences at this point.

The outer defences

Cutting X revealed (Fig. 19) a rampart about 28 ft (8.5 m) wide and 9 ft (2.7 m) high, behind a ditch 27 ft (8.2 m) wide and 11 ft (3.3 m) deep (all dimensions measured from or along the old ground surface, Layer 9). The rampart was of dump construction, chiefly of what Clarke described as 'chalk mush' (Layer 7) formed by the redeposition of the glaciated chalk through which the ditch was dug. A series of tip-lines and thin layers of loam were traced in the body of the rampart. The ditch was straight-sided and flat-bottomed, the inner face continuing the outer slope of the rampart. This is probably the result of weathering, and it is likely that either there was originally a berm between the rampart and ditch, or the rampart always had a glacis front, but originally further forward than it is now. The earliest fill of the ditch consists of lenses of sand and marl (Layer 4), described by Clarke as the result of rain-washing, below three layers of loam, of which the lowest, Layer 3, contained three sherds of Romano-British pottery. Layer 2 contained large numbers of flint nodules which had entered the ditch from the outside; they were interpreted

as the remains of a counter scarp obstacle on the outer lip of the ditch.

The inner defences

Cutting XII was dug across the inner ditch opposite the gap in the inner rampart which forms the southern entrance to the fort. The aim was to determine whether the ditch was continuous at this point, and the entrance a later modification or crossed by a causeway of undisturbed chalk which would show that the entrance was original. The former proved to be the case, and the cutting was excavated 2 ft into the ditch fill, a dump of stiff blue clay.

Cutting XI (Fig. 19) was dug into the rear of the inner rampart behind Cutting X. Clarke interpreted the section as follows: first the turf was stripped from the old ground surface and a layer of loam (Layer 14) deposited. It is not clear why that layer should be interpreted in this way, particularly since it is also referred to, on the same page of the site notebook, as 'old soil'. The rampart was then built up to a height of 10 ft (3 m) (Layers 10, 12 and 13) and a wooden structure erected on its crest (Fig. 20). This consisted of a pair of timber slots 4 ft 6 in (1.4 m) apart on either side of the crest, the whole thing being set slightly forward. The slots survive to a depth of 6 in (0.15 m) at the front and 12 in (0.3 m) at the rear; at one point three post-holes 4-6 in (0.1-0.15 m) in diameter, but of unrecorded depth, were recorded in the front slot. If these are representative of the front palisade as a whole, then it consisted of close-set posts with a minimum of intervening space.

There is no evidence for posts in the rear slot, nor any clue as to whether the break in it is original or due to subsequent weathering of the rampart crest. The scatter of stake-holes in front of the front slot is unexplained.

In his notes Rainbird Clarke accounts only for a single palisade and makes no attempt to interpret the pair. If they were contemporary it seems unlikely that two palisades of full height ran only 5 ft apart along the top of the rampart. It is more probable that a wooden platform on the rampart crest was supported by a wooden structure which at the front extended upwards to form a conventional palisade fronting a fighting platform.

Below and behind the slots Clarke identified a series of features in the rear of the rampart. A step was cut into the back of the rampart, 8 ft (2.5 m) below the level of the postulated platform, interpreted as a rampart walk. A thin layer of loam (15) no more than ½ in thick (0.015 m) accumulated on the floor of the step indicating some period before it was filled in with loam and chalk rubble (Layers 5 and 6). On the slope below this were two depressions in the rampart surface which Clarke interpreted as steps, and below these two clearly-defined slots, filled with chalk rubble (Layers 7 and 8), which were interpreted as the remains of temporary revetment timbers from the construction of the rampart, but removed when building was finished. Below these, and partly cut by the lower slot as a layer of chalk pebbles (9)

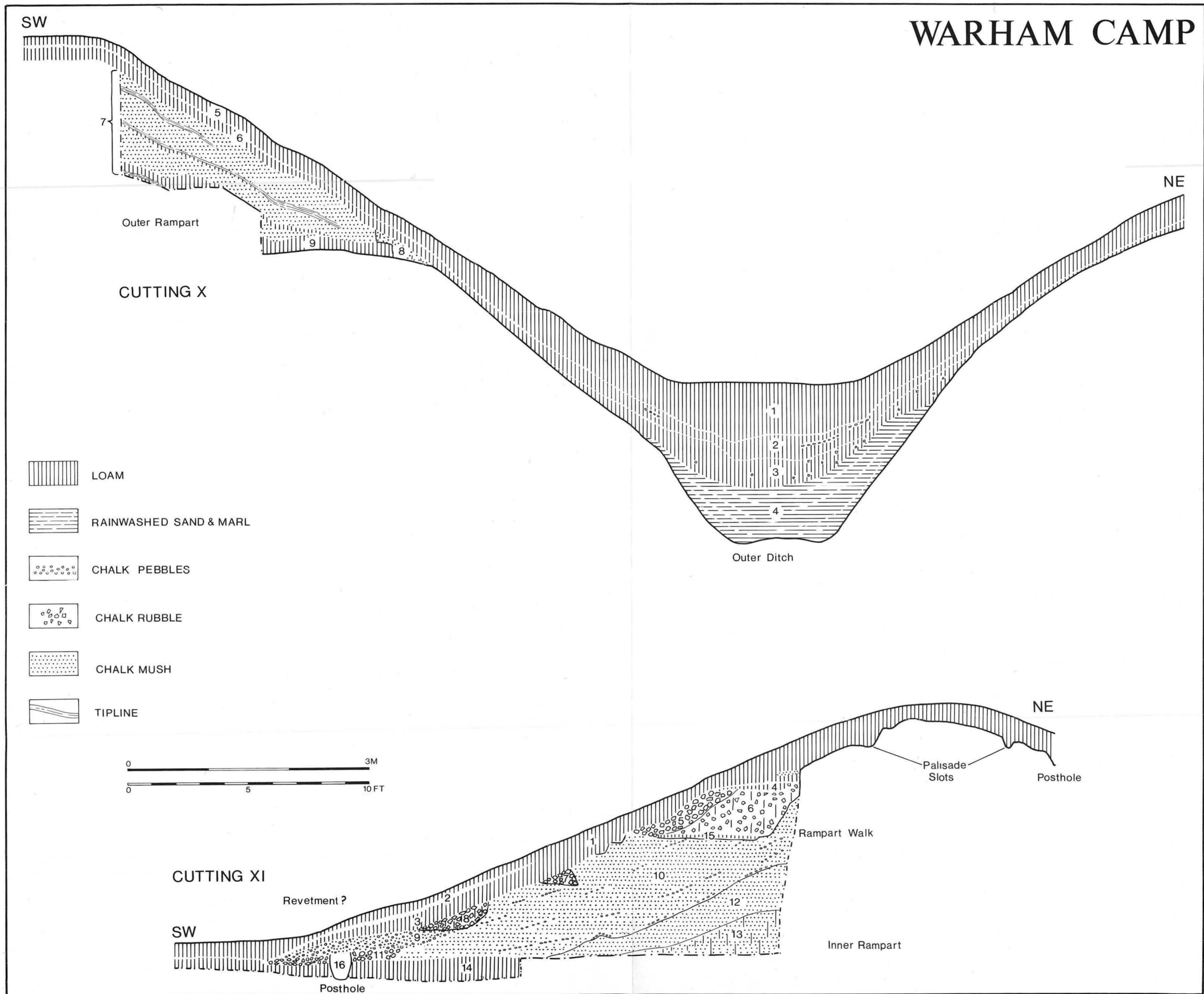


Fig. 19 Warham Camp: sections of defences. Scale 1:200

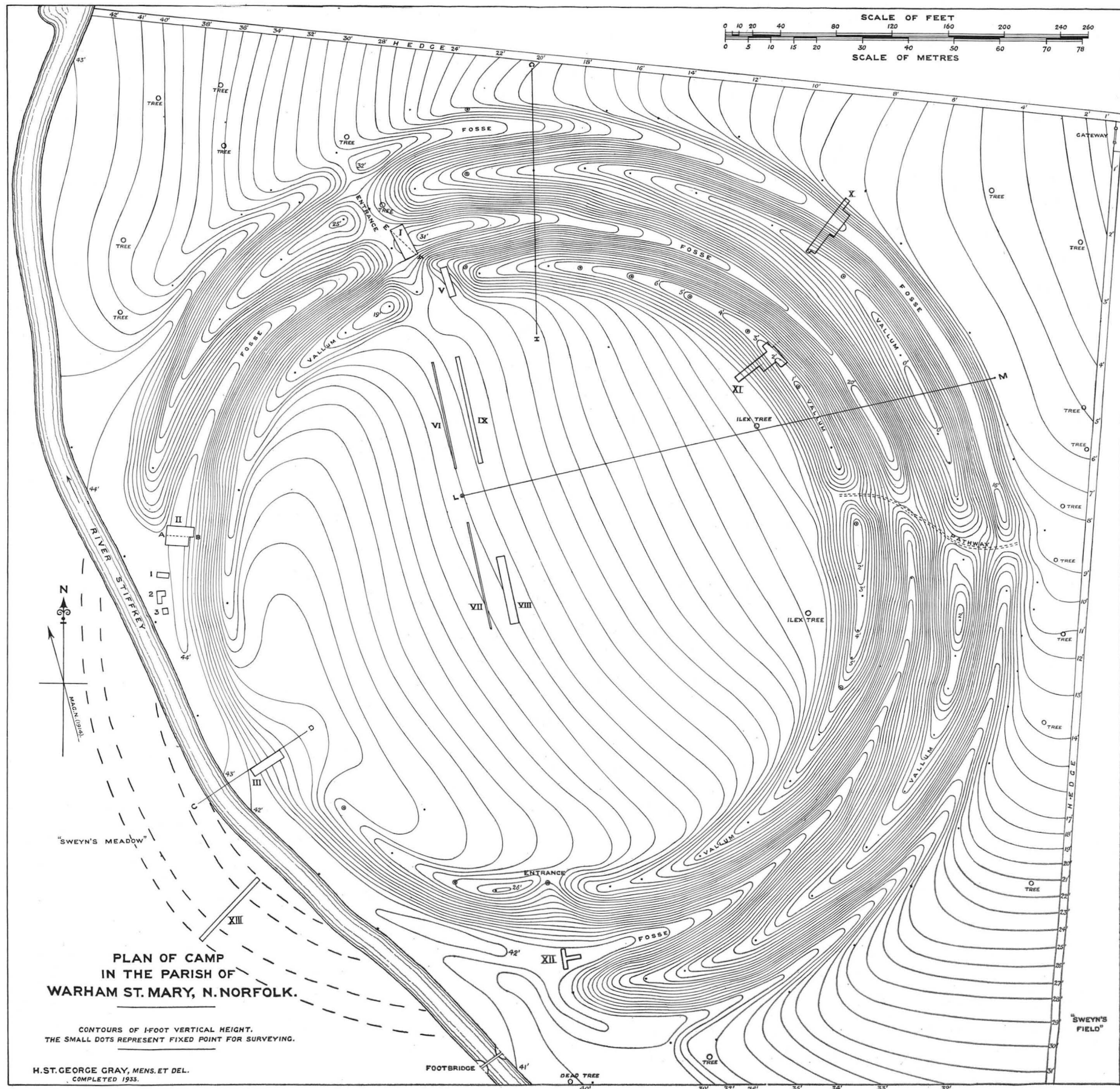


Fig. 18 Warham Camp: St George Gray's plan with Rainbird Clarke's trenches added (Cuttings X and XI). Scale 1:1000

over chalk rubble (11), respectively sealing and cut by a post-hole whose fill was not recorded. Strangely these were interpreted as the remains of a rear revetment, yet they clearly predate the lower slot which, if interpreted correctly, can hardly postdate a permanent rear revetment. If the interpretation of Layers 9, 11 and 16 is correct, then the lower slot at least must postdate the collapse of the back of the rampart. This interpretation sits rather more comfortably with the unlikelihood of such temporary and, one would imagine, ephemeral structures, as suggested by Clarke, surviving the centuries. However, it cannot be stressed strongly enough that these arguments rest on a single narrow cutting and only one drawn section, and are quite likely to be overturned by any further excavation. For the time being, the present author prefers to regard the post-hole and rubble (9, 11 and 16) as part of the original revetment and the other features as later.

The South-western circuit

Cutting XIII was excavated to the south-west of the present course of the Stiffkey in order to determine whether the original defences continued beyond it. Two ditches were located, more or less on the expected line, an inner ditch 5ft (1.5m) wide and 1ft 6in (0.45m) deep, and an outer ditch at least 6ft 6in (2m) wide and at least 2ft 6in (0.7m) deep. They differ from the ditches of the main circuit both in the slight proportions of the inner ditch and in the close spacing of the two, only 37ft (11.2m) as opposed to 66ft (20m) on the other side of the river. It seems likely that they do, in a general sense, represent the continuation of the defences and is possible that this is the location of the entrance into the fort,

which is otherwise unknown, with some sort of associated works. The defences in this sector were clearly demolished in the eighteenth century. A map of 1712 shows the defensive circuit complete and the river flowing through meandering channels which appear on the Ordnance Survey air photograph published by St. George Gray (1933, pl. lxxii), while Bildermann's map of 1783 shows the river diverted to its present course by the demolition of the earthworks (both maps now in Holkham Estate Office).

IV. Chronology

Occupation of the site in the prehistoric period is evidenced by the polished flint axe-head found in 1914 (Gray 1933, 410) in the interior of the fort, a core found above the rampart in Cutting X and three sherds of course, hand-made, flint-gritted pottery in and below the rampart in Cutting XI. These sherds could be Neolithic, Bronze Age or Early Iron Age in date, but cannot be dated more closely. The exact date of the construction of the defences is therefore unknown. Ten sherds of hand-made Iron Age pottery in brown and black sandy fabrics were found in the 1914 excavations, both unstratified in the interior and in the upper fill of the inner ditch in Cuttings I and II, and a single similar sherd found in 1959 in the topsoil. Of these only three sherds are at all distinctive (Gray 1933, nos 11, 12 and 24) and could date to almost any time between about 200 BC and the first century AD. They can only demonstrate occupation at this period, and although the construction of the defences might be contemporary with this occupation it is by no means certain.

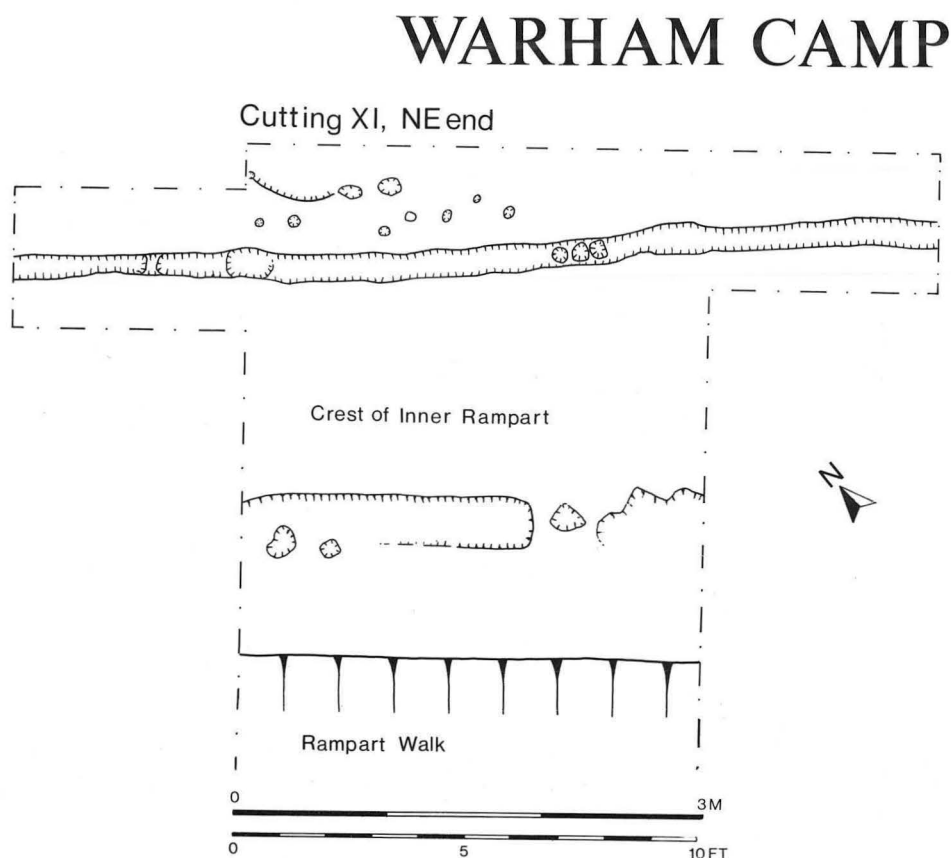


Fig. 20 Warham Camp: plan of features on crest of rampart. Scale 1:20

In contrast to the Iron Age material, several hundred sherds of Romano-British pottery have been found in the interior and in the ditch fills, ranging in date from a carinated beaker of the mid first century AD to later Roman coarse colour-coated ware from the Nene Valley. Fragments of *tegulae* and flue-tile were also found, suggesting a building within the fort itself. Early Roman use of the site is also suggested by the Hod Hill brooch from the inner ditch (Gray 1933, fig. 2, no. 10).

V. The Artefacts

(Not illustrated)

Struck flint

by Frances Healy

The only flint artefact preserved from the 1959 excavations is a core weighing approximately 300g found in the loam above the rampart. It was originally a flint nodule, the cortex of which survives over the unflaked areas, and has three striking platforms. Signs of heavy battering around its edges are covered with the same heavy white patina as the flake scars. This is cut only by the detachment of one fresh, apparently recent, flake. The core is not closely dateable. It may perhaps reflect the same Neolithic or Early Bronze Age activity as the polished flint axe-head found in 1914. S.F. 68, Cutting X, Layer 6.

Prehistoric pottery

Three sherds of coarse, hand-made pottery, with dense angular flint inclusions. They are not closely dateable. S.F. 69, Cutting XI, Layer 13; S.F. 28 and 32, Cutting XI, Layer 14.

Iron Age pottery

One sherd in Warham Burrows fabric A (p.21). S.F. 1, Cutting XI, Layer 1.

Romano-British pottery

Fourteen sherds from seven vessels were found in the 1959 excavations. Of those stratified usefully, seven sherds from a large buff flagon, possibly from the kilns at Brampton (Knowles 1977), were found in the outer ditch, Cutting X, Layer 3. Two sherds, including the neck and rim of a buff flagon, similar in form but not fabric to form 1 from the Ellingham kiln (publication forthcoming in *East Anglian Archaeology*), were found in the upper fill of the inner ditch in Cutting XII. A single sherd of Romano-British or medieval grey ware was found in what Clarke described as the spill at the foot of the rampart in Cutting XI, presumably either Layer 9 or 11.

Medieval pottery

Five sherds, four unglazed and the fifth a handle in Grimston green-glazed ware, were found in the topsoil.

VI. Zoological Evidence

A small number of animal bones were discovered, mostly in the topsoil. The latter were discarded and the residue are too few to make a report worthwhile.

5. An Enclosure at Wighton

by Tony Gregory

I. Summary

A defended enclosure was built above the Stiffkey valley in the century before the Roman Conquest, and demolished in the 2nd quarter of the first century AD. Occupation of an unknown nature resumed in about AD 70-80 and lasted until about AD 200.

II. Discovery

The site was discovered from the air by Professor St. Joseph of the University of Cambridge in 1951 (Pl. XI). A visit by Rainbird Clarke and C.W. Phillips in 1953 showed that the enclosure lay in a surface scatter of Romano-British pottery. It was initially identified as a

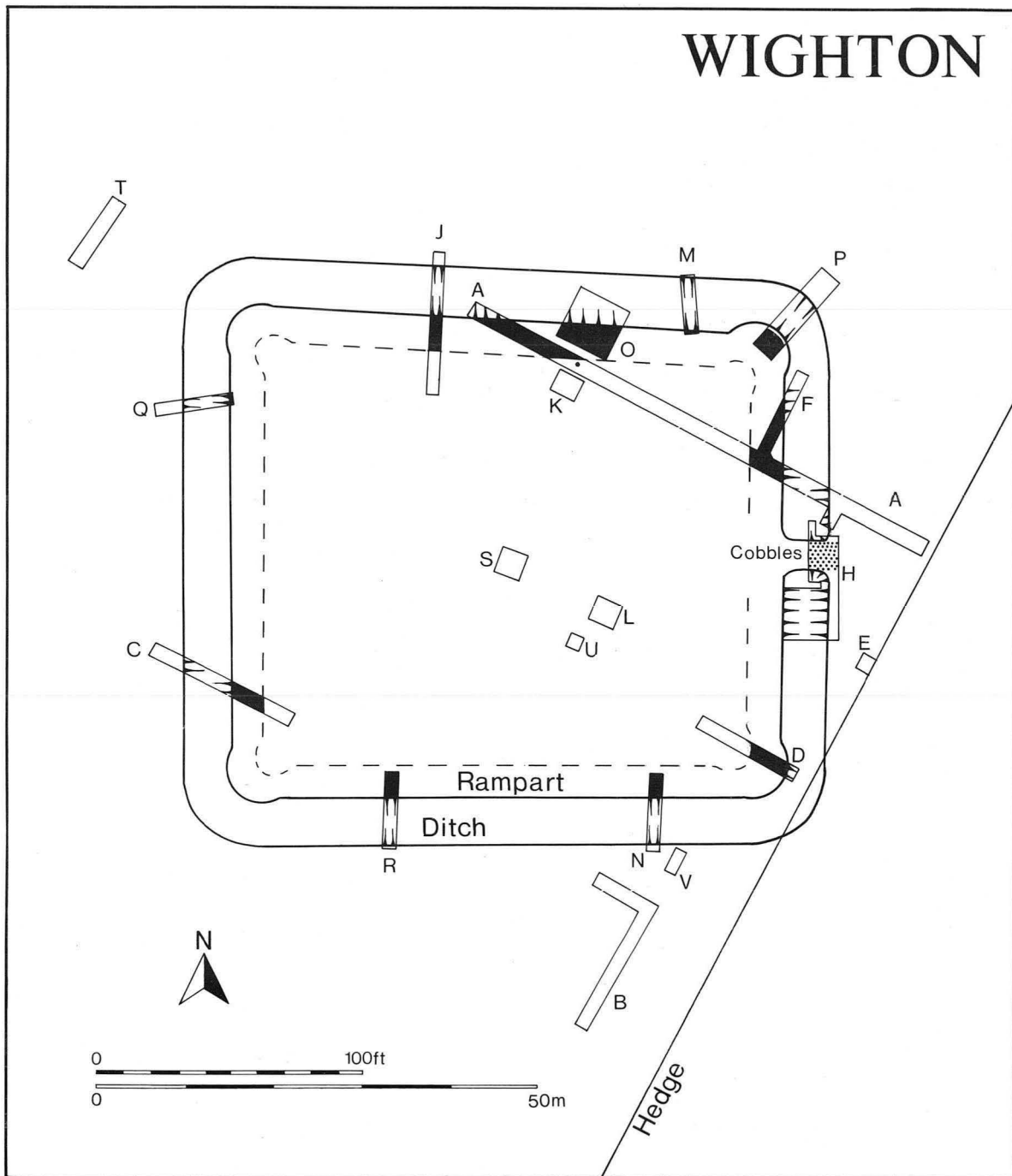


Fig. 21 Wighton: site plan. Scale 1:750

temporary Roman fortlet and excavations by the Norfolk Research Committee were directed by R.R. Clarke in 1957 and 1958.

III. The Excavation

The enclosure

Excavation revealed that the earliest occupation of the site consisted of a slightly trapezoidal, almost rectangular enclosure of 0.6 acre (0.25 ha) defined by a ditch and a rampart. The plan deviated from trapezoidal at the north-east and south-east corners, where the inner lip of the ditch swung out, narrowing the ditch. The aerial photograph (Pl.XI) suggests a similar phenomenon at the other two corners, and Clarke's plan (Fig. 21) was drawn accordingly.

The ditch (Fig. 22) was of symmetrical V-section, ranging from 6.7 m to 4.5 m in width, and from 1.8 m to 2.7 m in depth below the natural chalky boulder clay. Its fill consisted of a primary silt of derived boulder clay, 15 cm to 45 cm thick (Fill I, Cutting H, Layer 5 and Cutting Q, Layer 4) below one or more layers of loam 0.6 m to 1.4 m thick (Fill II, Cutting H, Layers 2/4 and Cutting Q, Layers 2/3). The loam contained varying amounts of chalk and boulder clay and in several sections is described as unhumified at its base, and humified at the top. It had clearly entered the ditch from both sides, but in Cutting J a deposit of flints had come from the interior, possibly from a rampart. In Cuttings C and P hearths were recorded at the junction of Fills II and III; that in C was not recorded in detail, while the latter was described as 40 cm in diameter and 7 cm thick, with concentrations

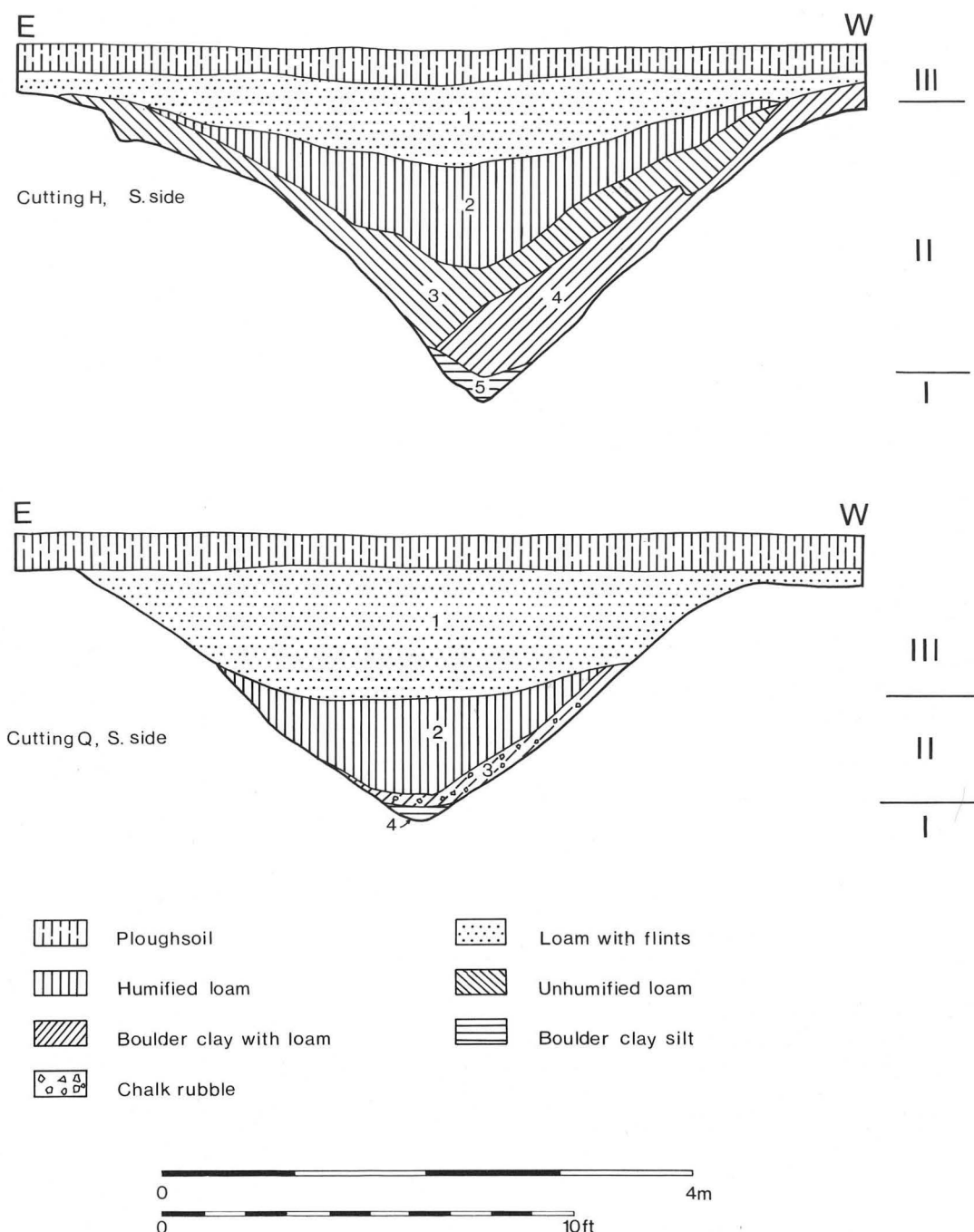


Fig. 22 Wighton: ditch sections; Layer numbers are in arabic, fill numbers in Roman. Scale 1:50

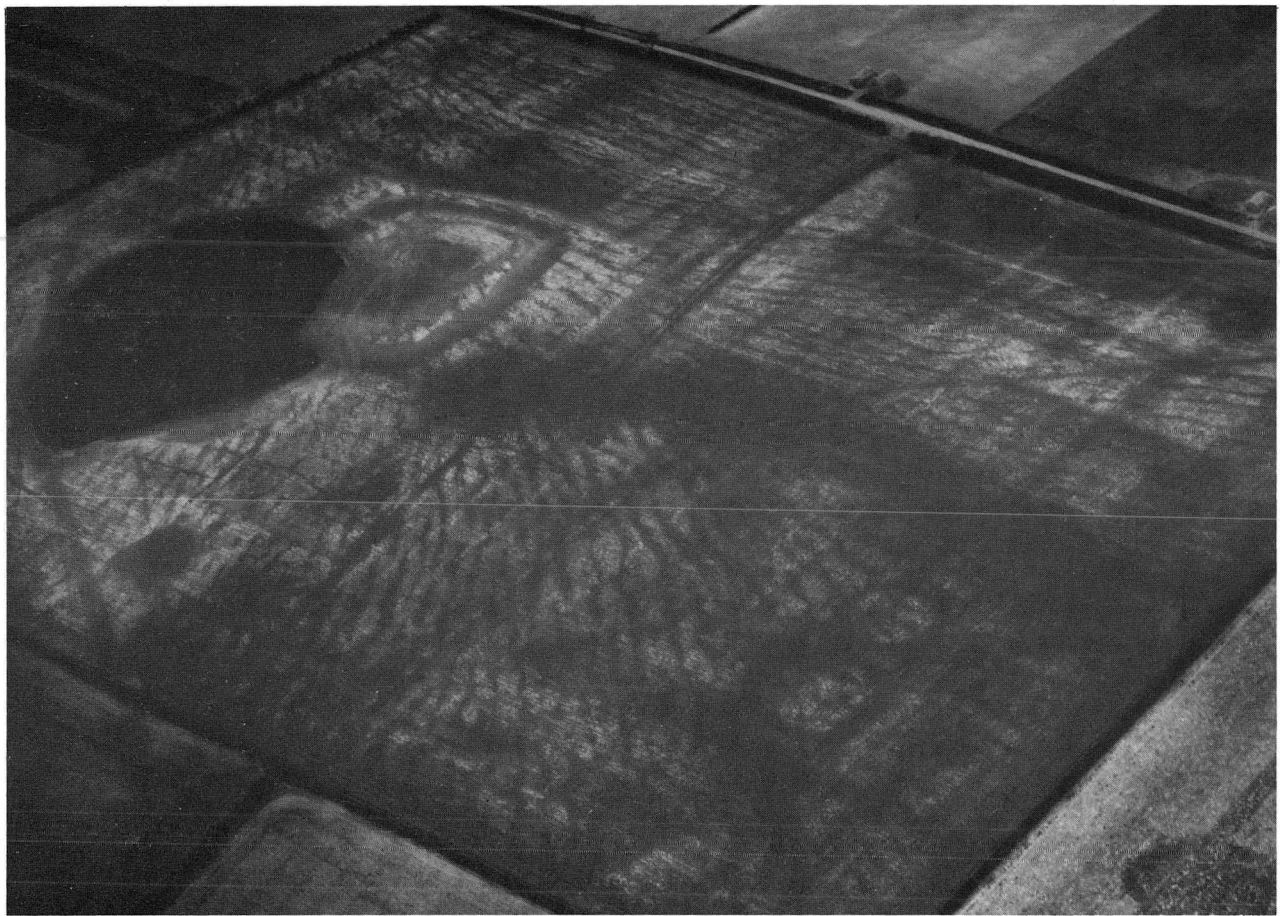


Plate I Thornham: oblique air photograph from the north-east (*Cambridge University Collection, copyright reserved; XU 72*)



Plate II Thornham: section through rampart and Iron Age floor, Cutting J, looking west (CM 715)



Plate III Thornham: cobbling and rampart with intervening gully, Cutting K, looking north. The ditch shows clearly as a soilmark and hollow in the north. (CM707)



Plate IV Thornham: cobbling and rampart, Cutting U, looking west. Note the degree of destruction between 1956 (Pl. II) and 1960 (Pl. IV) (CM 707)



Plate V Warham Burrows: oblique air photograph from the south-west (*Cambridge University Collection, Crown copyright reserved: FQ 51*)

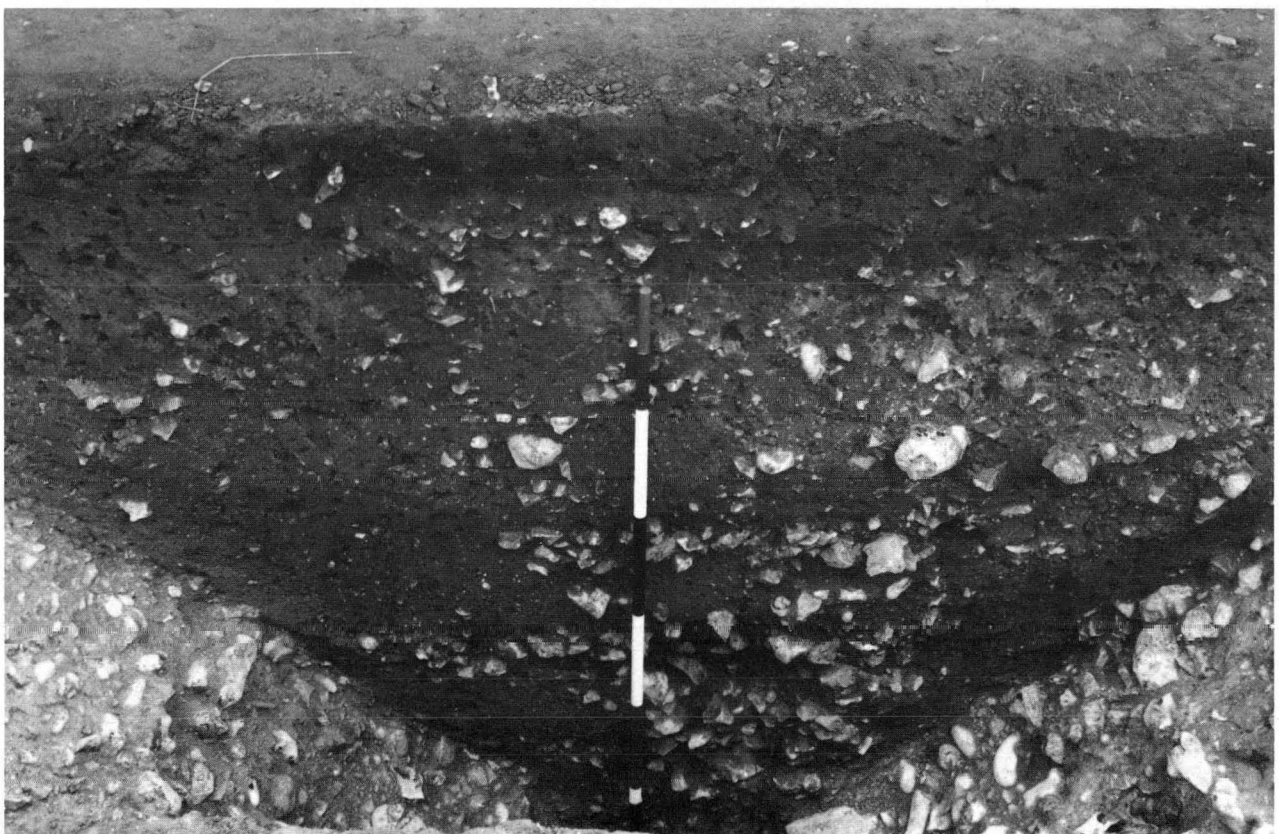


Plate VI Warham Burrows: ditch section, Cutting B, looking south (M 1115)

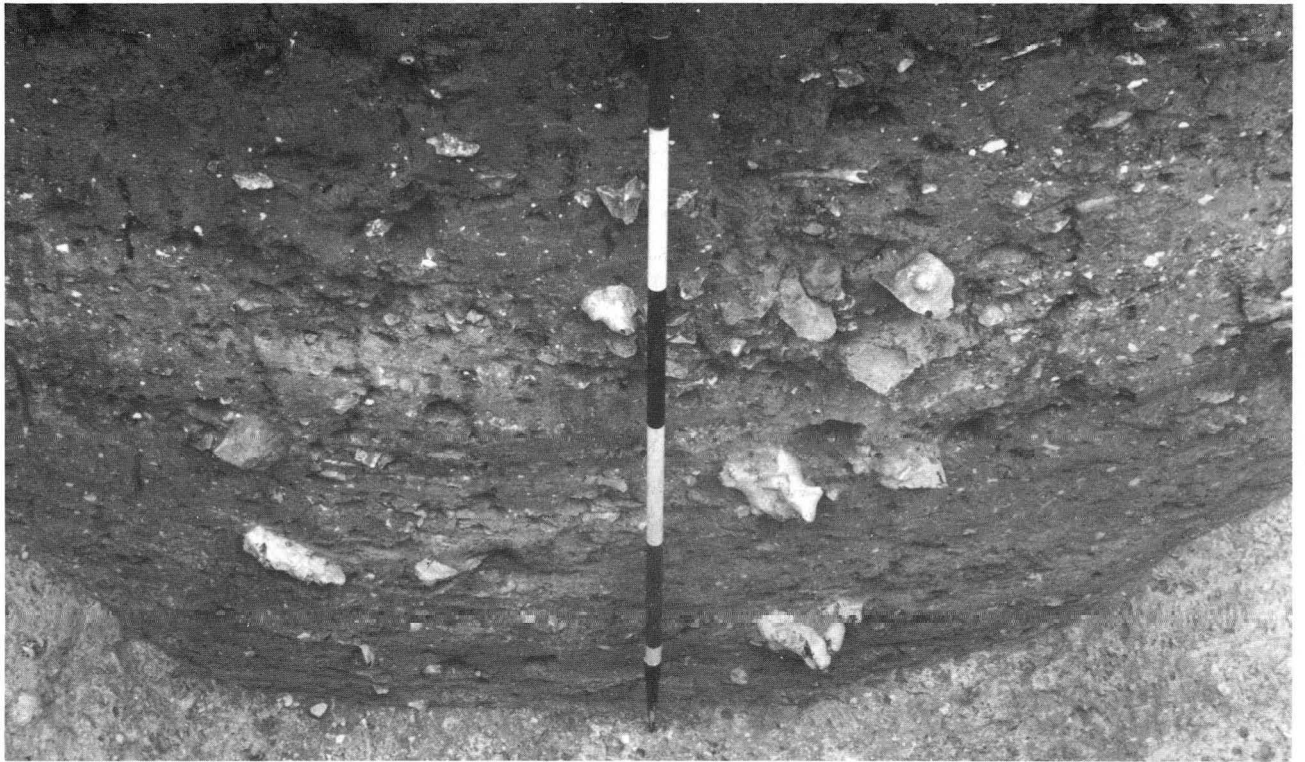


Plate VII Warham Camp: lower fill of outer ditch, Cutting X, looking north-west (R 14)



Plate VIII Warham Camp: front slot on crest of rampart, Cutting XI, looking north-west (R 20)



Plate IX Warham Camp: rear slot on crest of rampart, Cutting XI, looking west, before cutting extended and post-holes excavated (R 7)



Plate X Warham Camp: rear of inner rampart, Cutting XI, looking north-west, showing post-hole cutting old ground surface (R 9)



Plate XI Wighton: oblique air photograph from north-west (*Cambridge University Collection, Crown copyright reserved; CP 75*)



Plate XII Wighton: ditch section, Cutting N, looking west (CM 882)



Plate XIII Wighton: rampart footings, Cutting P, looking north (CM 886)

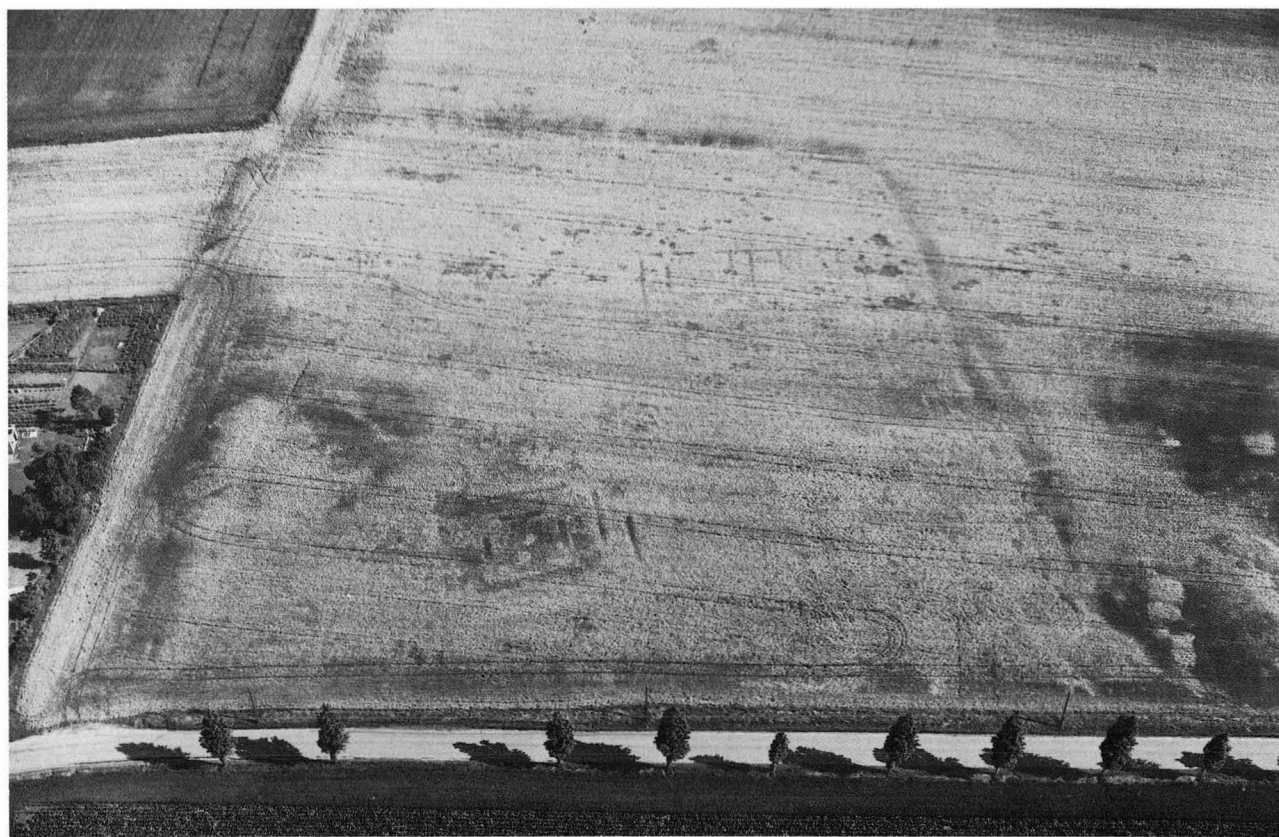


Plate XIV Caistor St. Edmund: Aerial view of the site, looking north, showing cropmarks of the Romano-Celtic temple, the ancillary building and the *temenos* wall. 12 July 1980 (TG 2303/ADN/APQ18)



Plate XV Caistor St. Edmund: the Romano-Celtic temple (Mottram 1957), Trench 1, looking east. The ambulatory wall is in the foreground, the *cella* wall in the background (CM 764)



Plate XVI Caistor St. Edmund: the Romano-Celtic temple (Mottram 1957), Trench 6, the south-west corner of the *cella*, looking south (CM 768)



Plate XVII Caistor St. Edmund: the gateway; section cut through the foundation by Knocker and Hughes (1950), looking south-east (Arch. 319)



Plate XVIII Caistor St. Edmund: the *temenos* wall, as re-excavated by the author in 1984, looking west (CNG 13)

of animal bone to its north and east. Only that in C contained any pottery which was entirely Iron Age in character, agreeing with that found in the underlying Fill II. This was interpreted as a deliberate filling of the ditch at the end of the primary use of the enclosure, and the hearths the results of fires lit during or after the demolition.

The rampart was drawn on Clarke's final plan in all cuttings which ran inwards from the ditch. However, while several sections bear the label 'rampart' in the appropriate place, none of them show any stratigraphic evidence. All that is recorded is the photograph (Pl. XIII) showing a mass of flints in a subsoil hollow close to the inner lip of the ditch in Cutting P. From the plan it is clear that Clarke had identified or hypothesised a rampart on footings 3.5m wide whose outer edge coincided with the inner lip of the ditch. Given the state of the excavation records none of the evidence for the rampart can be checked. The present writer confesses a degree of scepticism, particularly about the absence of a berm.

Access to the interior was through a single entrance 3.6m wide in the middle of the east side. No trace remains of any original structure at or inside the entrance. Nor was any evidence found for structures within the enclosure; a single post-hole was found in Cutting A, close behind the rampart, but cannot be related to it with any certainty.

Later occupation

The ditch was levelled by the deposition of 0.60- 1.50m of loam with flints (Cuttings H and Q, Layer 1, Fill III). This was interpreted by Clarke as a single deliberate deposition to allow ploughing of the site, dated by a sherd of black-glazed tyg to the seventeenth century or later. However, this deposit also contained large quantities of pottery of the late first and second centuries AD which relates to the extensive scatter of Romano-British pottery recorded immediately south of the enclosure.

The surface of the causeway across the ditch was made up after the late first century AD: a strip of cobbling 3m wide was laid across the causeway on 15cm of loam. Both cobbling and loam contained sherds of Iron Age tradition, but two joining sherds of samian (Nos 1 and 2) clearly date this cobbling to the later occupation. Some of the hearths in the partly-filled ditches may be of this date.

IV. The Artefacts

Finds from the excavations were given to the Castle Museum, Norwich, by the Earl of Leicester (NCM nos 398.957 and 320.958).

The coin

(Not illustrated)

Tetricus I, irregular *antoninianus*. Rev. female figure standing left, CITC AD 270 - 273.

No S.F. Cutting P, unstratified.

Copper alloy objects

(Fig. 23)

- Brooch** of the Polden Hill type of the Colchester derivative group. The bow, which terminates in a knob, bears a high ridge and has a slight boss on each side. The eleven-coil spring is threaded on an axial bar which passes through holes in the plates at the ends of the wings. The chord is held in place by a forward-facing hook. Foot, bow and head tinned or silvered. Mid first century AD
S.F. 460, Cutting R, from Fill III.
- Spiral finger-ring** with expanded bezel with simple incised decoration. Miss Hilary Cool writes: 'It belongs to a variety which is limited to the Iron Age. An example from Canterbury (Williams and Frere, 1948, fig. 15, no. 2 and p. 35) came from a layer dated to the first century AD.
S.F. 399, Cutting Q, from Fill III.

Pottery

Samian

by Brian Hartley

From the cobbles in the causeway:

- 1 and 2.** Form 27, South Gaulish, Flavian-Trajanic.

The interior is heavily abraded, as if by use of a stirring rod, a phenomenon often noted for cups of this form.

S.F. 180 and 459, the former in, and the latter below, the cobbles of the causeway, Cutting H.

From the ditch; Fill III

- 3.** Form 18/31 or 31 base, Central Gaulish, probably Hadrianic.
S.F. 2, Cutting A.

- 4.** Form uncertain, Central Gaulish, Hadrianic or early Antonine.
S.F. 2, Cutting C.

- 5.** Footring, Central Gaulish, perhaps from Les Martres-de-Veyre. First half of the second century.
S.F. 25, Cutting C.

- 6.** Scrap, South Gaulish, probably from Montans. Flavians or early second century.
S.F. 52, Cutting C.

- 7.** Form 30, Central Gaulish. Very badly blurred in the mould. The medallion encloses a centaur (Oswald 735A), best known from the work of *Cerialis* and *Cinnamus*, but the fabric suggests a pre-

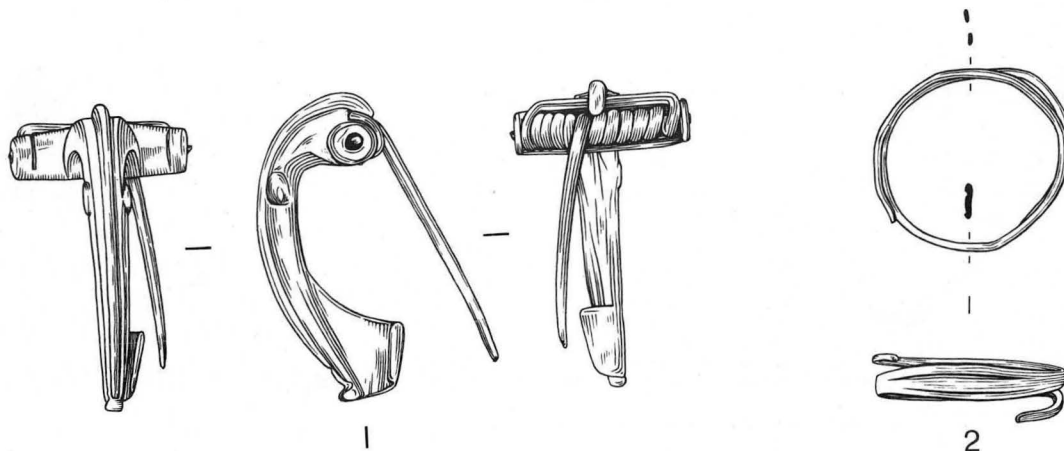


Fig. 23 Wighton: copper alloy objects. Scale 1:1

Antonine date, whether from Les Martres or Lezoux where *Drusus ii* used the centaur in the Hadrianic period c. AD 115-140.

- S.F. 95, Cutting F.
8. Form 30R, Central Gaulish. Such cups with rouletted decoration, matched by similar small versions of form 37, were made at Lezoux from the Trajanic period onwards, though they are commoner in Hadrianic contexts than later.
S.F. 156, Cutting M.
 9. Scrap, South Gaulish, first century AD.
S.F. 205, Cutting M.
 10. Body sherd, probably East Gaulish and Antonine or later.
S.F. 221, Cutting P.
 11. Form 31(?), Central Gaulish, Antonine. Two joining sherds.
S.F. 224 and 296, Cutting P.
 12. Footring from a bowl, Central Gaulish. Probably Hadrianic or early Antonine.
S.F. 253, Cutting P.
 13. Form 27 footring, Les Martres-de-Veyre. Trajanic.
S.F. 295, Cutting P.
 14. Probably form 29, South Gaulish and earlier than AD 85.
S.F. 296, Cutting P.
 15. Form 31, probably East Gaulish and Antonine.
S.F. 319, Cutting P.
 16. Scrap, Central Gaulish, second century.
S.F. 322, Cutting P.

Unstratified

17. Form 18, South Gaulish, Flavian.
S.F. 3, Cutting B.
18. Form 18, South Gaulish, Flavian or Flavian-Trajanic.
S.F. 144, Cutting J.

Iron Age and Romano-British coarse pottery
(Fig. 24)

Visual examination of the other pottery suggested its division into the following groups by fabric:

Hand-made, of Iron Age tradition

- Fabric A:* Hard, black or dark brown, smooth, slightly sandy fabric, often with external burnish.
- Fabric B:* Hard, black or dark brown, with profuse angular white flint inclusions.
- Fabric C:* Hard, black, occasionally with buff or light brown exterior, coarse and sandy; essentially a coarser version of Fabric A.
- Fabric D:* Hard, dark grey or dark brown with red or light brown surfaces, coarse and sandy; a coarse version of Fabric A with oxidised surfaces. In two exceptional cases Fabric D is used in wheel-made vessels.

Wheel-made, of Romano-British tradition

- Fabric E:* Hard, light grey, sandy, with sparse subrounded white mineral inclusions.
- Fabric F:* Hard, grey, occasionally tending to buff, sandy with sparse to profuse mica. Standard grey ware.
- Fabric G:* Hard, buff to orange with dark grey or brown surfaces, slightly sandy. Finer than D, but otherwise its wheel-version.
- Fabric H:* Cancelled.
- Fabric I:* Soft, slightly sandy, light red with grey core, very micaceous. Represented only by a platter base from an unstratified context in Cutting A.
- Fabric J:* Soft, orange to buff, slightly sandy. Flagon fabric.
- Fabric K:* As J, with grey core. Not confined to flagons.
- Fabric L:* Nene Valley Colour-Coated Ware.
- Fabric M:* Soft, light grey with dark grey surfaces, sandy and extremely micaceous.

The above represent the smallest groups into which the pottery can be divided and still maintain appreciable numbers in each group. They are intended as groups rather than as individual fabrics, and Fabrics C and F in particular represent quite wide ranges. In view of the small size of the sample, mostly derived from the fills of the main enclosure ditch, the

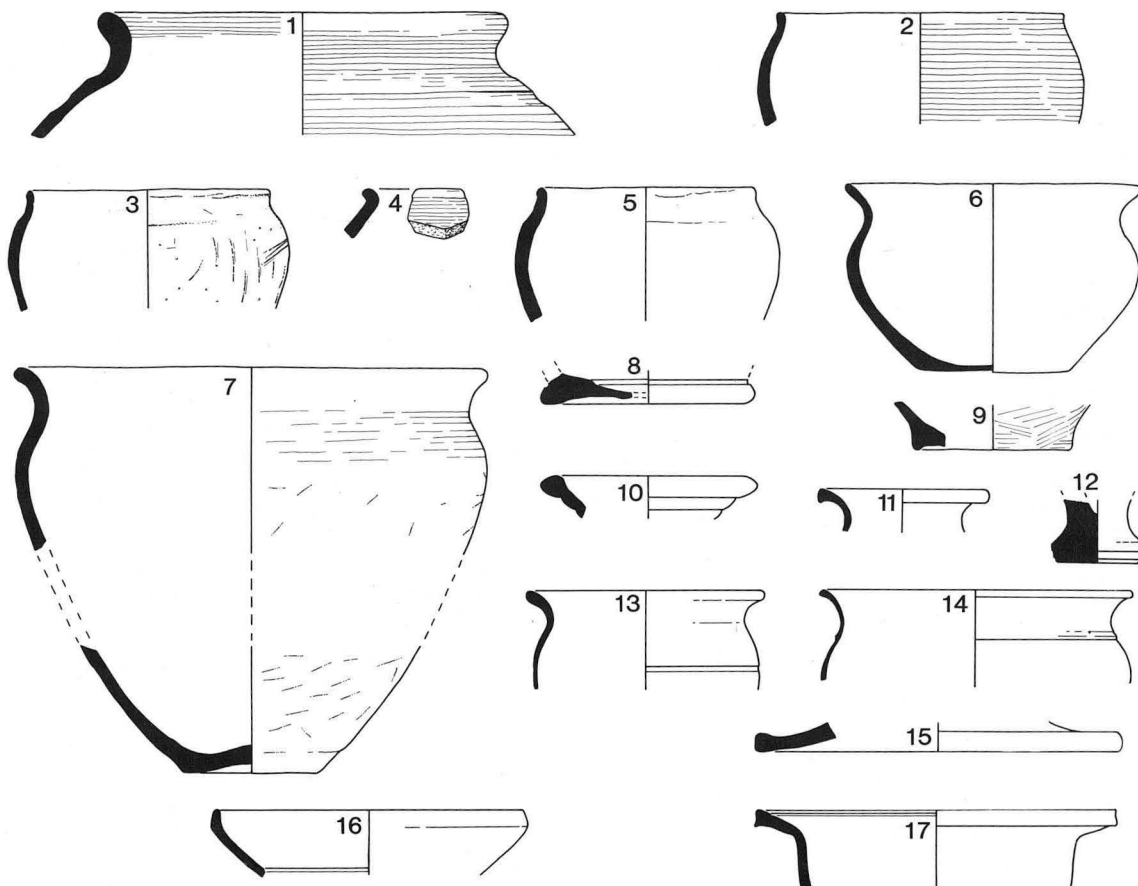


Fig. 24 Wighton: Iron Age and Romano-British pottery. Scale 1:4

pottery has been studied in terms of the 'Fills' described above rather than individual layers in each cutting (Table 2). No pottery was found in Fill I, the lowest filling of the ditch, Fill II, layers of loam above I, contains pottery entirely of Iron Age tradition, all hand-made with the exception of Number 1. Numbers 2 - 4 belong to a generalised, simple Iron Age tradition seen also at Armingham, notoriously difficult to date, but probably late in the Iron Age. Number 1, probably wheel-made, relates to the Aylesford-Swarling tradition of the first centuries BC and AD. Fill III, the later levelling, includes residual Iron Age material (Nos 5-9) and Romano-British material. None of the latter need predate the late first century AD and the latest appear to be the beaker base (No. 12) and a cornice-rim beaker of Nene Valley Colour-Coated Ware.

much of the sample to distinguish between different ditch fills and between the upper fill of the ditch and the loam in the rest of the cuttings. The bones have therefore been treated as a single sample, and as such, do not warrant detailed consideration.

Cattle: These consist mainly of parts of the skeleton normally discarded, such as the jaw, skull and footbones. The presence of three fragments of scapulae may suggest that these are food remains, although no evidence of butchering is present. *Minimum number:* two individuals.

Sheep/Goat: As in the case of the cattle, these remains consist primarily of parts of the carcass normally discarded as inedible. *Minimum number:* Two individuals.

Context	FABRIC														
	Iron Age					Romano-British					Samian				
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	I	J	K	L	M	South Gaulish	Central Gaulish	East Gaulish
<i>Ditch, Fill II</i>															
No. sherds	33	1	5	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Minimum No. of vessels	4	1	5	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Cutting C, hearth between Fills I and II</i>															
No. sherds	12	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Minimum No. of vessels	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Ditch, Fill III*</i>															
No. sherds	13	10	47	14	4	135	12	—	8	2	1	1	3	9	2
Minimum No. of vessels	8	7	18	10	37	47	10	—	6	2	1	1	3	8	2

* This deposit also included on sherd each of medieval Grimston green-glazed and a 17th century black-glazed tyg.

Table 2 Wighton: distribution of Iron Age and Romano-British fabrics through ditch.

Illustrated pottery (Fig. 24)

Ditch, Fill II:

- 1. Necked jar;** Fabric C; exterior, and interior of rim horizontally burnished. probably wheel-made, unlike the rest of Fabric C. S.F. 175, Cutting J.
- 2. Jar or bowl;** Fabric C; exterior horizontally burnished. S.F. 22, Cutting A.
- 3. Jar or bowl;** Fabric B; exterior lightly wiped. S.F. 464, Cutting P.
- 4. Jar;** Fabric A; exterior horizontally burnished. S.F. 434, Cutting P.

Ditch, Fill III:

- 5. Jar;** Fabric C; compact fabric with profuse sand. S.F. 359, Cutting P.
- 6. Bowl;** Fabric C. S.F. 402, Cutting Q.
- 7. Jar;** Fabric C; exterior of shoulder horizontally burnished, lower part of body obliquely wiped. S.F. 385, Cutting Q.
- 8. Low pedestal base;** Fabric D; wheel-made. S.F. 343, Cutting Q.
- 9. Footring base;** Fabric C; oblique and horizontal smoothing lines on exterior. S.F. 431, Cutting P.
- 10. Ring-necked flagon;** Fabric J. S.F. 26, Cutting C.
- 11. Necked jar;** Fabric F. S.F. 68, Cutting F.
- 12. Probably beaker base;** Fabric F. S.F. 39, Cutting C.
- 13. Bowl;** Fabric F. S.F. 44, Cutting C.
- 14. Bowl;** Fabric F. S.F. 93, Cutting F.
- 15. Lid;** Fabric E. S.F. 81, Cutting F.
- 16. Dish;** Fabric E. S.F. 316, Cutting P.
- 17. Bowl;** Fabric F. S.F. 229, Cutting N.

V. Zoological Evidence

Animal bones

by Peter Lawrance

The animal bones from the excavation were not stratigraphically recorded to the same extent as the pottery. It is therefore not possible for

Horse: One molar and four cannon bones. *Minimum number:* Two individuals.

Pig: Remains are few, probably from one of two immature individuals.

Dog: Two jaws from a very small dog.

Small bird, possibly **chicken**.

VI. Chronology and Interpretation

The earliest occupation on the site is marked by the construction of a 0.2ha enclosure with a ditch averaging 5.6m wide and 2.3m deep and a single entrance 3.6m side. These proportions are potentially defensive. The primary silt of the ditch (Fill I) was devoid of dateable material, but the deliberate filling of the ditch (II) contains material of clearly Iron Age tradition without the slightest Roman or Romano-British element. The only vessel in this group which shows clear external influences is the wheel-made jar (Fig. 24, No. 1) in the Aylesford-Swarling style, and the date of the group hinges on the date of these influences. There is a strong modern tendency to see the Roman army as the main vehicle for the dissemination of the Aylesford-Swarling style outside its homeland of Kent, London, Essex, south Suffolk and Hertfordshire but there is clearly a substantial diffusion of such material before the Conquest, most clearly evidenced in Lincolnshire (May 1976, 173-190). It would be difficult, given the present evidence, to decide whether Fill II of the ditch was deposited before or after AD 43, but it is unlikely to have been much after. Perhaps a date in the second quarter of the first century AD is feasible, but the evidence would support a construction date for the enclosure at almost any time between about 50 BC and AD 50.

After the abandonment and demolition of the enclosure at some point in the second quarter of the first century AD, the site was unoccupied until, on samian evidence, about AD 70 - 80, when occupation of an unknown nature, but using fully Roman pottery, was established in the area, lasting until about AD 200. The third century coin is not supported by pottery.

6. Enclosures of 'Thornham' Type in Norfolk

by Tony Gregory

The three rectangular enclosures dealt with in the preceding papers show a degree of uniformity which allows the suggestion that they represent a group of structures, the builders of which intended them to be similar, perhaps because they were intended to fulfill similar functions. The inner lip of the ditch in each case encloses an area a little over 50m square, some quarter of a hectare (just over half an acre). The ditch itself is of proportions suitable for a defensive purpose, although the size of Thornham's ditch is exceptional, and a single narrow entrance, certainly in the case of Warham Burrows and Wighton but much less definite at Thornham, gives access into the enclosed area.

Four enclosures (Fig. 26) recorded from the air by Derek Edwards of the Norfolk Archaeological Unit bear some resemblance to the three excavated examples. All would appear to have narrower ditches than the latter three, but it is difficult to compare such details between excavated and unexcavated structures; the narrow entrance is present in only two examples, Bintree and Bodham, and the former boasts two causeways through the ditch in adjacent sides. The Alby, Bintree and Bodham enclosures are slightly smaller than the three excavated, but the Great Massingham enclosure compares well in size with Warham Burrows. A fifth at Heacham, discovered by Dr St. Joseph in 1959, is similar and has the distinction of having produced surface finds of Iron Age sherds.

The complex enclosure excavated by the present writer at Thetford between 1980 and 1982 also appears to fall into this general class. In its second phase, tentatively dated to the second quarter of the first century AD, the enclosure had two concentric ditches surrounding a central area of almost half a hectare (approximately one acre). Access was across a pair of aligned narrow causeways through the ditches each blocked by timber gates. The outer ditch, up to 2m in depth, was a substantial obstacle, and three circular wooden buildings occupy the central area. While no similar structures were found in the three enclosures excavated by Clarke, this is not surprising in view of the small areas excavated. The aerial photographs of the Bodham site do show a faint suggestion of a circular outline against the enclosure side opposite the entrance, but this is very tentative, and at 25m diameter, large for a circular building (the present writer is grateful to Derek Edwards who pointed this feature out to him).

Such comparisons, of course, can only be regarded as interim statements until excavation allows the comparison of like with like. Less contentious is the comparison of topography and distribution of the enclosures. Figure 25 shows a decided preference for the north and west of the county, and indeed, with the exception of the Thetford site, they lie in the northern half. Examination of aerial photographs of enclosures in Suffolk has not produced any comparable sites. This

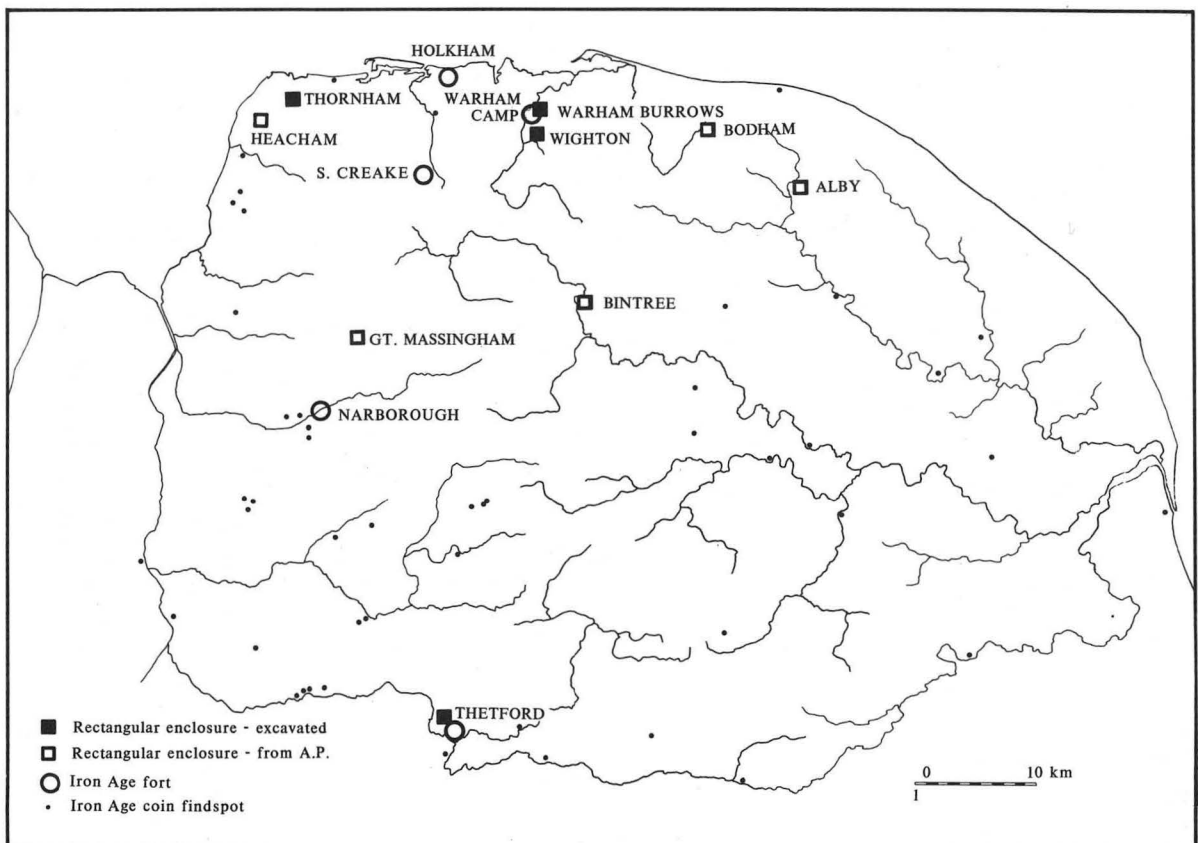


Fig. 25 Distribution of rectangular enclosures, Iron Age forts and Iron Age coins in Norfolk. Scale 1:600,000

northern weighting is by no means typical of the Late Iron Age of Norfolk. The distribution of Iron Age coins of all tribes is fairly general, with an emphasis on the west. Indeed, taking the main area of the enclosures as described by a line from Alby to Thornham, through Bintree and Massingham there are very few coin find-spots, this being one area where evidence for occupation in the first half of the century AD is poor. Of Norfolk's five certain or possible Iron Age forts (R.R.Clarke, 1939, 49-51; includes a sixth site, Tasburgh, which unpublished excavations by the Norfolk Archaeological Unit suggests to be more likely of Late Saxon date) three are within the area of rectangular enclosures and a fourth, at Narborough only a few miles further south. To this should be added the proximity of the outlier, at Thetford, to the fifth fort, at Thetford Castle, and we appear to have strong tradition of Late Iron Age defensive sites in certain parts of Norfolk not matched by the rest of the county.

The topography of these sites (Fig. 27) also suggests a strong link; in a county not known for its startling relief, all the rectangular enclosures occupy relatively high ground. The absolute heights range widely, from 60ft OD to 300ft, but all occupy land overlooking a valley or the sea. There is a marked preference for valley-edge locations, as at Warham, Alby, Bintree, Bodham, Massingham and Thetford, while Warham, Wighton, Alby, Bintree and Thetford look out to the west across river valleys. Figure 27 illustrates this tendency, although it must be remarked that, where the alignment of the entrances is known, at Warham, Wighton, Bintree, Bodham and Thetford, they face away from the valley, across relatively flat plateaux. This renders inappropriate the obvious interpretation of the enclosures as a group of defensive structures against a threat from the west - the most vulnerable point, the focus of the defensive activity, the gateway, points away from the natural defensive

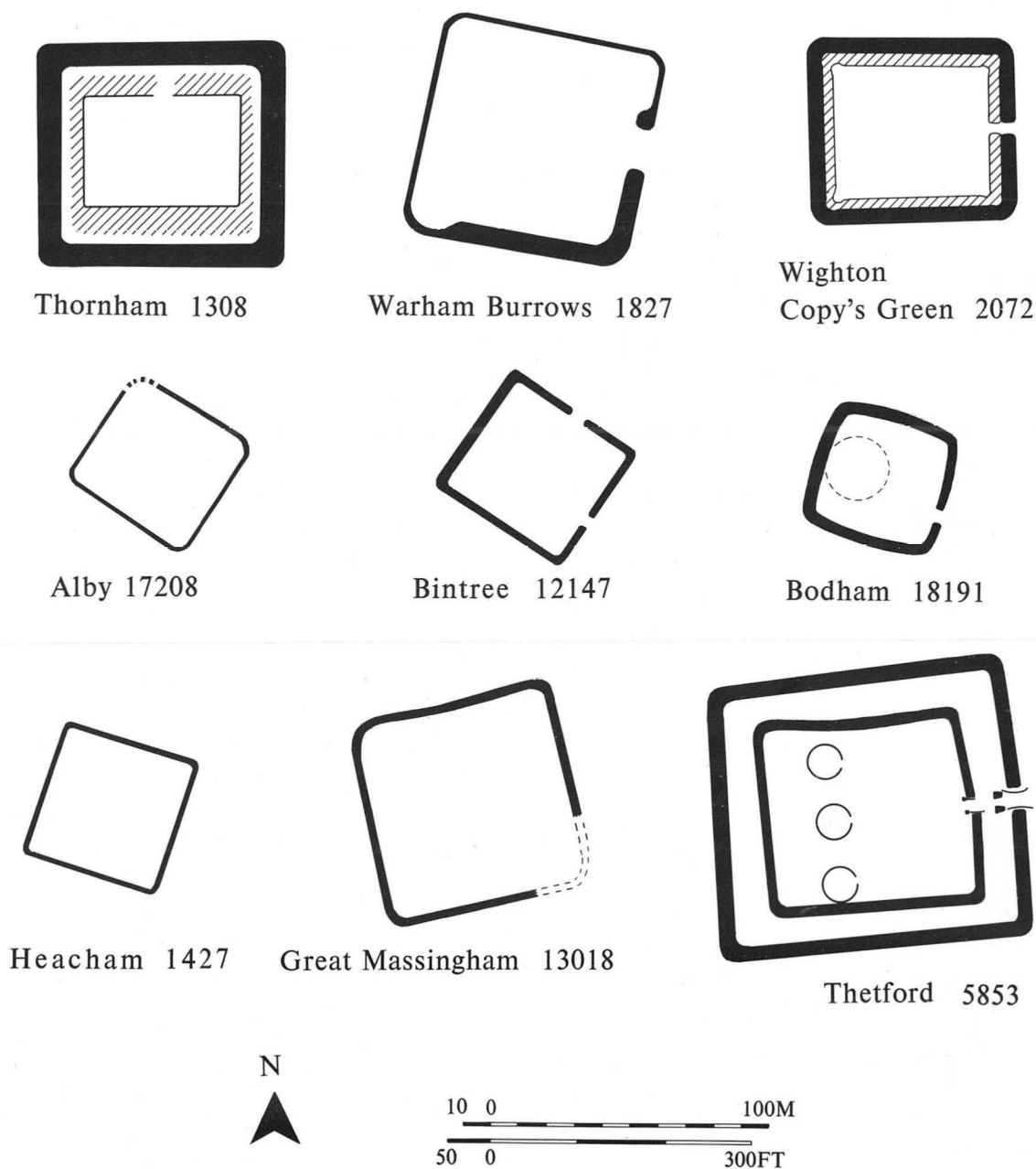


Fig. 26 Plans of rectangular enclosures. Scale 1:2500

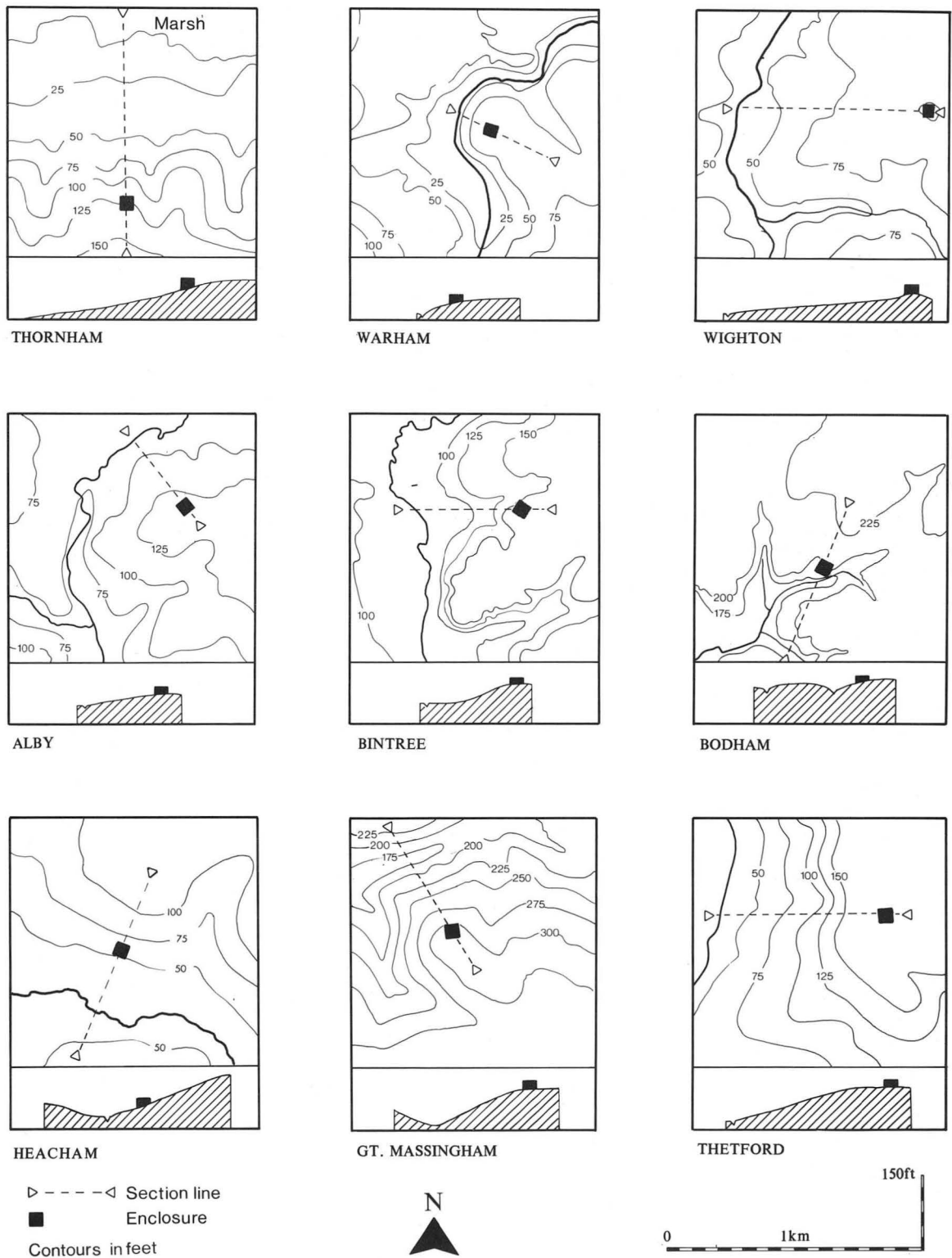


Fig. 27 Rectangular enclosures in their settings with cross-sections showing local relief. Scale 1:50,000

barrier, the sloping ground. This reasoning, however, betrays a Roman-orientated way of thinking on the part of the writer; an early Roman fort in such locations, with its entrance pointing down slope to the river is a defended site of a strategically offensive nature. The traditional Iron Age hill-fort, on the other hand, is one element in a settlement landscape and is more likely to have its entrance located for access opening onto a plateau and its back to a slope.

This same Roman-orientated reasoning was employed by Rainbird Clarke, whose notes and comments make it clear that, by the 1960s, he was thinking of his three enclosures as a product of native workmanship, inspired by Roman military planning. As such, the proposed dating of Thornham and Thetford, the only securely-dated sites in the group, which appear to have been constructed respectively soon after, and just before or around the conquest of AD 43, would fit in well

with ideas of the client-kingdom, and a long-standing alliance between Rome and the Icenii which might have allowed in the techniques and traditions of Roman military architecture. However, this is too much to build on the simple evidence of regular, rectangular defensive plans. It appears rather that we have here a coherent tradition of defensive planning, but one without any necessarily Roman or military connotations.

Nevertheless, the Icenian state may provide a context for this coherent tradition; we know only too little of the organization of the Icenii in the years before Boudicca. The evidence of the distribution of silver coins points to a closely-defined group conservative in its economic or social traditions (whichever are reflected in Iron Age coin distributions) in the first sixty years of the first century AD (Allen 1970, fig. 1). The traditional identification of single-name inscriptions on Iron Age coins with monarchs implies the rule of ANTEDE in the 30s and 40s, and of SAENV and AESV in the 50s. But we are then hard-pressed to explain the dual inscriptions CANS DVRO and ALE SCA, and the plentiful issues bearing what is assumed to be the tribal name ECE (N), respectively pre- and post-dating the ANTEDE issues. A simple historical interpretation would then be two pairs of joint rulers, perhaps elected magistrates, in the early 30s, followed by a period of monarchy, replaced in turn by a regime in which the tribal name replaces that of a king, possibly some sort of republican form of government. This 'republic' would then be replaced by successive or contemporary kings, SAENV and AESV, issuing coins in their own names. The series then ends (Mossop 1979, 258-9) with the latest issue of all, inscribed SVB RI PRASTO, the only contemporary evidence for the existence of Prasutagus. However, this chronological scheme, based on Allen's dating (1970, fig. 8), is rather at odds with Webster's attractive suggestion that the Icenian client kingdom was created in AD 48-49 by Scapula to free troops from garrison duty for the campaign against Caratacus (1981, 25). For the small numbers of 'monarchic' issues, SAENV, AESV and SVB RI PRASTO would have to fill a period of about twelve years, in contrast to the plentiful ECE(N) issues which would then fall into a few years around the conquest.

The traditional interpretation of the scant historical evidence is that Prasutagus was appointed as client-king at some time soon after the Roman conquest, and remained so until his death around AD 60. However, the

length of his reign is based only on circumstantial evidence, and Webster's date of 48-9 for the establishment of the client-kingdom necessitates some gymnastics over the first Icenian revolt of AD 47-8; in order to explain the apparent incongruity of a tribe revolting against Roman, and less than two years later, being granted a degree of independence within the province, it is necessary to see the revolt as the work of only part of the tribe, and the selection of Prasutagus as the client-king would then be connected with his behaviour during that revolt. This supports Allen's (1979, 14-15) notion of Icenian sub-tribes or pagi, based partly on the three-fold nature of the coin types, and on the tri-focal distribution of coins (Allen 1970, fig. 1).

This trifocal distribution cannot be related to the three main issues, *Boar-Horse*, *Face-Horse* and *Pattern-Horse*, nor to the other three-fold division, of the *Pattern-Horse* series into, ECEN, ECE A and ECE B. If these divisions do reflect three separate elements in the tribe, then perhaps they are not geographically-distinct elements, but social ones, perhaps totemic groups.

The main gap in this coin-distribution is the north-central area of Norfolk, the very region where the rectangular enclosures occur. The absence of coins therefore suggests different patterns of activity both in economic and social spheres. If the enclosures are accepted as a defensive element in a settlement landscape, rather than a military and therefore intrusive element, then we might expect to find other evidence for the area within the arc Thornham-Massingham-Bintree-Alby being distinctive in the first century AD. This must now await further research.

One further possibility must also be considered, even if that too is only to be suspended for further consideration at a later date - namely that the rectangular enclosures had a religious function. This suggestion has been made strongly by Graham Webster (pers. comm.) in connection with the third phase of use of the Thetford site (not illustrated here), made all the more likely by the suspected presence of a late Romano-British religious site only tens of metres away (Johns and Potter, 1983). Rectangular enclosures (*viereckschanzen*) are regular features of La Tene religious practices on the continent, particularly in the Rhineland, but positive evidence for religious practices is required before these Norfolk sites are identified as such.

Appendix. Thornham: An Iron Age Linch-Pin and a Romano-British Cremation from Thornham

The linch-pin

(Fig. 28)

A copper alloy linch-pin was found, probably in 1955, in the garden of Chestnut Cottage, in Thornham village (Site 1309); it is now in Norwich Castle Museum (NCM acc. no. 180.955). It consists of a single casting, in the form of a rod with a roughly square head pierced by an oval hole. The head and shank meet in a square moulding which, like the head, bears remains of horizontal filing. The shank is twisted at 45° to the plane of the head. All parts of the linch-pin show severe damage, mostly oval facets about 5 mm across, which seems to have been caused by cold hammering, and more severe battering is seen along the corners of the head. Two splits in the surface of the metal run down the shank and twist with it, probably the result of twisting the shank.

This linch-pin belongs to a group of box-headed linch-pins from Yorkshire and Northern France. It differs from them in size, being about half the average size of the group (Stead 1965, fig. 16 and Stead 1979, fig. 14), and in the fact that the shank is bent out of the plane of the head.

Also it is of bronze, whereas the Yorkshire and French examples are normally of iron, and the hole through the head is closer to the ring-head of the more normal Yorkshire linch-pins (Stead 1979, fig. 14, no.2). The Thornham piece likewise lacks the transverse hole through the shank just below the head which is found in most linch-pins, but despite these differences, the identification hardly seems to be in doubt. The La Tène I contexts of the French examples suggest a generally Early or Middle Iron Age date for our example.

The Romano-British cremation

(Fig. 28)

In 1948 the upper part of a necked jar was ploughed up about 2.5 km north-east of the enclosure (Site 1311); the rest of the vessel was recovered, and it was found that the top of the jar had been about 30 cm below the field surface. It contained cremated bone which has not been preserved. It is dated to the late first or early second century AD and does not appear to be connected with the Thornham enclosure, but rather suggests another settlement. The jar is in a hard, medium fine, slightly sandy fabric with brown surfaces and has been restored so that the core is no longer visible. It is in the possession of Mr and Mrs Bett, at Thornham Hall.

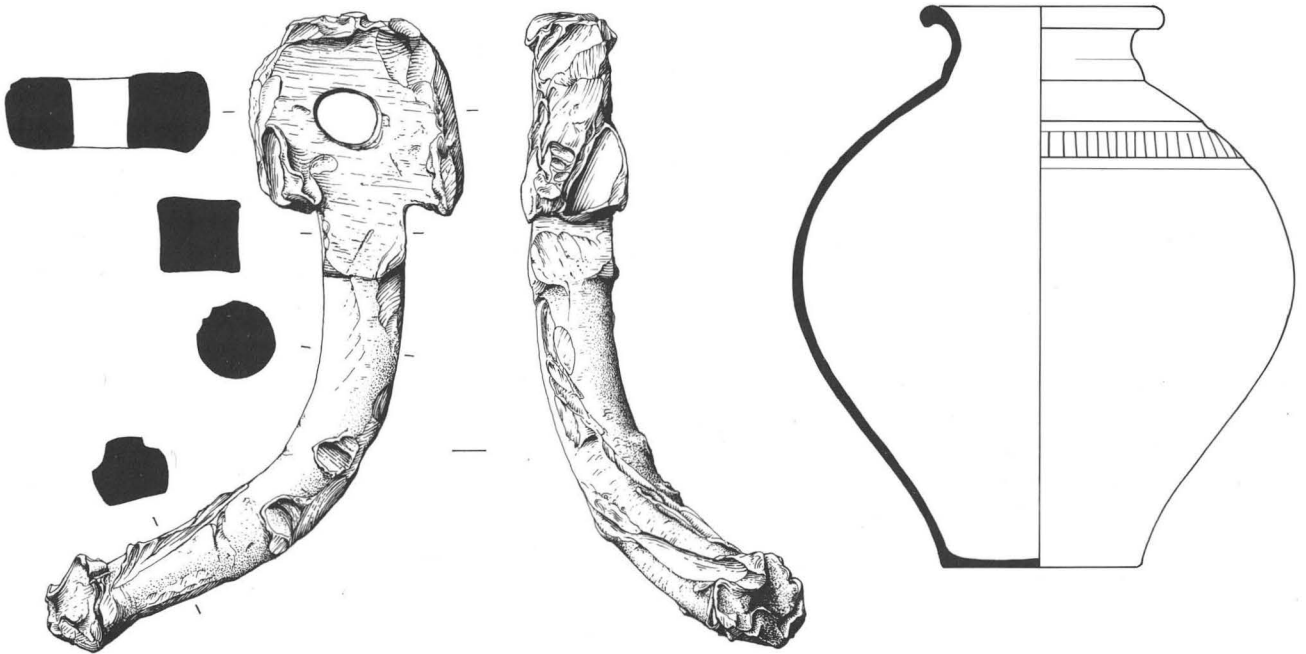


Fig. 28 Iron Age linch-pin (Scale 1:1) and Romano-British cremation urn (Scale 1:4) from parish of Thornham

Part II

7. A Romano-Celtic Temple Site at Caistor St. Edmund

by David Gurney

I. Summary

This report presents the archaeological evidence of a Romano-Celtic temple site at Caistor St. Edmund, on the outskirts of the Roman town of *Venta Icenorum*, and a short distance to the north-east of the walled area.

The site has been known since 1932, and a number of excavations have taken place. The principal excavations with which this report is concerned are as follows:-

- 1950 The Gateway, by Clarke and Larwood
- 1950 The Gateway (continued), by Knocker and Hughes
- 1956 The *Temenos* wall, by Baggs
- 1957 The Temple, by Mottram

These excavations are fully described, and all other finds from the site to 1984 are also listed. It should be emphasised that there has been no systematic programme of excavations or survey on the site, and that the excavations were conducted by various individuals to varying standards.

The principal components of the site known from excavation or survey are: a masonry Romano-Celtic temple of concentric square plan; a *temenos* wall enclosing an area of approximately 2.5 ha (6.3 acres); the

foundation of what appears to be a monumental gateway leading into the *temenos* from the west; and, within the *temenos*, a large ancillary building and a possible circular or apsidal building. These combine to suggest that this was no small semi-rural temple site, but probably an important cult-centre in the suburbs of the Roman town.

The finds contribute little to our understanding of the site, and the dates of the principal structures remain uncertain. Unusually for a temple site, the finds in no way betray its function.

II. General Introduction

The parish of Caistor St. Edmund as it should properly be called (Feachem 1968) is three miles south of the city of Norwich, and includes the site of the Roman town of *Venta Icenorum*. The archaeology of the Roman town is conveniently summarised in Hawkes 1949 and Wachter 1976 (227-238) and the principal excavation reports are Atkinson 1930 and Frere 1971.

The Romano-Celtic temple site described here is situated approximately 625 m to the north-east of the north-east corner of the walled area (Fig. 30). The temple site is centred on TG 2397 0392, and is Site 9787 in the County Sites and Monuments Record and Scheduled Monument No. 244.

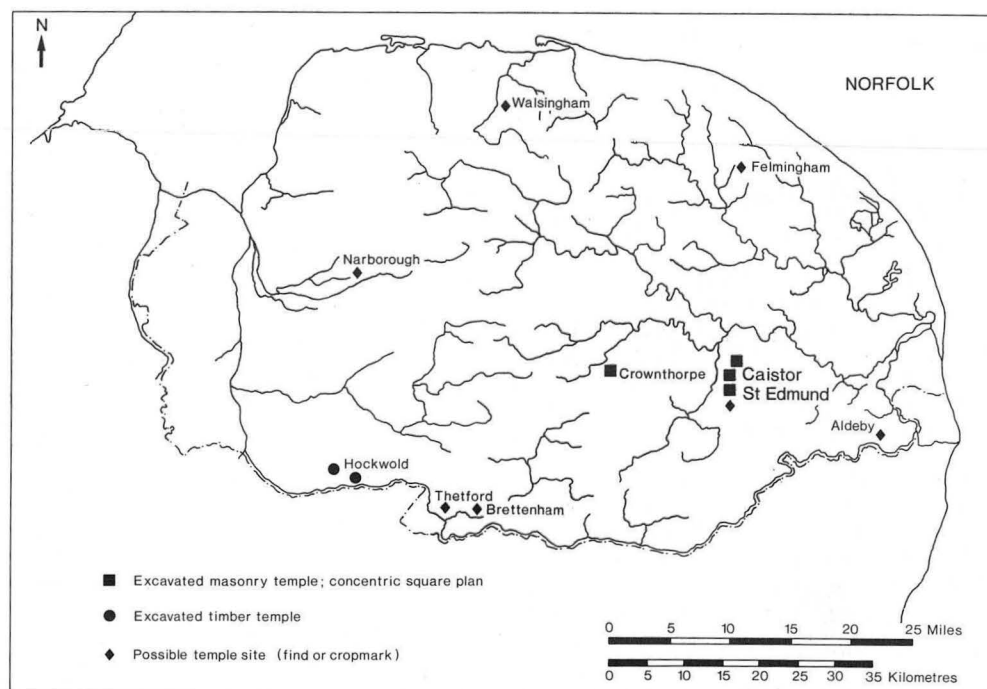


Fig. 29 Romano-Celtic temples sites in Norfolk

There have been a number of excavations, the first being a small trench on the site of the Romano-Celtic temple by Surgeon-Commander F.R.Mann in 1932. In 1950, the foundation of the monumental gateway was excavated, initially by R.R.Clarke and G.Larwood for the Norfolk Research Committee, this being completed by Group Captain G.M.Knocker and Mr R.G.Hughes for the Ministry of Works. In 1956, Mr A.P.Baggs traced the *temenos* wall on the western side for a length of 122m, and in the following year, the Romano-Celtic temple was partly excavated by Miss A.S.Mottram (both excavations again on behalf of the Norfolk Research Committee).

Part III of this report describes these excavations, and includes with the report on the excavation of the *temenos* wall by Baggs in 1956, evidence of the *temenos* wall from other sources. Part IV describes two other buildings inside the *temenos*; a possible circular or apsidal structure and a substantial ancillary building. This is followed by the artefacts (Part V), zoological evidence (Part VI) and discussion (Part VII). Three appendices (I-III) list the coin finds from the site, finds of possible religious significance from Caistor St. Edmund, and other finds to 1984 from Old Church Close and the Scheduled Area. Appendix IV is an interim account of a metal detector survey of the site in 1985.

In 1956, Baggs noted that Nos 1 to 3 Old Church Close are built on clay, while Nos 4 to 6 are on sand (Fig. 33). This adequately summarises the drift geology of the site. The clay to the west is a boulder clay (stiff blue clay with pebbles of chalk and flint) and the sand to the east is a glacial sand and gravel (clean ill-sorted sands and gravels with some chalk) (Nickless 1971). The site is situated on the southern slope of an east to west valley opening into the valley of the River Tas to the west. The area enclosed by the *temenos* straddles the 50ft (15.24m) contour, with higher ground to the south and south-west

and an imposing view over the lower ground of the Tas valley to the north-west for several miles (Fig. 30).

It has been suggested that the nucleus of the earliest settlement or the fort from whose *vicus Venta Icenorum* developed lies to the east of Caistor Hall, and that the complex of streets which radiate from a point outside the north-east corner of the walled area may pre-date the main street grid (Wacher 1976, 230). One of these streets runs diagonally to the later grid, from the north-east corner of *Insula IX* where two Romano-Celtic temples were excavated by Atkinson (1930, 98-105), under the north-east corner of the defences. The line of this road is perhaps continued by the modern road to the north-east (Fig. 30).

There are indications of a second road, most probably branching off the road described above at a point just outside the north-east corner of the walled town, which takes a more easterly bearing from the line of the modern road and which appears to be heading in the general direction of the temple site. In the grounds of Caistor Hall, a road running south-west to north-east was exposed by Surgeon-Commander F.R.Mann in 1938 (Fig. 30; Site 9816; *J.Roman Stud.* XXIX (1939), 214; Gregory 1978), and in 1977 a section of what appeared to be the same road was seen in a dykeside at Burnt House Farm Bungalow (Fig. 30, Site 12581). The line of this road is not known beyond this point, but gravel spreads exposed by Baggs in 1956 outside the west wall of the *temenos* (Fig. 33, Trenches 4, 5, 8, 10, 11 and 28) may be part of a road or metalled track leading to the temple site from an adjacent road.

Also in the grounds of Caistor Hall, a Roman building was excavated by Boileau in 1846 (Fig. 30, Site 9818). It measured internally 7.31m by 9.14m with three apertures 76cm wide in the north and south walls. The building is probably of third century date, and the

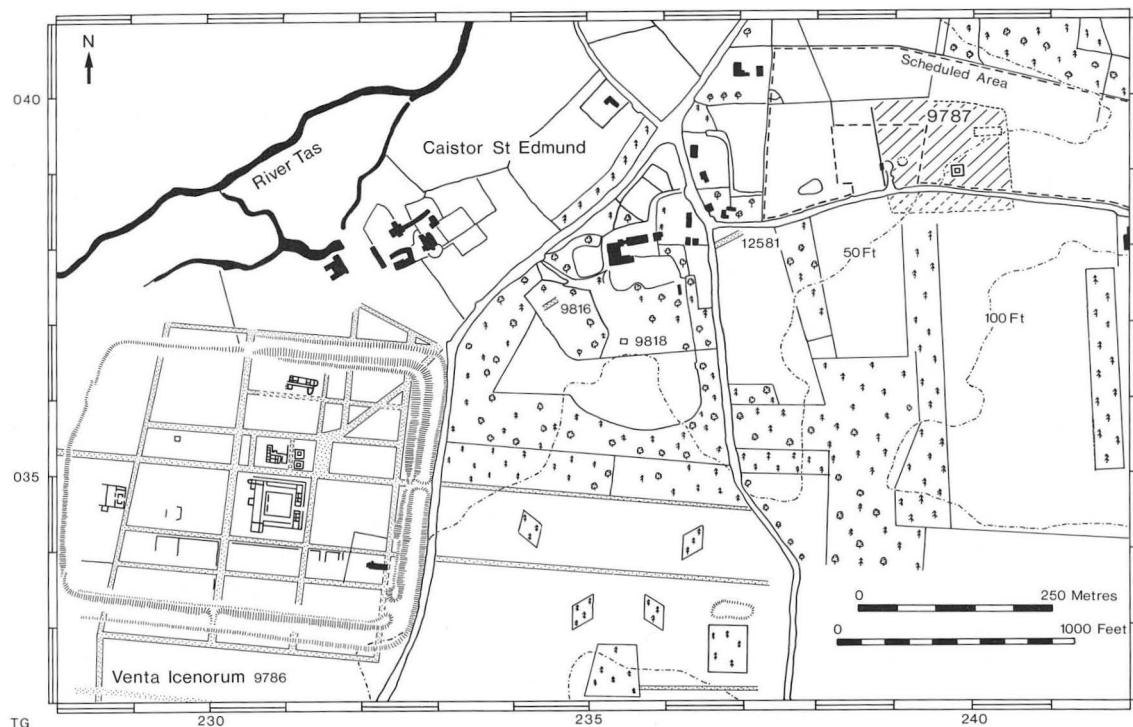


Fig. 30 The temple site at Caistor St. Edmund (Site 9787) in relation to *Venta Icenorum*. The area of the *temenos* is hatched. Scale 1:10,000

excavator suggested that it may have been a tomb (Boileau 1847; Fox 1889, 356; Haverfield 1901, fig. 5, 291). Boileau also notes "a former road passing near our excavation".

To the north-east of the temple site, in the parishes of Bixley, Framingham Pigot and Kirby Bedon, the probable line of a Roman road (Site 9904; not illustrated) was suggested by Leman, writing in the late eighteenth century (Leman ms, Devizes Library, f. 166). While there is no evidence on the ground to confirm this, it would continue the line of the suggested road from the north-east corner of the Roman town past the temple site to a probable destination on the River Yare (R.R. Clarke 1950, 144, Road "M"; Margary 1973, 270, Route 360).

III. The Excavations

Introduction

Three excavations are considered in this section. Firstly the Romano-Celtic temple, excavated by Mottram in 1957; secondly, the foundation of the gateway excavated by Clarke and Larwood and Knocker and Hughes in 1950, and thirdly, the *temenos* wall excavated by Baggs in 1956 and re-examined in 1984-5.

These three excavations focus upon the more obvious elements of the site, namely the masonry structures, but it should be borne in mind that the area enclosed by the *temenos* is c. 2.5 ha (6.3 acres), and that within this area there are likely to be other less-easily recognised remains of both structures and activities related to the religious nature of the site. It has not been the intention of the project from which this report derives to survey or excavate the site, but all previous work to 1984 has been summarised. It has been possible to engage in limited survey and excavation to answer a few of the problems arising from this and the results of these have been incorporated.

A. The Romano-Celtic temple

(Figs. 31, 32; Pls. XIV - XVI)

Introduction

The Romano-Celtic temple is centred on TG 2399 0390 and is Site 9787/c1. It is situated on a patch of almost level ground on the southern slope of the valley, just above the 50 ft (15.24 m) contour, with higher ground to the south and south-east and lower ground to the north-west. Within the area defined by the *temenos*, the temple is on one of the highest points, in an imposing position overlooking the interior, and in a position which may have been clearly visible from the northern approaches to the Roman town along the Tas valley (Fig. 30). Part of the temple first appears to have been excavated in 1932, when Mann exposed a short length of wall in a trial trench. From the measurements given for the position of this trench and the notes of what was revealed, it is almost certain that this was part of the temple, although the exact position, size and alignment of the trench were not recorded so it cannot be accurately plotted. The wall exposed survived to a height of 38 cm and was 1.22 m wide. The top of the wall consisted of two courses of flints, the upper course of which was faced. Below these two courses was a footing 13 cm deep. On the west side of the wall was a mortar and round flint floor, and on the east side a cement and flint floor. These details imply that the wall was orientated north to south, and the mortar and round flint floor was probably that in the ambulatory. Mann's wall would therefore be the west wall of the *cella*. There was a single find, a coin of Antoninus Pius (Appendix II; Context 1). In 1933, in the same area, Clarke and Mann recorded a scatter of white *tesserae* (Clarke site I; NCM acc. no. 10.939).

Excavation on a larger scale was carried out in January 1957, directed by Miss A.S. Mottram for the Norfolk Research Committee as a training excavation for

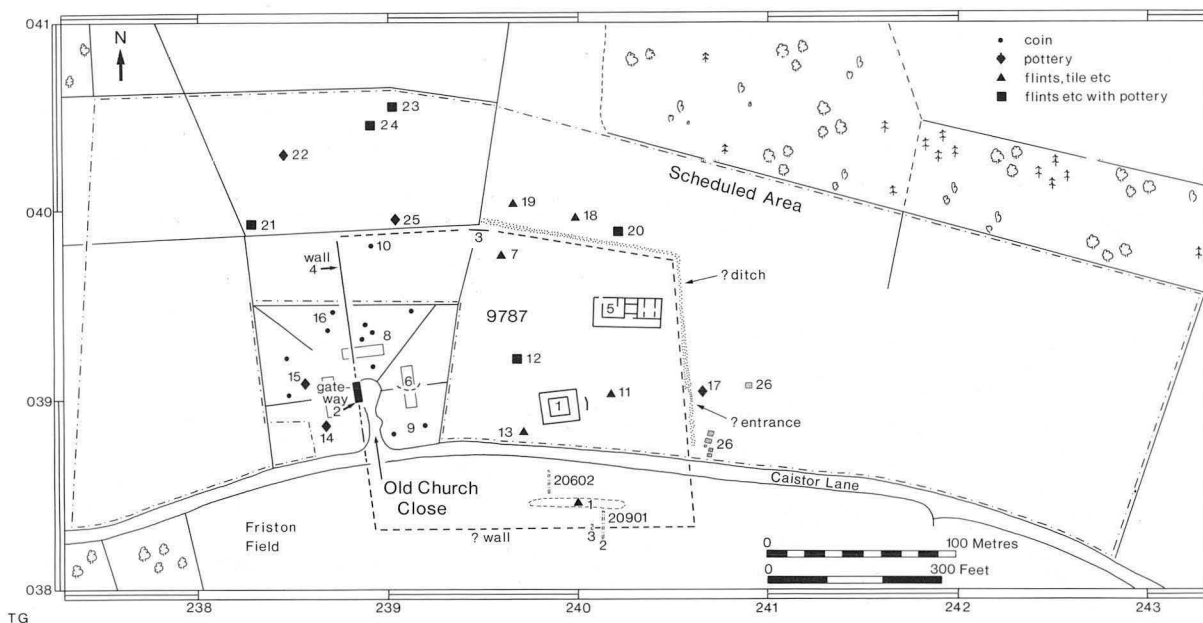


Fig. 31 Caistor St. Edmund: The Scheduled Area. Numbers within the Scheduled Area refer to the appropriate context numbers of Site 9787. The buildings inside the *temenos* and the line of the *temenos* ?ditch on the north and east sides (stippled) are plotted from computer-rectified aerial photographs. Also shown are other cropmarks within the Scheduled Area (c 26) and Sites 20602 and 20901 in Friston Field. Scale 1:4000

senior pupils of local schools. The following description of the temple is based upon the manuscript notes and plans of the 1957 excavations by A.S.Mottram in Norwich Castle Museum (cf. *Norfolk Research Committee Bulletin* 10 (1957), 1; *J.Roman Stud.* XLVIII (1958), 142; Lewis 1966, 1 and fig. 6 (Caister 3); Rodwell 1980, 561).

The ambulatory wall

The outer wall enclosing the ambulatory was exposed at five places: on the west side of the temple in Trench 1, on the north side in Trenches 4 and 5 and on the east side in Trenches 8 and 1 (Pl.XV), although in the last two instances only the inner edge of the wall was revealed. The south side of the ambulatory wall was not exposed, and none of the corners were excavated. Estimated external dimensions of the ambulatory wall are 18.29m east to west by 17.07m north to south, if the width of the ambulatory and the thickness of the wall on the south side are assumed to be the same as on the north side.

The original site plan which is redrawn here (Fig.32) suggests that the west wall of the ambulatory was not parallel to the west wall of the *cella*, and that the ambulatory on this side of the temple was narrower at the northern end than at the southern. It is by no means certain that this is the case, as there are a number of inconsistencies between the plan and section 1 (Fig. 32) which cannot be reconciled. In plan, the ambulatory on the west side of the temple is some 45cm wider than its width as shown on the section, and it is therefore possible that the west wall of the ambulatory has been wrongly planned.

At most of the places where the ambulatory wall was exposed, only the top of the wall appears to have been excavated. At one point however, on the west side of the temple in Trench 1, the trench was deepened to expose more of the wall and its foundations (Fig. 32, section 1). The wall in Trench 1 was 91cm wide, and was constructed of five courses of rough flints above at least

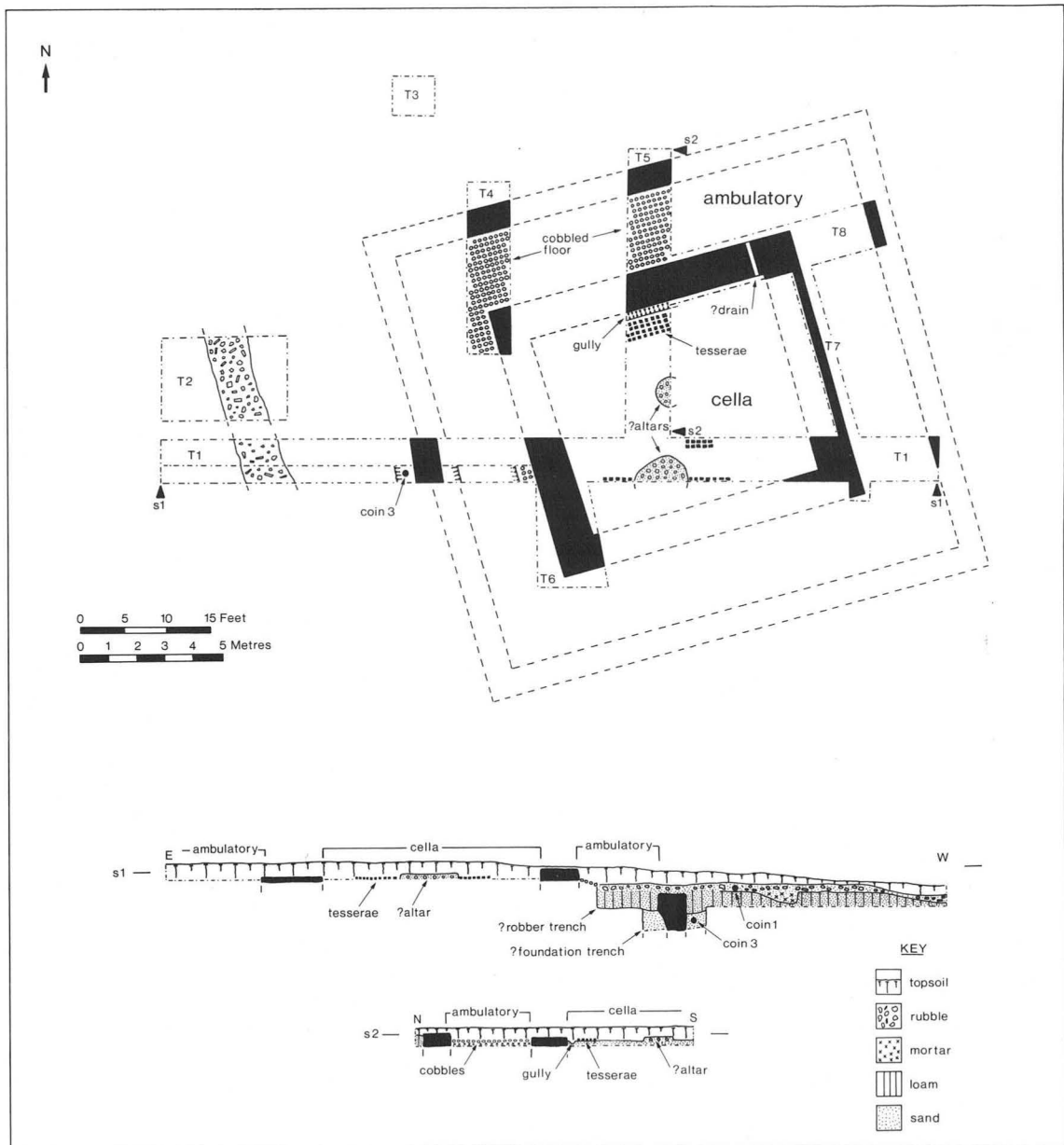


Fig. 32 Caistor St. Edmund: the Romano-Celtic temple; plan and sections, after Mottram. Scale 1:250

twelve courses of very hard square-cut chalk blocks. The minimum height of the wall and its footings at this point was 1.37m, but the bottom of the wall, cut into a soft, pale yellow sand subsoil was not reached. In Trench 4 the ambulatory wall was also 91 cm wide, but appears to have been built of unsquared flints and erratic boulders.

A coin of Constantine I (p.45, No.3) was found in the lower fill of the foundation trench for the ambulatory wall on the west side of the temple (Fig. 32, plan and section 1). The fill here was a very soft sand and the excavator suggested that the coin may have been intrusive.

The ambulatory

Areas of the ambulatory were exposed in Trenches 1,4,5,6,7 and 8. It appears to have been approximately 2.75m wide. In Trenches 4 and 5, the removal of the ploughsoil exposed a floor of round flint pebbles set in pink cement above a clean sand subsoil (Fig. 32, section 2). This is almost certainly the mortar and round flint floor to the west of the wall exposed by Mann in 1932. The excavator suggested that the ambulatory had a floor of red brick *tesserae*, but as far as can be ascertained, none were found *in situ* in the ambulatory, and only twenty-one were recovered. There is, therefore, little evidence to support this suggestion. In Trench 1, at the west end, a small patch of cobble floor survived against the edge of the *cella* wall (Fig. 32, plan and section 1) but at this point most of the floor appears to have been removed by what is probably a robber trench for the west wall of the ambulatory. At the east end of Trench 1 and in Trenches 6, 7 and 8, no trace of a cobble floor appears to have been found.

The cella wall

All four corners of the inner, *cella* wall were exposed. It was 1.22m thick, and was built of at least three courses of large squared flints in mortar. It is unclear from the sections (Fig.32, sections 1 and 2) if the bottom of the wall was reached, but it seems that the ploughsoil was removed to expose the top of the wall, and that no attempt was made to establish the depth of the foundations for the *cella* wall. The published sections might therefore give a false impression that the ambulatory wall had much deeper foundations than those for the *cella* wall.

A feature running through the north wall of the *cella* near the north-east corner was not described, nor was its relationship to the surviving floor levels noted. It is possible that this was a drain (Fig. 32).

The cella

The interior of the *cella* measured 8.53m east to west by 7.31m north to south. Areas of the interior were exposed in Trenches 1 and 5, and in both trenches, areas of white *tesserae* (Type A; p.50), apparently *in situ*, were found at the base of the ploughsoil. On the site plan and sections these are shown schematically, and no significance should be placed on their size or alignment. At the same level as the *tesserae*, two patches of tightly-packed flint rubble were exposed. These appear to be circular, although neither was fully exposed. That in Trench 5 (Fig. 32, plan and section 2) was in the centre of the *cella* and it had a diameter of c. 1m. The second rubble patch was approximately 1.7m south of the first, and was partly exposed in Trench 1 near the south-west corner of the *cella*. It was larger than the central rubble patch, with a diameter of c. 1.8m, and it appears to have been surrounded by an area of *in situ* flooring, composed of

white chalk *tesserae* (Type A). Both of these features are clearly visible from the air as parch-marks in the ripening crop (Pl.XIV). They most probably represent the bases of internal features such as altars.

On the northern edge of the *cella* in Trench 5, at the junction of the floor of the *cella* with the inner face of the north wall, a ledge of cement was found, and this appeared to cover the join between the *cella* floor and the wall (not planned or sectioned). Also at this point, a shallow gully ran parallel to the wall (Fig. 32, section 2), and the bottom of this was cut by two egg-shaped stakeholes filled with decayed mortar.

External features

Outside the temple, to the west, a mass of loose flint rubble, with sherds, *tesserae*, tiles, bricks and bones was exposed, appearing in plan as a north to south layer, c. 1.3m wide running through Trenches 1 and 2. In section however (Fig. 32, section 1), this layer appears to run from the edge of the surviving patch of pebble flooring in the ambulatory to the western end of Trench 1. It also seems to overlie the probable robber trench for the west wall of the ambulatory. Below this layer, a feature appears in section 1, running north to south, and with a vertical edge on its western side. This was filled with a layer of plaster and mortar.

Trench 3, 3.5m north of the north-west corner of the temple was excavated on the second day of the excavation, when it was thought that the west wall of the ambulatory which had been exposed the previous day might be the eastern wall of the *temenos*. The density of finds in this *sondage* led the excavator to suggest the presence of a large rubbish pit, but no feature was defined, and after excavation to a depth of 60cm the trench was backfilled without further exploration.

The cropmarks (Pl.XIV)

In addition to the altar bases which show up as parch-marks, there are other points of interest on the aerial photographs of the temple. On the west, north and east sides of the temple, the *cella* and ambulatory walls show clearly as darker lines in the crop, although it is clear that these lines do not meet at the corners. On the south side of the temple, neither wall is clearly visible, but a wider dark band which turns a right angle at the south-east corner of the temple, and which appears to run between the walls on the east side may be the result of the crop growing over *in situ* flooring. On an earlier aerial photograph by St. Joseph (YI 70, 1959-60), similar cropmarks are evident, although on this photograph (not illustrated), the walls show up as light parch-marks with darker areas at the corners. This suggests that the corners of the temple are perhaps more heavily robbed than the walls, and it is possible that the corners were originally tiled, although this is not suggested in the excavator's notes, and there are no indications that the corners had been more thoroughly or more deeply robbed than the walls. It is, however, noticeable that buildings with tiled quoins are frequently robbed more for their tiles than for other building materials in their walls.

There is also a short north to south linear cropmark a few metres east of, and running parallel to, the ambulatory wall on the east side of the temple (Pl.XIV). It is possible that the entrance into the temple was on its east side, and if so, this might perhaps be part of a porch or similar structure at its entrance.

B. The gateway

(Figs. 33 and 34; cover plate and Pl.XVII)

Introduction

A large rectangular masonry foundation was excavated in 1950 at TG 2388 0390, beneath the approach road to Old Church Close, a housing development by Forehoe and Henstead Rural District Council. This is Site 9787/c2 and Clarke's Site XX. Two excavations took place (cf. *Norfolk Research Committee Bulletin* 2 (1950), 2; 3 (1951), 2; *J. Roman Stud.* XLI (1951), 132; R.R.Clarke 1957, 404). These excavations exposed a rectangular masonry foundation, measuring 11.12m by 3.05m, and 1.52m deep. Situated as it is on the line of the *temenos* wall exposed by Baggs in 1956, on the side of the *temenos* facing the approaches to the Roman town, this massive foundation is, without doubt, for an impressive monumental gateway leading into the *temenos* from the west.

1. Clarke and Larwood 1950

On 15 December 1949, during the setting of kerbstones on the west side of the turning circle at the end of Old Church Close, part of a masonry foundation was uncovered, and this find was reported to R.R.Clarke, then

curator of Norwich Castle Museum. After inspecting the site, Clarke decided to excavate the foundation. This took place on 2-6 January, and 25-26 February 1950, directed by Clarke and G.P.Larwood for the Norfolk Research Committee.

Nine trenches were excavated, allocated letters A to H and J (Fig. 33). Only Trench E, which exposed the masonry foundation, was recorded in any detail, with brief notes on the stratigraphy in Trenches B and F.

Trench B (Fig. 33): Pottery was found to a depth of 1.35m in disturbed ground.

Trench E (Figs 33 and 34): This trench was planned and a rough sketch was made of the profile across the foundation at the north end. This was totally superseded by the sections of Knocker and Hughes, so has not been illustrated. At point A on the plan (Fig. 34), the stratigraphy was recorded as being 'Soil 46 cm, floor tile 38 mm, mortar 76 mm, floor tile 38 mm, flints in mortar 61 cm to 99 cm, ?made soil'. On the west side of the trench, pottery and tile were noted in the section to a depth of 1.35m. Below this was a layer of gravelly loam, the top of which was interpreted as the Roman ground surface.

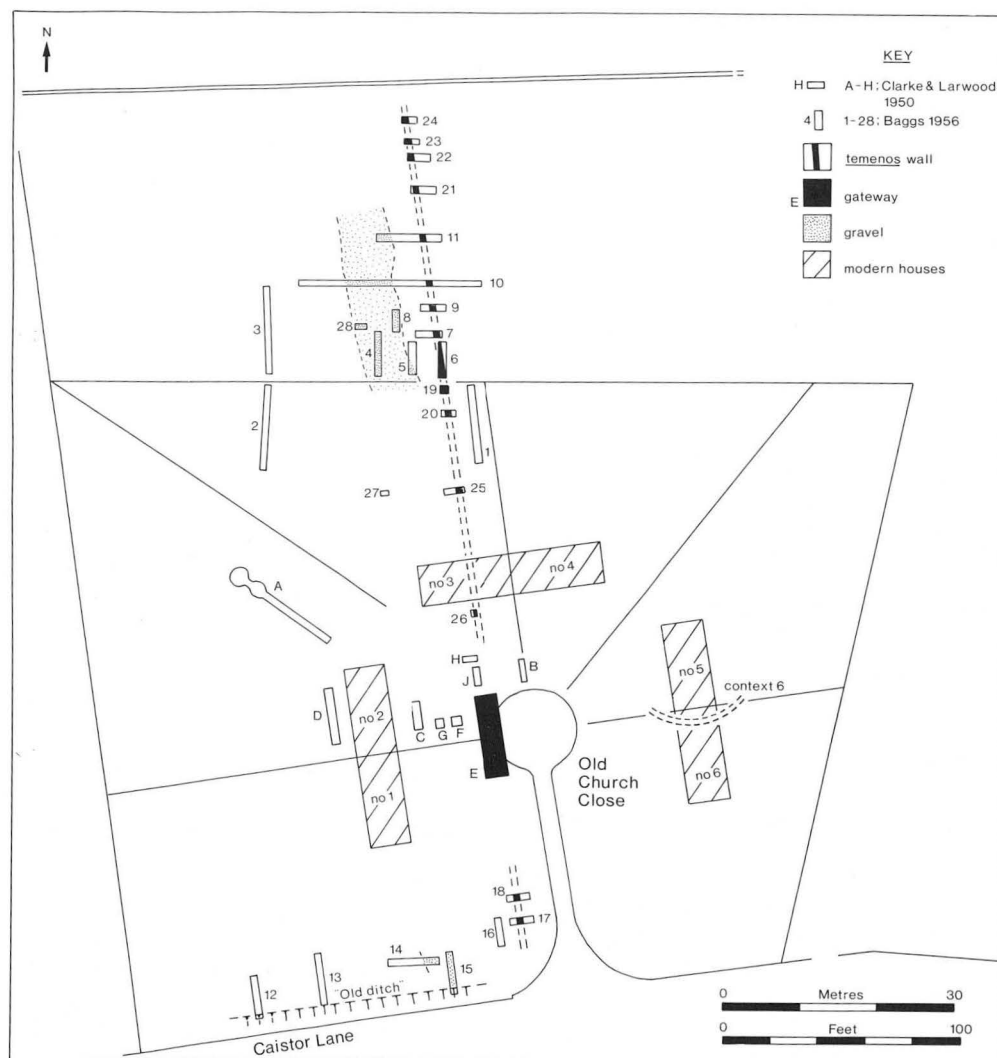


Fig. 33 Caistor St. Edmund: Old Church Close; the gateway and *temenos* wall. Trenches A to H and J by Clarke and Larwood 1950; Trench E also by Knocker and Hughes 1950. Trenches 1 to 28 by Baggs 1956. The position of the curved masonry wall, context 6, is also shown. After Baggs. Scale 1:1000

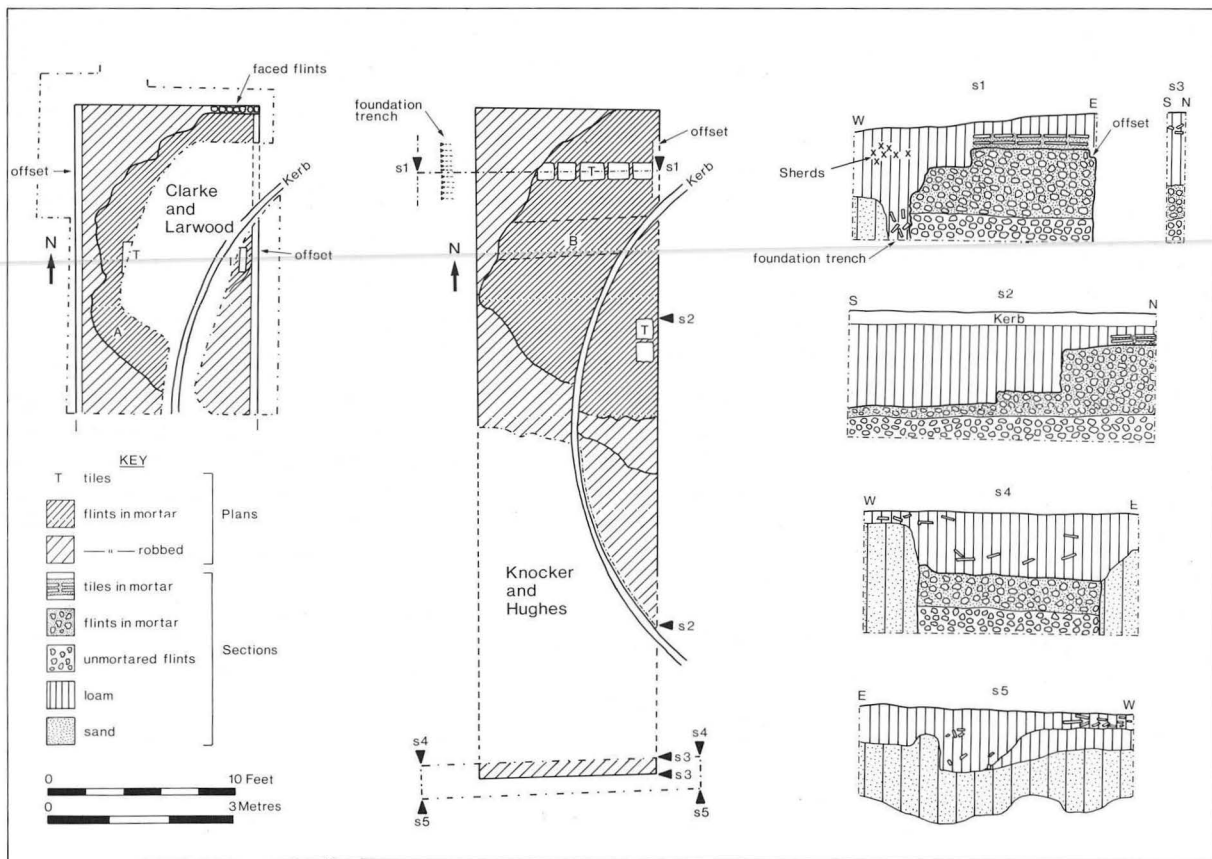


Fig. 34 Caistor St. Edmund: the gateway, Trench E. Plan after Clarke and Larwood: plan and sections after Knocker and Hughes. Scale 1:125

Trench F (Fig. 33): The stratigraphy was recorded as being '0 to 51 cm black soil, RB sherds, 51 to 53 cm, layer broken up brick, 63 to 71 cm layer of gravel (artificial), gravelly loam to base of section'. It is possible that the layer of broken brick was a demolition layer, and that the gravel beneath it was part of a metallised track or road as also suggested by the excavations of the *temenos* wall by Baggs in 1956.

2. Knocker and Hughes 1950

The excavation of Trench E was continued on 6-9 March, directed by Group Captain G.M. Knocker, and R.G. Hughes for the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments of the Ministry of Works. This extended the area previously examined by Clarke and Larwood (for both plans see Fig. 34), and exposed the southern edge of the foundation. To test the theory that it might be a tomb, a section was cut through part of the foundation by pneumatic drill to a depth of 1.22m (B on Fig. 34; Pl.XVII). This demonstrated that the foundation was solid throughout, and led Knocker to refer to it humorously as a *Domus Elephatorum*.

Five sections were drawn, and these with the plan by Hughes provide the most reliable record of the foundation. The earlier plan by Clarke and Larwood varies in detail with that by Hughes; both are illustrated (Fig. 34).

Description: The foundation was encountered at a depth of 38cm below the top of the kerb of the approach road. Its overall dimensions were recorded as 11.12m north to south and 3.05m east to west. Where best preserved, the masonry foundation was 1.52m deep.

Clarke and Larwood exposed a substantial portion of the north end of the foundation. They noted that the north edge of the foundation at the east end was faced with split flints, offsets were planned on both the east and west sides, and two tiles were planned *in situ*.

Much additional information was provided by the excavation of Knocker and Hughes. A foundation trench was excavated on the west side (Fig. 34, section 1), and this contained floor and roof tiles in mint condition, and quern fragments. The offset noted by Clarke and Larwood on the east side also appears on section 1.

Sections 1 and 2 (Fig. 34) show in detail the construction of the foundation. The bottom 38cm of the foundation consisted of a layer of unmortared flints, and above this was a layer 1.22m thick of flints set in mortar. Above this were two layers of red clay tiles, each layer 38mm thick, and each set on a layer of mortar 51mm thick. These were drawn only in section, and have been transposed onto the plan (Fig. 34).

The foundation was best preserved at the north-east corner, and elsewhere had been robbed in places to a depth of 1.22m below the top of the surviving masonry. The extent of the robbing as planned by Clarke and Larwood, is not identical to that planned by Knocker and Hughes. This inconsistency cannot be reconciled.

Knocker and Hughes also excavated a trench which exposed the south edge of the foundation, and this also had been extensively robbed (Fig. 34, section 4).

No trace of the *temenos* wall was seen in these excavations, although the north and south edges of the gateway foundation were exposed to a considerable depth. The gateway was precisely on the line of the wall as

planned by Baggs in 1956 (Fig. 33), so unless the gateway was free-standing, which seems unlikely, the wall on either side of the gateway may have been robbed at the same time as the superstructure of the gateway.

C. The *temenos* wall (Figs. 31; 33; Pl.XVIII)

Introduction

The west wall of the *temenos* was excavated by Baggs in 1956 (Site 9787/c4), and in the same year, the north wall may also have been seen (Site 9787/c3). In 1957, Mottram excavated a trench to the south of Caistor Lane in Friston Field in an attempt to locate the southern side (Trench 9; Site 20602) but this was unsuccessful.

In 1984, the present author re-excavated one of the 1956 trenches across the west wall to establish its construction and state of preservation, as all notes and photographs of the 1956 excavation could not be located, and are presumably lost. In the following year, a trench was excavated in Friston Field; and this located what appears to be the line of the south wall of the *temenos*.

1. Site 9787/c4 (Baggs 1956)

The excavation of the wall on the west side of the *temenos* (Site 9787/c4) to the north and south of the gateway foundation was directed by Mr A.P.Baggs for the Norfolk Research Committee in January 1956 (*Norfolk Research Committee Bulletin* 9 (1956), 1; *J. Roman Stud.* XLVII (1957), 211; R.R.Clarke 1957, 405).

Twenty-eight trenches were excavated, and the positions of these are shown on Fig. 33. Trenches 1 to 26 have their original trench numbers, while two unnumbered trenches have been allocated trench numbers 27 and 28.

The wall was traced for a total length of 122m, its line being established by trenches across it at fifteen places. To the south of the gateway, the wall was revealed in Trenches 17 and 18, suggesting that the wall continued at least up to (and almost certainly beyond) Caistor Lane. In Trenches 14 and 15, gravel spreads were recorded, and these might be part of a north to south road or metalled track running outside and parallel to the *temenos* wall on this side. Similar gravel spreads were recorded north of the gateway, and also in Trench F dug by Clarke and Larwood in 1950. In Trenches 12 to 15, the northern edge of an east to west ditch was revealed, running parallel to the modern field boundary. This was described as an "old ditch"; but its date was not established.

To the north of the gateway, the wall was exposed in Trenches 26, 25, 20, 19, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 21, 22, 23 and 24. This continued the line of the wall almost up to the field boundary on the north side of the field immediately north of Old Church Close, but no evidence of a corner was found. Gravelled spreads were again recorded in Trenches 4, 5, 8, 28, 10 and 11.

2. Site 9787/c4 (Gurney 1984)

It is known that sections were drawn and photographs taken of the *temenos* wall during the excavation by Baggs in 1956, but as these records appear to be missing, in June 1984, with Scheduled Monument Consent, a small trench was excavated at TG 2388 0395 to establish the line of the wall and to record its construction and survival. This trench was at the same point as Baggs' Trench 6 (Fig.33).

The *temenos* wall was exposed precisely on the line planned by Baggs. It was 75cm wide, and survived to a height of 46cm, being built of irregular courses of large flint nodules, some of which were broken (but not dressed), with occasional large chalk blocks, particularly at the base, set in a soft yellow mortar made with coarse aggregate. At the base of the ploughsoil, a scatter of tile lay on what appeared to be the old ground surface, and the wall had been robbed in antiquity down to that level, leaving only the foundation exposed here, which rested on a yellowish-brown sandy gravel subsoil (Pl.XVIII).

Finds from this trench consist of a quantity of building materials, including one *tessera*, fragments of *imbrices*, *tegulae* and unidentifiable tiles. None of these had any traces of mortar adhering, so they had not been used in the wall as bonding courses, like those found *in situ* in the foundation for the gateway. Thirty-two sherds of pottery were recovered, of second/third century date. (NCM acc. no. 179.985 (2)).

3. Site 9787/c3 (1956)

In 1956, part of a flint wall and Roman sherds were found at c. TG 2395 0399 (Site 9787/c3; Fig. 31). No details of this wall were recorded, and its alignment is uncertain, but it is possible that this was the north wall of the *temenos*. On Figure 31, where this wall is shown, the cropmark which seems to indicate the line of the wall on the north and east sides (stippled) is a few metres to the north of this point. A close examination of the aerial photograph (Pl. XIV) may suggest an explanation of this. Just south of the dark cropmark, and running along its southern edge is a faint, narrow parch-mark. This parch-mark is possibly the line of the wall, and is much closer to the line of the wall seen in 1956. The more obvious broader, dark cropmark might therefore be the line of a ditch running around the outside of the *temenos* wall.

4. Site 20602 (Mottram 1957)

In 1957, during the excavation of the temple site, Mottram also opened a single trench (No.9) in Friston or Frozen Field, south of the temple and on the other side of Caistor Lane (Fig.31). This seems to have been an attempt to locate the southern side of the *temenos*.

The trench was c. 12m long (north to south) and c. 75cm wide. Its northern end was c. 6m south of the southern edge of Caistor Lane. The wall does not appear to have been located.

5. Site 20901 (Gurney 1984-5)

In November 1984, the field to the south of Caistor Lane (known as Friston or Frozen Field) was subsoiled, and the farmer, Mr C.Skinner reported hitting a possible wall. The field surface was examined, and an east to west scatter of flints and mortar was observed (Fig. 31; Site 20901/c1).

In September 1985, the opportunity was taken of excavating a narrow trench in this area to determine the line of the wall more precisely (Fig. 31; Site 20901/c2). A ridge of tightly packed flints with some tile fragments was found c. 33m south of the edge of Caistor Lane, and this seemed to run from east to west. None of the flints were mortared, and there was no sign of a foundation trench, the flints being embedded in, and resting on, the surface of the boulder clay subsoil. Above this flint ridge, the ploughsoil contained far more flints and tile fragments

than elsewhere in the trench. While the evidence is not totally conclusive, it seems probable that the ridge of flints in this trench, almost exactly on the predicted wall line, represents the badly plough-damaged base of the foundation of the *temenos* wall. Elsewhere in Friston Field the wall should be much better preserved, buried below a metre or more of topsoil due to colluviation.

A second trench (Fig. 31; Site 20901/c3) 5m to the west failed to locate the possible wall-line. At the northern end of this trench, due west of the ridge of flints in the main trench, there was a deep pit or ditch. There were no finds from this feature.

IV. Other Buildings Inside The *Temenos*

A. An ancillary building

(Fig. 31; Pl.XIV)

This is a substantial masonry building (Site 9787/c5; Fig. 31) within the *temenos* at c. TG 2402 0395 (centred), first seen as a cropmark (Pl.XIV), and more recently, clearly visible on the ground as a dense scatter of building materials. Fieldwalking in May 1984 recovered 85.5kg of building materials from an area of 600 square metres. The materials recovered suggest that the walls were built of flints in mortar, with a tiled roof of *imbrices* and *tegulae*, and that there was at least one floor composed of red brick *tesserae*. The high density of building materials is in sharp contrast to the amount of domestic occupation debris recovered. Only thirty-four fragments of pottery were recovered, with small numbers of oyster shells, iron nails and animal bones. The only small finds of note were part of a shale armet and a fragment of flat tile with part of a letter M in low relief stamped on it (NCM acc.no. 179.985 (1)).

The building is situated approximately 40m north-east of the Romano-Celtic temple, on the slightly lower ground just below the 50ft contour towards the north-east corner of the *temenos*. Its dimensions are approximately 35m long by 15m wide, with the long axis of the building aligned east to west. The eastern end of the building is roughly parallel to the east side of the *temenos*, but the building is on a different alignment from that of the temple (Fig. 31).

The cropmarks are sufficiently clear (Pl.XIV) for the plan of the building to be described. On the south side, a corridor appears to run the full length of the building, and this continues along the west side where it borders a large square room. In the centre of the building there are a number of smaller rooms, while at the east end, another large room, possibly with some internal subdivisions, may mirror that at the west end.

B. A possible circular or apsidal building

(Figs. 31, 33)

In 1950, a length of curved walling (Site 9787/c6) was reported by workmen at c. TG 2391 0391 during the construction of Nos 5-6 Old Church Close. A plan in Norwich Castle Museum shows a curved wall under the houses, but this is probably schematic, so its diameter cannot be estimated. This site of this curved masonry wall is immediately inside the gateway, which is approximately 24m to the west. The report by the workmen does not appear to have been confirmed by Clarke, or by any of the other excavators working on the site in 1950.

V. The Excavated Artefacts

Introduction

In this section, the finds from the three principal excavations are catalogued. The finds from the Romano-Celtic temple, excavated by Mottram in 1957 are NCM acc. no. 19.957, the finds from the gateway excavations by Knocker and Hughes in 1950 are NCM acc. no. 104.950, and the finds from the trenches across the *temenos* wall by Baggs in 1956 are NCM acc. no. 12.956.

All in all, the finds contribute little to our knowledge of the site for two principal reasons. Firstly, in all three excavations, finds were generally only recovered from the topsoil or from disturbed layers, and there is only a single securely-stratified and dateable artefact. This is the coin (No. 3) of Constantine I from the foundation trench for the west wall of the ambulatory of the temple, but even this, in soft sand, was regarded by the excavator as being possibly intrusive. Of the remaining finds from the temple, the largest proportion came from outside the temple structure, and need bear no relation to the periods in which the temple was built, used or demolished; the interior of the *temenos* contains a number of pottery scatters (Fig. 31). Similarly, the finds from the gateway and *temenos* wall trenches do not derive from layers to which any stratigraphic significance can be attached, and close dating of these structures is consequently impossible.

Secondly, and perhaps surprisingly, the finds in no way betray the function of the site, and there is nothing among the finds from the excavations or from other sources (Appendix I) of a possible religious or votive nature. Of the finds which may be of religious significance from the parish of Caistor St. Edmund (see Appendix III), none come from the site considered here.

Few coins were recovered during the excavations, although a recent metal detector survey described briefly in Appendix IV has recovered a significant number of coins from the area of the *temenos*.

Coins

(not illustrated)

1. Carausius. *Antoninianus*. LVCIS REDVX. AD 287-293. S.F.23. Mottram 1957, from external rubble to west of temple (Fig. 31).
2. Unidentifiable radiate. Third century. S.F.89. Mottram 1957, Trench 2.
3. Constantine I. *Follis* SOL INVICTO COMITI. AD 306-318. S.F.119. Mottram 1957, from the construction trench for the west wall of the temple ambulatory (Fig. 31).
4. Vespasian, Titus or Domitian. *As*. Illegible. AD 69-96. Baggs 1956, Trench 3.
5. House of Constantine. FEL TEMP REPARATIO irregular. AD 348-360. Baggs 1956, Trench 2.
6. Domitian. *As*. FORTVNAE AVGVSTI SC. AD 87. Baggs 1956, Trench, 7.

For other coin finds from Old Church Close and the scheduled area to 1984 see Appendix II. An interim account of the results of a metal detector survey of the site in 1985 is given in Appendix IV.

Copper alloy objects

(Fig. 35)

7. ?*Necklet*. Approximately one-third of the circumference of a flattened ring with a diameter of c. 12cm survives. When found, this was bent in half, but is illustrated in what is taken to be its original shape. The outer surface is decorated with a series of diagonal grooves, and a zone of at least seven closely-spaced transverse grooves. Close parallels are lacking, but a similar object was found in Grave 13 of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Caistor St. Edmund (Myres and Green 1973, 223 and fig. 61) S.F.128. Mottram 1957, Trench 2.

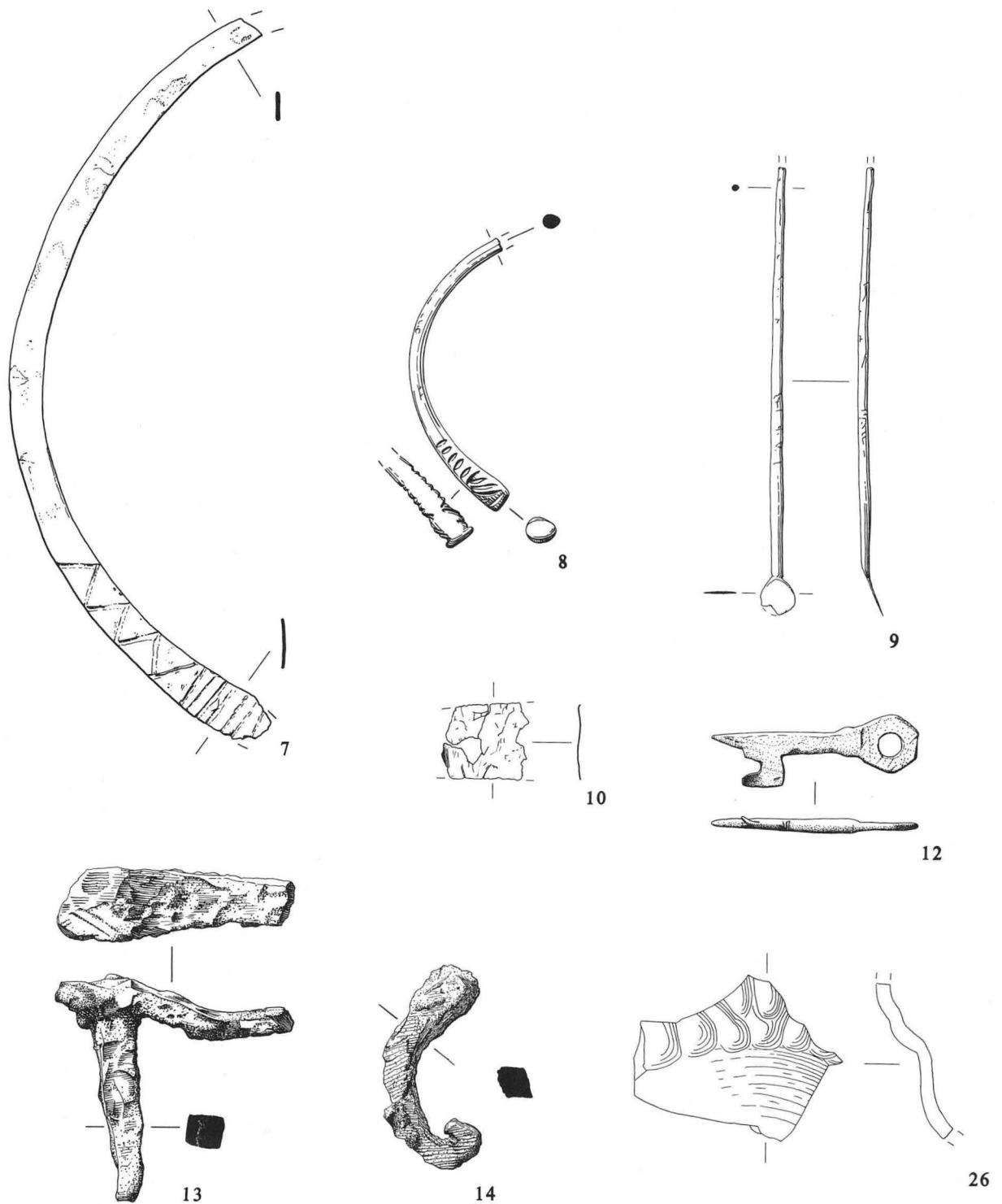


Fig. 35 Caistor St. Edmund: the small finds; Nos 7-10 and 12 copper alloy; Nos 13-14 iron; No. 26 glass. Scale 1:1

8. **Penannular ring**, probably part of a bracelet. The ring has an oval section, gradually thickening towards the terminal. The terminal has a plain end face, followed by a bulbous section with helical grooving on the sides. Next to that the sides of the ring are decorated with five grooves.

The axis of the ring is at right angles to the one normal for penannular brooches, and the wear is not conformable with the use of the item as a brooch (D.F.Mackreth pers. comm.). Penannular bracelets with side-only decoration are known from Colchester (H.E.M.Cool pers. comm.), but these are much larger than this example. If this object is a bracelet, rather than a brooch, as certainly suggested by its wear, then it is a rare type. S.F. 99. Mottram 1957, Trench 3.

9. **Ligula**, with a flat spatulate disc end. The shank is circular in section, tapering towards a broken point.

S.F. 79. Mottram 1957, Trench 3.

10. Two joining fragments of very thin **sheet**, perforated by an irregular hole.

S.F. 11. Mottram 1957, Trench 1.

11. (Not illustrated) Fragment of **speculum mirror**.

S.F. 111. Mottram 1957, Trench 3.

12. **Small key**.

Baggs 1956, topsoil find.

Iron objects

(Fig. 35)

13. **Iron strip** perforated by a **nail**. Possibly part of a joiner's dog. S.F. 103. Mottram 1957, Trench 3.
14. **Curved rod**, terminating in a small hook. Probably part of a small handle. S.F. 132. Mottram 1957, Trench 3.
15. (*Not illustrated*) Eleven **nail** fragments. Mottram 1957, Trench 1.
16. (*Not illustrated*) **Nail** fragment. Mottram 1957, Trench 2.
17. (*Not illustrated*) Seven **nail** fragments. Mottram 1957, Trench 3.
18. (*Not illustrated*) **Nail** fragment. Mottram 1957, Trench 1.

Of the nails recovered, most are corroded and fragmentary. The majority appear to have had flat circular heads (within the diameter range 15-24 mm) and square-sectioned shanks, and to have been quite short. (c. 30 mm). Seven of the nails are longer, with an estimated length of c. 90 mm.

The slag

(not illustrated)

19. Small piece of **fuel ash slag**. S.F. 68. Mottram 1957, Trench 2.

Flint

(not illustrated)

20. Naturally rounded flint **pebble**, possibly from the cobble floor of the ambulatory. Diam. 35 mm. S.F. 20. Mottram 1957, Trench 1.
21. **Hammerstone**. S.F. 20. Mottram 1957, Trench 1.

The quern

(not illustrated)

22. **Rotary quern** fragment. Millstone grit. Burnt. Max. th. 50 mm. (identified by David Buckley). Knocker and Hughes 1950, Trench E.

Glass

(Fig. 35)

by Jennifer Price and H.E.M.Cool

23. (*Not illustrated*) Base fragment of a **jug, flask** or **bowl**. Blue/green glass with occasional small bubbles; iridescent surfaces. Side curving into flat base. S.F. 111. Mottram 1957, Trench 3.
24. (*Not illustrated*) Six body fragments from a **jug** or **flask**. Pale blue/green glass with some small bubbles; iridescent surfaces. Tooling at neck/shoulder junction. S.F. 104, 113. Mottram 1957, Trench 3.
25. (*Not illustrated*) Body fragment of a **hexagonal bottle**. Pale blue/green glass with small bubbles. Parts of two flat sides with 60° change of angle. S.F. 135. Mottram 1957, Trench 7. Also two blue/green body fragments; S.F. 135, Trench 7, and S.F. 68, Trench 2.
26. Body fragment. Mould blown. Pale yellow/green with many small bubbles. Two convex-curved areas with abrupt horizontal change of angle at their junction. The upper area has two horizontal rows of vertical ovals, the lower area is plain.

This fragment probably comes from a mould blown **flask** or **jug** in the form of a human head (Isings Form 78a). These were made in a variety of forms and face types (see for example Kisa 1908, Abb. 295-305; Morin Jean 1913, figs 208-210; Fremersdorf 1961, Tafn 104 and 106-108) and could either be single- or double-faced. Examples with four faces like the one in the Newark, New Jersey museum (Auth 1976, no. 76) are very rare. The fragment from Caistor seems most likely to have come from the part of the vessel where the hair meets the nape of the neck, and thus must have come from a single faced vessel.

These flasks are primarily a late Roman form although single-faced negro-head beakers like the ones found at Caerleon and London were in use in the first century (Price 1974, 292). The very bubbly glass of the Caistor fragment points to a late Roman date. Other late

mould blown face vessels have only occasionally been noted from Romano-British sites, although they are not uncommon in the Rhineland and Gaul. The ones from British sites include a dark blue fragment from the late third and fourth century occupation at Portchester (Harden 1975, fig. 197, no. 5) and a colourless base from a late fourth century deposit at Shakenoak (Harden 1973, fig. 52, no. 201). S.F. 104. Mottram 1957, Trench 3.

Comment

Nos 23-25 are undiagnostic fragments, the colour of which would suggest a date in the first- to third-century range. No. 26 is probably fourth-century.

Pottery

(Fig. 36)

Introduction

As noted above, the finds from the excavations of the temple, the gateway and the wall were virtually all from the ploughsoil or disturbed layers. There were no sealed groups of pottery or pit groups, and the pottery from the temple was mostly recovered from an area to the west of the structure. It is consequently impossible to use the pottery to date any of the three principle structures.

Small amounts of samian and mortaria were recovered. The samian includes two stamps which are reported on by Brenda Dickinson, followed by a list of plain forms represented. No decorated sherds were recovered. The mortaria were all from the lower Nene valley or the Oxford region, and all came from the gateway, Trench E. Of the other pottery, the catalogued and illustrated vessels are a representative selection of the total collection, giving some idea of the range of fabrics and forms represented. Non-micaceous grey wares account for the bulk of the collection (approximately three-quarters by weight) with small quantities of colour-coated wares (mostly lower Nene valley) and oxidised wares. Shell- or calcite-gritted wares appear to be absent. A number of vessels from the temple with stamped or incised decoration are similar to products from West Stow (Suffolk), and are probably of late first or early second century date.

Looking at the pottery as a whole, a starting date in the late first or early second century may be suggested, and a terminal date in the mid-fourth century is indicated by the mortaria, and also by the coins (Appendix II). It should be emphasised however that the pottery evidence is far from adequate as far as reliable dating is concerned, no close dating of the principal structural components of the site can be proposed, and only the broadest conclusions can be reached from the available collections.

Samian

Stamps

(not illustrated)

by Brenda Dickinson

1. Form 15/17 or 18, stamped $\overline{\text{OFPO}}\overline{\text{NTHL}}$ or $\overline{\text{OFPO}}\overline{\text{NTHL}}$ by Pontheus of La Graufesenque, where the die is known to have been used. Stamps from the complete die (1a), with full initial O occur on form 29, and at Hofheim and Inchtuthil. There is an example from the broken die (1a), at the main site at Corbridge. There is no way of telling whether the Caistor stamp comes from the full or broken die, but it must fall within the range c. AD 75-90. Knocker and Hughes 1950, from topsoil.
2. Two joining base sherds of form 18/31, stamped $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{OSMINIM}}$. This is die 2a of Cosminus of Lezoux, where the die is known to have been used. It is also recorded from within the Roman town of *Venta Icenorum* (NCM acc. no. 152.929, Pit 13, S6). c. AD 125-150. S.F. 92. Mottram 1957, Trench 3.

Plain forms represented

(not illustrated)

3. Form 27, South Gaulish.
S.F. 92. Mottram 1957, Trench 3.
4. Form 33, East Gaulish.
S.F. 92, 104. Mottram 1957, Trench 3.
5. Form 33, South Gaulish.
S.F. 76. Mottram 1957, Trench 3.
6. Form 33, Central Gaulish.
S.F. 112. Mottram 1957, Trench 3.
7. Form 18, South Gaulish.
Knocker and Hughes 1950, from topsoil.
8. Dish or bowl, South Gaulish.
Knocker and Hughes 1950, Trench E.
9. Form 18/31, Central Gaulish.
Baggs 1956, Trench 1.
10. Form 18/31, East Gaulish.
Baggs 1956, Trench 1.
11. Form 18/31R, Central Gaulish.
Baggs 1956, Trench 3.
12. Form 18/31 or 18, South Gaulish.
Baggs 1956, Trench 3.
13. Form 31R, Central Gaulish.
Baggs 1956, Trench 3.
14. Form 33, East Gaulish.
Baggs 1956, Trench 10.
15. Form 18/31 Central Gaulish.
Baggs 1956, Trench 10.
16. Form 18, South Gaulish.
Baggs 1956, Trench 10.
17. Dish or bowl, South Gaulish.
Baggs 1956, Trench 10.
18. Form 18/31 or 18/31R, Central Gaulish.
Baggs 1956, Trench 10.
19. Bowl, South Gaulish.
Baggs 1956, Trench 10.

Mortaria

(Fig. 36)

by Kay Hartley

20. (*Not illustrated*) A slightly concave, reeded hammerhead mortarium in a hard, drab, buff-cream fabric fired to brownish-pink at the surface; a few ill-sorted quartz, red-brown and iron-rich inclusions; no trituration survives. The profile is typical of mortaria made in the Castor-Stibbington area of the lower Nene valley; the fabric is not the most common one associated with these potteries, but it can be matched with mortaria found there. Probably third- rather than fourth-century. For a parallel from Brancaster, see Hartley 1985, fig. 66, no. 182.1.
Knocker and Hughes 1950, Trench E.
21. (*Not illustrated*) Fine-textured, slightly micaceous red-brown fabric with grey core and thin white slip; trituration consists entirely of mixed pink, brown and transparent quartz. This fabric was produced in workshops at Dorchester, Cowley, Sandford and Baldon etc., in or near Oxford (Young 1977). Young type WC7. AD 240-400.
Knocker and Hughes 1950, Trench E.
22. (*Not illustrated*) A reeded, near wall-sided mortarium in hard brownish-cream fabric with red-brown inclusions; no trituration survives. Probably made at a workshop in the Castor-Stibbington area of the lower Nene valley, but not in the common fabric associated with these potteries. Late third- or fourth-century.
Knocker and Hughes 1950, Trench E.
23. Burnt, reeded, near wall-sided mortarium in similar fabric to No. 22 but more greyish; one haematite trituration grit survives and there are traces of a brownish slip. Probably fourth century. Lower Nene valley.
Knocker and Hughes 1950, Trench E.
24. (*Not illustrated*) Footring from Young Type C97-100. Fabric and origin as No. 21, but with a red-brown colour-coat. AD 240-400.
Knocker and Hughes 1950, Trench E.
25. (*Not illustrated*) A burnt fragment from a mortarium similar in form to No. 22. Fabric as No. 20, but some ironstone trituration survives. It is entirely in the lower Nene valley tradition, but the rough close-packing of the trituration grit is unusual in a coarseware mortarium. Late third- or fourth-century.
Knocker and Hughes 1950, from topsoil.
26. (*Not illustrated*) Young Type WC7. AD 240-400. Fabric as No. 21. Knocker and Hughes 1950, from topsoil.

Comment

Of the seven-mortaria represented in this sample, none are earlier than the third century and none is from any source in East Anglia. Four are from the lower Nene valley (surprisingly they are all atypical in some way), and three dated AD 250-400 are from the Oxford potteries. The sources are typical for a site in Norfolk in this period.

Other pottery

(Fig. 36)

Nos 27-43; from the temple (Mottram 1957)

27. **Beaker.** Grey ware.
S.F. 81, Trench 3.
 28. **Beaker.** Grey ware. Two sherds. Barbotine dot decoration.
S.F. 99, Trench 3.
 29. **Beaker.** Grey ware. Two sherds. Burnished lattice decoration.
S.F. 111, Trench 3.
 30. **Beaker.** Grey ware.
S.F. 111, Trench 3.
 31. **Jar.** Grey Ware.
S.F. 99, Trench 3.
 32. **Jar.** Grey ware.
S.F. 112, Trench 3.
 33. **Jar.** Grey ware. Burnished lines on the neck.
Trench 3.
 34. **Jar.** Grey ware. Twelve sherds. Burnished wavy line decoration.
S.F. 111, 112, Trench 3.
 35. **Shallow bowl.** Hard smooth pale brown fabric.
S.F. 65, Trench 2.
 36. **Flanged bowl.** Nene Valley Colour-Coated Ware. Two sherds. Off-white with a reddish-brown colour-coat.
S.F. 120, 132, Trench 8.
 37. **Bowl.** Grey ware. Four sherds. Burnished acute lattice.
S.F. 99, Trench 3.
 38. **Lid.** Grey ware. Two sherds.
S.F. 99, Trench 3.
 39. Body sherd with applied skeuomorphic ring-handle. Grey fabric with reddish-yellow surfaces.
S.F. 100, Trench 1.
 40. Body sherd with rusticated decoration. Grey ware. The style of rustication is not the "Icenian" variety with oblique rusticated lines (Swan 1981), but consists of small raised nodular "spidery" rustication (cf. Atkinson 1936, S7).
S.F. 99, Trench 3.
 41. Body sherd, probably from a **bowl** imitating samian form 30. Black fabric with dark grey surfaces, burnished externally and with incised decoration.
S.F. 112, Trench 3.
 42. Body sherd, probably from a **bowl** imitating samian form 30. Reddish-brown fabric with dark grey surfaces. Decorated with a vertical row of at least three double-ring stamps. Possibly West Stow Ware (cf. West 1952, fig. 10). Late first to early second century.
S.F. 92, Trench 3.
 43. Footring and base with part of the lower wall, probably from a **bowl** imitating samian form 37. Twenty-six sherds. Reddish-brown fabric with dark grey surfaces. The surviving part of the lower wall is decorated with vertical combing. Possibly West Stow Ware (cf. West 1952, fig. 10).
S.F. 90, 92, 99, Trench 3.
- #### Nos 44-53; from the gateway (Knocker and Hughes 1950)
44. **Beaker.** Cornice rim. Orangy-red fabric with a dark brown colour-coat. Two body sherds (not illustrated) in the same fabric with roughcast decoration probably come from the same vessel. Second century.
Topsoil.
 45. **Miniature bowl.** Oxford red colour-coated ware; Young 1977, Type C51. Late third to early fourth century.
Topsoil.
 46. **Flanged bowl,** imitating samian form 38. Oxford red colour-coated ware. Young 1977, Type C51. Late third to early fourth century.
Topsoil.
 47. Body sherd, probably from a **bowl** imitating samian form 37. Brown fabric with black burnished surfaces; ?West Stow Ware. Decorated with incised compass-drawn semi-circles and vertical bands of combed lines. Late first to early second century.
Topsoil.
 48. **Bowl** with high bead and flange rim. Stabbed decoration on the flange. Red fabric with dark grey surfaces. Third century.
Topsoil.

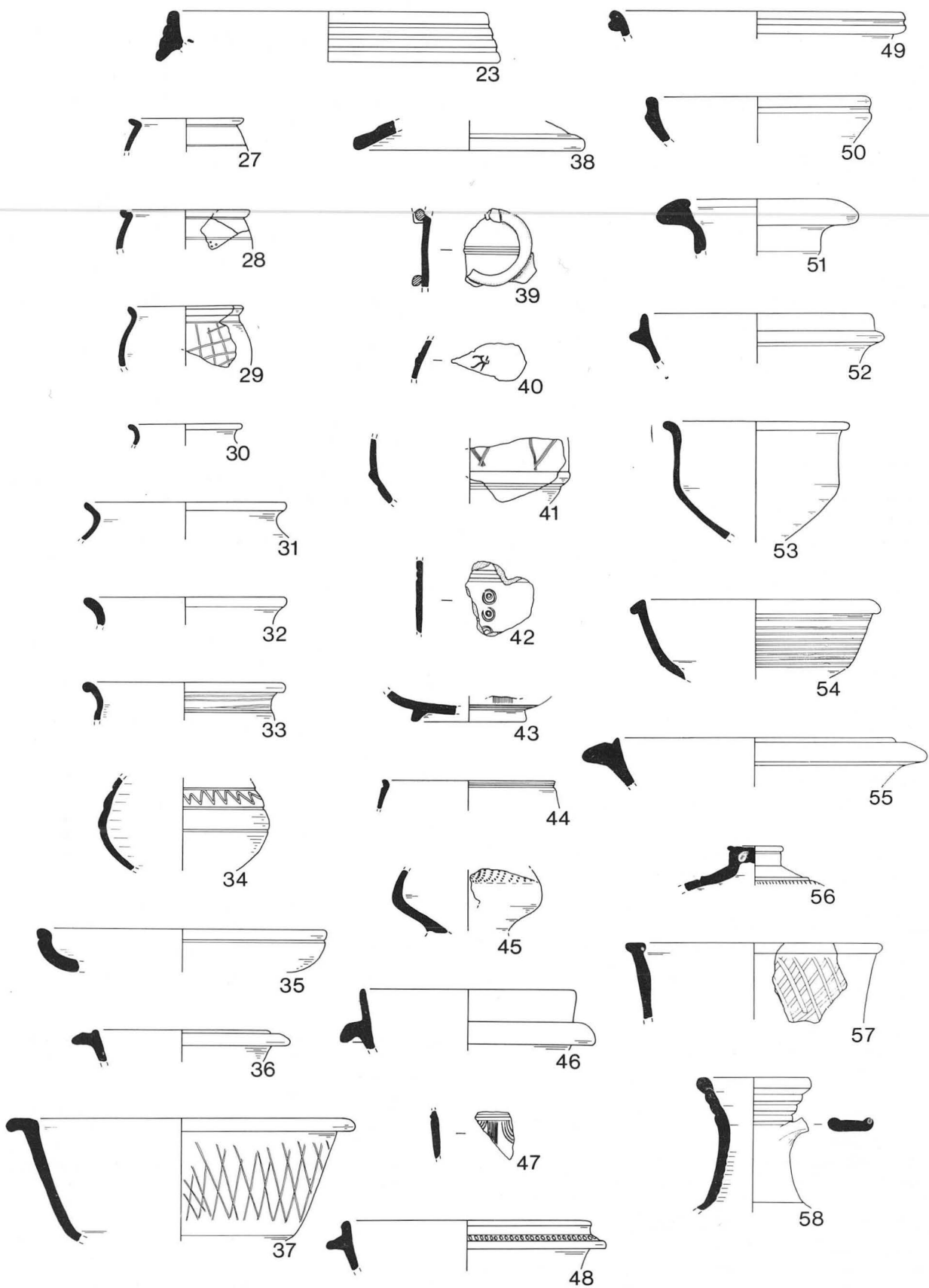


Fig. 36 Caistor St. Edmund: the pottery. Mortarium No. 23 (gateway); other pottery, Nos 27-43 (temple), Nos 44-53 (gateway) and Nos 54-58 (temenos wall). Scale 1:4

49. **Bowl** with grooved rim. Grey ware.
Topsoil.
50. **Bowl** with a groove below the rim. Grey ware. Late third or fourth century.
Topsoil.
51. **Flagon**. Cream fabric. Early second century.
Trench E.
52. **Flanged bowl**. Grey ware.
Trench E.
53. **Bowl**. Grey ware. ?Early second century.
Trench E.

Nos 54-58; from the *temenos* wall trenches (Baggs 1956)

54. **Bowl**. Grey ware. Burnished horizontal line decoration.
Trench 9.
55. **Flanged bowl**. Nene Valley Colour-Coated Ware. White with a brown colour-coat. Fourth century.
Trench 9.
56. **Lid**. Colour-coated ware; not Nene Valley. Greyish fabric with an orangy-brown colour-coat (cf. Atkinson 1936, W18). Boxes and lids were produced in colour-coated wares at some East Anglian kiln sites; see Smedley and Owles 1960, fig. 39, a.b.c. ?Third century.
Trench 22.
57. **Deep bowl**. Grey ware. Burnished lattice decoration.
Trench 10.
58. **Single-handled flagon**. Fine off-white fabric. ?Second century.
Trench 10.

Tiles

(not illustrated)

The tiles recovered from the temple (Mottram 1957) consist of twenty-four fragments, mostly from the west of Trench 1, Trench 2 and Trench 3. This collection includes three *tegula* fragments, five *imbrex* fragments and one piece of tile with a vitrified "glaze"-like surface, which had clearly been exposed to intense heat (S.F. 142, Trench 8). The amount of tile recovered (or retained) from the temple excavation is very small if the temple had a tiled roof.

The tiles from the excavation of the gateway (Knocker and Hughes 1950) consist of four fragments, two of which are from *imbrices*, and two complete flat tiles from the upper tile bonding course, measuring c. 43 cm x 28 cm x 3 cm (Lydion) (Fig. 34).

Tesserae

(not illustrated)

A total of four hundred and fifty-four *tesserae* were collected from the temple site (Mottram 1957), and four types are represented:-

- Type A*; off-white in colour, made from very hard chalk. The more regular examples are c. 13 mm cubed. A total of 380 were found.
- Type B*; dark grey in colour, made from a very fine-grained limestone. Size as Type A. Fifty-two were found.
- Type C*; dark grey limestone as Type B, but larger size, c. 30 mm x 30 mm x 17 mm. A single example of this type was found.
- Type D*; red fired clay. Size as Type C. Twenty-one were found.

It is clear from the distribution of the *tesserae* that considerable disturbance of the temple floors had taken place, probably as a result of both demolition of the structure in antiquity and ploughing. Large numbers of *tesserae* were recovered from the western end of Trench 1 in the ploughsoil and rubble layer to the west of the temple, and from Trenches 2 and 3.

Inside the *cella*, 121 *tesserae* of Type A and 31 of Type B were found *in situ* against the north wall (Fig. 32, S.F. 124, Trench 5) and it is therefore possible to suggest that the *cella* floor was composed at least in part of these small white and dark grey *tesserae*, perhaps with one colour as a border or in a decorative pattern. A further 78 *tesserae* of Type A and 10 of Type B were found in the south-west corner of the *cella* (S.F. 130, 136, Trench 6).

The Type D *tesserae* were mostly found scattered throughout Trench 1 to the west of the temple. Five were

found in the south-west corner of the *cella*. None were found *in situ*, and the suggestion by the excavator that the floor of the ambulatory may have been composed of *tesserae* of this type cannot be sustained. In Trenches 4 and 5, the ambulatory appears to have been floored with rounded flint cobbles.

The *tesserae* of dark grey limestone (Type B and C) may have been made from erratics, while the chalk *tesserae* (Type A), surprisingly hard when compared to the Upper "Beeston" Chalk which outcrops locally, may if they do not come from harder chalk measures elsewhere, come from post-cretaceous solution pipes, the presence of which has been recorded at the Caistor St. Edmund chalk quarry only 730 m (800 yd) north of the temple site. In these, the chalk can be rendered almost marble-hard by the infilling of the interstices normally present with calcium carbonate (Peake and Hancock 1970, 317-320). Cutting chalk to the size of these *tesserae* would not have been an easy task. They do not appear to have been sawn, and the edges suggest that they were cut to size by fracture. The chalk would probably have been somewhat softer when freshly quarried.

If, as seems probable, the interior of the *cella* was floored with small white and dark grey *tesserae* (Types A and B), the number of *tesserae* of this size, c. 13 mm cubed required to floor the whole of the *cella*, allowing for the mortar between them, is calculated as being in excess of 317,000. The production of *tesserae* on this scale represents a considerable expenditure of labour.

Chalk *tesserae* were also employed inside the town of *Venta Icenorum* (NCM acc. no. 152.929), while in west Norfolk, two villas on the junction of the hard Lower Chalk with the greensand appear to have included chalk *tesserae* in their floors (Gayton Thorpe; Atkinson 1929, 179 and 189. Grimston; Laver 1907, 222).

Mortar

(not illustrated)

Small quantities of coarse unfaced white mortar lumps were recovered from both the gateway, Trench E (Knocker and Hughes 1950) and from the temple (Mottram 1957), presumably deriving from the foundation of the gateway and the temple walls respectively.

Painted wall plaster

(not illustrated)

Forty pieces of painted wall plaster were recovered from the temple (Mottram 1957). Twenty-four of these are painted red, five are dark red, three are brownish-yellow and two are black. Of the remaining six pieces, three are brownish-red with a dark red line up to 7 mm wide, one is red with an unidentifiable white and yellow motif, one piece is half black and half white, and one piece is brownish-yellow and dark red with an unidentifiable red motif. These pieces are scattered throughout the ambulatory and outside the temple, and only one piece, black in colour, was found inside the *cella*, in the south-west corner.

It is not possible to suggest on the available evidence which walls of the temple were plastered, nor to suggest with any certainty the arrangement of the various colour represented. It is possible that the predominant colour was red, perhaps surrounded by a black, brownish-yellow and white border.

VI. Zoological Evidence

Animal bone

(not illustrated)

A first phalanx of a cow was found at the gateway, Trench E (Knocker and Hughes 1950). The animal bone from the temple site (Mottram 1957) consists of a small ploughsoil collection, the species represented being horse, dog, pig, cow and sheep/goat (identified by Diana Smith).

Mollusca

(not illustrated)

A small collection of hand-picked shells was retained from the temple site (Mottram 1957). These (identified by Charles French) are as follows:-

Ostrea edulis L. (oyster) (4 valves; S.F. 39, 76, 79 and 132)

Helix aspersa Müller (garden snail) (3; S.F. 39, 52 and 128)

Cepaea hortensis Müller (1; S.F. 32)

Some temple sites have massive concentrations of marine shells (see for example Lancing Down; Bedwin 1981, 54), and these may have been linked with ritual activities.

VII. Discussion

The Romano-Celtic temple

The temple is situated in a prominent position within the *temenos*, but does not appear to be central to it. The temple does not appear to be aligned with the gateway on the west side of the *temenos* (Fig.31), but it is possibly aligned with an irregularity in the cropmark on the east side of the *temenos*, where, it is suggested below, there might be a second entrance. If this is the case, then the temple would presumably have faced east, a common feature of the Romano-Celtic temple. No evidence was found to suggest the position of the entrance into the temple, but on the east side of the temple, the ambulatory wall was only exposed at two places near the corners (Fig. 32; Trenches 1 and 8), and while the full length of the *cella* wall was traced in Trench 7, only its outer edge was excavated, and evidence of an entrance through this wall would therefore almost certainly have been missed.

The plan of the temple follows, in all but one respect, the usual concentric square arrangement of temples of this type. The problem of the alignment of the west wall of the ambulatory has been noted above and while the original site plan has been faithfully reproduced, this must be open to question. The *cella* and ambulatory walls on the north and east sides are parallel, but on both sides the alignment was obtained from at least two widely-spaced points. In Trench 1, the only place where the west wall of the ambulatory was exposed, the alignment might easily have been wrongly planned in a trench only 1.5m wide. On the north and east sides of the temple, the ambulatory was approximately 2.75m wide, and this width is close to the width of the ambulatory on the west side as shown on the section along Trench 1 (Fig. 32 section 1). The width as shown on the plan is approximately 3.35m. Given the evidence of the section, which would suggest that the width of the ambulatory on the west side is the same as that on the north and east sides, *i.e.* 2.75m, it can reasonably be assumed that the plan is probably wrong.

Including the temple considered here, there are four masonry Romano-Celtic temples of concentric - square plan which have been excavated in Norfolk (Fig.29). Comparative plans of these are shown in Figure 37. On this figure, A and B are the two temples in *Insula IX* of the walled area of *Venta Icenorum* (Site 9786) (shown in their relative positions) excavated by Atkinson (1930, 98-105; cf. Lewis 1966, 1 and fig. 4 (Caister 1), Rodwell 1980, 561; Lewis 1966, 1 and fig. 5 (Caister 2), Rodwell 1980, 561). The dates of these temples were not established with any degree of certainty, but it was the excavator's opinion that they dated to the period AD 170-220. Temple C is at Crownthorpe, (Site 8897) near Wymondham, approximately 15 km to the west of Caistor

St. Edmund (Fig. 29) and this was partly excavated in 1959 by D.R.Howlett. A manuscript report of the excavation is in Norwich Castle Museum (cf. *Norfolk Research Committee Bulletin* 12 (1959), 2; *J. Roman Stud.* L (1960), 227-8; Lewis 1966, 2 and fig. 13; Rodwell 1980, 563).

Other temples of the same type can be suggested from the evidence of aerial photographs, but only one of these will be referred to here. This is just south of the walled area of *Venta Icenorum*, where a regular square cropmark approximately 9m square may be a temple (Horne 1977, 18 and fig. 10). If the identification of this is correct, then this would be a second suburban Romano-Celtic temple.

The two temples in rural, semi-rural or suburban locations (Crownthorpe, Site 8897 and Caistor St. Edmund Site 9787/c1) (Fig. 37, C and D) are very similar in size, in contrast to the two "urban" temples within the walled area of *Venta Icenorum* (Site 9786; Fig. 37, A and B), which are considerably smaller. There does not appear to be any relationship between the date of temples and their size (Lewis 1966, 25), and large and small temples occur in urban and rural situations with apparently equal frequency. The actual choice of location may however be related to date, as during the third century there appears to be a trend towards the construction of new Romano-Celtic temples in rural or semi-rural locations (Lewis 1966, 52; Horne 1981, 21).

All four temples described above exhibit a similar plan. This consists of a central *cella*, surrounded by an ambulatory or portico. Lewis (1966) suggested three possible models for the hypothetical reconstruction of such temples;

- I. *Tower type.* The *cella* rises above the ambulatory and has its own roof.
- II. *All-over roof type.* *Cella* and ambulatory are under a single roof.
- III. *Open cella type.* The ambulatory is roofed around the *cella* which is open to the sky.

These reconstructions are fully discussed by Wilson (1980, 12-14) who makes clear the problems of inferring wall heights and construction from the relative width and depth of foundations, while Muckelroy (1976,180) argues that it should be assumed that temples had solid walls throughout, with the *cella* enclosed by an ambulatory, unless there is clear evidence for a colonnaded portico. The use of partial timber-framing, or walls incorporating niches might well account for considerable variation in wall thickness (Wilson 1980, 13), and in the case of the temples within the Roman town (Fig. 37, A and B) where the walls of Temple B were substantially thicker than those of Temple A, this need not necessarily indicate that B had a more lofty *cella* and perhaps a podium (Atkinson 1930, 104-5).

There is little evidence from the excavated remains of the temple described here to suggest the nature of its superstructure. The walls were built of flints in mortar, and the ambulatory wall had a deep foundation of chalk blocks. Such foundations may have been necessary in the soft sand subsoil, and need not imply that the outer wall had to bear a greater weight than the *cella* wall, where in any case, the depth of the foundation does not appear to have been established. It is possible, on the evidence of the aerial photographs, that the quoins of the temple were

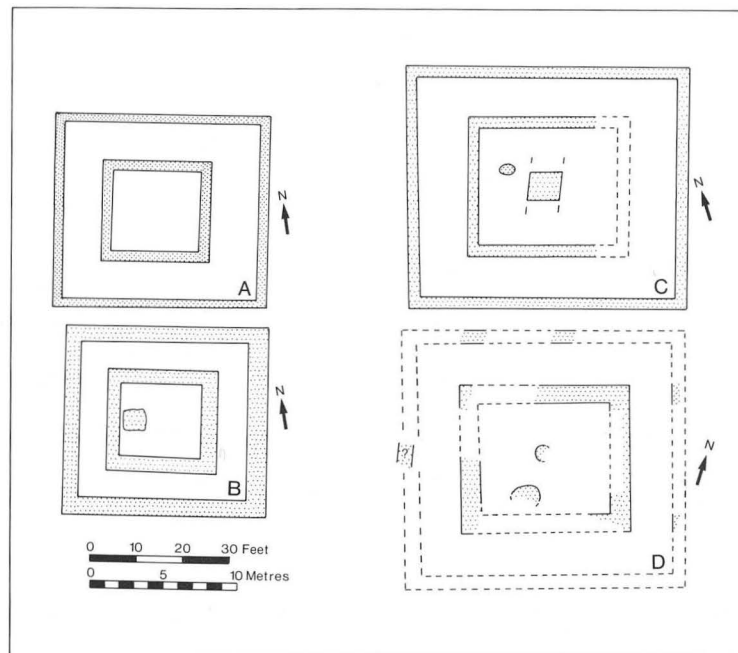


Fig. 37 Comparative plans of excavated masonry Romano-Celtic temples in Norfolk. A and B, the two temples in *Insula IX* of *Venta Icenorum* shown in their relative positions (Site 9786). C, Crownthorpe (Site 8897). D, Caistor St. Edmund (Site 9787). Scale 1:500

built of tiles, as these appear to have been more thoroughly robbed than the walls of the temple. Finds of *tegulae* and *imbrices* might suggest that the temple had a tiled roof.

The floor of the ambulatory was cobbled, with natural rounded flint pebbles set in mortar, while the *cella* appears to have been floored with small white and dark grey *tesserae*. Finds of painted wall plaster suggest that at least some of the walls were so decorated. Few internal features were exposed, but two rubble patches on the floor of the *cella* are probably the bases of altars.

As far as the date of the temple is concerned, there are few finds which are either securely stratified or easily dated. The coin of Constantine I (AD 308-337) from the foundation trench for the ambulatory wall on the west side was regarded by the excavator as possibly being intrusive. The pottery is virtually all from the ploughsoil to the west of the temple structure, and need bear no relation to the period in which the temple was built, used or demolished. While few coins were recovered from the excavations, a large number of coins were found during a recent metal detector survey of the site (Appendix IV gives an interim account of the 1985 findings). The coin histogram which will eventually be prepared will give us a clearer picture of the main periods of activity in this area.

The gateway

The plan of the gateway and the *temenos* wall (Fig. 33) suggests that the mid-line of the gateway foundation corresponded precisely with the line of the *temenos* wall, although when the ends of the gateway were exposed, no sign of the wall was apparent.

The most probable explanation of this foundation is that it was the base of a monumental gateway leading into the *temenos* from the west. No evidence remained above the level of the foundations, and no dressed stonework was recovered, probably due to extensive and thorough

robbing of the superstructure in antiquity. It is possible that other similar entrances may have existed around the circuit of the walls, and the aerial photographs suggest a second entrance on the east side.

Such gateways in the walls of *temenoi* are not unknown from elsewhere. In Lincolnshire, two inscriptions apparently from arches leading to temple sites are known from Ancaster and Nettleham (Wright 1962, 192, nos. 7-8). That from Ancaster records the dedication of an arch to the otherwise unknown god *Viridios* by the Celtic-sounding *Trenico*, while the Nettleham inscription is dedicated to *Mars Rignonemetos* by a donor with a fully Romanised name, reflecting perhaps the difference between a cult-centre associated with the possible *pagus* of Ancaster, and a cult-centre connected with the *colonia* at Lincoln (Whitwell 1982, 144).

At the Romano-Celtic temple site at Woodeaton, Oxon., (Goodchild and Kirk 1954) a gateway leading into the walled *temenos* was smaller than that at Caistor St. Edmund, with a ground plan measuring 1.40m by 6.0m. At each end was a pier, measuring 1.60m by 1.20m, with a single central entrance 2.60m wide. The gateway was bonded into the *temenos* wall on each side.

As far as the reconstruction of the gateway superstructure is concerned, in the absence of close parallels from temple sites, we must look elsewhere for gateways with similar foundations. At *Verulamium* the foundations of the northern monumental arch consisted of a similar solid block of coursed flints in mortar (Frere 1983, 75-82). It measured 2.97m wide and 12.93m long. In width this is very close to that of the gateway into the temple site, which was 3.05m, but the *Verulamium* arch was 1.81m longer. Frere's reconstructions of the *Verulamium* arch (1983, fig.33) include both the possibilities of a single or double arch, but as double arches are rare, the former is the most likely. It seems probable that the archway into the temple site was also a

single arch, and if the proportions of the *Verulamium* reconstruction are followed (based on the arch of Titus, Rome), this would have been *c.* 11 m high (above ground level) with a central arch *c.* 3.5 m wide.

The *temenos* wall

The excavation by Baggs in 1956 established the line of the west wall of the *temenos*, and the wall at context 3 may be the north side. Aerial photographs by the Norfolk Archaeological Unit (TG 2303, AY, ABZ, ABS-T, ACD-T, ACX-Z and ADA-U) (Pl.XIV) provide additional evidence of the wall on the north and east sides.

Baggs demonstrated that the wall ran from Caistor Lane to the south almost as far as the northern boundary of the small field to the north of Old Church Close, tracing its line to Trench 24 (Fig. 33). The wall most probably turns east not far north of this point, suggested by the discovery of a wall at context 3, and the evidence of the aerial photographs. These show what appears to be the north side of the *temenos*, as a wide dark cropmark (?ditch) with a narrow parch-mark on its southern edge (?wall). The wall at context 3 is very close to the line of this parch-mark.

On the aerial photographs (Pl.XIV) the north side of the *temenos* can be traced across the field to the north-east corner of the *temenos* where it turns south and continues across the field almost as far as Caistor Lane. On this side, the cropmark is less regular, and there are slight indications that the dark ?ditch cropmark terminates at a point east of the temple (Fig. 31). This might suggest that there is a second entrance into the *temenos* at this point. Just east of this possible entrance, a second dark cropmark, probably a ditch, appears to run across the possible entrance for a short distance on each side. This might be a later ditch blocking the entrance.

To the south of these features, the line of the east side is unclear, but it does seem to continue south to Caistor Lane. To the south of the road, no cropmarks are visible to suggest the position of the south side of the *temenos*, and a trench by Mottram failed to find the wall on this side. This trench was too far north to locate the wall, the line of which is suggested by a ridge of flints and tile fragments at the base of the ploughsoil *c.* 33 m south of Caistor Lane (Fig. 31; Site 20901/c2).

As noted above, the line of the *temenos* wall is unclear on the aerial photographs to the south of the possible entrance on the east side. There are however other cropmarks in this area of the site, which stand out clearly on darker patches just outside the *temenos*, and which are worth noting at this point (Context 26, Fig. 31; Pl.XIV). They consist of a group of three or four square or rectangular features, possibly in pairs, side by side, separated by a circular ?pit, and to the north-east, on a second darker area, another isolated square or rectangular feature. These can be clearly seen on Plate XIV, where they show as light cropmarks, not due to parching, but a result of earlier crop maturity over subsoil features. In 1959-60 (St. Joseph, YI 72), they were visible as dark positive cropmarks in a less mature crop. They are therefore likely to be large pits of some kind. The interpretation of these features is clearly open to question, but it is not inconceivable that they might be sunken feature buildings of Anglo-Saxon date. There have been several finds of Early Saxon metalwork just north of the temple site (Site 15082), and the cemetery to the east of the Roman town is only *c.* 850 m to the south-west (Myres

and Green 1973, map 1).

The three sides of the *temenos* known from excavation or aerial photographs combined with the flint scatter which is most probably the line of the south wall therefore suggest that the *temenos* is probably near-rectangular in shape, and that the area enclosed is in the region of 2.5 ha (6.3 acres). The shapes, sizes and construction of *temenoi* around Romano-Celtic temples vary considerably, and while the shape is often square or rectangular, irregular and circular or oval examples are also known. At Lancing Down, Sussex, the *temenos* was defined by an oval gully with a maximum diameter of only 40 m (Bedwin 1981, fig. 2), and this must be one of the smallest examples. The *temenos* around the temple on the Sheepen Farm site, Colchester, an area of three acres, was defined by a buttressed masonry wall, 60 cm wide (Hull 1958, 224-233, fig. 106).

An unusual "sanctuary" at Wood Lane End, Hemel Hempstead, consisted of a trapezoidal *temenos*, enclosed on its short sides by buttressed walls, and by ditches on the two longer sides (Neal 1984, 193 and fig. 1).

The *temenos* at Woodeaton appears to have been rectangular in shape, enclosed by a masonry wall 50 cm wide, and with a gate on its eastern side (Goodchild and Kirk 1954). Other Romano-Celtic temples outside towns, and enclosed by single walls include Caerwent, Farley, Jordon Hill, Lydney, and Titsey (Lewis 1966, 133-4 and figs. 115, 117, 119 and 120).

The area enclosed at Caistor St. Edmund would therefore appear to be one of the larger *temenoi* of those known, and with a wall foundation 75 cm wide, the wall could have risen to a height of two or three metres. There do not appear to have been decorative or bonding courses of red tiles. This wall, with the monumental gateway, located on a slope overlooking the Tas valley, and visible for a considerable distance, must have been an impressive and imposing sight when viewed from the northern approaches to the Roman town. The date of the *temenos* wall cannot unfortunately be established from the dating evidence currently available. It may therefore be earlier in date than the excavated temple (and associated with other shrines, if they exist, within the *temenos*), contemporary with the excavated temple, or a later addition.

The provision of a wall of this nature, enclosing an area of *c.* 2.5 ha again indicates a considerable expenditure of resources both in its construction and in the supply of building materials. As Lewis states, 'The magnificence of a *temenos* wall depended on the wealth and importance of the cult it contained' (1966, 131). The function of the wall would be to regulate the movement of visitors to the temple, as at Lydney where the precinct wall was considered to have been intended merely to give dignity to the site and to facilitate the control of the concourse of visitors to it (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, 62).

The other buildings

The two buildings, other than the Romano-Celtic temple itself inside the *temenos*, are unlikely to be the only structures associated with the temple site. Scatters of building materials (see Appendix I and Fig. 31) may suggest the sites of other structures, although only one substantial building (context 5) is visible on the aerial photographs. For an example of a Romano-Celtic temple-mausoleum site with at least five associated buildings see Neal 1984, fig. 1 (Wood Lane End, Hemel Hempstead).

The large masonry building, context 5, on the evidence of the aerial photographs and surface fieldwalking is unlikely to be a temple, and is most probably an ancillary building. Possible functions for this structure might be a guest house, priests' or custodian's residence, or less likely, a bath-house. The enigmatic curved masonry wall, context 6, just inside the gateway could be a circular shrine for which there are many parallels (Lewis 1966, 78-86; Rodwell 1980, 568-70), or part of an apsidal building (see for example Neal 1984, fig. 1).

General conclusions

There can be little doubt from the excavated remains of this site, inadequate though the evidence is in places, that this was no small religious site, but an impressive and sizeable centre of Romano-Celtic worship, in the suburbs of the Roman town of *Venta Icenorum*. The status of the site is suggested by the considerable expense in labour and materials which would have been necessary in enclosing the site with a substantial *temenos* wall and imposing monumental gateway. A Romano-Celtic religious site on this scale may well have been the focus of an important cult, although evidence of the nature of this worship is totally lacking. There are no finds from this site of a religious, ritual or votive nature, and there are no clues to suggest the deity or deities worshipped. Given the complex syncretism of Romano-Celtic religion, a number of gods may have been involved.

The temple itself, apparently off-centre within the *temenos*, cannot be assumed to have necessarily been the focus of religious practice, and it is possible that the *foci* of such sites may have been features such as trees, ritual masts or columns, evidence of which would only be found (if at all) in open-area excavation of the interior of the *temenoi* (see for example the large post-hole at Wood Lane End, Hemel Hempstead; Neal 1984, figs. 8-9). In the late fourth century, St Martin of Tours destroyed a pagan temple virtually unopposed, but created an uproar when he attacked its associated sacred tree (Horne 1981, 26).

Apart from the principal masonry structures, little is known of the interior of the *temenos*, and there are no indications of activities such as fairs, religious gatherings or other communal activities which might have taken place. A plausible account of some events at a temple site such as that described here has recently been published (Henig 1984, 39-41).

Dating evidence from the site is unfortunately very limited, with virtually all of the excavated finds effectively unstratified. There is enough second century pottery to suggest occupation or activity from the early second century. The finds from the recent metal detector survey of the site (Appendix IV) include no less than 8 Icenian coins, and the ratio of "early" to "late" coins suggests that the main period of activity on the site was probably before *c.* AD 200. When the coins from the metal detector survey have been identified, the resulting histogram should provide a far clearer picture of the main periods of activity on the site than is possible from the excavated finds.

While on the present evidence activity on the temple site starts around the early second century, this is not necessarily the period during which the temple and the *temenos* wall were built. Indeed, these two principal components of the site need not be contemporary. The two temples within the walled town were dated by Atkinson to *c.* AD 170-200, and the construction of the town wall appears to have been *c.* AD 200. It is not inconceivable that the enclosure of the town either prompted or necessitated a shift in the focus of Romano-Celtic worship, and that this moved from the town centre to a suburban site, possibly holding some earlier religious significance. If the temples in *Insula IX* catered for different aspects of Romano-Celtic worship, then it is possible that the temple site described here, and the second possible temple site to the south suggested from aerial photographs, may be the successors of those within the walled area. In the absence of reliable dating evidence for the temples in *Insula IX* and the suburban temple sites, the relationships between the four temples of Caistor St. Edmund must however remain conjectural.

Appendix I. Caistor St. Edmund: Other Finds from Old Church Close and the Scheduled Area

Further details of all these finds can be found in the County Sites and Monuments Record, which may be consulted at the Norfolk Archaeological Unit, Gressenhall, or at Norwich Castle Museum. Finds are arranged by context number, and their positions are shown on Figure 31. Details of coin finds are given in Appendix II.

Context 1

1971 Sherds (late second century+); samian stamp [FCO.]; fossil *inoceramus*. Found by M.Brely. NCM acc. no. 579.971.

1977 39 coins; small circular sealbox; Iceni pattern-horse coin; copper alloy trumpet brooch. Found by K.House.

Context 7

1932 *Tesserae*. Found by F.R.Mann at c. TG 2396 0398.

Context 8

1950 1 Coin. Found by Knocker and Hughes at c. TG 2389 0392. NCM acc. no. 104.950.

1957-8 3 Coins. Found by C.G.Saye. NCM acc. nos. 236.957, 363.958.

n.d. 1 Coin. Found at c. TG 2389 0393.

Context 9

1957 1 Coin. Found by Mr Pettitt at c. TG 2392 0389.

pre-1984 1 Coin. Found by Mr Pettitt at c. TG 2390 0388.

Context 10

1978 41 Coins. Part of copper alloy hook and eye bracelet; head of copper alloy trumpet brooch. Found by S.Kuna and B.Church at c. TG 2389 0398.

Context 11

1957 Tiles. Found by R.R.Clarke at c. TG 242 039. Clark Site III.

Context 12

1957 Sherds; tiles; *tesserae* and animal bones. Found by R.R.Clarke at c. TG 2397 0392. NCM acc. no. 155.957.

Context 13

1971 Block of stone. Found by M.Brely at c. TG 2397 0388. NCM acc. no. 580.971.

Context 14

n.d. Pottery. c. TG 2387 0389

Context 15

n.d. 2 Coins. c. TG 2385 0391.

n.d. Pottery. c. TG 2386 0391.

pre-1971 Large waste flint flakes and Neolithic scraper. Found by F.H.Durrant.

Context 16

1957 1 Coin. Found by C.G.Saye at c. TG 2387 0395. NCM acc. no. 236.957.

1961 1 Coin. Found by F.H.Durrant.

1962 2 Coins. Found by B.Skipper.

pre-1984 1 Coin. Found by Mr Brown at c. TG 2387 0393.

Context 17

1957 Sherds. Found by D.Howlett and C.H.Lewton-Brain at c. TG 247 039. Clarke Sites II and V. NCM acc. nos. 117.957, 156.957.

Context 18

1958 Brick; tile; mortared flints. Found by C.G.Saye at c. TG 2400 0400. Clarke Site XXVII.

Context 19

1958 *Tegulae*; *tesserae*. Found by M.C.Taylor at c. TG 2396 0400. Clarke Site XVI. NCM acc. no. 157.958.

Context 20

1958 Sherds; *tegulae*. Found by M.C.Taylor at c. TG 2402 0399. Clarke Site XVII. NCM acc. no. 157.958

Context 21

1958 Large flints; tiles; *tegulae*; sherds. Found by M.C.Taylor at c. TG 2383 0399. NCM acc. no. 157.958.

Context 22

1958 Sherds. Found by M.C.Taylor at c. TG 2385 0403. Clarke Site XIX. NCM acc. no. 157.958.

Context 23

1958 Large flints; tiles; *tegulae*; sherds. Found by M.C.Taylor at c. TG 2390 0406. Clarke Site XIII. NCM acc. no. 157.958.

Context 24

1958 Large flints; tiles; *tegulae*; sherds. Found by M.C.Taylor at c. TG 2389 0405. Clarke Site XV. NCM acc. no. 157.958.

Context 25

1958 Sherds. Found by M.C.Taylor at c. TG 2390 0400. Clarke Site XV. NCM acc. no. 157.958.

Unassigned

1979 Copper alloy disc brooch with red and blue enamel. Found by C.Skinner.

Appendix II. Caistor St. Edmund: Other Coins from Old Church Close and the Scheduled Area, to 1984

Including the six excavated coins (p.45, Nos 1-6), a total of 101 coins have been recorded as coming from Old Church Close and the scheduled area. Most of these are metal detector finds reported to Norwich Castle Museum. The coins from the site, up to 1984, are summarised by period in Table 3 and details of coins other than those excavated are given in the catalogue below.

A recent (1985) metal detector survey (Appendix IV) has recovered a large number of coins from the site. This survey is continuing and should eventually provide a histogram which will be of great value in assessing the chronology and main periods of activity in the area of the temple site.

Period	Date	Number	% of total identifiable
I	to AD 41	0	0
IIa	41-54	1	1.1
IIb	54-69	2	2.2
III	69-96	18	19.6
IV	96-117	5	5.4
V	117-138	4	4.3
VI	138-161	3	3.3
VIIa	161-180	2	2.2
VIIb	180-193	0	0
VIII	193-222	3	3.3
IXa	222-238	0	0
IXb	238-259	1	1.1
X	259-275	8	8.7
XI	275-294	5	5.4
XII	294-317	2	2.2
XIIIa	317-330	11	12.0
XIIIb	330-348	21	22.8
XIV	348-364	1	1.1
XVa	364-378	5	5.4
XVb	378-388	0	0
XVI	388-402	0	0
Uncertain		9	
<i>Total number of coins:</i>		101	

Table 3 Caistor St. Edmund: the excavated coins and other coins (to 1984) from Old Church Close and the Scheduled Area, summarised by period (as defined by Reece 1972).

Abbreviations used in the coin catalogue

RIC	Mattingly, H. and Sydenham, E.A., 1923-67 <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> volumes 1-7,9.
LRBC	Carson, R.A.G., Hill, P.V. and Kent, J.P.C., 1960 <i>Late Roman Bronze Coinage</i>
HoC	House of Constantine
VR WT	Urbs Roma, Wolf and Twins
GE 1/2	Gloria Exercitus (1/2 standards)
Cp, VoP	Constantinopolis, Victory on Prow
2V	Victoriae DD Auggq NN
SR	Securitas Reipublicae
GR	Gloria Romanorum

Catalogue

Context 1 (Mann 1932)

ANTONINUS PIUS. Details not recorded. AD 138-161.

Context 1 (House 1977)

?CLAUDIUS I. *Sestertius*. Illegible. ?AD 41-54.
FAUSTINA II. *Sestertius*. RIC iii, 1638. AD 145-175.

?POSTUMUS. *Antoninianus*. HERCVLI type. ?AD 259-68.
TETRICUS I or II. *Antoninianus*. AD 270-4.
CARAUSIUS. *Antoninianus*. PAX AVG. AD 287-93.
HELENA. *Half-follis*. PAX PVBLICA. Trier. LRBC i, 112. AD 337-40.
Illegible. Fourth century.
VESPASIAN. *As*. ?MONETA AVGVSTI. AD 69-79.
VESPASIAN. *As*. RIC 747 or 764b. AD 72-3 or 77-9.
VESPASIAN. *As*. RIC 747. AD 72-3.
VESPASIAN. *Dupondius*. RIC 753b. AD 77-8.
DOMITIAN. *As*. ?MONETA AVGVSTI SC. AD 81-96.
DOMITIAN. *As*. RIC 333, 353, 394 or 422. AD 86-96.
DOMITIAN. *As*. RIC 335. AD 86.
DOMITIAN. *As*. RIC 340. AD 86.
DOMITIAN as Caesar. *As*. RIC Vespasian 699, 713 or 723. AD 72-8.
TRAJAN. *As*. RIC 543. AD 103-111.
HADRIAN. *Sestertius*. RIC 586c. AD 119-121.
HADRIAN. *As*. Illegible. AD 118-138.
CLAUDIUS II GOTHICUS. *Antoninianus*. RIC 96. AD 268-70.
TETRICUS I. *Antoninianus*. imitation. AD 267-76.
CONSTANTINE I *Follis*. Trier. RIC vi, 862. AD 310-3.
HoC. VR WT. Trier. LRBC i, 76. AD 330-5.
VESPASIAN. *As*. Illegible. AD 69-79.
DOMITIAN. *Dupondius*. Illegible. AD 73-96.
TRAJAN. *Sestertius*. RIC ii, 598, AD 112-117.
HADRIAN. *As*. RIC ii, 577a. AD 119.
GALLIENUS. *Antoninianus*. RIC v, i, 572. AD 253-68.
CRISPUS. *Follis*. Trier. RIC vii, 308. AD 321.
CRISPUS. *Follis*. Trier. RIC vii, 394. AD 323.
HoC. VR WT. AD 330-5.
?GRATIAN. ?GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI. ?Arles. ?AD 367-75.
NERO. Silver *denarius*. RIC 13. AD 54-68.
FAUSTINA JUNIOR comm. *Sestertius*. RIC 1709. AD 175-80.
VESPASIAN. Illegible. AD 69-79.
CONSTANTINE I. PROVIDENTIAE AVGG. Trier. LRBC i, 28. AD 324-30.
CONSTANTINE I. GE1. Trier. LRBC i, 87. AD 335-7.
CONSTANTIUS. GE1. Trier. LRBC i, 89. AD 335-7.
Radiate. ?PAX AVG. Third century.

Context 8 (Knocker and Hughes 1950)

VESPASIAN. *As*. ...CAES VESPASIAN AVG COS VIII. RIC ii, 770. AD 79.

Context 8 (Saye 1957-8)

CARAUSIUS. *Antoninianus*. ?PAX AVG. AD 286-93.
?VICTORINUS. *Antoninianus*. ?AD 268-70.
Hoc. GE1. Trier. AD 337-40.

Context 8 (n.d.)

Illegible. Second century.

Context 9 (Pettitt 1957)

?CONSTANTINE I. AD 306-337.

Context 9 (Pettitt, pre-1984)

Hoc. Cp, VoP, imitation. AD 340-6.

Context 10 (Kuna and Church 1978)

Sestertius. Illegible. First or second century.
VESPASIAN. *As*. RIC 528a. AD 72-3.
NERVA. *Sestertius*. LIBERTAS PVBLICAE SC. RIC 64. AD 96.
As. Illegible. Second century.
HADRIAN. *As*. AEQVITAS AVG SC. RIC 795. AD 134-8.
FAUSTINA. *Sestertius*. IVNONI REGINAE SC. RIC 1078. AD 138-41.
CARACALLA *Denarius*. AD 196-217.
JULIA DOMNA. *Denarius*. VENVS FELIX. RIC 580. AD 196-211.
CLAUDIUS II. *Antoninianus*. VICTORIA AVG. RIC 104. AD 268-70.
Antoninianus. Illegible. Third century.
Illegible. Fourth century.
LICINIUS. *Follis*. GENIO POP ROM. London. RIC vii, 3. AD 313-4.
CRISPUS. *Follis*. BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. Trier. RIC vii, 405. AD 323.
CONSTANTINE I. *Follis*. PROVIDENTIAE AVG. AD 324-8.
CONSTANTINE I. BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. AD 321-4.
HoC. VR WT. AD 330-5.
CONSTANTINE I. GE2 Arles. RIC vii, 387. AD 335.
CONSTANTIUS II. GE2. AD 330-5.

CONSTANTIUS II. GE2. Siscia. RIC vii, 220. AD 330-5.
 ?VALENTINIAN I. Illegible. ?AD 364-75.
 CONSTANTIUS II. *Follis*. GE1. Trier. LRBC 1, 108. AD 337-40.
 Radiate, imitation. AD 273-282.
 TRAJAN. *Denarius*. COS V PP SPQR OPTIMO PRINC. RIC 217.
 AD 103-111.
 TRAJAN. *Sestertius*. SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC. RIC 492. AD
 103-111.
 NERO. *As*. AD 54-68.
 DOMITILLA. Plated *denarius*. PIETAS AVGVST. RIC (Vespasian)
 73. AD 80-1.
 TRAJAN. *As*. AD 98-117.
 ANTONINUS PIUS. *Denarius*. COS IIII. RIC 175. AD 148-9.
 SALONINA *Antoninianus*. IVNO AVG. Milan. RIC (Gallienus) 62.
 AD 260-8
 PROBUS. *Antoninianus*. TEMPOR FELICI. Lyons. RIC 104. AD
 276-82.
 CRISPUS. *Follis*. SOL INVICTO COMITI. London. RIC vii, 142.
 AD 318.
 CONSTANTINE I. *Follis*. VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. AD
 318-9.
 CONSTANTINE I *Follis*. BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. Trier. RIC vii,
 341. AD 322.
 CONSTANTINE II. *Follis*. PROVIDENTIAE CAESS. Trier. RIC vii,
 455. AD 324-5.
 HoC. *Follis*. VR WT. RIC vii, 529. AD 330-1.
 CONSTANTINE II. *Follis*. GE2. Trier. RIC vii, 545. AD 332-
 CONSTANTINE I. *Follis*. GE2. AD 330-5.
 CONSTANS. *Follis*. 2V. AD 341-6.
 GRATIAN. SR. AD 365-78.
 GRATIAN. GR. AD 365-78.
 VALENS. SR. Trier. RIC ix, 32b. AD 367-75.

Context 15 (n.d.)

CONSTANTINE I. AD 306-337.
 CONSTANTINE I. AD 306-337.

Context 16 (Saye 1957)

GETA. *Denarius*. RIC iv, i, 18. AD 200-2.

Context 16 (Durrant 1971)

HoC. Cp. VoP. AD 330-5.

Context 16 (Skipper 1962)

CONSTANTINE comm. AD 330-5.
 Illegible. First or second century.

Context 16 (brown pre-1984)

GORDIAN III. Silver *antoninianus*. FORTVNA REDVX. AD 238-44.

Appendix III. Caistor St. Edmund: A Note on Finds of Religious Significance from the Parish of Caistor St. Edmund

Several finds of possible religious significance from the area are listed by Green (1976, 204-5). These are as follows:—

1. Copper alloy model axe
2. Jasper intaglio of 3-headed god (Ross 1972; Frere 1972; Henig 1984, 184)
3. Copper alloy votive feather plaque
4. Copper alloy rectangular relief of Bacchus holding grapes
5. Copper alloy miniature axe
6. Copper alloy phallus
7. Copper alloy cock
8. Copper alloy Bacchus
9. Copper alloy eagle
10. Fragmentary pot with head of Genius
11. 3 tiny joined copper alloy cups
12. Copper alloy plaque of Mercury (Wilson 1971, 270 and pl. XXXVIIIB)
13. Fragment of terra-cotta Diana
14. Pot decorated with wheel symbols (Johnston 1903; Green 1977, 56 and 60)

There are two inaccuracies in this list. Firstly, the pot decorated with wheel symbols (No. 14) is attributed to Caistor St. Edmund, in spite of the fact that Norwich Castle Museum has no record of any such discovery at Caistor St. Edmund (or for that matter at Caister-on-Sea). The provenance in the original publication (Johnston 1903) is imprecise, and this object could equally well have been found at Caistor in Lincolnshire or Castor, Cambridgeshire. Such confusion can easily arise between sites with similar names. Secondly, the fragment of terra-cotta Diana (No. 13) found near Site 9818 in 1849 (*Archaeol. J.* 10 (1853), 347; Fitch 1855, 233 and pl. ii; Haverfield 1901, 291 and fig. 6) has long been known to be of late eighteenth century date (R.R. Clarke 1953).

As far as can be ascertained, none of the finds listed by Green come from the temple site (Site 9787).

In addition to the finds listed above, there are three other relevant discoveries:—

15. An octagonal copper alloy finger ring inscribed IXSAOSC, found during the 1930 excavations inside the walled area (Building I, *Insula* VII; Wright and Hassall 1971, 300). The ring resembles closely two rings from Owlesbury, Hants., and a third from Yatton, Somerset (Wright 1970), and it seems likely that all these rings were produced and sold at the Romano-Celtic temple site at Henley Wood, Yatton. The inscription appears to represent the name Couxssius, presumably a local Romano-Celtic deity.
16. Lead *defixio* found on the bank of the Tas. It records the theft of fifteen *denarii*, a wreath, bracelets, a suit of clothes, a mirror and ten pewter vessels, and promises Neptune a pair of leggings for the price of the thief's blood (Hassall and Tomlin 1982, 408-9; Henig 1984, 145).
17. Silver spoon inscribed VIVAS IN DEO, found to the west of the town (Sherlock 1980).

Appendix IV. Caistor St. Edmund: The Metal Detector Survey, 1985

Introduction

In September 1985, a metal detector survey was carried out within the scheduled area, in the field to the north of Caistor Lane which includes the Romano-Celtic temple and the ancillary building (the Temple Field), and in the field to the north of Old Church Close. The survey, for which Scheduled Monument Consent was obtained, was carried out by local metal detector users, under the direction of Tony Gregory. The author is indebted to Tony Gregory for permission to publish a plot of the finds in advance of his own report.

Most of the finds were coins. At the time of going to press, these have yet to be identified, but in the interim, the finds have been classified in three general categories; Icenian coins, Roman finds (mostly coins) to the end of the second century AD, and Roman finds (mostly coins) later than the end of the second century AD. A detailed report on the finds will be produced in due course, and in addition to this, the finds will also be used to test the rate of corrosion of objects in the ploughsoil when subjected to regular applications of chemical additives. It is envisaged that the survey on this site will be repeated, and that surveys of other sites will also be undertaken.

The Survey Area

(Fig. 38)

The survey area covers the Temple Field to the north of Caistor Lane, and the field to the north of Old Church Close, and includes approximately two-thirds of the interior of the *temenos*. The only areas of the *temenos* not surveyed were the gardens of Nos 3-6 Old Church Close and Friston Field to the south of Caistor Lane. A grid was laid out across the survey area, and finds were recorded to an accuracy of 10cm. The survey area extends well beyond the *temenos* to the north-east and east.

The Finds

One hundred and seventy eight objects, mostly coins, were recovered. Eight of these were Icenian coins, ninety-nine objects are provisionally dated up to the end of the second century, and seventy-one are provisionally dated later than the end of the second century AD. Any assessment of the coin evidence must await detailed identifications, although the ratio of 'early' to 'late' coins, with a dividing line in the late second century does suggest that the main period of coin-loss was before c. AD 200. If the site had been extensively occupied during the later period, the number of third or fourth century coins should far outnumber those of the early Roman period. The latest coin from the site is provisionally dated to AD 364-78.

The Distribution of the Finds

(Fig. 38)

Of the 178 objects recovered, 136 came from within the area of the *temenos*, whilst the area outside the *temenos* (at least equal in size to the area of the interior which was surveyed, if not larger), produced only 42 finds. The clay of the valley bottom runs from east to west a short distance to the north of the *temenos*, and most finds outside it on the north side, came from the area immediately north of the wall. On the north side of the valley clay there was a cluster of finds close to the northern edge of the survey area. Outside the *temenos*, to the east, the finds are again mostly close to the *temenos* wall, fading out c.40m east of the wall. Beyond this point, an area c.60m wide was devoid of finds.

Within the *temenos*, in 'Temple Field', coins of both 'early' and 'late' periods seem to be fairly evenly distributed. The eight Icenian coins all come from this field. The field to the north of Old Church Close produced only two finds, one inside and one outside the *temenos*; this field has probably been ploughed on only a few occasions, and was under pasture at the time of the survey.

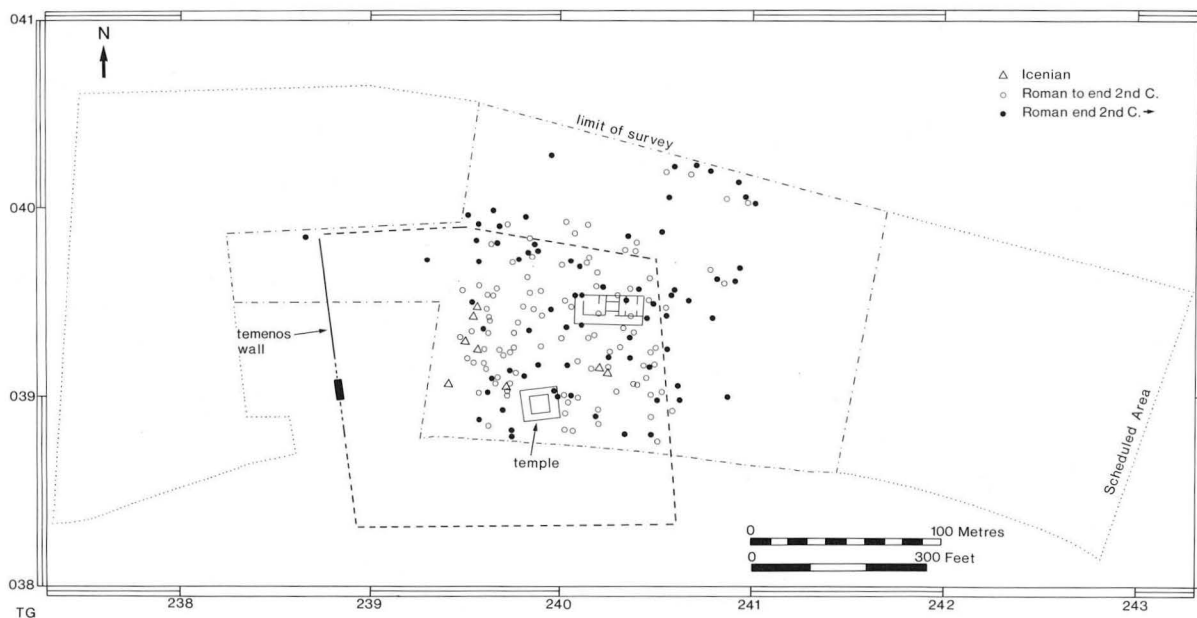


Fig. 38 Caistor St. Edmund: plot of the finds from the metal detector survey, 1985

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(Abbreviations used: Site and placename references are followed by the abbreviated county name, in addition (C)=Cambridgeshire, (E)=Essex, (L)=Lincolnshire, (N)=Norfolk, (S)=Suffolk)

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