



CHAPTER 20

SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSIONS

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INTRODUCTION

Insula IX occupies a central position within *Calleva*, close to the forum-basilica. The principal north–south street of the town runs along the east side of the block, while the south side fronts on to the principal east–west street. This report on the continuing excavations in Insula IX has focused on the occupation between the early second and the late third century A.D. It begins (Period 3) with the building in stone of two town-houses (MB 1 and 2) on the footprint of, and thus on the same alignment as, a range of timber buildings constructed in the late first century A.D. (Period 2). This alignment is diagonal to, and thus at significant variance with, the Roman street-grid which is aligned on the cardinal points. Associated with the two town-houses is a further, new timber building to the north-east, filling the gap between the first town-house and the decaying remains of the timber building (ERTB 1) retained from the previous period. A spread of occupation to the south includes a well and a single pit as well as possible traces of further timber buildings to the south and south-east of the excavated area. The slight and ambiguous evidence for structures contrasts markedly with that for the buildings which occupied the south-east quarter of the excavated area in the late first and early second centuries (Period 2). An absence of evidence for a boundary to define a southern limit to the property suggests that all the occupation south of the two town-houses within the excavated area was associated with them. Equally, the lack of evidence of any division between the two houses suggests that they both belonged to the same over-arching property. A second well is associated with the backyard of a second property in the north of the excavation area which extended beyond the north-western limits of the trench. This property was separated from the two town-houses by a fence and, within the area of the excavation, produced no evidence of a building.

A striking feature of this period of occupation of Insula IX is its apparent inward-looking character, with evidence of a sturdy fence separating occupation inside the insula from the bustle and movement along the flanking north–south and east–west streets. The only indication of the owners of the main property within the excavated area taking any advantage that access to the main north–south street might have offered is presented by the remains of one, possibly two timber buildings built side-by-side up to and against the street frontage in the south-east corner of the excavation trench. While convincing structural evidence in support of this building(s) is lacking, it is difficult to interpret the defined clay spreads as representing anything other than floor surfaces. Tentatively, we suggest one or two buildings of slight, sleeper-beam construction in this location. This lack of evidence for interaction with the town beyond the limits of the insula is further borne out by the lack of weighing and measuring equipment and of coins. Indeed, all of the coins of the second and third century were found in fourth-century or later and unstratified contexts. Symbolic in a way of this inward-looking character is the location of the one certain latrine pit of Period 3, situated right at the intersection of the north–south and east–west streets, and very close to the position beside the east–west street of the earlier, very large cess-pit 5251 from Period 2. Further to the south, rubbish continued to be dumped into the subsiding fill of an early well or inter-cutting wells (6290). However, whether passers-by would have found the frontages of Insula IX any more noisome than those of other insulae is hard to determine. Indeed

the inhabitants of *Calleva*, as of any other contemporary urban community, may not have been sensitive to foul smells at all.

In the 150 years or so covered by this report there is little substantial, structural change within the excavated area. The two houses are merged to become one house (MB 3) from the early third century (Period 4) and a concentration of pits in the south-east of the trench indicates a more substantial occupation beside the north–south street. Nevertheless the details of the associated structures, including the manner of their construction and even their precise extent, remain elusive. There is no significant break between our two periods across the excavated area and, in terms of the occupation spreads to the south of the masonry houses, it is hard to define a clear break-point in the stratigraphic sequence.

Most of the evidence with which to characterise the occupation derives from the occupation spreads to the south of the two town-houses rather than from pits which are very few in number. The general occupation has, perhaps inevitably, produced a proportion of residual material dating back to, and through the first century A.D. This immediately raises the very serious question as to how representative the material associated with Periods 3 and 4 is of the occupation and life of the inhabitants over two or three generations. How much material was disposed of outside the insula? This problem is brought into sharp focus by the difficulties surrounding the interpretation of the timber buildings to the north-east of town-house MB 1. While the micromorphological and geochemical study has helped to define the building (ERTB 4) formerly seen as a single structure into two buildings (ERTB 1 and MRTB 1) and to characterise their occupation, it has also presented us with a paradox. The quality of the finds from the area occupied by MRTB 1 and ERTB 1, which includes a range of copper-alloy items as well as a major assemblage of glass, is at odds with the evidence that this space was used as a byre to accommodate animals, unless it was also used as a midden for the adjacent town-houses, the bulk of whose contents were periodically removed. In this regard it is interesting to note the low average weight per pottery sherd and the large number of highly fragmented glass scraps — as if the larger material had been removed. Material taken from the midden may account for all or some of the finds incorporated in the spreads to the south (Object 701). Nevertheless, the very real possibility that we only have a fraction of the occupational material associated with Period 3 makes the task of reconstructing the life and occupations of the inhabitants more difficult. On the other hand, while soils, such as clays used in foundations and flooring, and building material, both newly made or quarried, or in the form of rubble, were undoubtedly brought in, it seems unlikely, but not provable, that discarded material, in the form of domestic waste from other household middens, was introduced to the insula from elsewhere in the town.

The situation is little different in Period 4 where, again, the inference is that the occupation spreads (Object 700) to the south of MB 3 also largely derived from it. However, in this period there is also a larger number of pits than in the second century and, typically, they are not so ‘contaminated’ with residual material. However, the fact that they are concentrated in the south-east of the excavation area suggests that they may relate specifically to the occupation of the adjacent timber building rather than to the town-house MB 3.

PERIOD 3

THE TOWN-HOUSES (MB 1 AND 2 WITH MRTB 1/ERTB 1) (FIG. 148)

However, let us begin with what can be inferred from the two town-houses themselves. While both appear to be of modest size, it has to be said that we have precious little evidence from Britain of the scale and character of town-houses in the early second century A.D. While Silchester itself boasts the largest number of different house types, without further excavation of a number of examples to elucidate their phases of development, it would be difficult to determine what the state of any one house was in the second century. However, examples of town-houses, admittedly of timber construction (cf. Frere 1983, fig. 7), from early second-century Verulamium are also relatively modest. In Insula XXVIII, for example, a two-room strip building (3B), of c. A.D. 105–130, was

significantly enlarged, *c.* A.D. 130–150, to an eight-roomed house (3A), which, in its turn, was replaced, *c.* A.D. 150–155, by a new, L-plan, timber-built town-house (3) of some ten rooms and with a fine, polychrome, figured mosaic in the principal reception room. In the course of about half a century the surface area of the successive buildings had increased by 200 per cent from *c.* 48m² to *c.* 136m², to *c.* 206m² (*ibid.*, 231–41). In the adjacent insula, XXVII, sizeable buildings (2A, 2B), comparable to XXVIII.3, and also of timber-frame construction, were built new in the middle of the second century. Of the ten rooms of 2A no less than seven possessed tessellated floors (*ibid.*, 203–9). A perhaps more typical, general trend in south-east Britain in the first half of the second century is for the construction of *de novo* masonry town-houses, replacing timber predecessors, as here in Insula IX, from about *c.* A.D. 125. This can be seen, for example, in the *colonia* at Colchester, with Buildings 112–14 in Insula XXXIV recorded in the Culver Street



A



B

FIG. 148. Two pictorial interpretations of the Period 3 buildings by Margaret Mathews.

(a) The two town-houses are newly built and reflect the presumed status of the occupiers. MB 2 is shown with a double-pitched roof as in FIG. 146c. The portico area has dwarf columns modelled on the Ogham stone, small barred windows, formed by timber framing, on the corridor and clerestory windows modelled on the Meonstoke gable. ERTB 1 is falling into decay and used to stable cattle or other livestock (see Ch. 4). Beyond, other buildings are visible in Insula XXVI to the north and, on the left, the building on the west side of Insula IX, detected by air photography. The clipped box plants and the vegetable garden reflect the evidence for garden plants and crops (see Ch. 16).

(b) Some time later, the buildings are showing some signs of wear and repairs and improvements are in hand. MRTB 1 has replaced the cattle shed and perhaps serves as a kitchen area. The amphorae reflect pottery finds, indicative of imported oil and wine. The woman sweeping and the figure with a tray of glassware reflect evidence from the excavation (see Chs 4 and 7). A verandah is added to MB 2 and an extension links the corridor of MB 1 to MB 2 (Ch. 2). The tile dump in the foreground suggests a possible trade in used roofing materials.

excavations; these include two substantial row-type houses with corridors (Crummy 1992, 31–3; 76–83). The Middle Brook Street excavations in Winchester also produced a *de novo*, masonry town-house (XXIII.1), a row-type house with corridors around three sides (like our MB 1) of about 350m², dating from about the mid-second century (Scobie *et al.* 1991, 19–21).

The first of our houses is of a three-room type with surrounding corridor on at least three sides, a form which, in general terms, can be well paralleled in town and country in Britain and northern Gaul in the early Roman period and has been classified as a simple, row-type house with corridor (Perring 2002, 64–5; Smith 1997, 46–64). The square plan of the second house has no obvious parallel, either in Silchester or elsewhere. It is interesting to note that the footprint of MB 2 completely encapsulates that of the underlying circular building of Period 2, ERTB 3; its plan, therefore, may, in part at least, be determined by its predecessor (FIG. 148).

In both houses the walls had been robbed down to foundation levels and, more particularly in the case of MB 2, significant lengths of the foundations had been robbed out as well. As a result no trace of plaster attaching to any wall survived and in only one room, the central space of MB 1, did remains of a decorative floor surface survive *in situ*. This consisted of a small area of tile-tessellation in one corner of the room, perhaps representing the remains of the border to a patterned mosaic occupying the centre of the floor. The flint cobbles of Room 3 were clearly designed as a foundation for a surface now lost, but whether the floors of Room 1 and the surrounding corridor were originally finely finished is uncertain. What is apparent, however, is that before the end of Period 3, and, possibly after no more than two generations of use, Room 1 was reduced to a rough, clay and gravelled surface and occupation in the corridor rested on the clay make-up associated with the primary construction of the house. As for MB 2, there is no surviving *in situ* evidence with which to reconstruct the original state of the flooring. The excavation has, however, produced large numbers of loose stone, notably of Purbeck materials, and ceramic tesserae, particularly from the south of the excavation trench. Indeed, a small number of loose stone tesserae were found associated with both houses. However, it is far from certain that this material should be linked with the Period 3 buildings; more likely is that it is residual from the construction or destruction of major, first-century building(s) located to the south of the excavation trench (Fulford 2008). The same is true of the ceramic building and roofing material from the excavation. While it is highly probable that the two town-houses were roofed with ceramic tile, there is no hard, supporting evidence. Notwithstanding the excavation boasting a major deposit of ceramic roofing material to the south of the houses in Period 3, Warry argues persuasively (Ch. 10) that it is highly unlikely to have derived from any Period 2 building within our excavated area. Rather he suggests that it may represent the stock of a dealer in used tiles.

It has been assumed that the two houses had an upper storey, with the flint walling carried up to the eaves. However, Warry (Ch. 10) has argued on the basis of the scarcity of flat tile for use in bonding that this may not have been the case. Indeed he suggests either all-masonry houses of single-storey, or houses with timber-frame construction on dwarf-wall foundations. The lack of flat-tile is not perhaps surprising, given the overall lack of contexts which may be associated with the construction and demolition of both houses, and the likelihood that materials were either recycled into MB 3, or taken off site for re-use elsewhere. The truth is that there can be no certainty, but where we do have structural evidence surviving above foundations, such as in Pompeii and Herculaneum, the norm is for buildings to have upper storeys. In the case of the timber building MRTB 1 which filled the gap between the end of MB 1 and the decaying ERTB 1 there can be little doubt that it was single-storey. Phytoliths of phragmites reed indicate a thatched roof for this and for the decaying ERTB 1. Against a simple extrapolation from two cities from the heart of the Empire in favour of upper storeys, we should recall the evidence for hearths from both houses — Rooms 1, 2 and the northern end of the outer corridor of MB 1, and Rooms 1 and 4 of MB 2. Unless chimneys were in place, an upper storey above these spaces would have prevented smoke from escaping. As the hearths in MB 2 are close to walls, it is possible that they were served by chimneys, but this cannot have been the case in MB 1 where hearths are, for example, in the centre of Room 1. So, despite the robustness of their foundations, we do need to be cautious about assuming the existence of two, rather than one-and-a-half storeys in both of the houses, as reconstructed by Mathews (Ch. 19).

FAMILY MATTERS: THE OCCUPANTS OF MB 1 AND MB 2

The two houses and the associated timber building MRTB 1 to the north-east occupy the footprint of the underlying houses ERTB 2 and 3 (Clarke *et al.* 2007). In recalling that the footprint of MB 2 encapsulates that of the roundhouse, ERTB 3, we might also note that the mosaic-floored, reception room of MB 1 overlies the equivalent room of ERTB 2 which also divides that building between two symmetrically arranged suites of rooms. Not only does the correspondence between aspects of the layout of the two new houses with their predecessors suggest a continuation of occupation by the same kin group, but the construction of separate houses seems to affirm the duality of the accommodation of ERTB 2 (cf. Smith 1997). Two related families now each occupy their own house.

OCCUPATIONS AND LIFESTYLE

The two masonry houses have produced very slight evidence with which to reconstruct the lifestyle and occupations of their inhabitants. Not surprisingly there was little evidence from the buildings themselves, because so few contexts could be linked to the occupation of the buildings as opposed to their construction. However, the corridor of MB 1 produced the remains of a large pottery storage vessel, probably used in cooking or baking (FIGS 11–13, 76), while geochemical analysis of the burnt areas in the corridor towards the north-east end of the building and on the floor surface of the adjacent Room 1 suggest that metalworking, principally of copper alloys, but also of gold and silver, took place within the house. Further evidence of the working of copper alloy in the form of crucible fragments and metal waste, including an unfinished strap-hinge, was found from the Period 3 occupation spreads to the south of the house, as was a small gold stud. There is also some evidence for ironmaking and ironworking in Period 3. In addition to small concentrations of hammerscale from MB 1 and from pit 5039 to the south, and an offcut of bar iron from the southern spreads, there are also a couple of slag basins indicative of iron smelting from MRTB 1/ERTB 1, and from the spreads to the south. While it is possible that the slag basins may have been introduced to the excavation area from elsewhere in the insula or the town, the concentrations of hammerscale are more likely to represent *in-situ* activity. As Crummy argues in respect of the copper-alloy strap-hinge, metalworking in Insula IX was probably not an end in itself. She sees the hinge as proxy evidence for the making of wooden artefacts, such as boxes or folding gaming-boards, themselves a rare category of find in Britain (p. 108). However, tools associated with any craft are notably scarce from Period 3 contexts.

To metalworking we can add animal husbandry as an occupation of the inhabitants of our town-houses. This can be inferred from the study of the soils associated with the decaying ERTB 1 in the north-east corner of the insula, which indicate the presence of herbivores. The presence of the foetal/neonatal remains of caprines and pigs and the bones of very young cattle provide further evidence that animal husbandry formed part of the subsistence strategy of the occupants of the town-houses. On the other hand, clear evidence is lacking for the cultivation of crops, whether cereals or legumes, in the immediate vicinity of the town. However, notwithstanding the scarcity of tools associated with animal husbandry or horticulture, it seems likely, though not proven, that fruit and flavourings, such as blackberry and plum, and coriander and dill, were grown in or close to the town.

For the status and lifestyle of the occupants of our town-houses, we can turn to the proxy evidence from MRTB 1 and the decaying ERTB 1 in the north-east corner. Importantly, finds of styli imply literacy. Otherwise, from the perspective of material culture, the ‘small finds’ emphasise the importance of personal appearance and grooming, including a range of dress accessories and toilet instruments. The presence of numerous glass bottles and an unguent flask indicate a lifestyle with access to scented unguents or cosmetics and whatever other precious commodities the bottles contained. A similar emphasis on dress and toilet accessories, as well as bottles among the glass assemblage, is to be found in the spreads to the south of the houses (Object 701). The pottery assemblage from the timber buildings in the north-east corner includes a variety of imported tablewares and drinking vessels, some 8 per cent of the assemblage, as well as a large proportion of kitchen wares, characteristics shared by the material from the occupation spreads

to the south where imported vessels account for 10 per cent of the assemblage. Altogether, in terms of the range of the finds and their quality, including imports versus local and regional products, the total ceramic finds assemblage from MRTB 1/ERTB 1 and from the occupation spreads to the south appears average for households from the larger urban communities in southern Britain, with the possible exception of London. We should emphasise that this picture is one of consumption which includes a very significant proportion of material manufactured in the first and early second centuries. Of that significant proportion we should allow for material already discarded before Period 3 and simply re-worked through the excavation of foundations, pits and post-holes into Period 3 stratigraphy. Attempting to distinguish between material which remained in use into Period 3 before discard and that which was re-worked rubbish of earlier date is beyond the scope of this report.

For reconstructing diet we are fortunate in having a combination of faunal and botanical evidence that we can associate with the town-houses. The proxy evidence from the 'midden' of MRTB 1/ERTB 1 shows consumption of the three main domesticates, but with a slight preference for sheep/goat, as well as of wild animals — red and roe deer and hare — and bird, particularly domestic fowl. Fish, both freshwater and marine species, is present in small quantities, as is oyster. There is a very small amount of oyster with the largest deposit of about 1kg from a single context in the south-east quarter. However, cattle predominate in the small assemblage from cess-pit 4835 in the angle between the streets and cattle are marginally the most important of the three main domesticates from the occupation spreads to the south. As far as the evidence of plant remains is concerned, we are fortunate in having a well-preserved assemblage, including mineralised, waterlogged and charred seeds, from the latrine pit 5251 which was assigned to Period 2 in Clarke *et al.* 2007. However the latest fills which contained the assemblage in question belong to around the end of Period 2 and the beginning of Period 3, i.e. *c.* A.D. 125, and can very reasonably be seen as indicative of diet in the early second century. Indeed, as Robinson points out, there are close similarities with the range of species represented in the late Roman period. The main staples are spelt wheat, six-row hulled barley and peas, with flavourings such as coriander and dill, and fruit, notably plum and (abundant) blackberry. The pollen from this latrine pit is also helpful in complementing the evidence of the seeds in adding brassicas, probably mustard and cabbage, to the list, as well as emphasising the importance of Apiaceae, probably dill in this context. Imported varieties, including fig, grapes and mulberry, point to the relative prosperity of the inhabitants. Imported amphorae, predominantly Dressel 20 types from Baetica and Gauloise forms from southern Gaul, also attest to the consumption of olive oil and wine. The presence of whipworm eggs in this pit serves as a reminder that the inhabitants of Insula IX were not spared from infestation by this parasite. Though not life-threatening, it causes irritation of the bowel and certainly impinges on the quality of everyday life.

While the two town-houses and MRTB 1/ERTB 1 provide the most convincing evidence of structures within the excavated area, we should not overlook the possible remains of one or two timber buildings from the south and south-east. While the small structure, MRTB 2, appears truncated by the southern edge of the excavation, the trench captures the full extent of the possible building MRTB 3, alongside the north–south street. Associating a particular identity with the inhabitants, and distinguishing material to be associated with one building within the excavated area rather than another is very problematic. However, we can perhaps point to the dump of ceramic building material, mostly of roofing tile, and speculate that a trade in used roofing materials was located here. Crummy also points to the unusual collection of bone objects associated with MRTB 3, the majority of which are round-bowled spoons. Although the spoons are more to be expected in a first-century context, so this could well be a residual collection, the possibility remains that the occupants of MRTB 3 also specialised in a trade in bone artefacts. There is certainly insufficient evidence of waste to suggest that bone-working took place in this part of Insula IX. However, although more a feature of Period 4, evidence for the skinning of dogs is present in pit 5039 and well 5693.

Further evidence for the working of bone for a variety of purposes should also be considered here, though some of it is probably as relevant for the occupants of the houses to the north as it is for those who occupied MRTB 3. Ingrem reports the incidence of cattle scapulae having been

pierced, probably for suspension during smoking of the meat. We should also note the incidence of bones from the south-east spreads with evidence of having been broken open for the removal of the marrow, for possible use in cosmetics, soap, medicine and lighting. There is also some evidence for the further working of this bone in Period 3 by boiling up the fragments in order to extract grease and glue. With all of these activities it is difficult to characterise the scale of activity and thus distinguish between those undertaken for household consumption and those also with a commercial aim in mind. Smoked shoulders of beef, for example, were certainly consumed in *Insula IX*, but were some also prepared for sale?

While well 5693 did not produce an assemblage of plant remains, the sole evidence for diet of the inhabitants of the insula to the south of the town-houses, including those of MRTB 3, derives from the faunal assemblages from it and the south-east pit 5039. Possibly significant, then, is the high proportion of sheep/goat and the low proportion of cattle recovered from 5039 and 5693, compared with the northern pits. Taxa other than the main domesticates, but including, particularly, bird and wild animals, account for up to a quarter of the faunal assemblage from pit 5039. It is difficult to distinguish between economic and cultural factors influencing the composition of these assemblages since the meat of wild animals and birds is generally regarded as indicative of (high) status, while the preference for mutton over beef might be an issue of affordability or an indication of the continuation of preferences from the late Iron Age (cf. King 1991).

POPULATION AND WATER

Any attempt to reconstruct the number of inhabitants living within the excavated area of the insula is fraught with difficulty. Many of the problems, including the vexed question of whether houses had upper storeys, have been rehearsed by Boon (1974, 61–2, 193–4), who took both a maximising and a minimising approach. With the former he calculated a total household size of 20 individuals, including dependants and slaves, on the basis of single-storey houses for each of the large houses. In the case of MB 1 and MB 2 we might assume that households were half the size of those of the larger houses and estimate a total of 20 individuals for both. With the total surface area of the two houses amounting to some 500m², this gives a ratio of one person to about 25m². This ratio would remain the same if we allowed for an upper storey and doubled the occupancy to 40. In the case of our timber buildings further uncertainty attaches to their occupancy, not least because of lack of clarity about the nature of the structures themselves. Of the timber buildings to the north-east of MB 1, it would seem that one (ERTB 1) was occupied at least in part by domestic animals. The cleaner MRTB 1, on the other hand, may have provided the quarters for servants or slaves belonging to one or both of the adjacent town-houses. To the south we have suggested one or two timber buildings with a total floor area of 160m². What we have not been able to establish through the application of micromorphology is whether any of these buildings were also occupied by animals, with correspondingly fewer human inhabitants. If we allowed for twice the density of occupation for the poorer timber buildings, of which MRTB 1 and MRTB 3 together account for about 225m², these would account for a further 18 (single storey) or 36 individuals (two storey). Thus, for the excavated area of *Insula IX* these give totals of either 38 (single-storey building) or 76 (two-storey building). These calculations take no account of the truncated MRTB 2 or the backyard of the house lying beyond the north-west limits of the trench. Since all of our structures appear to belong to the one property, our estimates also relate to that entity. Boon's minimising approach (*ibid.*, 62), which developed alternative and smaller models of family size, allowed for only 12 in the 15 larger houses and 8 in the 135 smaller houses. This gives figures for the overall population within the walled area of 600–750 inhabitants between the second and fourth centuries which seems to us altogether too small and does not allow for more than one kin group per house.

Another way of evaluating the contribution that the discovery of timber buildings makes to the population is to represent their total surface area as a percentage increase on the total surface area of the masonry buildings. In this case the additional space amounts to a 45 per cent increase. If we extrapolate this figure across the whole of the (later) walled area it increases

Boon's (larger) estimate of the total population of the town by at least 1,800 to 5,800. If we allow for a consistently greater density (x2) of occupation of the timber buildings, the population rises to 7,600. If we allow for two-storey buildings across the town within the (later) walled area, the total rises to 15,200 (8,000 + 7,200).

The estimated population within our excavated area appears to have been served by only one well, located some distance from the two town-houses towards the south-east corner of the excavated area and in a position where well(s) had been located earlier. It is always possible, however, there may have been a further well associated with the property containing MB 1 and 2 beyond the limits of the trench. A second well, in the north-west of the trench, appears to relate to the property located in the north-west corner of the insula, beyond the excavated area. On the face of it one well would seem small provision for the households associated with the larger property identified within the excavated area. However, well water could also be supplemented by water captured in storage jars from the run-off of rainwater from roofs, particularly the tiled roofs of MB 1 and 2, or drawn from sources outside the insula.

RITUAL BEHAVIOUR

Crummy and Timby have drawn attention, respectively, to 'small finds', mostly of metal, and pottery vessels, whose condition and position are hard to explain other than as votive deposits. Ingrem, too, proposes that certain deposits of articulated animal bone may be regarded as votive. The majority of these are associated with the construction contexts of the two town-houses and the timber buildings to their north-east and may be regarded as offerings to ensure the life, safety and security of the buildings in question. Crummy draws attention to the complete sets of toilet instruments from relevant contexts associated with MB 2, while a third complete set is associated with MRTB 1. While individual toilet instruments are widely scattered, these three are the only complete sets from the excavated area. An iron mason's trowel incorporated in the walling of MB 2 may probably be regarded as a further offering. Crummy also suggests that three complete, individual items — two brooches, both of first-century date, and an iron knife — can also be regarded as foundation deposits in MB 1. Timby notes the deposition of a complete pottery vessel in the make-ups at each of two adjacent corners of MB 2. One of these was of Silchester ware and thus, like the brooches noted above, of considerable antiquity at the time of deposition. Was this a deliberate, symbolic choice? Curiously it echoes the deposition of a complete Silchester ware jar in the underlying, Period 2 roundhouse ERTB 3 (Clarke *et al.* 2007). A further two complete Alice Holt vessels, one clearly with deliberate piercing of the belly, were found side-by-side in the clay make-ups associated with the construction of both MB 1 and MRTB 1. Such pierced vessels are frequently found in the lower levels and at the bottom of wells (cf. Fulford and Timby 2001) and we should note the occurrence of three flagons from well 2234, one of which has a deliberate slot cut into the belly. Crummy also notes the occurrence of pairs of iron joiner's dogs from pit 4835 and well 5693, an association which recurs in Period 4 (below, p. 342), but then offers a functional interpretation of their presence. As far as deposits of articulated animal bone are concerned, Ingrem notes the articulated foot of a roe deer from the interface between ERTB 2 and MB 1 and the partial skeleton of a dog from MRTB 1/ERTB 1 (Ingrem 2007). We might also note the occurrence of the bones of wild animals and birds, particularly roe deer, which occurs in the basal fills of all the Period 3 pits and wells, while hare and woodcock occur in all but one.

HUMAN REMAINS

In addition to the partial remains of an adult cranium, there is evidence for three infants from Period 3: one burial of a neonate infant and two further finds of single bones from different infants. While it is possible that the adult bone was re-worked from an earlier context associated with the late Iron Age occupation when human burials are known at Silchester (Firth 2000), infant remains are not unexpected in an urban context. The single bones imply re-working of earlier burials.

DOGS

With the exception of the partial skeleton noted above, no articulated dog remains are recorded from Period 3, although pit 4835 and well 5693 produced significant numbers of bone, 6 and 16 bones, respectively.

LEISURE

Evidence for recreation is provided by finds of bone, glass and ceramic counters associated with a variety of board games. Also a possible musical instrument, a bone tube with a small slit cut through one side, which may have formed part of a syrinx or set of pan pipes, was recovered from the south-east corner of the excavation (FIG. 58).

RELATIONS BEYOND *CALLEVA*

Although the presence of imported foodstuffs, such as figs and grapes, among the mineralised plant remains, or the remains of oysters and rare saltwater fish illustrate both the importation of some exotics from outside Britain and trade from the coastal regions, it is probably the ceramics which give a more reliable picture of *Calleva's* contacts beyond its immediate hinterland. Although residuality is a major problem with the second-century assemblages, there is a consistent representation of imported tablewares, mostly from Lezoux in Central Gaul, and transport amphorae. Including drinking vessels from Cologne and the Argonne, imported tablewares account for *c.* 7 per cent, while amphorae, principally olive-oil carriers from Baetica and wine containers from Narbonensis, amount to 2 to 3 per cent of the pottery, making a total of *c.* 10 per cent imported from outside Britain. From within Britain there is some representation of regional wares, particularly of Verulamium region wares, produced in workshops up to 55 miles distant by road from Silchester. In well 2234, for example, where complete vessels were present, these amounted to some 17 per cent of the assemblage. However, the total representation of regional wares, which also consistently include pottery from South-East Dorset (BB 1) and Oxfordshire, as well as minor representation, for example, from London, Colchester and the Nene Valley, on the one hand, and from Caerleon, on the other, otherwise amounts to little more than 5 per cent of the pottery assemblage. As Timby points out, this may be an under-estimate, given uncertainty over the source of a number of wares likely to be of a regional, southern British origin. Altogether the representation of pottery, both that imported from the Continent and that from beyond the immediate hinterland of *Calleva*, i.e. beyond about 15 miles, within Britain, generally amounts to *c.* 15 per cent in Period 3, the second century A.D. With its complete or near-complete vessels, well 2234, with a combined representation of imported and regional wares of about 25 per cent, appears exceptional. Local production is well attested at Alice Holt and wares from this source, probably traded via the small town at Neatham, account for about half of the Period 3 pottery assemblage from Insula IX. Dorchester-on-Thames may have played a similar, mediating role in the distribution of Oxfordshire pottery south to *Calleva*.

Residuality is also a major issue with the remaining finds assemblage. Nevertheless there is a small quantity of glass that is considered representative of the second half of the second century and some of this is probably imported. Niedermendig lava from north-west Germany is present among the materials used for querns, but the assemblage is dominated by the West Sussex Lodsworth Greensand, much of which is demonstrably residual through its use in the foundations of the town-houses. Lodsworth Greensand is the material of choice for the manufacture of querns found at *Calleva* from its origins in the late first century B.C. (Wooders 2000). How long that continued to be the case is unclear. There are also small quantities of querns of Quartz Conglomerate from the west, from Bristol and the Forest of Dean, and Millstone Grit from either South Wales or the Pennines. It is interesting to note that among the small amount of 'small finds' likely to be 'in period', two are of probable western British manufacture from the lower Severn region.

A different perspective on relations with the hinterland is provided by the evidence for the exploitation of building materials. Period 3 saw investment in two masonry town-houses and two

or three timber structures. While we cannot be precise about the origins of the timber, we can assume a local source, given the pollen evidence for woodland in the vicinity of the town at the turn of the second and third centuries (Keith-Lucas 1984). The phytolith evidence from MRTB 1/ERTB 1 indicates that phragmites reed was probably used for thatching, a material which points to the valleys of the Kennet, Loddon and Thames, within a radius of about 10 miles, as likely sources. In the case of the two houses, MB 1 and MB 2, nodular flint quarried from the chalk is the main material used in the foundations and superstructure and, while a precise origin cannot be identified, suitable outcrops of chalk are located within 10 miles of *Calleva*. Ceramic building materials were also likely to have been produced very locally and some evidence of manufacture has been recovered from near the amphitheatre (Fulford *et al.* 1997, 161) and, possibly, from Little London (cf. Boon 1974, 277–9), a little less than two miles to the south-west of the town. Uncertainty surrounds how much of the other building material reported by Hayward and Allen can be associated with the second-century occupation of Insula IX, rather than be dismissed as residual from the monumental/palatial building of the first century A.D. (Fulford 2008). MB 1 certainly had one tessellated floor which is likely to have contained a mosaic. It is reasonable therefore to surmise that it employed some of the Purbeck (south-east Dorset) mosaic materials identified by John Allen. The Isle of Purbeck and the shores of Poole Harbour were also the source of the Kimmeridge shale, the black-burnished pottery BB 1 (above), and the Purbeck marble used for mortars, as well as for building decoration, from Insula IX.

The evidence from both capital projects, the building of the Period 3 houses and structures, and recurrent activity emphasises the variety and importance of the interactions with the immediate hinterland, extending as far as the Alice Holt potteries, some 15 miles to the south-east of *Calleva*. Beyond the local in this definition we can point to a variety of regional links: to the south-west to the Isle of Purbeck and Poole Harbour in south-east Dorset; to the west to the Forest of Dean and South Wales; to the north towards the Oxfordshire pottery kilns; to the south towards Lodsworth (West Sussex) (if that source of querns continued in the second century); and to the east to London, the likely source of all the imported pottery, etc. in Insula IX. In terms of quantity it is the (ceramic) imports and, therefore, London which dominate the regional relations of *Calleva* in the second century A.D.

PERIOD 4

The notable developments of Period 4 and the third century were the demolition of MB 2 and the expansion of MB 1 to create a single, large town-house, MB 3. Apart from the demolition and robbing of walls at the north-east end of MB 1, which united Room 1 with the surrounding corridor, it is not certain whether this house was otherwise completely demolished. Even if the remains of other structures in the excavated area are difficult to define, a further major development of Period 4 is the intensification of pit digging in the south-east of the excavated area. Some of this activity is probably to be associated with a timber building, MRTB 4, and the hearth 2037. This and a second timber building, MRTB 5, were constructed at right angles to the north–south street.

For reconstructing the life and occupation of the new town-house MB 3 we are almost entirely dependent on the material recovered from the occupation spreads to the south and the assumption that they relate to the inhabitants of the house. There is no evidence for the continuation of the Period 3 timber building in the north-east corner of the insula and this space appears to have become derelict. The concentration of pits and wells in the south-east of the excavated area suggests that their contents should be directly linked with MRTB 4. However, closer examination suggests the possibility of two groups, since two pits, 3102 and 3406, lie a little to the south of the others and may be linked with a building beyond the limit of the excavation to the south. The remaining two pits are also close to the two wells 1750 and 5735, which are the only two functional wells within the entire excavated area in Period 4. Despite their relative distance from the main house, it seems unlikely that they did not serve it, as well as the occupants of MRTB 4 and 5. If the wells were connected with the town-house, it remains possible that their filling and associated finds also reflect the life of the house, rather than the adjacent MRTB 4.

THE TOWN-HOUSE MB 3 (FIG. 149)

With the exception of Room 1 at the north-east end of the building with its associated hearths and traces of metalworking, it is not possible to identify contexts which are certainly associated with the life of the building rather than its construction, or, in a few cases, where fourth-century material has been identified, activity which post-dates the demolition of the building. Although we have been inclined to interpret the house as having an upper storey, there can be no certainty of this. Peter Warry has commented on the scarcity of flat tile, which would normally have been used for bonding courses in the otherwise flint fabric of the building, and it



A



B

FIG. 149. Two pictorial interpretations of Period 4 by Margaret Mathews.

(a) This, based on FIG. 147c, shows MB 3 as a fairly smart town-house with a timber-framed extension over the former MB 2 and a single-storey workshop area on the right, all roofed in tile. Metalworking is in progress in the workshop and the amphora attests the continuing evidence for imported goods. The fence on the right is suggested by excavated post-holes and the figures in the foreground hold pelts, suggested by the evidence for the skinning of animals at this time.

(b) Here the upper part of the building is shown as a continuous build in timber with a thatched upper roof as in FIG. 147b. The suggestion is of a less prestigious building than its predecessor in Period 3. The presence of livestock is not directly evidenced for this phase, but is assumed. The bee skeps and the herb bed reflect the environmental evidence in Ch. 16.

is true that the foundations of the new walls which extended the wall lines of MB 1 were slight — indeed, in the case of the extended, internal, south-east-facing wall of MB 1, no more than 0.12m in depth. However, it is quite possible that the superstructure of the new building was of timber frame resting on dwarf-wall foundations. We should also take into account the effect of hearths on the configuration of internal space. These are concentrated at the northern end of the house, suggesting that this space, at least, was open to the roof. In the light of the evidence and constraints, several interpretations present themselves: that the original MB 1 was entirely built of masonry and included an upper, full or half storey, but that the extension which replaced MB 2 was only of a single, or one-and-a-half storeys in masonry. Alternatively, the entire building was of timber frame and of one-and-a-half or two storeys, or the new extension was of two-storey, timber-frame construction alongside a retained, one-and-a-half or two-storey MB 1 entirely of masonry (see Mathews, Ch. 19).

In earlier interim reports we interpreted MB 3 as an aisled hall (e.g. Clarke and Fulford 2002, 139–41), placing emphasis on the layout of the new wall-foundations cutting through the remains of MB 2. This assumed that all the room divisions of MB 1 were also taken down to give a continuous internal space, and that the north-west-facing outer wall originally extended the full length of the building. In fact we cannot be certain either that Rooms 2 and 3 did not remain intact, in which case the open areas of the building are confined to each end, or that the north-west-facing outer wall of MB 1 was extended south-west.

Uncertainty about the structure and ground-plan of the new town-house also extends to its interior decoration. There is no surviving trace of wall plaster and, apart from Room 2 of the old MB 1, no indication of the floor surfacing of the new house. However, a number of loose tesserae of dolomite cementstone in Room 4 of the new house may be linked with the waste from the manufacture of tesserae of similar material from shallow, Period 4 pits, immediately to the south of the house, and taken as evidence for the existence of a nearby tessellated floor.

FAMILY MATTERS: THE OCCUPANTS OF MB 3

MB 3, described as House 1 by the Victorian excavators in 1893, was created by extending the footprint of MB 1 over that of the demolished MB 2. We have already argued that those two earlier town-houses belonged to the same property and that they represented the homes of two kin groups, representing a development of the two units identified in the underlying ERTB 2, a pairing which has been observed by John Smith (1978; 1997) in villas. The implication of the merging of the two houses is that it represents significant change, either of family organisation, perhaps through the departure of one kin group, or a reduction in the size of households, such that they could be housed under a single roof, or the occupation of the property by a new or unrelated family group. Perhaps the only pointer for there being continuation of occupation by the same kin group is that, although significant change was introduced at the north-east end of MB 1, its footprint was retained. Indeed those changes to MB 1 could have been undertaken at a different time to the construction of the extension which replaced MB 2. However, the new house, MB 3, contains two ‘halls’, one at each end of the building, but with one containing more evidence of hearths and possible metalworking than the other, while the mosaic-floored reception room in MB 1 appears to have been downgraded with no evidence for the refurbishment of the floor. The new hall at the south-west end may have become the principal room of the new house, while at the same time, with its counterpart at the opposite end of the building, preserving the duality of the two earlier houses.

The new building is impressive in its size, and one of the larger town-houses of *Calleva Atrebatum*, even if almost nothing survives to determine the degree of internal splendour. Aggrandisement, rather than reconstruction to match the changing needs of the resident kin group, may have been a significant motivating force behind the project. There is undoubtedly a trend, already evident in successive phases of timber building in Verulamium up to the fire of A.D. 155, towards larger houses from the mid-second century onwards (Frere 1983). This can also be seen at Colchester (e.g. Culver Street and Lion Walk) (Crummy 1984; 1992). It is likely, too, that the larger, winged corridor and courtyard-plan houses, such as those across the north–south street in Insula I, at

Silchester originate from the mid-second century onwards. The decision to build MB 3 may have been driven solely by the desire to emulate peers.

MRTB 4 AND 5

The evidence of further buildings within the excavated area is confined to the south-east where there are traces of two structures, one which coincides with the footprint of Late Roman Building 5 and the other whose ground-plan partly coincides with that of Late Roman Building 1. Neither of these structures has much substance in terms of wall outlines, rather than floor surfaces, but we can be more confident in the existence of the southern building, given the association of a hearth and the close configuration of pits. Of the latter (and excluding the two wells) two (2434 and 2601) contain material which suggests they were filled after about the middle of the third century. In the case of the other two (3406 and 3102) the majority of the fills seem to be somewhat earlier in the third century. Whether the fills of these pits give a reliable clue as to the date of construction and the life of the building we cannot be so confident, since both they and MRTB 5 lie at the upper end of the Period 4 (Object 700) stratigraphic sequence. This would point to their belonging more to the second half of the third century.

OCCUPATIONS: MB 3 (FIG. 150)

The only certain evidence of the nature of the occupation associated with MB 3 is that which derives from the house itself. In this case elemental concentrations from hearths and burnt areas in Room 1 suggest continuity of metalworking from Period 3, in particular of both precious metal (gold and silver) and copper alloys. Although waste from both ironmaking and ironworking was recovered from Period 4 contexts, in particular from Room 4, it is not certain whether they can be associated with the occupation of the house, rather than with make-ups imported for its construction phase.

OCCUPATIONS ELSEWHERE

Waste from ironmaking and ironworking was recovered from across the excavated area. Though larger than in Period 3, the total amount is small and, as with the context of the slag associated with MB 3, the presence of relatively large quantities in the make-up layer for Late Roman Buildings 1 and 5 suggests the possibility that it was imported for this purpose from outside the insula. By comparison the quantities of the larger slag masses recovered from the pits and wells are very small and no significant collections of microscopic hammerscale were recovered from contexts which were wet-sieved. If we see the contents of the pits as reflecting more closely the activities carried out in their immediate vicinity, then ironmaking and ironworking were insignificant in the third century in our area of Insula IX, though, by implication, of greater importance elsewhere in the town.

The only other craft activity which can certainly be associated with this area of Insula IX is the preparation of tesserae, evidenced by the waste deposited in pits associated with MRTB 5 immediately to the south of MB 3. However, it is possible that this activity related only to the construction of the house MB 3.

Although we do not have the micromorphological evidence to indicate the presence of herbivores within the excavated area in Period 4, the presence of bone of neonatal/foetal sheep/goat and of pig as well as one of a calf strongly suggests that animal husbandry continued to be an important strand in the life of the inhabitants of Insula IX. Indeed, beetles which feed on the droppings of domestic animals on pasture and on their bedding and fodder, as well as those which occur in other categories of foul organic material including dung, were found in the waterlogged fills of the early third-century well 5735. To animal husbandry we should also add the possibility of bee keeping. The remains of honey bee from well 5735 suggest the presence of a colony close by.

Systematic exploitation of animals is evidenced in two ways. First, there is the incidence of large mammal limb bone with evidence for the removal of the marrow for a variety of possible purposes

and subsequently for boiling to produce grease and glue. This practice is more common than in Period 3 (above, p. 332). Second, study of the dog bone has revealed systematic evidence of the knife marks associated with skinning, rather than disarticulation in preparation for cooking (and there is no other evidence for butchery of dogs in this period). These bones are concentrated in the pits and make-ups around MRTB 4 in the south-east corner of the excavated area and suggest that the inhabitants prepared the pelts from young adult or sub-adult, probably female, dogs for the market. Although present in Period 3, this practice is well established in Period 4. The bones of two badgers also show the same evidence for the removal of their pelts.

For the status and lifestyle of the occupants of MB 3 and of the timber buildings to its south, we have a comparable range of evidence as for Period 3, but, given the scarcity of occupational contexts associated with the house, we have to look to the material from the spreads to the south of MB 3 (Object 700), where there is still a considerable element of residuality in the 'small finds' assemblage, which includes bone hairpins, brooches and toilet instruments. There is not a single third-century brooch — indeed, only a wire armlet or anklet may be of third-century date! The majority of items which might be contemporary with the third-century occupation, such as the beads and hairpin from pit 3406 and the bead, hairpin and armlet from pit 2434, are confined to the south-east area.

While the ratio of all types of imported tableware pottery remains high at about 8 per cent in the large assemblage from the Period 4 occupation spreads, it is dominated by residual material. This is particularly true of the closely datable samian, with only one context (3836) at the top of the stratigraphic sequence of Object 700 with probable third-century material. This layer also contains a high proportion (21 per cent) of South-East Dorset BB1, which otherwise doubles its overall representation from Period 3 to Period 4 to 6 per cent, partly at the expense of slightly reduced supply from the other, main regional producer, the Oxfordshire ware industry.

The absence of samian contemporary with its date of deposition in the third century is also evident in the case of the south-east pits and wells, which otherwise have comparable ratios of imported tableware to the southern occupation spreads, but a high representation of regional wares, particularly BB1, comparable to that from the late context 3836 in Object 700. Altogether there is nothing to distinguish the composite character of the ceramic assemblages from the south-east pits and wells from that single, late context in the southern occupation spreads. However, in comparison with Object 700 as a whole, there is a distinctively higher proportion of regional (cooking) wares from the south-east pits and wells.

If we look to the glass from Period 4 for evidence of the replacement of ceramic table and drinking wares with glass, we find almost none. Denise Allen comments that there is less glass altogether from Period 4 and notes that there are no more than five examples (fragments) altogether of third-century glass bowls, cups and plates, some of which may be imported. There is, therefore, almost no evidence for tableware, including drinking vessels, of either ceramics or glass, in Period 4. One possibility to explain these lacunae is that the third century saw the rise of the manufacture of pewter tableware. Notoriously difficult to date, with deposition predominantly associated with the fourth century, it is worth noting that the one stratified example of a pewter mould from the large collection from the nearby forum-basilica is associated with a late third-century coin (Fulford and Timby 2000, 72, 390–1). Another possibility is that, on grounds of economy, perhaps, more wood was being used for vessels in the third century.

Assuming that the high representation of regional wares has some status implications, it is interesting to note that, with one exception, the only high-status and continental-made items from Period 4 were also found in the south-east pits and well 5735. These include the complete knife or razor with its unique, zoomorphic, ivory handle, the handle of the rare 'foot-handled' copper-alloy jug, the silver-in-glass bead, and the fragment of the necklace of beryl and gold. The exception is the decorative peg from an ivory *pyxis* from the occupation spreads of Object 700. The evidence of the glass tells a similar story to that of the 'small finds'. With one possible exception, all the glass of early third-century date, and thus contemporary with Period 4, was found in the south-eastern pits and wells. This includes the (rare in Britain) continental-made 'Mercury flask' from pit 2434. The concentration of the high-status finds from the south-east area of the excavation raises the question whether they might derive from the occupants of MRTB



FIG. 150. A view from the doorway of MB 3 south-eastwards across the gravel yard by Margaret Mathews. The scene incorporates several aspects of the evidence for life in Period 4. There is little evidence for the structural detail of the two buildings aligned at right angles to the street but they are located as found, the far building (MRTB 5) here shown with a stone-tile roof to reflect evidence for stone roofing (Ch. 9). Activity in the vicinity surrounds the skinning and preparation of pelts, including those of dogs, as suggested in Ch. 14. Well 1750 is shown with a wooden cover suggested by the evidence of joiner's dogs in several pits and wells (Ch. 6). The shack on the right is located over cess-pit 2434, although there is no direct evidence of a covering structure. The bee skeps and the herb bed and the presence of animals, evidenced by their dung, are derived from the environmental evidence in Ch. 16. The enjoyment of imported goods is represented by the amphora and the more elegant lady in the background is suggested by the many finds of bone pins and other dress items from this area. Beyond the confines of the potholed yard, the next property is shown as representative of a state of dilapidation that must have always been an element of the townscape. Across the north-south street a more imposing building, facing away from the street, is on the location of the large courtyard house in Insula I excavated by Joyce and the Antiquaries. In the background on the right the Roman forum can be seen above some other smarter houses in the 'town centre'.

4, rather than from MB 3, or from a combination of the latter and a household to the south beyond the edge of the excavated area. With one unique and two very rare (for Britain) objects, this would imply a higher status for MRTB 4 than its insubstantial structural remains would otherwise indicate. This point is developed further in relation to the associated food remains.

Overall, the problem remains that there are very few finds, except among the regional and local pottery, which clearly belong to the third century. This raises the question as to how much of the 'residual' material was really rubbish churned up from earlier occupation as opposed to long-lived items disposed of for the first time in the third century.

Importantly, however, the greater incidence of styli than in Period 3 and the wooden writing-tablet from well 5735 point to the continuing literacy of the inhabitants of our area of Insula IX, including from the town-house and MRTB 4. There are also graffiti on pottery attributable to Period 4.

The evidence of diet derives principally from the animal bone and from the waterlogged seeds

and plant remains which were recovered from well 5735 in the south-east of the excavated area. Of the main domesticates cattle is a little more important as a source of meat in Period 4 than earlier, and caprines outnumber pig. Along with domestic fowl, wild animals and birds, a small amount of, mostly freshwater, fish was also eaten. There is a very small amount of oyster both from the south-east pits and wells and from the occupation spreads of Object 700. Unlike in the Period 3 pits in the south-east, cattle predominate in all the Period 4 pits in the south-east (except the Victorian-excavated well 1750). Domestic fowl, wild birds and wild animals are also present in all these pits. The remains recovered from well 5735 point to the consumption of fruits — apple, blackberry, bullace, damson, plum and imported fig and grape — while other cultivated plants such as black mustard, celery, coriander, dill and spelt wheat were also present, as were shell fragments of hazelnuts and walnuts. Together this evidence supports that of the material finds that the inhabitants of the south-east MRTB 4 enjoyed a varied diet including imported fruits. Imports also extended to olive oil (Dressel 20 from Baetica), also found in the occupation spreads, and to imported fish, if that is the correct identification of the contents of the single (and early) find of a southern Portuguese or Spanish Almagro 50 amphora from pit 3406.

POPULATION AND WATER

In terms of the definite, well-defined floor area of buildings associated with Period 4, there is almost no change from Period 3, since the new house MB 3 simply represents the amalgamation of the two earlier masonry houses, amounting to just under 500m². Taking account of the loss of the timber building to the north-east of MB 3, there is a reduction by 42 per cent to 130m² in the surface area of associated timber buildings, in this case MRTB 4 and 5, with their less well defined structural arrangements, compared with Period 3. All of this might suggest that the number of inhabitants within the excavated area was also slightly reduced. Such an interpretation would be supported by the evidence of the wells. Although there are two associated with Period 4 in the south-east of the excavation trench, where there was only one in Period 3, the dating evidence would suggest that one (1750) followed the other (5735). The final filling of the latter appears to precede the felling of the wood for the lining of 1750. We do not know for certain when well 1750 was filled because the Victorian excavation removed the vast majority of the fill. However, there was sufficient recognition of the slumping caused by the consolidation of the fill at the time of the construction of Late Roman Building 1 at the end of the third century for an extra depth of foundation to be provided. This might well indicate a recent infilling, perhaps just prior to the building of the new house in *c.* A.D. 300. While the number of inhabitants of the larger property within the excavated area may have declined a little compared with Period 3, there is less certainty for the northern property where we do not have evidence of a Period 4 well. Given that we probably only have a small proportion of that property within the excavated area, it is possible that a Period 4 well lies just beyond the edge of the trench. Overall, therefore, we suggest that the number of inhabitants within the excavated area, and particularly those associated with the larger property, was slightly less (at 30 (single storey) or 60 (two storey)) than in Period 3.

RITUAL BEHAVIOUR

The nature of possible votive or 'structured' deposits in Period 4 differs considerably from Period 3 (cf. Eckardt, Ch. 18). Whereas, as we have seen, objects of ceramic or metal dominate such deposits belonging to the earlier period and particularly in association with the construction of buildings, in Period 4 there is a greater emphasis on deposits involving articulated animal remains, particularly in association with pits and wells. In relation to buildings, however, we should also note the burial of a partial sheep skeleton in the make-ups associated with MB 3. Perhaps the most striking deposit of Period 4 is that of the articulated skeleton of a 6–8-month-old dog, probably a complete carcass at the time of deposition, associated with the knife or razor with ivory handle depicting mating dogs, from pit 2601, which has been commented on by Crummy, Clark and Eckardt (above, Chs 6, 14 and 18). That there is considerable meaning to the deposited artefacts and animal bone in this pit is given added weight by the presence of

the remains of two other dogs and, perhaps more significantly, the associated occurrence of five raven bones, probably from the same bird. Was the young dog a sacrifice? Timby also notes the occurrence of the sherd of a vessel which had been doubly pierced before deposition. Of course the latter may be part of the otherwise apparently insignificant material culture associated with this pit — sherds in the soil with which it was filled, but a find like this does raise the question as to what might or might not have meaning beyond that of household rubbish. In this particular case we are not helped by the massive disturbance of the pit, and consequent 'loss' of finds, by the digging of the foundations for Late Roman Building 1. In trying to gain insight into this deposit, it is interesting to note, and this may well be more than a coincidence, that, as we have seen above, dogs, through the pelts which they provided, made an important contribution to the livelihood of the inhabitants of MRTB 4. But what prompted this deposit, which involved the loss of what has proved to be the most exceptional find from Periods 3 and 4, remains tantalisingly elusive.

Pit 2601 represents the only example of the deposition of a complete carcass of a dog from Period 4, and in circumstances which would appear to have a strong ritual connotation. Elsewhere, with one exception of articulating vertebrae from well 1750, the basal contexts of pits and wells contain disparate bones of dogs from up to four different animals.

This mixed character of the dog bone assemblage is also typical of other animal and bird remains from the lowest contexts of the wells, which also merit comment. In particular we can point to the occurrence of the bones of raven, probably from a single bird, in a primary construction context of well 1750. Possibly just as significant are the bones of further wild animals and bird — hare, red deer and woodcock — from the same context. Red deer, hare and goose are also reported from well 5735 and there is similar representation of wild animals and birds from other pits. Ingrem (above, p. 268) also raises the question whether the deposition of single bones of horse may have a symbolic significance, for example, the single tibia from pit 3102.

Other than the association of dog and dog-handled knife, there is no clear patterning in the material culture deposited in the Period 4 pits and wells. Crummy makes the case for the handle of the very rare, foot-handled jug from the basal fill of well 5735 being a deliberate votive deposit, observing that, had the body of the vessel broken away, it, too, would have been recovered. The exceptionally rare find of a writing-tablet, in this case of maple wood, was also recovered from the bottom of this well. At a more mundane level, and recalling comparable pairs of such finds in Period 3, Crummy notes the occurrence of three iron joiner's dogs from pit 3102. Also from the base of this pit Timby records that a small unguent flask had been deliberately pierced, recalling the sherds from pit 2601, while from the basal fills of pit 3406 came the only other complete vessel from Period 4 — a Nene Valley colour-coated box lid, an item rare in a Silchester context. Associated with the latter was most of a BB1 jar and substantial parts of other jars. Most of a BB1 jar was also recovered from the basal fills of pit 2434, which also produced the partial skeletons of two badgers as well as bones of other wild animal and bird.

Altogether there are items and associations of items which have attracted comment in relation to the possibility of purposive, votive deposition from all the Period 4 pits and wells, including 1750, from which the majority of the contents were removed without description in 1893.

HUMAN REMAINS

The remains of three neonates were recovered from Period 4, from three different contexts among the occupation spreads to the south of MB 3. In two cases the remains were represented by two bones, in the third by a single bone. As with the remains in Period 3, we must suppose that these occurrences resulted from the disturbance of complete burials.

DOG REMAINS

There are more than twice as many dog bones from Period 4 as from Period 3, the great majority deriving from young adult or sub-adult animals. This increased incidence may relate to a concentration of dog-processing activity in this period as evidenced by the knife marks left by the skinning of the animals. There is only one example where a dog was probably deposited

as a complete carcass, from pit 2601, discussed above. However, articulating cervical vertebrae were found at the base of well 1750. Bones from up to four different dogs were recovered from individual pits and wells, while up to five times as many individual dog bones were represented in Period 4 pits and wells compared with those from Period 3.

LEISURE

Period 4 includes further examples of counters of bone, glass and recycled pot sherds, some of which would probably have been used in Roman-style board games.

ENVIRONMENT

A frequently asked question by the public during the excavation of the masonry houses was whether we had found evidence for gardens. From the northern property, the backyard of a house situated in the north-west corner of the insula, there is evidence for the cultivation of the soils, but we cannot be more specific about the nature of the horticulture. It is only from well 5735 that we have any particular insight into the possible condition of the larger area occupied by MB 3. The presence of plants such as stinging-nettle indicates an unkempt appearance to the property associated with this town-house, a picture which would be in keeping with the evidence for the presence of domesticated animals and their waste. However, the presence of box and holly, also in the well, suggests that there was an ornamental garden somewhere in the vicinity, either further south in Insula IX, or across the street in Insula I to the east.

RELATIONS BEYOND CALLEVA

It is the material culture, particularly the ceramic, glass and stone, which gives insight into the wider connections of Insula IX in the third century. As we have seen there are also clearly imported — and rare — artefacts among the ‘small finds’, such as the foot-handled jug or the ivory-handled knife, while the water-logged deposits from well 5735 provide a few examples of imported foodstuffs, particularly fig. In that they contain less residual material than the layers, the contents of the pits and wells are particularly helpful in developing a picture of the wider contacts of the inhabitants of the insula, but Timby and Tyers also isolate a particular context among the occupation spreads (Object 700) south of the town-house which contains less obviously residual material than other layers among these deposits. Nevertheless it is still hard to isolate goods which were definitely imported, rather than simply finally deposited, in the third century. Central Gaulish samian, for example, accounts for 6 per cent of the pottery assemblage in the Period 4 layers but, with the exception of layer 3836, it is all residual. This is also true of the material from the south-east pits. In the case of layer 3836, which contains a small quantity of both Central and Eastern Gaulish (Rheinabern) sigillata, the typology of the South-East Dorset BB1 suggests a *terminus post quem* of c. A.D. 225–250. Conspicuous in this context is the representation of the regional ware, Dorset BB1, at 21.5 per cent by count of the group. The production of this ware is centred around Poole Harbour, more than 65 miles distant from Silchester. While Oxfordshire ware, also classified as a regional ware, is present in this assemblage, its production is centred only some 25 miles north of Silchester and may therefore be considered as more local. Alice Holt production, which accounts for more than half of the pottery assemblage, was located about 15 miles distance from Silchester. If we therefore discount one ‘regional’ ware as ‘local’ in this context, nevertheless over one fifth of the assemblage is otherwise non-local, with material imported from Gaul present, too. South-East Dorset BB1 is also well represented among all the south-east pits and wells with percentages by sherd count ranging from 14 to over 23 per cent. Nene Valley wares, produced in workshops about 90 miles distant from Silchester, are also present in these pits. Thus, if we discount the definitely residual material, it is clear that the contribution of extra-provincial trade in pottery is negligible in the third century. This is also true of the glass, where, of the handful of fragments which are ‘in period’, some were undoubtedly imports. On the other hand, connections are not just reduced to relations with near-neighbours, because of the

significant presence of distantly-produced regional wares, among which South-East Dorset BB1 is by far the most conspicuous. In terms of the ceramics, the rise of Dorset BB1 and the decline in representation of pottery from outside Britannia are the most notable features of Period 4 and the third century, representing significant change from Period 3. In terms of functionality the inhabitants of Insula IX acquired almost no new tableware, including drinking vessels, in the third century. As we have seen above, the dominant regional import, Dorset BB 1, whose representation in the Period 4 assemblage is equivalent to or greater than the combined representation of continental imports and other British regional wares, contributed only cooking wares.

Just as in Period 3, construction provides a different perspective on *Calleva's* relationship with both its immediate and more distant hinterland. MB 3 involved the use of similar, if not the same materials as those used for MB 1 and 2. Indeed there is a strong possibility that the building of MB 3 simply involved the re-cycling of the existing materials for foundations and walls. As Warry points out, it is difficult to re-use ceramic roofing materials unless they conform to one specification of size and cut-out, otherwise they will not fit together. There is also a singular lack of his later, type D *tegulae* from Insula IX. Whether this means that MB 3 was roofed with thatch or with stone slates, which begin to appear at Silchester in Period 4, is unclear. Roofing materials of both Stonesfield slate from west Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire and Pusey Flags from south Oxfordshire are present in Period 4. Some of the Brownstones, typically used for roofing as well as paving, could also have been employed in this way for MB 3. These new elements in the stone used at Silchester in the third century are paralleled by the appearance of other lithologies, either new to Silchester, or exploited in a significant way in the third century. These include shelly greensands, grey sandstones and Corallian limestone, all of which have been identified in quantity (along with flint, significantly in the majority) in the later third-century town wall (Sellwood 1984). Some of these 'new' materials are used in the foundations of MB 3. For decoration of the Period 4 town-house we have pointed to the waste from the manufacture of tesserae of Purbeck (south-east Dorset) dolomite cementstone as evidence of the possible use of this material in the flooring of MB 3. With a date of *c.* A.D. 200 this is the latest example of the use of this material in tessellated flooring outside south-east Dorset. Period 4 also sees the deposition of large numbers of tesserae of Portlandian sandstone from Swindon (Wilts.). Whether or not these were used in MB 3, they add to the Period 4 horizon of new lithologies employed both in Insula IX and Silchester more generally. While the pattern of stone exploitation points to a significantly greater regional presence in Period 4 than in Period 3 (allowing for the recycling of local flint), we should not overlook the continued requirement for resources likely to have been obtained locally, such as timber, thatch, chalk (for lime), gravel and clay for both the masonry and timber buildings.

The use of more regionally located stone sources complements the evidence of the ceramics which points to significantly greater regional interaction in the third century. Here there is greater emphasis on links with the north, west and south-west at the expense of the south and the east. To the north newly-exploited sources of stone complement existing links with the Oxfordshire potteries; to the west the presence of the Portlandian sandstone and the greater volume of material — roofing slates and paving — sourced from the Forest of Dean point to the intensification of this link; to the south-west the strong presence of SE Dorset BB 1 emphasises the importance of the connection with Purbeck and Poole Harbour. New Forest pottery, either supplied from the south via Winchester, or via the Portway, begins to appear in Period 4. While the local link to the south-east and the Alice Holt potteries, probably via the small town of Neatham, remains as strong as ever, the scarcity of imports and the end of the Verulamium-region pottery production indicate a decline in traffic to the east and London. With no convincing evidence to suggest the continuation of production of Lodsworth querns beyond the early second century, there is little or no indication of contacts to the south/south-east.

CONCLUSIONS

The period between the construction of the two small town-houses, MB 1 and 2, and the demolition of their successor, MB 3, was essentially one of continuity. Property boundaries

appear to have remained unchanged and, despite the demolition of the earlier houses and their replacement by a single dwelling, it is reasonable to suppose continuity of ownership, but change in family structure. Difficulties surround the nature and extent of ancillary, timber buildings and different levels of confidence can be placed in each of them — the main issue being the difficulty of identifying consistent evidence of structural supports, in the form of either posts or sleeper-beam-type construction. The existence of hearths, as in MRTB 1 and 4, or of pits grouped in close proximity, as with MRTB 4, provides good supporting evidence. While continuity of use into Period 3 is proposed for the Period 2 ERTB 1, a further five structures were newly built between Periods 3 and 4. With the exception of MRTB 1 and 2 whose footprints follow the ‘diagonal’ alignment, the remaining buildings, the first of which (MRTB 3) was built in Period 3, align with, and potentially open onto the north–south street. The three buildings, MRTB 3–5, which align with the north–south street indicate a gradual acceptance of the potential advantages of proximity to a main thoroughfare and point the way to the radical re-organisation of Insula IX towards the end of the third century. Together, they represent the gradual transition from a defiance towards the realities and consequences of the new-planned *Calleva* of the later first century A.D. to a full engagement by *c.* A.D. 300 (cf. Fulford *et al.* 2006, 249–52). By the third century we can identify at least one specialist trade associated with one of these timber buildings: the furrier, or processor of dog and other pelts, of MRTB 4.

The importance of these timber buildings is not only in their positioning and relationship with each other and the masonry town-houses, but in their very existence, complementing the stone-built structures and providing evidence of the density of building and occupation of the town which was not at all evident when Silchester was first excavated extensively in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. With a manner of construction which is very different from, say, the sleeper-beam and post-in-trench of the pre-Flavian and Flavian buildings on the site of the forum-basilica (Fulford and Timby 2000), it requires open-area excavation well beyond the limits of the masonry buildings to recognise their existence and recover their plans. While in Period 3 the new timber buildings (excluding the partial footprint of MRTB 2) add a further *c.* 178m² (27 per cent) to the built environment, additional to the surface areas of MB 1 and 2, in Period 4 the figure is 134m², 21 per cent more than the footprint of MB 3. Setting aside ERTB 1 with its presumed function as a byre in Period 3, this suggests a population of Insula IX approximately 20–25 per cent greater than that which might be inferred from the masonry buildings alone. In both periods, however, successive wells in a single location remained the sole source of ground water for the larger property, which also embraced all the buildings located within the excavation area. On the whole, therefore, the population derived from our excavated sample of Insula IX seems to have remained relatively stable throughout Periods 3 and 4.

We have been concerned to identify different occupations among the inhabitants of our area of Insula IX. What we cannot do, without experimentation, is to easily assess the scale of the various activities which we have recognised, beyond the fact that they take place in a domestic or domestic-cum-workshop environment. We can, however, trace continuities and discontinuities and, to a degree, the changing intensity of different occupations through time. However, there is also the question of residuality. We have seen that there is a strong residual element in all categories of material culture, which, by implication, must also extend, but in a way impossible to systematically identify, to the faunal remains. Therefore we can attach greater confidence to the presence of occupations among the households within Insula IX when they can be localised by *in-situ* evidence. At a second level of confidence we could include the evidence of the contents of pits and wells and, to a lesser extent, some of the occupation spreads which tend to include a greater proportion of contemporary material than, say, the make-ups of buildings. The latter, with a significantly high proportion of residual material, as we have found to be the case with MB 1 to 3, present the third, or least reliable source of evidence.

In the case of metalworking we could be persuaded by the macroscopic remains of crucibles and slags that this was a very minor concern and that, possibly, all the waste documented within the excavation area was introduced from elsewhere in the town to be used as make-ups, etc. However, the geochemistry localises the working of copper alloy and of precious metals to MB 1 and, in Period 4, MB 3 and the restriction to the same part of the successive buildings implies

a continuity of activity through the second and third centuries. Our few crucible fragments and the unfinished copper-alloy casting may well belong to this activity. Our assumption is that production, at a household level of manufacture, was, however, for sale or exchange beyond the household. There is also the evidence of ironmaking as evidenced by the slag basins and the forging residues. This could also be described as at a household level, but, unlike the working of the non-ferrous metals, we can demonstrate a greater volume of activity in Period 4 (and greater still in the fourth century (Tootell 2006)). With the need for iron for fittings and nails for the various buildings, it is quite possible that all of this activity was dedicated to meeting domestic needs within Insula IX. However, the relative increase, period to period, might suggest otherwise. In contrast, there is no evidence for the working of copper alloys or precious metals from the fourth century and later within the excavated area of Insula IX.

The difficulty of distinguishing from this scale of evidence between production for home consumption and for the market is also highlighted by the evidence for agricultural activities, particularly animal husbandry. In addition to the skeletal evidence of neonates of cattle, sheep or goat, and pig, there is also the proxy evidence of the insect remains from the Period 4 well and the micromorphology from the decaying Period 3 ERTB 1 for the presence of herbivores within this excavated area of Insula IX. The absence of the application of micromorphological approaches other than to ERTB 1/MRTB 1 for either Period 3 or 4 means that we cannot use evidence from this methodology to compare between periods. The piercing of scapulae taken to indicate that some of the meat was cured is also difficult to read. It could have been just to meet domestic needs, or for sale or exchange, or for a combination of all of these. In contrast with animal husbandry, there is a marked absence in the botanical record of evidence for the local cultivation and processing of cereals. This is supported not only by the absence of carbonised, botanical evidence, as residues of the drying and processing of the crop, but also by the rarity of querns in Periods 3 and 4, and beyond into the fourth century. The bulk of the assemblage of (fragmentary) handmills, often with evidence of re-use as whetstones, is made up of the Lodsworth variety which seems to have ceased to be manufactured by the late second/early third century (Shaffrey 2003, 161–3). Once that category is taken out, we are left with very small numbers, of which a proportion is probably residual. Although the botanic record indicates the presence of some whole grain, is it possible that cereals were also reaching Insula IX already processed into flour? Might we interpret the negative evidence from Insula IX as further support for the increased use of animal or water-powered mills in Roman Britain?

Pointing more to the meeting of needs beyond the household is the evidence for the extraction of marrow and fats from the long bones, particularly of cattle. Once again the quantities are not great, and experimentation is required to understand better the scale of this activity in terms of the quantities of derived fats, but there does appear to be an increase in this processing activity over time with the greatest incidence in the fourth century (Ingrem 2006). On the other hand the household engaging with the skinning of dogs and badgers for their pelts is confined to Period 4. In all cases the occupational activity attested from our excavation area can be associated with either *in-situ* evidence, or that derived from pits and wells, with further confirmation from occupation spreads.

This thread of occupational activity through Periods 3 and 4 complements the evidence from both the houses themselves and from the associated material and biological evidence that our households are not particularly wealthy. In terms of masonry buildings we have two modest town-houses in Period 3 and, though the Period 4 house is larger, it does not show evidence of having been well decorated. Indeed, while we have lost the majority of the evidence for the internal decoration of the three town-houses, it would appear that either MB 1 was not completed, with, for example, no surface laid over the north-west-facing corridor, or that no attempt was made to make repairs after heavy wear had reduced the surface to the underlying clay and some of the space was thereafter dedicated to cooking. So, too, it is questionable whether a surface was laid in Room 1 before it was turned over to metalworking. After the demolition of MB 2 to make way for the single dwelling MB 3, no attempt appears to have been made to repair or replace any internal surface within the footprint of the predecessor building, MB 1. The extent of the robbing of MB 2 is such that we cannot draw any conclusions about its finished state or that of

the south-west end of the successor dwelling, MB 3. While the initial construction of the shells of the three masonry buildings represents two phases of substantial, but short-lived investment, their successive occupants did not enjoy a high standard of physical environment in terms of internal decor. The question of how far the town-houses were decorated internally recalls similar debate about the degree of finish of the flooring and interior decor of the nearby Hadrianic-Antonine forum-basilica (Fulford and Timby 2000, 573–6).

This is in some contrast with the evidence for daily life as seen through their diet which shows considerable variety: domesticated and wild meat and a range of cereals, legumes and fruits. Fish, both freshwater and marine, in comparison with the fourth century (Ingrem 2006), are rare, but, though equally not plentiful, there are exotic imports of figs and grapes as well as of wine and olive oil, the latter carried in ceramic amphorae. Oysters are also not abundant — a situation which pertains through the fourth century (Williams 2006). It is difficult to make judgements about the overall availability of food, and it is reasonable to assume years of plenty and years of shortages, but the consistent variety suggests a good standard of living.

With the material culture the evidence of affluence, identity and status becomes more difficult and paradoxical. All the chapters reporting and discussing the material culture draw attention to the significant amounts of residual material of first or first/early second-century A.D. date. The question is how much of this material is genuinely residual — rubbish recycled through the excavation of earlier deposits for wall foundations, pits and wells — and how long-lived it was, remaining in use well beyond its period of manufacture. We can obtain some insight into the length of the life (and, presumably, the use) of an object when we have indisputable evidence of its continued use as a complete or near-complete item. So, for example, we note the continuing use of the large, Silchester ware jar, latterly probably for cooking, during the life of MB 1, for more than a century after the time when this pre-Flavian ware was being produced. A Silchester ware jar, at least fifty years old at the time of deposition, provided one of two foundation deposits in the make-ups of MB 2. The glass ‘Mercury’ bottle from the Period 4 pit 2434 may also have been about one hundred years old when it came to be deposited. Less surprising, perhaps, is the likely one hundred years or more age of the handle of the copper-alloy *Fusshenkelkrug* deposited at the base of well 5735, filled in the early third century. If we do not allow for numerous long-lived items in our Period 3 and 4 contexts, we are confronted with a serious dearth of material culture for the second and third centuries. The paradox of our finds is that the more representative collections, in terms of the number of items approximately contemporary with the presumed date of deposition, are associated with the poorer and least robust structures. In Period 3, on the face of the range and number of finds — copper-alloy, glass, ceramic, etc. — associated with it, MRTB 1/ERTB 1 would appear to be relatively rich. While it may be correct to take this evidence at face value and assume that the rigorous cleaning of the two town-houses and their yards has removed all trace of contemporary material and biological culture, we have advanced the suggestion that the area of the decaying ERTB 1 was used as a midden and a byre, with the possibility of continued human occupation not completely discounted. The contrast between the relative affluence, sophistication and ‘Romanisation’ displayed through the material culture found in and around MRTB 1 and the stalling of animals is striking. But the animals indicate another source of wealth and the implication of nearby pasture for grazing links our occupants of MB 1 and, perhaps, too, of MB 2, to land owned or rented outside the urban centre. We have argued that the continuity of building alignment from Period 2 to Period 3 can be seen as at least the second generation of occupation by the same extended family. Nina Crummy has made a strong case (2007) that the toilet instruments, particularly the nail-cleaners, deposited in the foundations of the houses ‘clearly demonstrate that the builders, and presumably therefore also the inhabitants, of MB 1 and 2 were of British origin’. It is hard, therefore, not to identify the occupants of MB 1 and 2 as well established ‘old family’, if not particularly affluent members of Callevan society, and, perhaps, of the town’s *ordo*.

In accounting for the relatively rich collection of material culture, including a unique knife with ivory handle, from the Period 4 pits in the vicinity of MRTB 4, we have argued that it probably does derive from its occupants, rather than those of MB 3. The combination of the particular material find, its association with the dog and other finds within the pit, and, from adjacent

contexts, with the skinning of dogs and other animals generates a powerful identity for at least some of the occupants. While some special circumstances may surround these deposits, as they certainly do in the case of pit 2601, we might otherwise regard the total assemblage from these south-east pits as a benchmark of the circumstances of a poorer household in third-century *Calleva*. If we accept this association, however, we are still left with the almost complete absence of finds to be associated with MB 3. Nevertheless, the continuation in use of the same footprint as the masonry buildings of Period 3 suggests the third generation of occupancy by the same family with broadly comparable ranking in Callevan society as in Period 3, but working the income to be derived from rental somewhat harder; with the buildings MRTB 4 and 5 occupying about 25 per cent more of the north–south street frontage than the equivalent building in Period 3. To conclude: if, in general, we infer that a significant proportion of material culture had a life expectancy well beyond its period of manufacture, and that much of the first and first/early second century was indeed used in the second and third centuries, none of the households associated with our two periods of town-house was materially prosperous, an observation which goes against the traditional association of masonry town-houses with relative prosperity, and which contrasts with the dietary evidence. Indeed, craft and occupational activity were more important in Period 4 than in Period 3.

To add to the contradictory or ambiguous messages about relative wealth and status, just as we have noted that Period 4 has more indications of craft activity than earlier, particularly in respect of the processing of animal bone and the making and forging of iron — two trends which further increase in the fourth century — so, too, it has produced more evidence of regional trade (at the expense of overseas traffic), with interactions extending more than 100km from *Calleva*. This derives from two sources in particular, pottery and stone. Both commodities represent goods which were consumed within the town, rather than raw materials to which value was added by further processing. While the ceramic proxy of long-distance, overseas trade is almost completely lacking in Period 4, it is important to note the presence of figs and grapes/raisins, which are not normally associated with those ceramic amphorae which might be contemporary and are usually linked with olive oil and wine. In other words overseas trade continues, but not leaving much in the way of material culture residues. Earlier we commented that the lack of proxies for overseas trade implied a reduction of links between *Calleva* and London in Period 4. However, we note the occurrence of SE Dorset BB 1 in London, which, while relatively high in the third century with representation by weight of 5 to 11 per cent, is considerably lower than comparable figures from Period 4 in Insula IX (Symonds and Tomber 1991, 71–7). This might suggest that it reached London by road, via Silchester, rather than by sea, the proxy operating in the reverse direction than in the periods with relatively rich overseas imports reaching Silchester via London. Alice Holt/Farnham wares might also have reached London by road via Silchester.

The amount of evidence which can be attributed, admittedly with varying levels of confidence, to rituals within the domestic context in Insula IX is considerable, but changes over time. In particular we have noted the association of votive deposits with the construction of the Period 3 houses MB 1 and 2 and MRTB 1. While the burial of complete pots is the most obvious form of dedicatory deposit in these contexts, Crummy has made a strong case for interpreting the placement of complete sets of toilet instruments, as well as other artefacts, in the foundations in the same way. Ingreem has made a similar case in respect of certain articulated animal bone remains. By contrast the construction of MB 3 did not produce comparable evidence of convincing foundation deposits. On the other hand, there is a variety of evidence from the basal contexts of wells of both periods of rites associated with their commissioning or continued use. Again, and most obviously, this includes complete or near-complete ceramic flagons, as from Period 3 well 2234, but also the handles of containers for liquids, as the flagon and bucket handles from Period 4 well 5735. The animal and bird bone, including raven, from the construction contexts of 1750, which was otherwise emptied of its contents in 1893, are also very suggestive of deliberate deposition. Obviously votive deposits are by no means a *sine qua non* of wells. Of the four certain wells of Periods 3 and 4, it is not possible to identify with confidence a votive character to any of the contents of Period 3 well 5693. However, more comparative work needs to be done on the incidence and character of the faunal remains from wells. Pottery vessels deliberately pierced

at or about the point of maximum girth are also a regular feature of deposits in wells or pits (Fulford and Timby 2001) and we can identify two such occurrences in Periods 3 and 4 — a flagon from well 2234, and a small unguent flask from the basal layers of pit 3102. However, one of the two, otherwise complete, Alice Holt jars from the clay make-ups for MB 1 and MRTB 1 was also deliberately pierced. Isolated body sherds with evidence of perforations have been noted, e.g. from Period 4 pits 3102 and 2601. While discerning votive intent behind the contents of pits is fraught with difficulties (cf. Eckardt 2006), there can be some confidence in a ritual interpretation of the deposit of the fine, ivory-handled knife associated with the complete carcass of a young dog and the bones of a raven in Period 4 pit 2601. What thinking lies behind these acts of deposition is hard to imagine, but the focus of the evidence on dogs, including the skinning of dogs in the same, associated household, seems hardly a coincidence.

In considering change over time, and looking ahead to the fourth century, there does seem to be a shift away from deposits associated with house construction to special deposits in pits, and it is also true that the latter increase in their frequency from Period 4 onwards. Although special deposits cannot be identified in all wells, however, they do remain a consistent theme through the second and third centuries into the late Roman period. We can have no certainty about meanings, but if offerings associated with the construction of houses are to do with ensuring their success as buildings as well as their continuing existence, just as placed deposits in the bottom of wells may be to ensure a continuing flow of water, it is more difficult to rationalise the possible range of intent behind structured deposition in pits, other than to draw attention to the chthonic associations. Is there a deeper significance behind the increased incidence of the special deposits in pits other than wells in the later Roman period, from the third century onwards? Our consideration has so far been towards deposition where material culture is prominent, with biological remains less obvious. However, we should not overlook interments of complete skeletons of animals or humans, which remain exceptional in Periods 3 and 4. There is one example of a possibly complete infant burial from late in Period 3 and one probably complete dog carcass from Period 4, but the latter certainly associated with material culture. The remaining incidence of animal and human bone is almost exclusively of bones without evidence of articulation. This is not to say that dogs and infants were not originally buried intact, but that their remains have subsequently been disturbed and become widely distributed horizontally and vertically through the stratigraphic sequence. In the case of the remains of the skull of the adult human, we have to be alert to the possibility of residuality from the late Iron Age when there is evidence of adult inhumation within the settlement.

While the larger conclusion to be drawn from Insula IX in the second and third centuries is of stability over time, there is undoubted evidence, difficult though it is to quantify, of some change, particularly in regard to increased reliance on production and processing within the insula, rather than on income raised outside the insula or the town, or on food and materials brought in from the country estates of the town-dwellers. This was sufficient to ensure that quality of life as reflected in the evidence for diet and material wealth remained more or less unchanged over time. Nevertheless, together, and symbolised by the increased use of the frontage of the property along the north–south street, the changes point the way to the very marked dislocation evident at the end of Period 4 with the demolition of the town-house, the re-organisation of property boundaries and rebuilding within the insula. The fourth century then sees further intensification of the evidence for urban production, but in association with more modest architecture. Such evidence as there is for food and diet, however, shows, if anything, increased diversity compared with the situation in the second and third centuries, particularly in the exploitation of marine and freshwater fish.

A major implication for the consideration of the population of *Calleva Atrebatum* (and of Roman towns more generally in Britain and the North-Western provinces) is the potential impact of the addition of timber buildings to the plan of stone-founded structures. In Periods 3 and 4 the estimated increase of the built environment is, respectively, about 45 per cent (Period 3) and 25 per cent (Period 4). As we have seen (above, p. 332–3), if we extrapolate these kinds of increases across the town within the walls, and include provision for upper, or one-and-a-half storeys, the population of the town rises significantly by a factor of almost four from Boon's calculations

(1974, 61–2) — to over 15,000 in the second century, with the more conservative figure being about half, 7,500. With the extent of the built environment within the excavated area of Insula IX in the fourth century less, perhaps by about 30 per cent, than that of the third century, the local picture suggests a continued decline in the town's population after *c.* A.D. 300. When matched against the provision of wells in the second and third centuries, we note a probable reduction from two to one in the latter period, but rising again to three in the fourth century.