



PART IV: INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

Part IV contains a series of essays, all of which draw on the mapped evidence from past work, this survey and the in-depth literature review. In each chapter aspects of the study of Silchester are synthesised. In many cases this is again done within the context of an understanding of historiographical tradition showing how ideas have changed over time and evolved.

CHAPTER 11

CALLEVA'S ORIGINS

In the previous section the evidence for the development of the earthwork systems around Silchester was reviewed. It is now important to populate that enclosed landscape. This chapter reviews the evidence, combining field survey and excavation data with the geophysical evidence. This cannot compete with the detailed information from modern excavation in reconstructing the rhythms of daily life, such as the details of early occupation in the town that will shortly be revealed from the excavations in Insula IX, but this section does look at the broader picture emerging.

PRE-OPPIDUM

In the development of *oppida*, the lack of preceding Early and Middle Iron Age occupation on many of these sites has long been noted. Canterbury and Winchester are the obvious exception in Britain, though these appear to represent the re-use of sites after a gap (Blockley *et al.* 1995, 27–51; Qualmann *et al.* 2004, 90). In most cases the sites seem to appear suddenly together with their wealth of imports from the Roman world. However, if these sites were not already politically important centres, then what inspired or drew their first inhabitants to these locations? What was here before?

The first major sign of activity in the area is on the neighbouring promontory to the north, Mortimer Common, where there is a Bronze Age barrow cemetery, now largely within the woodland of Holden's Firs, though there are a number of outliers (FIG. 10.1). At the core, two bowl barrows and three bell barrows had been constructed in a line from the south-east to north-west. Alas no modern excavation has taken place to date them; but on the Silchester promontory itself there is nothing obviously comparable. Had an earlier large circular monument existed, with ditches more than 3–4 m wide, it is likely that the scale of the feature would have shown through the Roman-period geophysical noise above, just as the Inner Earthwork still managed to show.

Silchester's environs in the Early and Middle Iron Age were by no means an intensive agricultural zone; the site was situated on the poor heathland soils of the gravel plateaux, above the poorly drained clays of the Loddon valley. Far richer land lay to the north in the Kennet valley, or on the chalkland to the south. Timby's work on the pottery from many developer-funded projects in the region has revealed a picture of Early and Middle Iron Age sites on the chalk around Basingstoke as well as on the river gravels of the Thames and Loddon to the north and north-east, but almost nothing in the immediate vicinity. By way of contrast, the Later Iron Age marks a radical change

with settlement extending onto the plateau tops. The data show, within about 15 km of Silchester, 28 Middle Iron Age sites increasing to 37 in the Late Iron Age, amongst which there are 18 new foundations (Timby 2012, 138–45). The only early site close to *Calleva* is the Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age settlement (c. eleventh to fifth century B.C.) found to the east-north-east of Church Lane Farm during an evaluation (Fulford 2011). It is within this context that the undated linear earthworks *may* have been constructed and the plateau top and edges settled.

THE MISCELLANEOUS FINDS

While the area may not have been closely settled in later prehistory before the *oppidum*, it was not totally abandoned space either. Boon carefully noted a small but significant cluster of artefacts from the plateau which *might* relate to earlier activity, though not necessarily settlement, on the site. Identification of the material and parallels has been updated here:

TABLE II.I. POTENTIAL PRE-*OPPIDUM* FINDS

Neolithic polished stone axe and a flaked lance head (St John Hope 1903a, 423; Boon 1957, 218 n. 27).
A Middle Bronze Age flanged axe (Boon 1974, 303).
A Late Bronze Age ‘Wilburton’ sword (c. 1000–900 B.C.); the sword was of a late type, with slots instead of rivet-holes in the tang and shoulders (Pastscape reference – Letter, 19-Feb-1957. G.C. Boon) and was in a local collection by 1845, now at Stratfield Saye House (Anon. 1846a).
A La Tène I bronze brooch (Reading Museum neg. 1790, private hands) from the walled area (Boon 1957, 218 n. 27; 1969, 22). This was Hull’s ‘type 1 (A or B)+’ (or a more assertive type 1B in his index), regarded to be fourth century B.C. (Hull and Hawkes 1987, 105 no. 2920bis).
A glass eye-bead: turquoise glass with brown inlay outlined in white and containing blue spots, from the walled area (Boon 1957, 218 n. 27; fig. 16 no. 8; 1969, 22, fig. 8a.1). Boon identified others with the same design and colour from the ‘Princely burial’ or <i>Fürstengrab</i> at Reinheim (Saarland) c. 400 B.C. (Keller 1965, Taf. 26a, 26b 1–2). These conform to Guido’s Group 4, which she dated to the fourth or third century B.C., she considered them to be ‘not common’ (Guido 1978, 61–2, 127, pl. I.9).
A La Tène II Brooch: Hull’s type 3C (Hull and Hawkes 1987, 181, no. 4361).
A possible Montefortino helmet cheek-piece: Boon identified a fragment of sheet iron with bronze rosettes through it as the cheek-piece from a Montefortino-style helmet. The cheek-pieces, which are commonly found missing when the helmets are discovered, often had a trefoil design on them if decorated (Boon 1974, 36–7; cf. Paddock 1993, 573, fig. 174; Schaaff 1974). The identification is not implausible, especially now an increasing number of pre-conquest ‘Roman/Celtic’ helmets have been found in Britain, such as the contemporary and less decorated Coolus helmet from Bersted (Taylor <i>et al.</i> 2014, 121) and a recent find from outside Canterbury.

Added to this collection should be the radiocarbon date given to one of the skulls from the North Gate excavation of 550–200 B.C. (1sd OXA 8732). Collectively this material led Boon and later Fulford to wonder if there might not have been a fourth-century B.C. barrow on the plateau, and whether this association had been one of the criteria for selection of this site for the *oppidum* (Boon 1974, 36, 303–4; Fulford 2000a, 356–7). It may only be a coincidence, but the new town of Waldgirmes was established in the Lahn valley around 4 B.C. also on the site of a range of earlier La Tène burials (Becker and Rasbach 2015), perhaps in an attempt to legitimise new settlement by forming an association with the past.

THE PLATEAU EDGE ENCLOSURES

On the edge of the gravel terrace, at some point of unknown date, a series of enclosures was constructed (see p. 322, FIG. 9.8): the Rampier Copse enclosure, the Frith and the promontory cut off by the Flex Ditch. The geophysics, which sampled two of them, suggest there is nothing substantial inside, though geophysics can be deceptive. There is no direct dating evidence for the Frith or Flex Ditch; but we have some evidence for the Rampier Copse enclosure. That it is pre-*oppidum* seems most plausible as otherwise it makes no particular sense after the Inner Earthwork

was constructed. If cremation burials were inserted into the inside of the bank then they would provide a *terminus ante quem* for the structure. Its south-eastern side, mapped by Colt Hoare (FIG. 3.4), has long since been ploughed out; but this area correlates well with one of Corney's earliest distributions of pottery (PC:7, FIG. 6.62). Banks and ditches are not normally filled with pottery, so it could be that these were the result of the destruction of features cut into the bank which would give it a Late Iron Age *terminus ante quem*. While they remain imprecisely dated, the phenomenon of paired enclosures in the Early to Middle Iron Age is not uncommon in Wessex, with pairs at Gussage All Saints I and II, Winnall Down I and II, and Little and Great Woodbury (Davis 2008).

Looking slightly further afield at other enclosures in the vicinity, dating by analogy does not help us much. Williams-Freeman drew attention to the 4 ha multivallate Bullsdown Camp, just east of Bramley, only 5 km to the south-east of *Calleva* (SU 67082 58382). This was another enclosure on a plateau, in this case above the junction of the Bow Brook and the River Loddon. Unfortunately it too has no dating evidence associated with it and has not seen any excavation (Williams-Freeman 1915, 314–15; 1934, 109).

All of these have in common terrace-edge locations. The later Romano-British temple complex in Insula XXX developed in a comparable location. It was here by the temples and the East Gate that a pre-Caesarean gold coin (VA1205:S4 British B) was found (Bartlett 1854). This is significant because these coins disappeared very rapidly from hoards and circulation during or immediately after the Gallic Wars, so it is suggestive of activity before the generally accepted start of the *oppidum* (Creighton 2000, 67–8). Bartlett also reported a miniature axe *ex-voto* from the East Gate, two more of which came from the Antiquaries' excavations in Insula XXX (St John Hope 1903a, 422; Boon 1974, 156, 332). Yet more, though alas unprovenanced, had been recorded in Stair's collection from the site (Bartlett 1854, 57), but these need not necessarily be pre-Roman as they seem to begin in the Later Iron Age and continue on into the Roman period (Kiernan 2009). One coin can be over-interpreted easily, but it would be interesting if activity on the enclosure site pre-dated the development of the Romano-Celtic temple complex and/or burial complex in the area. This is the pattern of activity that had been noted at Folly Lane, where through the Later Iron Age period there had been a marked-out space on the visual crest of the hillside where the burial enclosure was later to be established, which had been used for potentially ritual purposes (Niblett 1999, 8–16).

Of the other pre-Caesarean coins (though ones which could have remained in circulation and arrived here later), three come from the Basilica excavation but in later contexts, and one from House XXXIV.1 near the Public Baths and spring (FIG. 5.32). The Basilica group included one of the earliest Gallic silver coins from Gallia Belgica (Sch. 52) with a head derived from Athena which was probably the type that inspired the development of British silver under Addedomaros (Williams 1998).

TABLE 11.2. POTENTIALLY PRE-CAESAREAN COINS
(extracted from Boon's hand-list in Fulford and Timby 2000)

G1	House XXXIV.1	(Boon 46) Northern Champagne, Potin Sch. 195 (90–60 B.C.: Haselgrove 1999, 118)
G5	Basilica site	(Boon 47) Northern Champagne, Potin Sch. 195 (90–60 B.C.: Haselgrove 1999, 118)
G7	Basilica site	(Boon 56) Rouen-Amiens, AR Sch. 52 (125–60 B.C.: Haselgrove 1999, 142)
G9	Basilica site	(Boon 59) Curiosolitae Billon Stater II (probably just pre-Caesarean, but carried on in circulation later)

In conclusion, through the Early and Middle Iron Age there may have been pre-*oppidum* activity taking place on the plateau with some forms of earlier material culture found which were unlikely to have been in circulation after Caesar's visits to the island. There are suggestions of plateau edge enclosures. Concrete evidence is lacking for the Frith, though we do know that the Rampier

Copse enclosure must have been extant prior to the Late Iron Age burials being inserted into its bank. Behind the plateau edge at this time lay a largely uncleared forest.

THE EARLIEST SIGN OF A SETTLEMENT

On our current understanding, the settlement was established by 25–15 B.C., or perhaps a little earlier. It was constructed in relatively undisturbed woodland, and resulted in a transformation of the landscape into open pasture and hay meadows (see p. 269). The site is unusual for an *oppidum* in Britain being distant from good river communications, but the location did have the potential to dominate both the north–south route between the Thames Valley and Southern Central England, and also the dry east–west routes for moving livestock from the Avon and Severn areas across to the lower Thames Valley.

Ceramically the earliest assemblages from this new site were distinguished by containing handmade grog-tempered coarseware and early amphorae, but lacked the later imported fineware which readily appeared on selected sites in south-east Britain in the later first century B.C. (Table 11.3). The Dressel 1b present also went out of production around 13 B.C. which means these assemblages probably date to before then (Timby 2012, 130); however, the early deposits also contained Dressel 2-4, so they cannot be too early. A start date around 25 B.C. is suggested.

Under the Basilica, the excavated features take the form of three wells and several curved, but not quite circular, gullies which have been interpreted as eaves-drip gullies for roundhouses. The three wells in such close proximity suggest dense occupation from the start.

The early deposits in Insula IX will be reported on in due course, but interim reports suggest the earliest activity in the area was a bisection of the site by a V-shaped ditch running north-west to south-east which was filled with pottery provisionally dated from *c.* 20 B.C. through to the beginning of the first century A.D. (Fulford *et al.* 2013, 2); this suggests broad contemporaneity with the pre-Basilica deposits. One hypothesised timber building may relate to this or to a slightly later phase ('Hall 1': Fulford *et al.* 2014, 4); all may become clear with the final report.

The other locations where early material has been found include various pre-Claudian spreads of pottery from Corney's fieldwalking, specifically PC:3, 7 and 11 (FIGS 6.50 and 6.62).

TABLE 11.3. CERAMICS ASSEMBLAGES AT LATE IRON AGE SILCHESTER

Earlier (<i>c.</i> 25–15 B.C.)	Later (<i>c.</i> 15 B.C.–A.D. 40–50)
grog-tempered coarsewares	sand-tempered wares
Dressel 1b amphora (ended by <i>c.</i> 10 B.C.)	grog-and-flint-tempered wares (incl. Silchester ware)
Dressel 2-4 starting to appear	white rouletted butt beaker (Cam 113)
	Central Gaulish
	- micaceous Terra Nigra
	- white-slipped flagons
	- coarse rock-tempered and finer mica-slipped lid-seated jars (Cam 102, 263)
	Gallo-Belgic wares: Terra Nigra, Terra Rubra, Italian and provincial Arretine, South Gaulish samian, Campanian Pompeian Redware
	Amphorae: Dressel 20, 1B, 1sp., 2-4, Dressel 1/Pascual 1, Haltern 70
Exemplified by	Exemplified by
Basilica Period 1: lower fill of Well F762	Basilica Periods 2–3
(later fills and gullies included Dr 2-4)	Corney's PC:1–2, 4–6, 8–10 and 12–13
Corney's PC:3, 7 and 11	
Boon's Trench J, deposit under Inner Earthwork	

Scatter PC:7 came from the site of the ploughed-out eastern boundary of the Rampier Copse enclosure and possibly derived from pots and cremations inserted into the earthwork as discussed below (see p. 374). In the Iron Age it was common to find partial human remains in boundary locations, so the insertion of the new-rite cremations into the boundary adapts an existing local pattern of behaviour.

Scatter PC:11 derived from just outside what was going to become a western entrance to the Inner Earthwork, but that had not been constructed by this stage. It started as a tightly focused cluster of pottery which continued to spread as later pottery was deposited together with a spread of tile. So, it represented some form of sustained activity, whether a long-term habitation or industrial activity is unclear.

Scatter PC:3 was a patch all on its own with no later pottery in the same location.

Collectively this shows a number of areas of activity. That relatively dense material at this early date can be found both under the Basilica and Insula IX, and also further south and west as soon as the remains are not masked by the later Roman town, suggests the early settlement was reasonably extensive, though at this stage not obviously enclosed.

Further afield, on the spur cut off by Flex Ditch, the Little London Road site came into existence (shown on FIG. 10.1). This rectilinear enclosure also seems to start early in the mid to late first century B.C. with its handmade calcareous ware, making it contemporary with the earliest clear sign of settlement on the *oppidum* site (Moore 2011).

THE RAPID GROWTH OF THE *OPPIDUM*

The early settlement seems to have evolved very rapidly, as shown by the marked decline in the proportion of arboreal pollen seen in the wells under the Basilica, which indicates a rapid transition towards a more open landscape in which grass pollen and pasture plant predominated. The chronology for the filling of these wells (F718/71 and F762) was short, perhaps from 20 B.C. to the start of the first century A.D. (Wooders and Keith-Lucas in Fulford and Timby 2000, 523; also 546). Clearance seems to have allowed the colonisation by hazel and alder, although these too gave way in their turn to grassland and hay meadow, as these became established in the first century A.D. (Veal 2012, 228).

The layout at this point changed radically. On the Basilica site Periods 2–3 saw the demarcation of two roads (Lanes 1 and 3 on FIG. 11.1), and the block of land to the west of these was divided up into at least three plots containing evidence for at least one rectangular wooden building; the dividing fences cut through several of the curved gullies indicating the removal of some of the earlier buildings. In Period 3 these three plots were consolidated to create a unified area behind a large wooden palisade, made from substantial upright timbers set at *c.* 2 m intervals. Once constructed, pits were dug behind the fence-line and infilled throughout Periods 3–4 (FIG. 5.31). With the reorganisation of the settlement the ceramics also showed significant change in their breadth and quality. Imported finewares appeared from around A.D. 15 onwards: Terra Nigra, Terra Rubra and Arretine; joined by sand-tempered ware and grog-and-flint-tempered wares, alongside Dressel 20 olive oil and Dressel 2–4 wine amphorae.

Under Insula IX the V-shaped ditch was overlain by what appears to be the same street projecting north-west from the Basilica site (FIG. 5.18). This was on a slightly different angle to the earlier boundary. On the plot to the north-east of this line Hall 1, in the interim reports, gave way to a sequence of two further timber buildings (all but the first overlay the V-shaped ditch so must be later). The final one, provisionally called Hall 3 in a late interim report, was 12 x 23 m (Fulford *et al.* 2014, 5). In its plan it looks like a classic tripartite early villa building or cottage house, with a narrow room down the middle and two rooms on either side, though made of timber rather than stone. It is slightly larger than many, but comparable to some such as Cléry-sur-Somme (Smith 1997, 51). Considering Smith's discussions of the social use of space in such buildings, it is interesting to note such a layout present here at pre-conquest Silchester. All will be reported on in due course in the final report, but what is established beyond doubt is the intensity and complexity of occupation in this period.

This is also the date when the Inner Earthwork was constructed. As recounted it has a *terminus*

post quem of the late first century B.C. or early first century A.D. (pp. 309–11), dated using material sealed under the sandy bank; the assemblage was dominated by grog-tempered pottery, with only a few fragments of butt-beaker, but otherwise missing the finewares and later amphorae that became so prominent in Period 2–3 deposits under the Basilica, so the sealed deposit is unlikely to be much later.

The Basilica, Insula IX and the tiny area uncovered by Boon in Trench J are the only locations where we have open-area excavation detail for aspects of layout within the town. That we know anything of the internal arrangement is entirely due to the two major research excavations by Fulford.

SEARCHING FOR THE IRON AGE LAYOUT

The purpose of this work is to see if the combination of fieldwalking, geophysics and the digitisation of past excavations, together with the literature review, can combine to build on the picture above; to extrapolate from the well-known areas within the excavations to beyond, to develop our understanding of the layout of the town.

The quest, attempting to recreate the early layout of the town, began with a classic paper by Aileen Fox (1948). In this she identified a series of buildings which were misaligned to the street-grid, arguing this was indicative of an earlier layout. These included: the Public Baths (9 degrees), the two temples in Insula XXX (10 degrees), the temple in Insula XXXV (10 degrees), House XXXIII.4 (10 degrees), House XXXIII.5 (9 degrees), House XVII.3 (11 degrees), House XVIII.3 (9 degrees), House XVI.2 (16 degrees), Block XV.III (18 degrees), House XXIII.2 (18 degrees). From this she did not argue for a differently aligned Iron Age grid, the angles were too irregular for that, but merely that an ‘early irregular street plan was general in *Calleva*’ (Fox 1948, 177). Certainly, the more recent excavations within Insula IX have shown how stone buildings well into the Roman period continued on earlier alignments rather than aligning to the orthogonal street-grid.

When it came to Boon imagining how the layout within the newly-discovered Inner Earthwork might have looked, he noted that nearly all the misaligned buildings were within its circumference, and pointed out how many had seen structural alterations or extensions to adjust a portion of the buildings to align with their relevant street frontages (Boon 1974, 47). He went further than Fox in envisaging an earlier intended overall alignment (rather than Fox’s ‘irregular street plan’) based on a direct line between where he thought the eastern and western entrances of the Inner Earthwork were (just south of his Trench K in the east and on alignment with the West Gate to the west, FIG. 9.3). He noted that this alignment was similar to that of the early Public Baths, so perhaps, he thought, this represented an early attempt to create a regular orthogonal layout. He asserted that 30 buildings conformed to the same deflection, despite Fox’s demonstration that many were at a whole variety of angles. However, he noted that: ‘such a town-plan, or course, can never have reached the stage of having metalled streets between the plots: otherwise, there would have been no reason to change the alignment later’ (Boon 1974, 47). Nonetheless, Boon had thereby created the notion that there had been an earlier Cogidubnian or pre-Roman grid.

Fulford’s Basilica excavation provided the first direct evidence for the layout. Periods 2–3 revealed two lanes which almost intersected at what he repeatedly described as right-angles (Fulford and Timby 2000, 9, 26, 29). This was curious, as the illustrated plans of the street ditches and especially the angle between the palisade post-hole alignments looked significantly more than 90 degrees; they actually form an angle of 104 degrees (Fulford and Timby 2000, figs 6 and 7). The two joining roads then became referred to as the Iron Age ‘street-grid’ in the concluding synthesis and references to it thereafter (Fulford and Timby 2000, 546–7; and many later examples: e.g. Fulford and Clarke 2009b, 4; Fulford and Clarke 2011b, 19). This description has been maintained with one notable exception in Fulford’s paper on Julio-Claudian Silchester, where he noted the wide variety of angles Fox had pointed out, and conceded that ‘this of course throws into question the idea of a regular late Iron Age grid based on the findings of the Basilica excavation ...’, going on to consider the possibility of a more fragmented organic growth (Fulford 2003, 100).



FIG. 11.1. Fulford's two open-area excavations revealing the Iron Age lanes.

At this point my research strayed into Silchester. In Creighton 2006 (135–41) I was sceptical about the notion of an Iron Age grid, noting the sum of our evidence for it comprised only two roads at 104 degrees to each other, and not even necessarily crossing. Instead I wondered if other elements of the later Roman street-grid did not have earlier origins, such as the road from the Forum to the Insula XXX temple enclosure which was not in alignment with the later Roman grid, as had often been observed before (e.g. Boon 1974, 91). I also picked up on some of the misaligned buildings where a number of them had a consistency of angle. It was a slightly messier reconstruction than the notion of an Iron Age grid (Creighton 2006, fig. 7.4).

Around 2008 a new Iron Age lane within Insula IX started to be revealed (Lane 1, FIG. 1.11; Fulford and Clarke 2009b, 4). If the Basilica roads had been at 90 degrees to each other then projected north-west Basilica Lane 1 would never have clipped the Insula IX excavation, but with the detailed mapping here, clearly they are one and the same (FIG. 11.1). Indeed the palisade trench in the Basilica excavation, represented by nine post-holes at 2 m intervals, aligned perfectly with the Insula IX street's fence-line to the west side of the street and the subsequent 'more robust structure with substantial posts' (Fulford *et al.* 2013, 3). There were also comparable Later Iron Age/Claudian pits dug behind this palisade within Insula IX as there had been on the Basilica site. After a while a second lane perpendicular to this was also discovered (Lane 2, FIG. 1.11).

Within the centre we can provisionally reconstruct the sequence of road development as being something like the following (FIG. 11.2):

The first lanes were in Basilica Period 2, when Lanes 1 and 3 were marked out. Lane 3 was metalled early on with flint cobbles, 10–100 mm in size, in a brown loamy matrix, sealing some deposits which gave it a *terminus post quem* of 15 B.C. (Fulford and Timby 2000, 28); however, the evidence for the metalling of Lane 1 is equivocal. Within the part exposed in the Basilica excavation it appeared not to have been metalled, though the deposits could have been truncated; but there was evidence for metalling where the lane passed within Insula IX, perhaps suggesting it had stayed in use longer, which as we shall see was probably the case. Within the area of Insula IX a perpendicular Lane 2 was added, provisionally dated to A.D. 20–44 (Fulford *et al.* 2012, 5).

Then, presumably around the time of the conquest, though provisionally dated to A.D. 25–50, the main north–south road was carved through the *oppidum* (Fulford *et al.* 2011, 6). This appears to have led to the abandonment of the roads under what was to become the proto-Forum area. A turf line developed over Lane 3 which incorporated Claudio-Neronian material (Fulford and Timby 2000, 29), and eventually the lanes here were covered by the Period 4 building which has a Tiberio-Claudian *terminus post quem*.

While the lanes on the east side of the north–south road may have gone into disuse, those within Insula IX to the west continued for some time. There is evidence to suggest Lane 2 perhaps adjusted its course to meet the new road. Meanwhile Lane 1 was gradually built over, and provided part of the foundation for the floor of an early Roman period roundhouse (ERTB3, FIG. 5.18, see p. 79).

Later, new east–west roads were added fleshing out the new 'Roman' street-grid. The metalling is provisionally reported to seal deposits of burnt daub and Claudio-Neronian pottery (Fulford *et al.* 2011, 6). The subsequent development of the 'Roman' street-grid is discussed later (pp. 390–4).

So far, this is the evidence from the two excavations. To what extent can we project the lines of these lanes beyond? One of the main problems with looking for any traces in the geophysical data is that the features are beneath over a metre of later Roman material. Also the roads run at an angle to the Roman grid very similar to that of the Antiquaries' trenches, so any trace of a linear feature at such an angle is likely to be interpreted as a trench of the Antiquaries rather than as a deeper Iron Age lane. Ideally a deeper technique could be used such as GPR, but even then the features might be difficult to distinguish as one of the roads had no metalling and was only visible in the excavation because of the absence of features there.

Nonetheless, various observations can be drawn together to suggest possible projections (or limits to projections) of some of these lanes, and also add new ones.

Lane 1 is the best known street, observed in both the Basilica and Insula IX excavations. To the south-east of the Basilica we do not know if it continues, but a crossroads has been presumed,

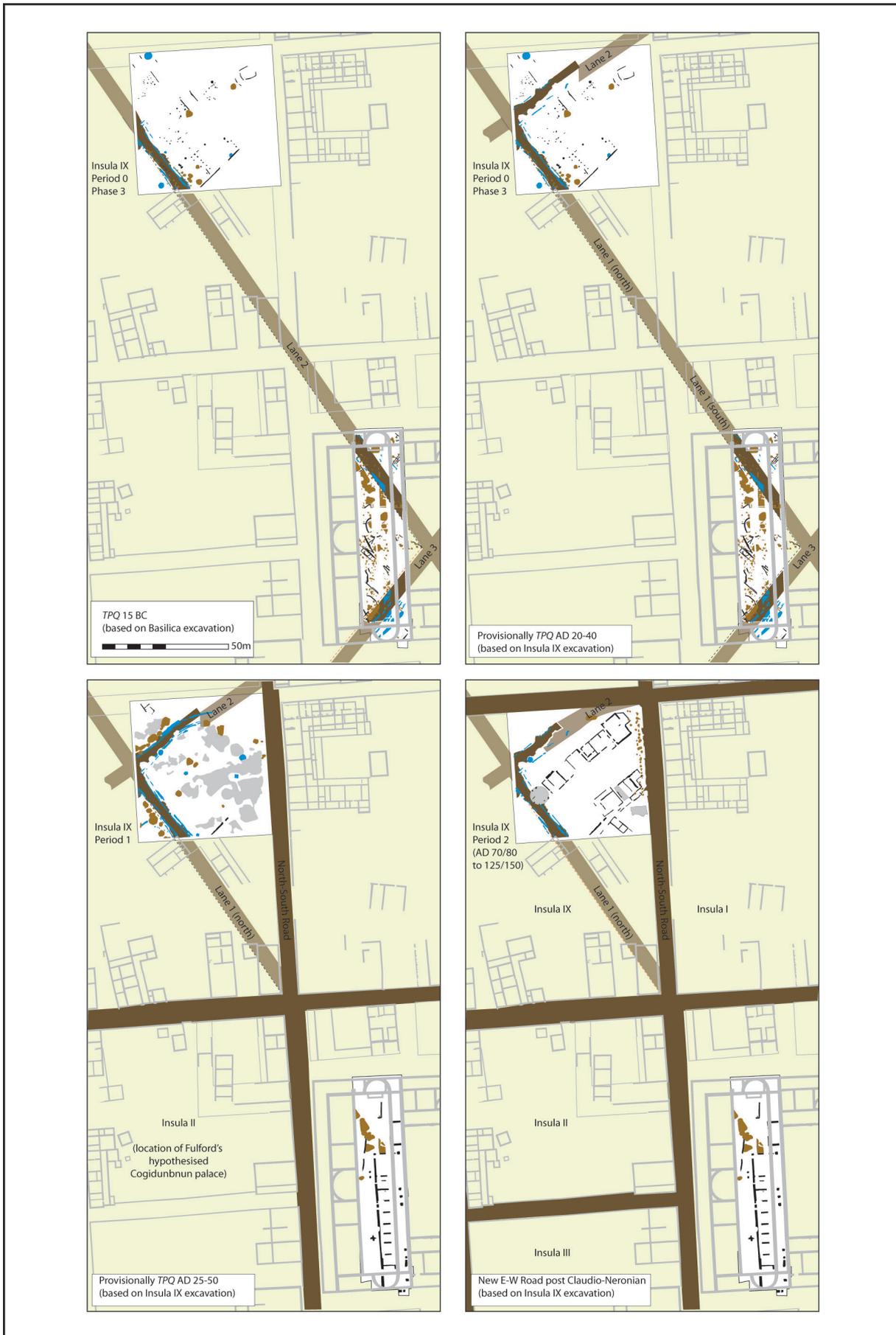


FIG. 11.2. The development of the Iron Age lanes.

though the road has not been projected too far on the hypothetical reconstruction (FIG. 11.3). Projecting its line to the north-west we have more information at our disposal. There is no additional direct evidence for it within the Inner Earthwork area; this was a zone where the quality of the fluxgate gradiometry was diminished by the metal from the excavation camp site, so the lack of evidence is not surprising. There are good reasons for believing the lane did not continue beyond the Inner Earthwork: first, within LP 6667 there was no significant overburden of Roman strata, so had there been side-ditches to the road they might have been seen, but none were; secondly, the projected line crosses both the Rye Cottage and Cotton's excavations (see Exterior 9, FIGS 6.26–28) but no trace was seen in either trench, so I concluded it did not continue this far.

Lane 2 there is no additional evidence to support or negate its projection in either direction.

Lane 3, known from the Basilica excavation, heads south-west towards the Rampier Copse

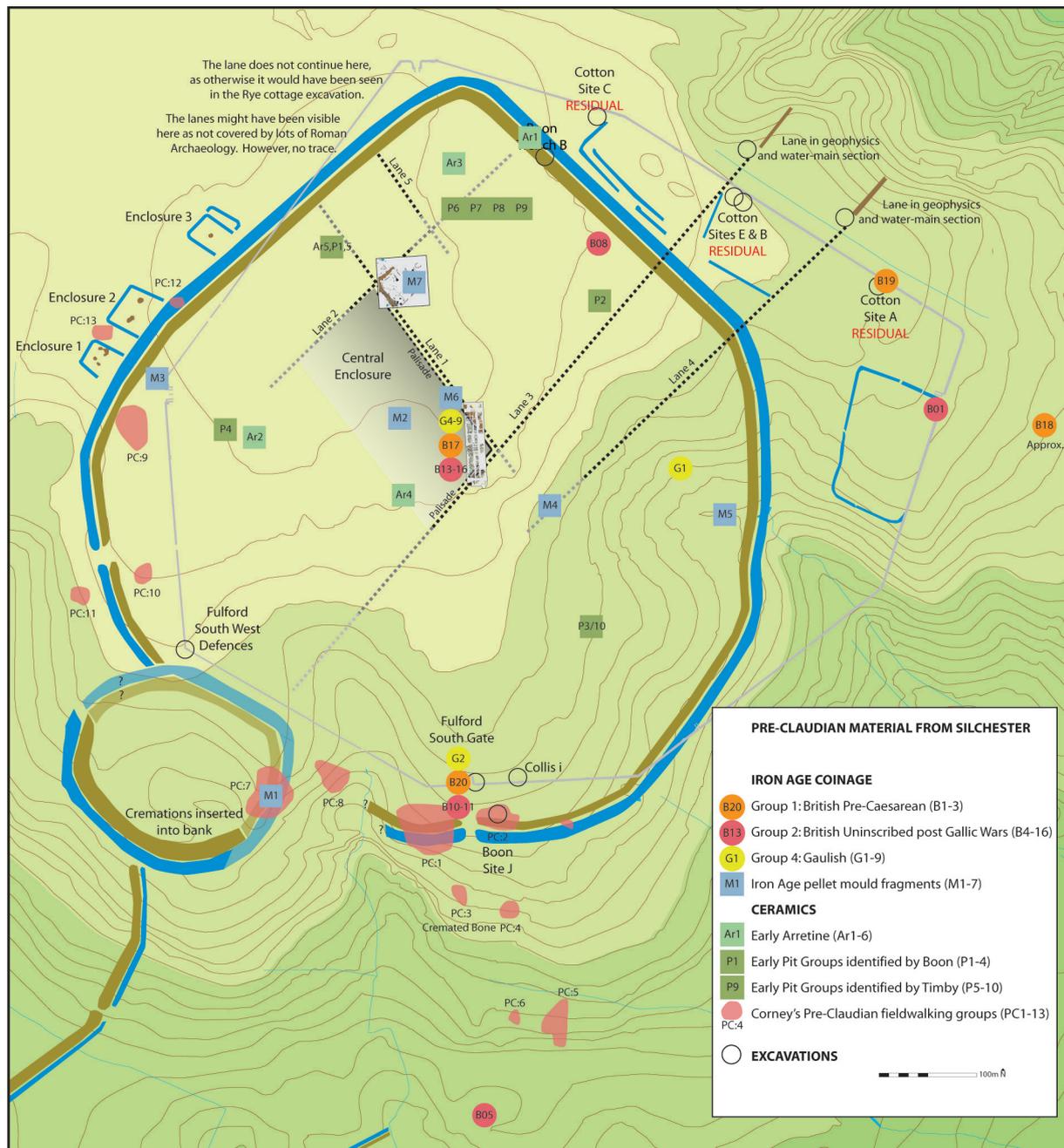


FIG. 11.3. Evidence for the layout and extent of the Iron Age oppidum.

enclosure, though there is no supporting evidence from the geophysics to confirm this. On the other hand, towards the north-east we do have additional evidence, though at quite some distance away. Two pieces of evidence suggest the lane might be one of the major arterial routes in the Iron Age layout. First, the geophysical survey within LP 2671 was indicative of a lane. This was interpreted as such independently of any other evidence. Two parallel ditch-like anomalies suggested its existence (Exterior 10, FIGS 6.29–31, Feature 5). This is corroborated from the section in the water main trench. Here the sections were only rapidly observed, but a metallised area was seen in plan, suggestive of a road. In the drawn section it appears as a *c.* 8 m wide surface with a slight gully on either side (556–565 m along the section, Fulford *et al.* 1997, 159–60). No dating evidence was collected, but it was at the base of the sequence. There was a slight difficulty in matching this section to the geophysics as all the features in this area appeared to match up with the section, *only* if the section had actually been *c.* 10 m further east, in which case various features aligned. The slight mismatch is shown in the illustration. The combination of the stratigraphically early street and geophysics makes the existence of a short stretch of lane in this location secure; it is a long distance to interpolate between the Basilica stretch of Lane 3 and this stretch to the north-west, but they *could* be one and the same.

Lane 4 definitely exists outside the Inner Earthwork to the north-east; it is clear in the geophysics (Exterior 14, FIGS 6.42–44, Feature 12). Within the water main section, again slightly displaced to the west, there was no sign of metallising, but there were the two side ditches caught in section and filled with Iron Age to second-century material, suggesting the lane here continued in operation for some time. Projected back into the *oppidum* to the south-west, this lines up with a linear feature seen crossing Insulae V and VI, and clearly not relating to the Antiquaries' trenches (see Interior 10, FIG 5.34). The spacing of it as very roughly parallel to Lanes 2 and 3 makes it not implausible, though it would be curious to have two entrances crossing the Inner Defences to the north-east so close together; however the defences could post-date the layout of the lanes.

Lane 5 is placed on the illustration as there is a weak linear feature within Insula XXVI (see Interior 1, FIGS 5.3–5) which is roughly parallel to Lane 1. Again the spacing is similar to that between hypothetical Lanes 3 and 4. That it shows through the Roman overburden is possible as the Antiquaries found little in the way of Roman features in this area. It appears to continue under where the Inner Earthwork bank is presumed to be, which again might suggest the earthwork post-dated the lanes, but this is tenuous evidence. There is no sign of it continuing outside the Inner Earthwork, though much of the area it projected into was not surveyed.

In addition to these hypothesised lanes, there are also a number of other linear features revealed in the geophysics which do not obviously relate to the later Roman buildings or grid; many of these are on the slopes in the southern half of the town. There is no dating evidence for these and some of them could just as easily be post-Roman and Later Iron Age features.

The reconstruction of these elements is offered to help frame future investigations. The limitations to the evidence should be recalled by anyone reproducing it. In essence, it suggests an Iron Age *oppidum* on a broad south-east-facing co-axial alignment, if not a perfect grid.

IRON AGE OCCUPATION LAYERS THROUGHOUT THE TOWN

In order to flesh out the layout of the *oppidum* we can add to the evidence for potential lanes, the evidence from excavated and residual finds. The quality of the Basilica and Insula IX evidence will be hard to beat, but various other assemblages and finds have been recorded over the years which suggest extensive occupation; this marries with the pollen evidence that suggested the consequent woodland clearance in the area.

Table 11.2 provides a schedule of the early material from the site. Much of this has been plotted in FIG. 11.3 to show the distribution across the site. The quality of the data varies significantly.

First, and most reliable, are the excavations which show solid evidence of Later Iron Age groups of material, and these include the works of Cotton, Boon, Collis and Fulford.

Secondly there are the ceramic groups of early material that can be identified from the Antiquaries' excavations, most recently re-examined by Timby, Bird and Dickinson as part of their reassessment of the Reading Museum Collections; however, Boon also identified several

early groups which have also been included. Alas much of the Antiquaries' material was not labelled when it came out of the ground.

Thirdly there are some other finds which are of the right period and have locational information, but are not always from stratified groups, so need to be treated with a little bit more caution; they include the Arretine pottery, the pellet moulds and the early uninscribed British and Gallic coins (I have excluded the later inscribed coins as Iron Age coins continued happily circulating into the Flavian period, though they are listed).

Finally there are the fieldwalking scatters of pre-Claudian material as mapped by Corney (1984).

TABLE I I.4. SCHEDULE OF PRE-CLAUDIEN MATERIAL FROM SILCHESTER WITH SECURE LOCATIONS

Iron Age coins based on Boon's hand-list (in Fulford and Timby 2000, 163–8)

Group 1: pre-Caesarean

B1	East Gate	(Boon 6) VA1205: S4 British B
B2–3	unknown	(Boon 4 & 5) VA1205: S4 British B and VA200: E4 British A

Group 2: uninscribed Gallic Wars or later (with provenances)

B4	near Pond Farm	(Boon 1) VA50-56: SE5 Gallo Belgic E
B5	150 m south of town SU 639 616	(Boon 2) VA50-56: SE5 Gallo-Belgic E
B6	500 m south-east of church	(Boon 3) VA50-56: SE5 Gallo-Belgic E
B7	south-west of Frith	(Boon 11) VA210: S5 British QA
B8	Insula XXIIIB or XXVII	(Boon 12) VA210: S5 British QA
B9	near/at Three Ashes cropmark site	(Boon 13) VA216: S5 British QB (Corney 1984, 280)
B10	South Gate, pre-Claudian pit	(Boon 57) VA154-09: SE6 (Fulford 1984, 109)
B11	South Gate	(Boon 7) VA809-21: NE7 British KB
B12	SU 6373 6154	(Boon 16) ? copper-alloy unit
B13	Basilica site	(Boon 8) VA809-21: NE7 British KB
B14	Basilica site	(Boon 9) VA809-21: NE7 British KB
B15	Basilica site	(Boon 14) VA288: S6 Southern silver unit
B16	Basilica site	(Boon 15) ? plated Southern silver unit

Group 3 (distribution not shown): all the other Iron Age coins are later, they come from:

B17	Basilica site	(Boon 17, 19–21, 256, 35, 38–40)
B18	east of the walled area	(Boon 18)
B19	Insula XXXVII, Pit A1	(Boon 19) Cotton 1947, 147, no. 1
B20	South Gate or ditch beyond	(Boon 43) found in 1873

Group 4: Gaulish (* indicates pre-Caesarean minting)

G1	House XXXIV.1*	(Boon 46) Northern Champagne, potin Sch. 195 (90–60 B.C.: Haselgrove 1999, 118)
G2	South Gate or ditch outside 1873	(Boon 51) Amiens, <i>AE</i> Sch. 80s <i>classe</i> IV (?60–20 B.C.)
G3	SU 608644, 1.6 km SSE of Church	(Boon 53) Pas de Calais, <i>AE</i> Sch. 83 (60–20 B.C.: Haselgrove 1999, 161)
G4	Basilica site	(Boon 44) Volcae Arecomici (Provence), <i>AE</i> DLT-2677 (70–30 B.C.)
G5	Basilica site*	(Boon 47) Northern Champagne, potin Sch. 195 (90–60 B.C.: Haselgrove 1999, 118)

G6	Basilica site	(Boon 51) Somme, <i>AE</i> Sch. 80e <i>classe</i> V (60–20 B.C.: Haselgrove 1999, 161)
G7	Basilica site*	(Boon 56) Rouen–Amiens, <i>AR</i> Sch. 52 (125–60 B.C.: Haselgrove 1999, 142)
G8	Basilica site	(Boon 58) ?
G9	Basilica site*	(Boon 59) <i>Curiosolita</i> e billon stater II (probably just pre-Caesarean, but carried on in circulation late)

Iron Age pellet or coin-mould fragments

M1	LP 0685	2 fragments from fieldwalking [=PC:7] (Corney 1984, 285–6)
M2	Insula II	(Boon 1954b, 69)
M3	pit outside West Gate	(St John Hope and Stephenson 1910, 324–6; Boon 1954b, 69)
M4	near the Insula IV ‘church’	found 1961 (Corney 1984, 287, fig. 84; Boon 1969, 25)
M5	near the Public Baths	found 1961 (Boon 1969, 25; Corney 1984, 287, fig. 84)
M6	Basilica site	21 fragments (Fulford and Timby 2000, 413–15)
M7	Insula IX	multiple fragments, report forthcoming (Fulford <i>et al.</i> 2011, 4)

Located early Arretine (decorated and undecorated) from Boon 1969, 25–9

Ar1	Boon Trench B topsoil (1955)	3 decorated Arretine fragments (Boon 1969, 9)
Ar2	House XIII.1	2 decorated Arretine fragments, probably Augustan
Ar3	NW Insula XXIII (1955)	1 decorated Arretine fragment, probably Tiberian
Ar4	Pit XIII.D	1 decorated Arretine fragment
Ar5	Insula III	stamped Arretine ATEI
Ar6	Pit XII.B	stamped Arretine A’TE’I Loeschcke 11 base [=P1=P5]

Early pottery groups identified by Boon

P1	Pit XII.B	11 complete pots in a pit near the south-east angle of the insula. There is inconsistency in the record as to whether it was called Pit A or B, but the description of the group and location is consistent (Fox 1895, 458; May 1916b, 186–9; Boon 1969, 31–4) [=A6 =P5].
P2	Pit XXI.9	5 vessels, though alas the pits were given letters that season not numbers, so it is not clear which this is (St John Hope and Fox 1900, 97, fig. 3; Boon 1969, 34).
P3	Pit XXXV.9	10 vessels at the base of a well (St John Hope 1908, 210–11; May 1916b, 184–6, pl. 76; Boon 1969, 34) [=P10 below].
P4	Pit XIII.10	various ceramics including Tiberio–Claudian butt-beakers and a vessel in Terra Nigra, though again the pits were lettered that season, not numbered, so it not clear which pit these were from (Boon 1969, 34).

Early pottery groups identified by Timby *et al.*

Re-analysis of the Reading Museum collections identified six pre-Claudian groups (Timby 2012, 128–9, there is a typo of XXXIII for XXIII on p. 128, fig. 8.1 is correct).

P5	Pit XII.A [=P1 above]
P6	Pit XXIII.24
P7	Pit XXIII.31
P8	Pit XXIII.32
P9	Pit XXIII.35
P10	Pit XXXV.IX [=P3 above]

TABLE II.4 (cont.). PRE-CLAUDIAN MATERIAL FROM SILCHESTER WITH SECURE LOCATIONS

Corney's pre-Claudian fieldwalking groups (his Period 1A and 1B: Corney 1984, 248–53)

PC:1	LP 0001, 1300 m ² , 3.05 kg	1B: Augustan to mid-first century A.D.
PC:2	LP 0001, 800 m ² , 1.02 kg	1B: Augustan to mid-first century A.D.
PC:3	LP 0001, 200 m ² , 0.65 kg	1A: mid- to late first century B.C.
PC:4	LP 0001, 250 m ² , 0.45 kg	1B: Augustan to mid-first century A.D.
PC:5	LP 0068, 850 m ² , 0.35 kg	1B: Augustan to mid-first century A.D., 'cremation'
PC:6	LP 0068, 150 m ² , 0.20 kg	1B: Augustan to mid-first century A.D.
PC:7	LP 6805, 1900 m ² , 2.45 kg	1A: mid- to late first century B.C. [=M1]
PC:8	LP 6805, 700 m ² , 1.10 kg	1B: Augustan to mid-first century A.D.
PC:9	LP 5333, 1400 m ² , 1.80 kg	1B: Augustan to mid-first century A.D.
PC:10	LP 5333, 300 m ² , 0.30 kg	1B: Augustan to mid-first century A.D.
PC:11	LP 5333, 300 m ² , 0.25 kg	1A: mid-to late first century B.C.
PC:12	LP 3950, 150 m ² , 0.30 kg	1B: Augustan to mid-first century A.D.
PC:13	LP 3950, 250 m ² , 0.20 kg	1B: Augustan to mid-first century A.D.

Excavation evidence

Cotton Site A	early material present, but only residual (Cotton 1947, 124–5)
Cotton Site B	early material present, but only residual (Cotton 1947, 124–5)
Cotton Site C	early material present, but only residual (Cotton 1947, 124–5)
Cotton Site E	early material present, but only residual (Cotton 1947, 124–5)
Boon Trench B	small hollow under Inner Earthwork bank producing: a rouletted body sherd from a creamware butt-beaker, a shoulder of a necked jar in sandy grey ware, two fragments of imitation Gallo-Belgic platters in smoothed brown ware; and six flint-gritted sherds (Boon 1969, 9).
Boon Trench J	pre-Roman occupation (3–4 pit, a gully and a hearth) under a low sandy spread interpreted as the Inner Earthwork bank, though curiously no Terra Nigra or Terra Rubra (Boon 1969, 13–14, pl. XI). Dated by Boon to post A.D. 25, Fulford re-dated to post <i>c.</i> 15/10 B.C. (Fulford 1984, 233; 1987a, 275); however, Timby then thought that the presence of a fabric G4 vessel suggested a date after A.D. 5/10, though reported some of that fabric might have been found in earlier contexts at <i>Verulamium</i> (Fulford and Timby 2000, 308).
Collis Trench 1	Pit (Collis 1983, 59)
Fulford South-West Defences	possible pre-conquest sherds residual in Claudio-Neronian charcoal-rich gravelly spread (Fulford 1984, 27)
Fulford South Gate	an area fronting the wall, east of the entrance revealed an occupation layer (7) above the gravel with Tiberio-Claudian samian and a saucepan-pot bowl (Fulford 1984, 27). To the east of the gate in the rampart section, Pit 1 was possibly pre-conquest containing Tiberio-Claudian samian, Gallo-Belgic wares and a British LY [VA154-05: SE6] coin (Fulford 1984, 31, 123).
Fulford Basilica	extensive through Periods 1–3, starting with curved eaves-drip gullies and transforming into a planned layout with rectilinear structures and two roads (see pp. 104–8) (Fulford and Timby 2000).
Fulford and Clarke Insula IX	extensive evidence (see pp. 76–9)

Collectively these finds, plotted in FIG. 11.3, show the majority of contextualised material coming from within the Inner Earthwork, but some residual material, and possibly material associated with cremations, coming from outside. It is noticeable how extensive this distribution is, amplifying Fulford's perception that Late Iron Age deposits had been revealed 'in so many areas wherever significant excavation has taken place that the early settlement must be considered to be extensive and reasonably dense from the beginning of the first century A.D.' (Fulford and Timby 2000, 547).

The nature of the occupation seems to have led to the creation of a black earth in some areas. These deposits may not all be the same thing or chronologically identical, but it is a common theme from the excavation reports. Cotton found black earth predating the Town Bank along with residual Iron Age material in all of her sections into the earthwork (Cotton 1947, 123, Period III). Boon then noticed the sandy bank of the Inner Earthwork overlay a thin black occupation layer, in this case predating the earthwork in Trenches J and L (Boon 1969, 13). At the other end of the Later Iron Age, around the South-West Defences, residual pre-conquest sherds were found in a Claudio-Neronian charcoal-rich gravelly spread (Fulford 1984, 27). The same was the case from a section into the rampart, just to the west of the South Gate, producing a 'dense black charcoal-rich occupation layer (3/19) above the natural subsoil' containing Claudio-Neronian samian (Fulford 1984, 29–30); something similar was also in the section on the eastern side as well. Finally, under the Basilica the rectilinear enclosures had a layer of 0.05–0.10 m thick black earth (Phase 3.9: Fulford and Timby 2000, 34). Some dark horizons have been seen in Insula IX but await to be reported on. While these soils may represent abandonment in some areas for some periods, their varied dating does not suggest a town-wide desertion, but rather a series of events. That around the area of the Basilica may relate to the clearance there for the major reorganisation of the town grid in the centre around the period of the conquest.

In conclusion, the structural and distributional evidence suggests the settlement was founded around 25 B.C. as an unenclosed site on a location where there had been traces of earlier activity but no obvious settlement. Upon enclosure around the end of the first century B.C. or early first century A.D. (before Gallo-Belgic imports were common) a new series of planned lanes was laid out. Some of these lanes can be suggested with high levels of confidence; others are more speculative with varying qualities of evidence to support them. Yet, throughout the interior a broad spread of early material culture has been revealed from the Antiquaries' excavations (residual material and some early pit groups), the distribution of early coins, and the rich detailed modern excavations under the Basilica and within Insula IX.

THE MATERIAL EVIDENCE

The material evidence for the Later Iron Age was summed up neatly in the concluding synthesis of the Basilica excavation report (Fulford and Timby 2000, 545–64), and Fulford will presumably be revisiting this in his forthcoming volume on the early deposits of Insula IX. Suffice it to say, the Basilica excavation showed the new population ate in totally new ways; they consumed a high proportion of cattle and pig, supplemented by birds and fowl despite Caesar stating the Britons held this as a taboo (Caesar, *BG* 5.12). This was a very different diet to that found in Middle Iron Age settlements or indeed contemporary indigenous Late Iron Age ones. Even in terms of cereals, the presence of *Agrostemma githago* (common corncockle) as a weed, hitherto only known in Mediterranean crops, suggested importation of seed corn (Fulford and Timby 2000, 551). The new delicacy of oysters too was visible from the first deposits under the Basilica in Period 1. Alongside the imports of ceramics and amphorae, it is difficult not to envisage the arrival of a significant population from abroad.

The import of cereal along with weed seeds is curious, suggesting a perception that imported grain and imported agro-technologies were better. This is certainly the case when it comes to the development of new methods of manufacture such as leather-making where the mechanism of knowledge-transfer poses many questions, as discussed later (pp. 413–14). An alternative interpretation is that the foundation of this new intrusive settlement was extremely politically sensitive, and the settlers could not rely upon obtaining seed-corn locally. Whatever the initial

circumstance, Britain was said by Strabo (*Geog.* 4.5.2) to be exporting grain back to the Roman world later in the Augustan era.

Goods were accumulated through connections across Britain, and do not appear to have been restricted to the area associated with the Commian dynasty in central southern England (see p. 433). After the construction of the Inner Earthwork, briquetage appears, with its fabric best matched from Canterbury and north Kentish sites; while Lodsworth stone querns looked to Sussex and the South-East.

As Fulford concluded, thinking about the scale of the new settlement: 'it is not a question of a small elite group, but the latter, perhaps, and their clients, dependents, slaves, and so on' (Fulford and Timby 2000, 563). These probably numbered in the hundreds if not low thousands, their lives providing a distinct contrast to those around them. Even in their death they were buried in new ways: some in what appear to be individual burial enclosures, while others followed the still relatively uncommon cremation rites with their remains inserted into the Rampier Copse enclosure bank (see pp. 373–83).

THE *OPPIDUM* IN CONTEXT

In continental scholarship *oppida* have traditionally been envisaged as enormous enclosed settlements, generally on hilltops, and larger than the average British hillfort (cf. Collis 1984, 6). Indeed, Silchester does not even figure in many continental surveys of *oppida* (e.g. Fichtl 2005; Oppida 2008). Cunliffe, in extending the term from the Continent to Britain, elaborated the typology, adding the category of 'territorial *oppida*' to cope with the landscapes of linear earthworks protecting an area without ever forming an explicit enclosure, as at Chichester, *Verulamium* and *Camulodunum* (Cunliffe 1991, 368). Yet the first stage of development of the *oppidum* at Silchester appears to have been unenclosed for perhaps a generation from 25 B.C. to around the turn of the millennium, and this deserves some discussion.

An evolutionary approach used to be considered for the appearance of urbanism in northern Europe, with unenclosed agglomerations, often described as villages, seen developing into or being replaced by enclosed *oppida* in the Late Iron Age, and subsequently by Roman towns. However, Collis pointed out how many *oppida* just suddenly appeared as fully-formed creations in new locations, which might then go on to become Roman towns, or might again move to be re-founded on another site (Collis 1984). As chronologies have been refined, so have many of these narratives become even more complex and highly variable (Barral 2011; Fernández-Götz *et al.* 2014). Sometimes there does appear to be a linear sequence of sites, with an urban shuffle taking place as one replaces another. The classic example of this is the valley-bottom Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (*c.* 80/70–40 B.C.) moving to the hilltop site of Pommiers in the Augustan era and then back down to the valley with the foundation of the new Roman town of *Noviodunum* (Soissons); but all these three are uncontentious *oppida* or Roman towns. The new site-type to add into the mix is the unenclosed agglomeration. It is now being appreciated that some of these lasted much longer and were not just predecessors to the development of *oppida* (like Aulnut before Gergovie), but continued in existence alongside and chronologically overlapping with nearby fortified sites, for example at Basel (Kaenel 2006, 32) and possibly at Levroux (Collis *et al.* 2000, 79). I worked at the Sources de l'Yonne in Burgundy where La Tène D2 and Augustan material was spread over 115 ha of an unenclosed hilltop. The scale, except for the missing defences, would normally have seen it designated an *oppidum*, but it was on the hilltop adjacent to the major *oppidum* of Bibracte — both flourishing at the same time (Creighton *et al.* 2007; Moore *et al.* 2013, 495–500). Unenclosed agglomerations and examples of contemporary settlements very close to each other are increasingly not uncommon; the details of a variety of cases of overlap are detailed in Moore *et al.* (2013, 509).

Unenclosed agglomerations were by no means exceptional in Augustan-era Gaul. So the foundation of *Calleva* as an unenclosed settlement, adjacent to the earlier small Rampier Copse enclosure (but stripped of the Outer Earthworks which are now thought to be later in date), may not have been out of character with what was happening elsewhere, though within a generation the Inner Earthwork was deemed necessary and constructed to defend the site.

When the new circuit was finally built, earlier structures appear to have given way to a more organised layout with crossing lanes and building plots (Basilica site, Period 2). The lanes did not cross at right-angles, but there are hints of lanes which are almost but not quite parallel. This degree of planning (some way off a Roman orthogonal grid) can also be found at a number of sites in northern Gaul, e.g. Variscourt/Condé-sur-Suippe, c. 128–80 B.C., and Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, c. 80/70–40 B.C. (Brun *et al.* 2000; Pichon 2003, 518–23). In both these cases, as at *Calleva*, the general orientation was not to the cardinal points, but more south-east/north-west. Yet, in none of the three situations was there an obvious geographical deterministic reason to select the axis chosen, as one could have suggested at *Verulamium*, constrained by the valley it was within; other factors were decisive.

Geographically, the location of the site itself should be wondered at. The choice does not provide an easy explanation. Dyke Hills at Dorchester-on-Thames is at a major river junction of the Thame and Thames; Oram's Arbour in Winchester controls a valley cutting through the chalk downs; Chichester combines safe harbours with agricultural plains off the South Downs chalklands; but Silchester is peculiar. Cunliffe expressed this eloquently:

Calleva ... occupies a region of mixed and comparatively unproductive soils, and it is well away from the densely settled areas of the chalk downlands and the Thames valley. What motivated its founders to choose that particular location? Were they deliberately selecting a 'no man's land' to avoid confrontation, or were other factors at work that are not immediately apparent? (Cunliffe 2012, 15)

His analysis brought out the obvious notion that the establishment was between the Southern Kingdom founded by the Commian dynasty and the Thames valley Eastern Kingdom dominated by the Tasciovanian dynasty. The location was a liminal one and apparently a contested zone between these two. Early on it seemed to lie within the Southern Kingdom's domains to judge by coin distributions, though later it came to be within the Eastern Kingdom's influence under Tasciovanus' son Epaticcus. In an economic sense, liminal positions could be neutral places tapping into multiple social and distribution networks, so in this case traders tapping into both the developing polities of the Eastern and Southern Kingdoms, which will have been very decentralised at this date. Indeed such a peripheral location is reminiscent of Millett's suggestion, based on Polanyi, about early Roman London being peripheral to the political geography of the Later Iron Age Lower Thames, tapping into the networks of the communities focused on the *oppida* of *Verulamium*, *Camulodunum* and *Durovernum* (Millett 1990, 89).

However, this liminal positioning may have had another dimension to it as well. The open settlement at the Sources de l'Yonne was situated on the watershed between the rivers that flowed north to the English Channel (via the Yonne and the Seine) and those that flowed west to the Atlantic (the Arroux) (Moore *et al.* 2013, 506). Throughout prehistory these kinds of location were recognised and venerated from knowledge that seems to have been accrued through generations of movement across the landscape. 'Just as streams successively feed into larger bodies of water as they flow to the sea so an awareness of local landscapes feeds into larger "pools" of knowledge that culminate in a regional perspective of drainage basins and how they interconnect' (Goldberg 2009, 194; see also Spratt 1990). *Calleva* lay on the eastern edge of the gravel spur that comes off the higher ground which is the watershed between the drainage area of the Thames leading into the North Sea (*Oceanus Germanicus*) and the rivers running south to the English Channel (*Oceanus Britannicus*); the dry span of land between represented a major east-west route in southern England across from the southern Thames basin and North Downs in the east to the Severn Estuary in the west. This east-west axis and flow through this locale could help explain why it was the triple-tailed imagery from the early coinage in Central Southern England (the Southern Kingdom) that flowed west and ended up being adopted by and dominating the later iconography of the coinage of the West (often ascribed to the Dobunni). The link west was maintained when *Calleva* came under the control of Epaticcus of the Eastern Kingdom, as exemplified by Dio who stated that the 'Bodunni' were subservient to the Catuvellauni (Cassius Dio 60.20).

It could be that this geographical crossroads position is why the plateau had already attracted

activity, but no obvious signs of settlement, in the Early to Mid-Iron Age, if there were indeed earlier burial tumuli here. It is notable how Waldgirmes in the Lahn valley could have been built anywhere, but it was situated right by, and indeed partly on, some earlier La Tène burial mounds (Becker and Rasbach 2015).

CONCLUSION

This chapter has reviewed the pre-*oppidum* context of the site and its early development from an unenclosed agglomeration through to an enclosed *oppidum* with an organised layout. It has discussed the changing perceptions of the Iron Age layout and added to the hard concrete evidence for lanes from Fulford's excavations the data from pipe trenches and geophysics to suggest a further elaboration of the network. It has mapped other finds of this date to underline the extensive nature of the settlement, arguing for fairly intensive occupation within the Inner Earthwork rather than selected nuclei. The *oppidum* has been put in its broader north-west European context, where the early Augustan unenclosed settlement is by no means uncommon when compared to some continental urban agglomerations. Finally the location has been remarked upon in terms of its broader political and geographical geography. This is the archaeological story; the historical narratives woven around the creation of Silchester will be explored in the final chapter (p. 431).