Reappraising Penn and Harker: a reassessment of the finds from excavations at Roman Springhead, published between 1957 and 1984, and interpretations made about their use in past activities

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Submitted for the degree of MPhil (Archaeology), in 2008.

Volume 1 of 3.

Reappraising Penn and Harker: A reassessment of the finds from excavations at Roman Springhead, published between 1957 and 1984, and interpretations made about their use in past activities.

The purpose of this study is to re-assess the poorly understood, yet extensive, quantities of finds from the Roman 'temple site' at Springhead in North Kent. The publication of this material by William Penn and Sydney Harker in a series of reports, between 1957 and 1984, meant that the assemblage was never viewed as a whole, and a full analysis has never been undertaken. Recent work by Oxford Archaeology (1994) and Wessex Archaeology (1998-2001) led to a major increase in knowledge about the site, revealing three new temples in an extensive 'religious enclosure' and a large number of accompanying structures. It was, therefore, important that the large quantities of finds discovered during Penn and Harker's excavations were examined in relation to this work to provide as complete an understanding of the site as possible.

The study sought to map the distribution of finds from Penn and Harker's excavations in time and space, and explore their relationship to the structural history of the site, to see what light they might shed on past activities, drawing on similar approaches used in current research on 'temple sites' in Roman Britain, which are felt to have yielded interesting information. The issues raised by current approaches to 'ritual' and 'structured deposition', which have played an important role in current studies of the distribution of finds and their significance to past activities, were also considered. Examination was undertaken, firstly, of the distribution of finds sharing similar forms and potential functions, to ascertain whether traits could be identified in their treatment and deposition that may have been significant as part of past activities. The importance of the material for understanding activities associated with other 'temple sites' in Roman Britain was also assessed. Analysis also took into account that while there may have been commonly held symbolic concepts affecting the use and treatment of finds on 'temple sites', such objects could have been used in many different ways once they had been brought there, in a variety of circumstances throughout its long history of use. Analysis was, therefore, also conducted upon relationships between finds deposited in archaeological features and strata from different periods, in an attempt to consider the potential for diversity in the use of objects at Springhead. The information obtained by the analysis was used to reappraise interpretations made about the site by Penn, Harker and various researchers, taking into consideration issues raised in current approaches towards 'interpretative archaeologies'.

Acknowledgements:

Thanks must be paid to all those who assisted with this work; Phil Andrews, Angi Britten and Andy Crockett at Wessex Archaeology. Leigh Allen and Nicola Scott at Oxford Archaeology. Helen Glass, the Channel Tunnel Rail Link Archaeologist, Councillors Les Beven and Alan Ridgers from Gravesham Borough Council. Verna Row, Victor Smith and Sandra Soder from the Gravesend Historical Society, Brian Philp and Deborah Cooper from the Council for Kentish Archaeology, Giles Guthrie from Maidstone Museum and John Shepherd at University College London. Thanks must also go to Dr. John Chapman, Dr. Richard Hingley, Professor Jennifer Price Dr. Steven Willis, Abby Antrobus, Fiona Cunningham, Adam Rogers, Melanie Sherratt, Linda Martin, Denise Charlton, Helen Drinkall and Carrie Drew all (at the time) at the University of Durham, and also to the Rosemary Cramp Fund and Gravesham Borough Council for offering financial assistance. Finally, special thanks must go to my family and Julie Parker.

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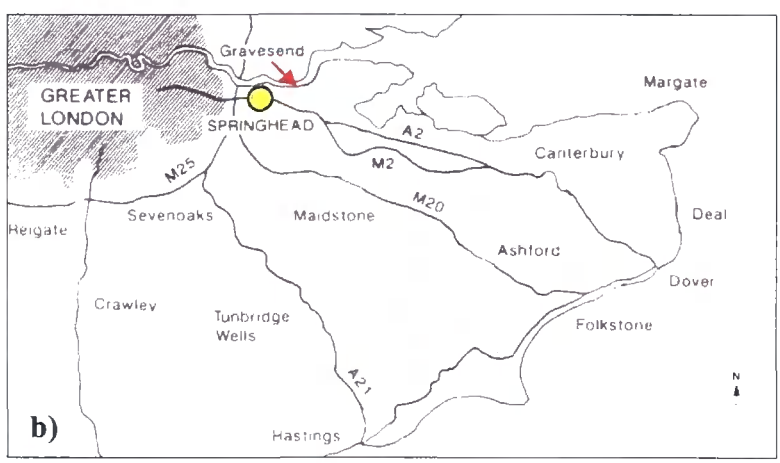
Appendices:

1: Outline of the archaeological remains from Springhead.

1.1:The development of the site through the Iron Age and Roman periods.

It is, firstly, necessary to provide a brief outline of the archaeological remains discovered from Springhead, and the ways these were interpreted, to clarify important information, the significance of which will be discussed in the following analysis. The site is in North Kent, located close to the medieval and modern riverside town of Gravesend (Figure 1), and centred on National Grid Reference TQ 617713. It was excavated during a number of projects, which were undertaken between the 1940s and the present day, the location of which can be seen in Figure 1. The excavations undertaken at Springhead have led to the identification of a number of structures, many of which were interpreted as being 'temples' or 'shrines', together with a range of ancillary buildings, which were thought to represent the shops, dwelling places and granaries of an accompanying 'small town', dating between the late Iron Age and fourth centuries AD.



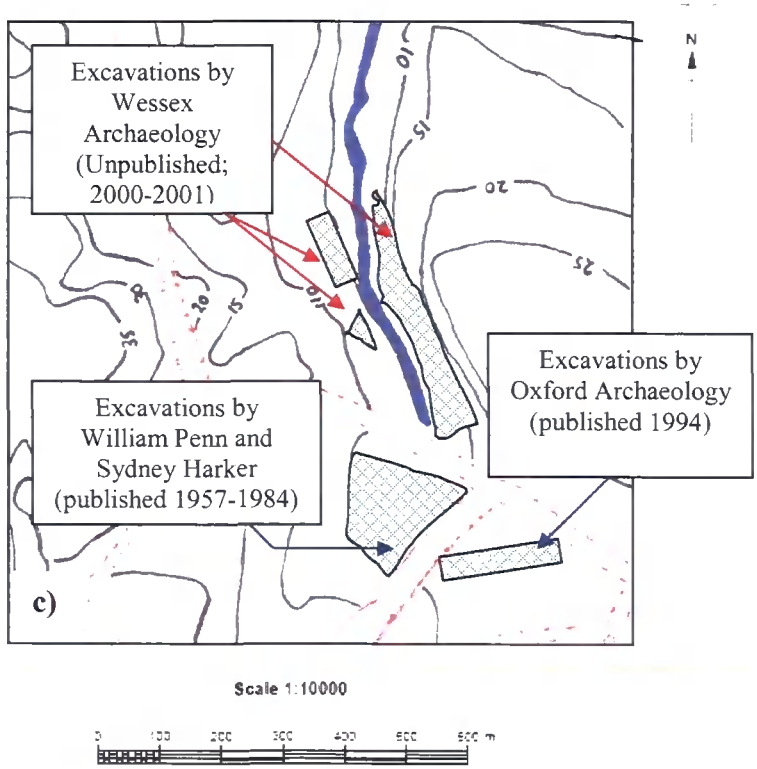


Figure 1: a): General location of Springhead within Great Britain (left; after Monaghan, 1987; fig 1; scale 1:10,000,000), and **b):** Kent (Boyle and Early, 1994; fig 1; scale 1: 1,000,000). The location of Gravesend is marked on the latter with a red arrow. **c):** Map, showing the general locations of excavations analysed in the following text of this research (after EDINA Digimap, 2005).

The settlement is thought to be a site described in *Iter II* of the *Antonine Itinery*; called *Vagniacis*, which was mentioned as having been located roughly nine miles from the Roman fort and town at Rochester (*Durobriviae*) and eighteen miles from a site at Crayford (*Noviomagus*) (Rivet, 1970; 66). The name *Vagniacis* is thought to be a British word, meaning 'an estate of/by/or at the marshy place' (Rivet and Smith, 1979; 485). Such a description would have been very appropriate, considering the local environment in which the site may have stood. Although some of the settlement appears to have been situated in a raised area, ranging between ten and fifteen metres above sea level, much of it appears to have been waterlogged by eight natural springs, which rose at the head of the Ebbsfleet river, in the northern part of the site, hence its current name. The springs no longer exist, as the digging of chalk pits for cement manufacture around 1900 lowered the water level supplying them, and the features had dried up by 1936. Their existence was, however, recorded by historian Alfred Dunkin, and one of the owners of the land, Mr. H Treadwell, as the fresh water from them was used to grow watercress in the nineteenth century (Penn, 1966b; 65-70, 76-77). The British origin of the site's name has been verified by the discovery of extensive Iron Age remains, including a complex system of early ditches and pits of a 'votive' character, clearly predating the Roman levels and suggesting the existence of an important 'religious centre' of the Belgic Britons' (Harker, 1980; 288) although, unfortunately, this material has yet to be published, and is current inaccessible (for further discussion, refer to page 59). Recent work undertaken at the site, by Wessex Archaeology, in 2000-2001 (Figure 2) has, however, provided much detail on the use of the site in this period, revealing a wide range of features centred on the area occupied by the natural springs.

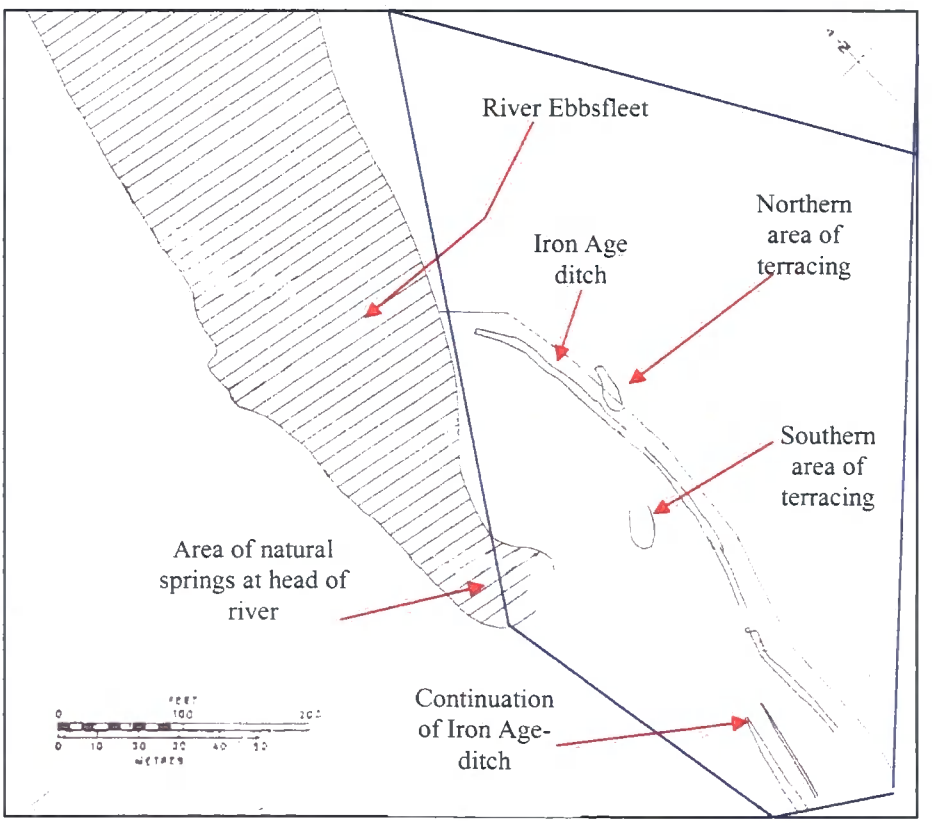


Figure 2: Iron Age features identified by Wessex Archaeology at Springhead (after private, unpublished document). The extent of the areas excavated has been indicated in blue.

The area around the springs was interpreted as having been used as a 'ceremonial arena' during the Iron Age, following the discovery of terraces cut into the hill slopes, which rise between twenty and forty five metres on either side of the valley surrounding the features. The terraces were thought to have been used as viewing platforms to observe rites taking place around the springs, and a deep ditch was discovered enclosing the area around the features, to the west which was interpreted as representing a boundary demarcating the eastern edge of the 'ceremonial arena' (Union Railways (North) Ltd, undated b; 1). These interpretations have been conditioned by other ideas about the later use of the site for 'religious' activities, which will be discussed in due course, and it would appear that the area around the Springs was intended to possess a symbolic focus. It is possible that more structures and features exist to the west of the features, in the area shown on the figure, which was not investigated by Wessex Archaeology.

The symbolic significance of the site appears to have persisted into the Roman period and the importance with which the Iron Age enclosure may have been regarded is evident through its relationship to the later Watling Street, which, appears to have been deliberately constructed to deviate from a straight course, making a considerable dogleg (Penn, 1958; 1964b; 1968a) from east to west, before heading north (V. Smith, 1991), to avoid it (see the pink arrows on Figure 3, overleaf). Movement through the site may, therefore, have been carefully planned in a symbolic manner, emphasising the need to respect the existence of the Iron Age centre, and the ideas and beliefs associated with it, accommodating this alongside the new Roman infrastructure. The Iron Age ditch, enclosing the site to the east, also appears to have been re-cut (*ibid*), perhaps, once again, emphasising the importance of the enclosure.

It is clear, however, that significant alterations were also made to the site during this time. Three Roman style buildings were built on the floor of the Ebbsfleet valley, close to the springs, and deliberately aligned towards them, which were interpreted as being temples constructed to 'celebrate (them) as natural phenomena' (Union Railways (North) Ltd, undated b; 1). The first of these structures was a wooden building constructed on the eastern side of the springs, with an open front facing towards them, represented by a series of post holes (*ibid*). This structure was later rebuilt in stone, using a series of flint bases to create the supports for a colonnade (*ibid*). On the western side of the springs, and also facing towards them, another building was constructed, with a square room, and a façade, added later (*ibid*). A large 'ritual pit' was also dug at an entrance point through the Iron Age enclosure ditch, which may have been a symbolic feature connected with the boundary and, within it, a s had been buried, with complete pots and a human skull (Union Railways (North) Ltd, undated b; 1).

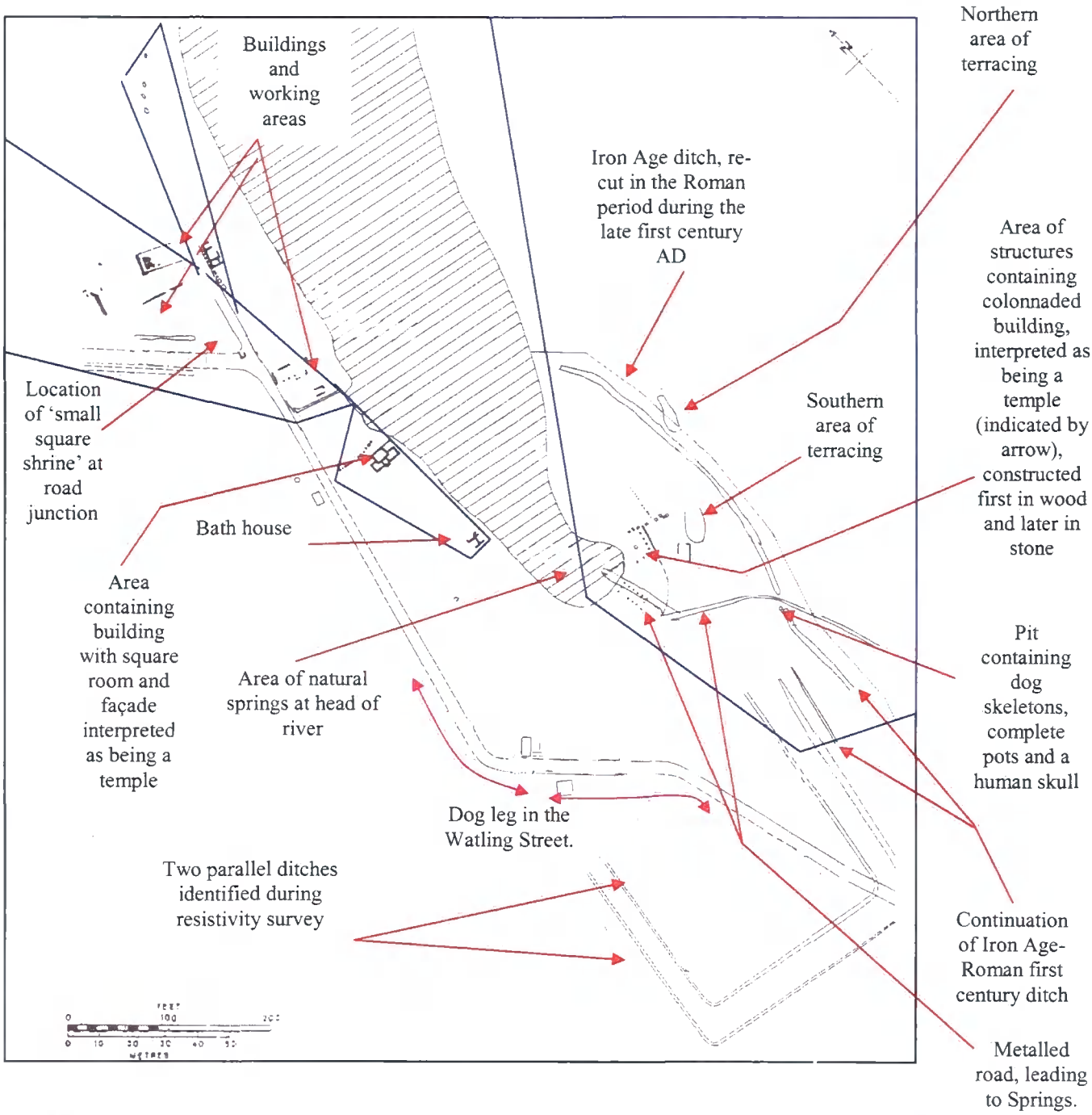


Figure 3: Roman features identified by Wessex Archaeology during excavations at Springhead (after private, unpublished document provided by Wessex Archaeology). The extent of the areas excavated has been indicated in blue.

Other features and structures were identified by Wessex Archaeology, although their significance is unclear, and many details have yet to be fully published. A resistivity survey traced the outline of two large first century ditches running parallel to one another and enclosing the southern part of the site (Phil Andrews *pers comm.*, and see Figure 3). The ditch was thought to have been partially investigated by earlier excavations at the settlement as the location of the feature discovered by Wessex Archaeology corresponded with accounts mentioning the discovery of part of a large ditch, 12ft wide and 8ft deep, dated by pottery to the first century AD (Penn, 1964a; lvii), and a section of ditch 10 ft wide and 9 feet deep to the west of the settlement, together with another smaller ditch running parallel to this (*ibid*; 116; fig 1) claimed to represent an early military camp (*ibid*; V. Smith, 2004; 4), a suggestion also considered by Wessex Archaeology (Union Railways (North) Ltd, undated b; 1). A metalled road was also found leading to the natural springs (*ibid*) although this is thought to have gone out of use following the construction of the easternmost temple (Phil Andrews, *pers comm.*). At the north west of the area excavated by Wessex Archaeology a road was discovered joining the line of the Watling Street and a structure interpreted as being a 'small square shrine' was constructed at the junction (Union Railways (North) Ltd, undated b; 2). The land around the junction had been divided into plots, interpreted as being the remains of buildings or working areas (*ibid*). The only other structures discovered around the natural springs were the remnants of a bath-house, interpreted as having been used for washing pilgrims visiting the 'sanctuary' (Phil Andrews, *pers. comm.*). This structure is likely to be the remains of a bath-house discovered in 1814 (Dunkin, 1848a, 1848b) as Victorian pottery was found on the floors (Phil Andrews, *pers comm.*). Penn plotted an approximate location for the building from an analysis of documentary evidence (Penn, 1965; fig 1, 113) and his general location is very close to the structure located by Wessex Archaeology, making it probable that the two discoveries represent the same feature.

The excavations undertaken at the site by William Penn[1] and Sydney Harker[2], and published between 1957 and 1984, uncovered a considerable amount of evidence for Roman activities in the area immediate south of the Springs, along the length of the Watling Street in this area. A summary of remains discovered is provided here, and more detailed accounts can be found in the third chapter. During the late first century a small building, with concentric square walls, and resembling a temple of 'Romano-Celtic' form (Lewis, 1966) and classified by the excavators as Temple VII (Penn, 1967a; 1968c; Harker, 1971a; 1972; 1973a; 1973b) was built, together with a structure at the northern edge of the Watling Street described as being an 'agricultural building' (Penn, 1968b-c, Harker, 1969a-b; 1970b; 1971a). These structures may be contemporary with the buildings identified around the Springs by Wessex Archaeology, and appear to have gone out of use in the early second century.

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[1] Penn was a scientist who worked in the chemical industry and he managed excavations at the settlement for the Gravesend Historical Society, serving as its president. Penn served on the Excavations Committee for the Kent Archaeological Society, was Chairman of the Kent Archaeological Research Groups Council from 1964-1967, and was also Vice Chairman of a working group of the Council for British Archaeology (V. Smith, 2004; back cover).

[2] Penn died in 1968 and was succeeded as director of excavations at Springhead by Sydney Harker, a senior executive in the electrical industry who served as the President of the Gravesend Historical Society. Harker was also a member on the Council of the Kent Archaeological Society and Chairman of the Council for Kentish Archaeology. Harker died in 1985 (V. Smith, 2004; back cover).

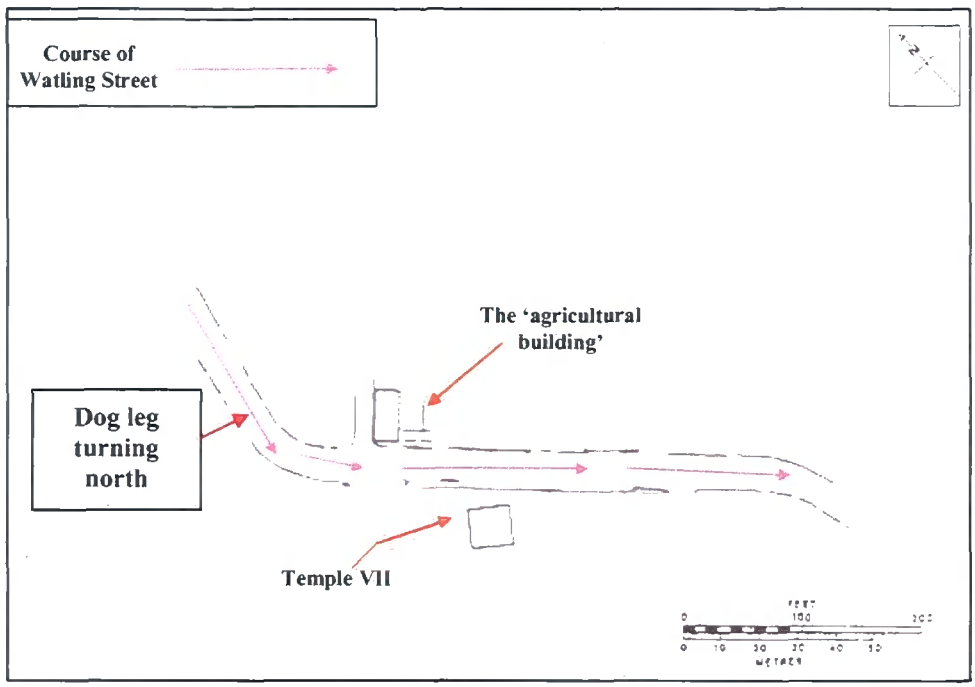

Figure 4: Structures and roads built and used at Springhead between the late first and early second fourth centuries AD (plans after private, unpublished document provided by Wessex Archaeology).

Many buildings appear to have been constructed at Springhead and used between the early second and fourth centuries. Two branch roads are recorded as having been constructed off the Watling Street, heading southwards on the western (Harker, 1973a), and eastern sides (Penn, 1958) of an area frequently described as being a 'temple complex' or 'temenos' (Penn, 1959; 1; 1967c; 109) which contained a variety of structures thought to have been built and used between the early second and fourth centuries. Some of the buildings discovered within the 'temenos' conform to types of 'Romano-Celtic' or 'Classical' temples established by Lewis (1966) and these were termed Temple I (Penn, 1959) and Temple II (*ibid*; 1962). Other buildings were discovered that were interpreted as being temples, and classified as III, IV, V and VI on the basis of finds associated with them (pages 36-43). A large brick base, termed a 'pedestal', was also discovered within the 'temenos' and was interpreted as supporting a 'votive column' (*ibid*; 1958). At least three unnamed strip buildings were constructed ov the abandoned Temple VII (Harker, 1971a; 236; 1973a; 8). These have never been portrayed on any published plan of the settlement and their general location is shown in figure 5.

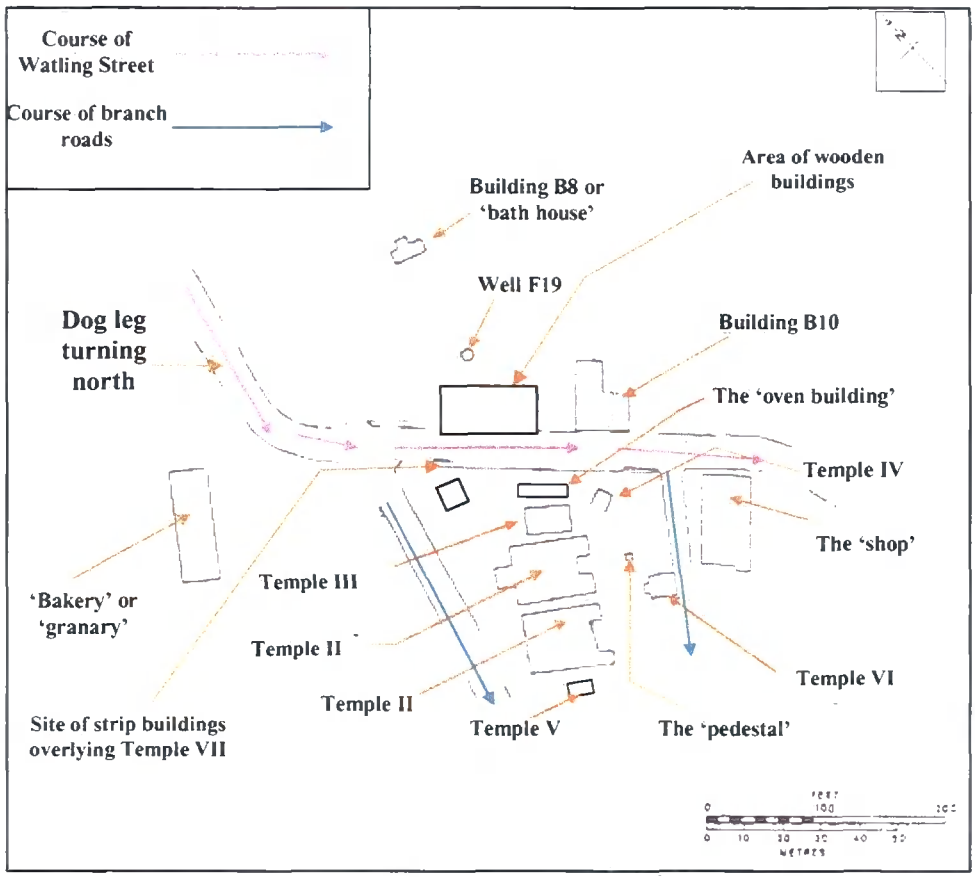

Figure 5: Structures and roads built and used at Springhead between the early second and fourth centuries AD (after private, unpublished document provided by Wessex Archaeology).

A number of buildings were discovered surrounding the temples and were interpreted as being a 'bakery' or 'granary' (Penn, 1957), an oven building' (*ibid*, 1964b), a 'shop' (*ibid*, 1958), a bath house, classified as building B8 (*ibid*, 1968a), an un-named building, classified as building B10 (*ibid*) and an unidentifiable number of wooden structures in the area to the north of the Watling Street, directly opposite the 'temple complex' (Harker 1969a; 1969b; 1970b). The structures are not indicated on any published plan of the settlement and their general location has been given in figure 5. A well, classified F19 (*ibid*, 1970a) close to the site of these structures. A number of fragmentary buildings were also discovered that cannot be dated due to an absence of detailed records (Penn, 1964a, 1965; 110-112, 1968a; Harker, 1969a, 1969b, 1970b, 1977, 1978, 1979). The remains have, therefore, not been shown on figure 5 although summaries of the excavations have been given on pages 57 and 58, with details on the location of the work given in Figure 18 on page 47).

Other excavations were conducted along the route of a SEEBOARD gas pipeline lain across the southern part of the settlement by the Oxford Archaeology (Boyle and Early, 1994). The report views the area excavated as being part of a 'roadside settlement' of a 'fairly simple linear type' containing no indications of 'religious' significance (*ibid*; 1). The excavations uncovered evidence for a second century metal working area, associated with a series of pits and ditches, interpreted as being the site of

a possible blacksmith's forge (*ibid*; 26). The remains of postholes, floors, roads, pits and ditches were also discovered, dating between the first and fourth centuries and probably demarcating the remains of buildings and their plots (*ibid*; 2-9). Evidence for metal production was discovered, together with a range of other finds including worked bone, glass, infant burials, worked stone, iron and bronze objects.

A number of other excavations have revealed information about the Roman site and include discoveries of burials made by antiquarians (Rashleigh, 1803a, 1803b) and work preceding the construction of a garden centre between 1991 and 1994 which uncovered a small number of pits, post holes, ditches and gullies, together with seven adult burials, including three cremations and four inhumations (Philp and Chenery, 1996). Other work undertaken at the settlement includes a series of small excavations initiated ahead of road construction projects in the early twentieth century (Jessup, 1928) and trial trenches dug at Springhead nurseries to determine the course of the Watling Street through the area, (V. Smith, 1991), confirming that the road ran to the north once it had passed to the east of the 'temple complex' excavated by Penn and Harker. An extensive cemetery containing a minimum of 326 inhumations and 235 cremation burials, was excavated by Oxford Archaeology in 1997 and 1998 (Union Railways (South) Ltd, 2001a; 2001b), the information from which has yet to be prepared to an adequate state for post excavation analysis.

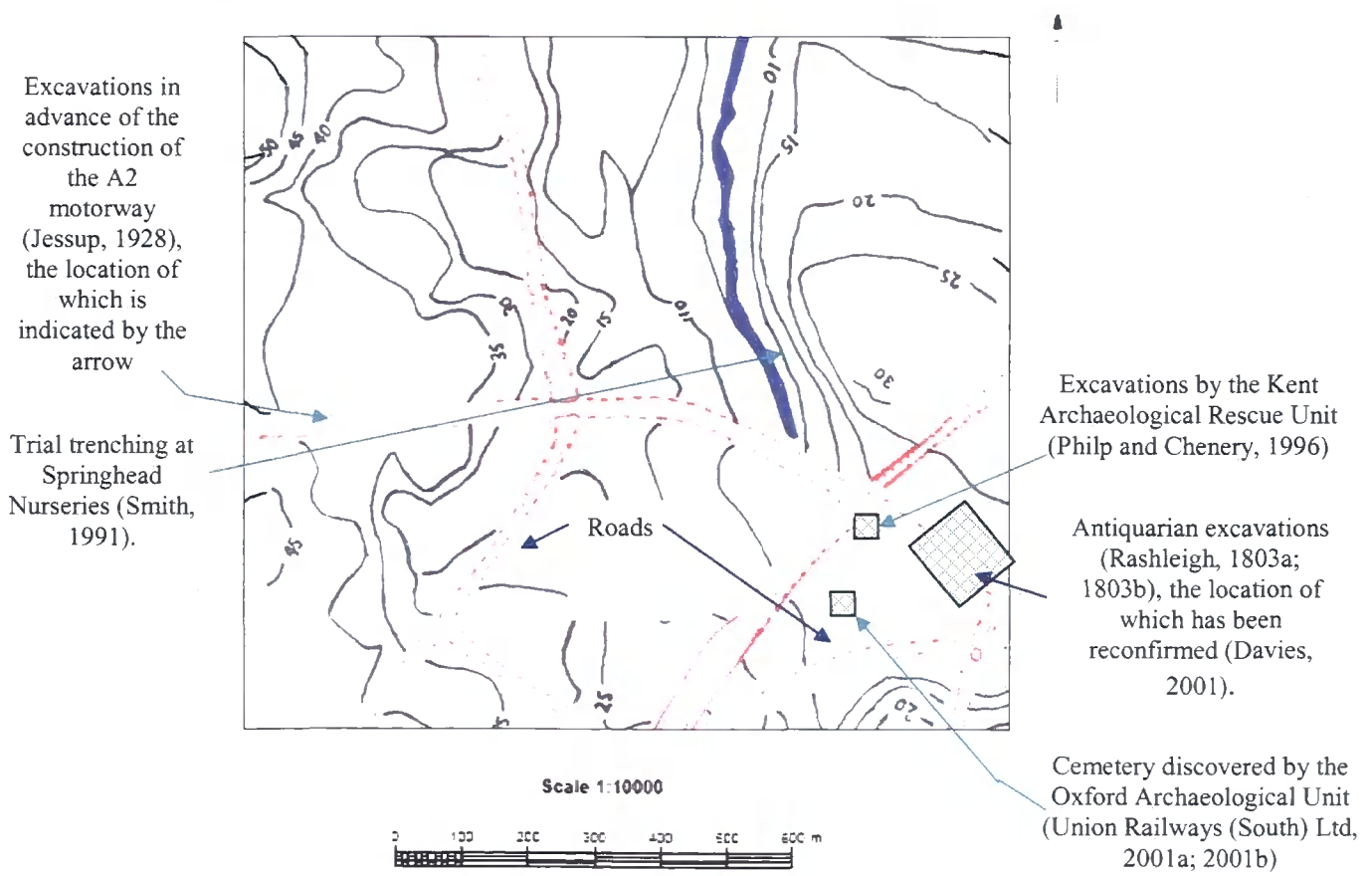

Figure 6: The location of other excavations at Springhead (after EDINA Digimap; 2005). Contour heights are in metres.

1.2: The significance of the site at Springhead to the surrounding environment, with the province of Britain, and the Roman Empire as a whole.

Springhead forms one of a considerable number of sites, identified during archaeological excavations on remains from Roman Britain, containing buildings interpreted as being temples, henceforth referred to as 'temple sites' for purposes of convenience. The importance of these structures to 'religious' activities has been interpreted on the basis of associated finds, such as statuary, figurines, altars and inscriptions, thought to be connected with the veneration of Classical and Indigenous deities (discussed in detail on page 73). The arrangement of space within the structures, which often encompasses walls placed concentrically around one another, to form a central focus, or cella, with a surrounding ambulatory (*cf* Lewis, 1966; Muckleroy, 1976), has been linked with inscriptions, sculpture and literary texts mentioning temples, which refer to such a layout being used to allow the centre of the building to be kept private as the *Aedes,* or dwelling place, of a deity; kept separate from the surrounding ambulatory, used by priests and, perhaps by worshippers (Derks, 1998; 112). Temples I and VII at Springhead possess this 'Romano-Celtic' form, although, in the case of the former this was open to change and adaptation, with additional rooms being added at later dates (pages 32-33).

The temples at Springhead appear to have been intentionally separated, and demarcated by an enclosure, dividing the structures from the rest of the settlement, and frequently referred to as a 'temenos' which, with the buildings found within it, formed a 'temple complex', demarcated by a wall, a deep ditch beside the 'oven building', the Watling Street, and the roads bounding the area to the east and west (*cf* Penn, 1958, fig 1, 1964b, fig 1; Harker, 1974; 1975; 8; 1979; 7). Such enclosures appear to be common from temple sites in Roman Britain, and the term is frequently used (*cf* Bedwin, 1980; 189; Dark, 1993; 254-255), but other phrases, such as 'temple precinct' (*cf* Woodward and Leach, 1993; 328) or 'temple court' (*cf* Drury, 1984; 54) are also applied. The types of enclosures vary widely in nature. These were often demarcated by features, such as walls, at Great Chesterford (Collins, 1978), Woodeaton (Goodchild and Kirk, 1954) and Harlow (France and Gobel, 1985); and ditches, at Slonk Hill (Hartridge, 1978) and Wood Lane End (Neal, 1984), or by stone markers, as at Coleford (Walters, 1992). Hill top summits, providing dramatic views of the surrounding landscapes, appear to have been used to separate temples from surrounding areas, such as at Lamyatt Beacon (Leech, 1986) and Brean Down (Apsimon, 1965). Boundaries appear to have been demarcated by Classical style, colonnaded walkways, such as at Bath (Cunliffe and Davenport, 1985), and others were found in enclosed spaces formed out of attendant buildings, such as at Pagans Hill (Rahtz and Harris, 1958; Rahtz and Watts, 1989) and Uley (Woodward and Leach, 1993) which may have provided for the needs of visiting pilgrims. Some sites appear to have used the boundaries of older monuments to demarcate a 'temenos' around them, shown by the construction of temples within hill forts at Harlow (France and Gobel, 1985), Maiden Castle (Wheeler, 1943), Chanctonbury (Mitchell, 1910; Bedwin, 1980), Croft Ambrey (Stanford, 1974) and Lydney Park (Wheeler and Wheeler, 1932), perhaps drawing on their sense of history and place.

At a local level, knowledge about the landscape immediately surrounding the site consists of a number of separate sources which, until now, have yet to be considered in detail together, and a map showing the location of settlement is provided in Figure 7. The areas beside the Thames, to the north and north west, on the Shorne, Higham, Cliffe, Cooling and Hoo marshes appear to have been the site of extensive production, represented by the remains of pottery kilns and salt panning hearths. Analysis of these industries at Chalk (Allen, 1954a, 1954b, 1959), Cliffe (Chaplin, 1961, Hutchings, 1966; 1987), Higham (Catherall, 1983) and at all of these sites (Thornhill and Payne, 1980) has, however, largely been restricted to 'rescue excavations' of limited scope which, although providing useful finds evidence, have been unable to investigate the settlements associated with these activities in detail. Other research upon these areas has been confined to specialist analysis of ceramics (Monaghan, 1987; Pollard, 1988), much of which was collected by antiquarians in the nineteenth century (Cobb, 1933; Page, 1932; 115, 130; 169-170; Payne, 1898, 1902, 1909, 1911; Roach Smith, 1877, Spurrell, 1885). Summaries of material from the area are now incomplete, and badly in need of updating (*cf* Philp, 1963a; Detsicas, 1983). Little detailed information is known to exist for the areas north of the Thames, in Essex which, although a substantial waterway, could have been crossed by boat, to allow access to Springhead. A possible villa is thought to have existed at Chadwell, but aside from this, and remains of settlements at Orsett and Mucking (*cf* Drury and Rodwell, 1980), little detailed information appears to be available about the area as a whole.

Despite the limitations in knowledge from the region, some excavations upon sites from the marshland, such as at the substantial villa found at Northfleet (Steadman, 1913), parts of buildings at Chalk (Johnson, 1972), and round houses at Bromhey Farm, near Cooling (Miles, 1975; 2004) have been published. Excavations by Oxford Archaeology, to the north of Springhead, have provided a more detailed picture of the use of the areas alongside the river; showing that a gravel spur, abutting into the Thames at Northfleet, formed part of an extensive river frontage, connected with trade and production. Finds included a possible wharf, lime kiln, parts of six large mill stones and a corn dryer, associated with large quantities of waste from crop processing (Union Railways (North) Ltd, Undated (a); 2), although the information has yet to be published in full. The extensive industry within the areas to the north of Springhead, probably suggests that the whole area would have been an extremely busy place, perhaps acting as a focus for trade and production, on the route between London and the other Western Provinces, which visitors could access easily, by both land and sea, to buy and trade goods.

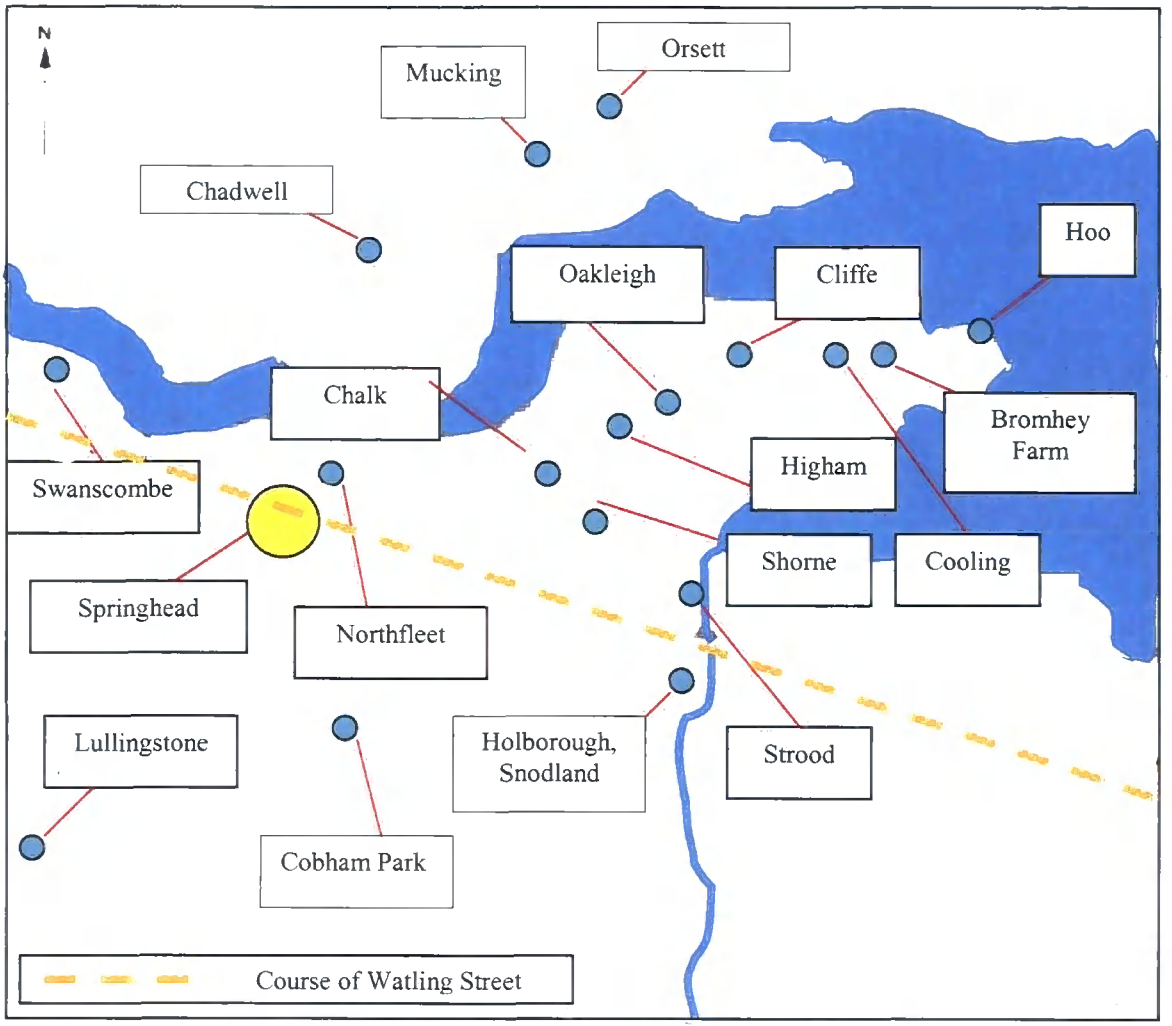

Figure 7: Map of the landscape around Springhead, showing the locations of archaeological discoveries mentioned in the text (map after Boyle and Early, 1994; fig 1). Scale 1: 500,000.

Further inland, to the south, east and west of Springhead, the landscape appears to consist of a number of structures identified as being villas. These are often substantial and elaborate structures, such as at Darenth (Black, 1981) and Lullingstone (Meates, 1979), and wealthy burials have also been discovered, such as those from the barrow at Holborough (Jessup, 1954), and also within the extremely large 'walled cemetery' at Southfleet, just to the south east of Springhead (Rashleigh, 1803a; 1803b). It is, therefore, extremely likely that some of the population from the area may have been very wealthy, although the remains of many more smaller buildings have, however, also been discovered at Cobham Park (Tester, 1961), Snodland (Ocock and Syddell, 1967), Swanscombe (Yoeuns, 1905) and Eastwood, Fawkham (Philp, 1963b). Although many individual sites have been identified there is, currently, little understanding of the use of the landscape as a whole, or the density of occupation within it, and much work needs to be undertaken to survey this. The area does, however, form prime agricultural land in the present day and, if soils were as fertile in the Roman period, it is likely that much of it would have been given over to farming, with populations dispersed throughout this landscape.

The site would have lain within the territory of the Cantiaci, beside the Watling Street, where it ran through the area, between London (*Londinium*), via Rochester (*Durobriviae*) towards the capital of the *Civitas* at Canterbury (*Duroavernum*) and is likely to have formed an important focal point for movement. The close proximity of the site to the Thames and the Watling Street would have also made it an important point of contact between Britannia and the other provinces of the Empire, through the coastal ports at Dover (*Dubris*), Richborough (*Rutupiae*) and Reculver (*Regulbium*). The site was also close to the tribal boundary between the Cantiaci, Regni, Catuvellauni, and the Trinovantes (*cf* Detsicas, 1983 1-10). It may, therefore, have formed an important place in the political geography of Roman Britain, which peoples from different tribes could have accessed easily, and used as meeting space. The location of temples close to tribal boundaries can be observed in many other locations from Roman Britain, particularly those close to and around the Severn Estuary, such as Lydney Park (*cf* Wheeler and Wheeler, 1932), Brean Down (Apsimon, 1965), Uley (Woodward and Leach, 1993) and Nettleton Scrubb (*cf* Wedlake, 1982), which could have formed points of contact between the territories of the Silures, Dobunni, Belgae, Durotriges and Dumnononii (*cf* Rahtz and Watts, 1979; Blagg, 1986). Other examples can be seen at Frilford (Bradford and Goodchild, 1939; Hingley, 1982; 1985) which could be accessed from the territories of Dobunni, Catuvellauni, Coritani and the Atrebates, and also at Titsey (Graham, 1936) where the site was located close to the tribal boundaries of the Regni, Catuvellauni, Trinovantes, Atrebati, and the Cantiaci. Frilford is of particular interest in relation to Springhead, as the site has produced evidence for a substantial amphitheatre (Hingley, 1982; 1985), which, like the enclosure and terracing constructed around the natural springs at the latter, could have been intentionally designed as a meeting place for large numbers of people. Springhead appears similar to many temple sites situated in rural areas, which were particularly close to major roads, and have been accessed by large numbers of people. Lydney Park was situated near to the main road between Gloucester and Caerwent and Nettleton Scrubb (Wedlake, 1982) close to the Fosse Way between Bath and Cirencester. Frilford, and the temples at Bourton Grounds (Green, 1966; Johnson, 1975) and Elms Farm (Atkinson and Preston, 1998) also appear to have been constructed near road intersections;

Springhead also forms one of a relatively limited number of temple sites known from Roman Britain, including the major complex at Bath (Cunliffe and Davenport, 1985; Cunliffe, 1988), Dean Hall (Frere, 1985; 1986; 1988) and Frilford (Hingley, 1982; 1985) known to have been focused on a natural spring. As at Bath (Cunliffe and Davenport, 1985) and Frilford (Kamash, Gosden and Lock, 2006), large quantities of objects, particularly items of personal adornment at Springhead, which have yet to be published (Phil. Andrews *pers. comm.*) appear to have been deliberately cast into the features. It is, therefore, likely that the springs may have been considered a place of important symbolic significance, linked with the 'religious' importance of these sites, a trait attested at Bath, where frequent dedications and appeals to the goddess Sulis Minerva were deposited in the Spring (*cf* Cunliffe, 1988) and also the name of the site (*Aqua Sulis*) clearly demonstrates a link between the features and the worship of divinities.

2: Aims of this study and methods of analysis.

2.1: Studying the distribution of finds from Penn and Harker's excavations.

Studies of the distribution of finds from temple sites in Roman Britain have tended to look for traces of patterning in the deposition of particular 'classes' of objects, sharing similarities in form and potential functions, and are felt to have provided interesting information on past activities. Woodward and Leach's work at Uley, and A. Smith's wider study of the use of space on temple sites from Iron Age and Roman Britain, revealed patterning in the deposition of certain 'types' of finds, carried out at particular times during the history of the site[3], and the use of particular areas for such practices[4], which were thought to relate to changing ideas and beliefs, connected with the deposition of 'offerings' as part of the 'religious cults'. The concept that patterning in the deposition of material, with certain 'types' of finds being buried together, in a particular order, and in specific places, as part of symbolically intended acts, has its origins in work undertaken upon the remains from late Neolithic and Iron Age Wessex, which have identified 'structured' or 'ritual' deposition' in archaeological deposits (*cf* Richards and Thomas, 1984; Hill, 1995). There appears, however, to have been a tendency in studies of material from temple sites to assume that patterning identified in the deposition of finds resulted from a singular, unified, 'structured' activity, carried out at as a universal 'ritual' connected with the 'cult'. To some extent, this may have been the case; symbolic properties attributed to certain kinds of material may have influenced its treatment in particular ways throughout the history of sites (Garwood, 1991; 13; Barrett, 1991; 2). Little work has been done on the finds from 'temple sites' to identify traces of such 'rituals', apart from the work discussed above, and selective analysis of particular finds relating to 'religious cults' from other locations, undertaken by Woodward and Leach (see page 73), although the symbolic deposition of material in particular ways can be seen at Jordon Hill, where the temple contained a shaft, into which sixteen layers of charcoal had been deposited,

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[3] Full sized weapons and tools were deposited more frequently during the early Roman period (phases 2-3) of timber 'shrines' and 'votive pits'. The stone temple (phases 4 and 5) was associated with with considerable quantities of miniature clay vessels, coins, antler pins, spoons and toilet articles. From the fourth century onwards, considerable quantities of copper alloy figurines, caducei, miniature weapons, sheet plaques, flat copper alloy rings, metal vessels, glass beads, copper alloy bracelets and finger rings were deposited in the fourth century (phase 5) (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 328).

[4] Smith's analysis revealed that, on many sites, temple buildings often formed the main focus for large quantities of deposited finds, including statuary, jewellery, miniature objects and coinage. Analysis of finds distribution revealed interesting patterning on many sites, including Brigstock, where miniature objects, statuettes and items of personal adornment were left in the southern part and centre of the northern 'shrine' identified there (A.Smith, 2001; 76-79). At Verulamium, items of personal adornment and coins were concentrated around the central *cella* of the 'triangular temple' (*ibid*; 117-121). At Harlow, items of ornamentation and martial equipment had been deposited mainly within the 'Romano-Celtic' temple (*ibid*; 79-87). There was a tendency to dispose of particular 'small finds' in certain areas of sites. At Hayling Island, considerable quantities of iron and bronze objects were deposited within the southern side of the enclosure ditch around the temple, at the entrance, contrasting with a corresponding dearth in such objects from the rest of the site (*ibid*; 40-44). At Henley Wood, a ditch to the east contained considerable quantities of brooches, comprising three quarters of all such finds recovered from the site (*ibid*; 87-94).

alternating with double layers of roofing slabs arranged in superimposed pairs, between each of which were the burials of a bird and a single coin (*cf* Drew, 1931; 116). Commentary has, however, been more extensive on the structural remains from 'temple sites', such as the tradition of the 'Romano-Celtic' temples identified in the Western Empire (*cf* Lewis, 1966; Muckleroy, 1976), which have already been considered in the previous section (page 17).

It may, however, be overtly simplistic not to acknowledge the potential for diversity in past activities, and the possibility that items brought to temple sites as the result of specific 'rituals' could, once they had got there, also have been used in many different ways (*cf* Hill, 1995; 95; Brück, 1999; 314; Richards, 2005; 123). Curse tablets were, for example, frequently deposited in the spring at Bath (*cf* Cunliffe, 1988; 59-266), the act of writing a plea to a deity, and casting it into the features being an underlying 'ritual' associated with the site, but carried out, in each case, for entirely different reasons, relating to individual circumstances. Such limitations in perception are not confined to studies of temple sites alone; other work on Roman remains have regarded 'structured' or 'ritual' deposition implicitly (Martens 2007), and sometimes consciously (Clarke, 1997, 2000) as representing a continuation of a universal practice, running from the Neolithic, through the Iron Age and into the Romano-British period (also *cf* Wait, 1985 a and b; Merrifield, 1987; 1995). It is felt that such approaches may have motivated by the desire to verify the existence of 'ritual' practices, focusing on producing evidence for as many 'trends' in deposition as possible, to justify their arguments. This appears to have been successful although, in the process of doing so, such studies appear to have become rather preoccupied with achieving 'statistical security', rather than viewing the implications of adopting such approaches. This study aims to examine the distribution of items with similarities in form and aspects of use, to see what information they might provide on past activities (Chapters 5-7). At the same time, to account for diversity in the use of such items, relationships between different 'classes' of material, deposited within individual strata and features at different times and places during the history of the site, were also examined to see what light they might shed (Chapter 9).

Another important factor addressed in current research on the distribution of archaeological material, that will require consideration in the following analysis, is the concept of fragmentation. The ways objects may have been broken and dispersed are important factors when attempting to understand their distribution. Negative attitudes to the breakage and discard of material have been drawn into question, challenging ideas that damaged or 'thrown away' material was useless and of no significance to past activities (*cf* Chapman, 2000b), elaborating on earlier ideas that 'rituals' and 'rubbish' deposition need not be unrelated (Hill, 1995), and drawing on the complexities influencing the circulation and discard of material on sites (*cf* Schiffer, 1985, 1987). Detailed consideration of how the distribution of material can be influenced by breakage and dispersal, particularly in Balkan Prehistory, has highlighted a number of interesting possibilities when attempting to consider the significance of past

activities[5] (Chapman, 2000a), which will be considered throughout the course of this study. It must also be borne in mind that the study of fragmentation is influenced by similar concerns to 'structured deposition' in its identification of long term 'rituals', the significance of which requires viewing in a more context specific manner, although such approaches have been applied in a recent study (*cf* Chapman and Gaydarska, 2007). This also emphasised a number of issues for interpretation, which are considered to be of particular interest in the context of this research. These include the concept of the division of people from their objects as part of the leaving behind of 'offerings' at sites, the significance of activities taking place when the remains of the settlement were being broken up and dispersed (*ibid*; 4-8). Awareness of the impact of fragmentation has, however, been relatively limited in current studies of material from Roman Britain. Investigation into the breakage of statuary and figurines has led to suggestions that parts of them may have been deliberately deposited and curated for symbolic purposes. Such research has taken the form of general comments on individual items (Merrifield, 1987; 96-106, Ferris, 2007), and also in a more detailed survey of material, undertaken by Croxford (2003), who recognised that a significant proportion of statues (25%) were frequently represented by heads alone; statistical analysis revealing that the chances of such preservation conditions occurring so frequently would have been approximately 1 in 100,000. Very few statues were also represented by hands, and it was considered that these might have been deliberately removed from objects, and taken away from sites (*ibid*; 88). The fragmentation of particular 'finds types' sharing similar forms and aspects of function, was, therefore, examined in deposits throughout the history of the site, in an attempt to ascertain whether they had been broken and dispersed in particular ways, as part of 'rituals' (Chapter 8). The fragmentation of finds between different stratigraphic contexts across the site was then examined, to see how finds from particular areas and times were treated (Chapter 9).

2.2: Reappraising interpretations made about the use of finds at Springhead:

Although little work has been undertaken upon the distribution of material from Penn and Harker's excavations, many interpretations were proposed by them, and various researchers, about the ways that space at the site may have been used, drawing upon certain 'classes' of finds discovered to support their assertions. This study reappraises such interpretations in an attempt to shed further light upon ideas previously made about the site, perhaps to demonstrate that such claims are overtly simplistic or, maybe, to provide new perceptions about activities that may have taken place there. A growing awareness of the role played by interpretation in archaeology has emerged in many recent studies, which have highlighted that remains may not represent a static 'record' (*cf* Patrik, 1985) from a past that 'once existed' but, rather, are given meaning, in many different ways, by those analysing them in the present (*cf* Hodder, 1987, *Hodder et al*, 1995), raising the need for detailed critique and self

[5] Chapman considered many possibilities lying behind the treatment of fragmented items, raising the possibilities that they have been broken accidentally, or through use, and then casually discarded, broken accidentally, or through use, and then buried, or ritually 'killed' by being broken, then buried, either complete, or in pieces. Other notions considered involved the fragmentation of material to dispense fertility (or some other 'power') with different fragments then possibly being distributed, to disperse its power further, and deliberately breakage and burial for use in 'relations of enchainment' (given as gifts to cement relations between groups) (Chapman, 2000a; 23).

awareness about how past activities are recorded and presented. The subject has now begun to be considered in relation to fieldwork 'methodologies', with critique of the supposedly 'unbiased' classification and listing of 'finds types' from sites, which could have possessed many different uses as part of past activities (Crummy, 1983; Cumberpatch and Blinkhorn, 1997; Allison, 1997) and the inability of current archaeological recording techniques to provide a form that allows differing opinions about the subdivision, classification and naming of spaces on sites (Hodder, 1997; Chadwick, 1998). Experimentation through the style and structure of commentary in recent reports (*cf*, Richards, 2005; 3) has emphasised the need to accommodate discussion about past activities alongside other, more traditional, methods of analysis, such as classification and description of material, which still need to be provided to give as much detail as possible about the archaeology of sites, and to present material in a coherent and understandable order.

Reappraisal of interpretations made by Penn, Harker and various researchers were, therefore, made alongside analysis of the distribution of particular finds 'types'. Many objects from the excavations at Springhead; including figurines, items of personal adornment, and a small number of altars and miniature representations of tools, were interpreted as being connected with 'religious' behaviour. The term may be useful as a means for referring to activities associated with the use of these finds on temple sites, representing aspects of practices which they may have shared in common; particularly for communicating between an 'otherworld', containing deities, and the material universe, where people lived, through myths and legends, speech, song and movement, clothing, items and architecture (*cf* Insoll, 2001a; Derks, 1998; 11-20). Such a concept would appear to be justified by Classical sources, ranging from books on architecture, descriptions of priests, depictions on coinage, commentary on public lectures and philosophical discussions, sacrificial procedures, together with records of initiation rites, festivals, and Imperial visits (MacMullen, 1981; Beard, North and Price, 1998 a and b). Written accounts mention the presence of temples in Britain, built in a Classical style, resembling examples from the rest of the Roman Empire, such as the Temple to the Divine Claudius at Colchester (Hull, 1958; Fishwick, 1972; Drury, 1984), and the Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath (Cunliffe and Davenport, 1985; Cunliffe, 1988), the latter being particularly important as an example of the syncretism of Classical and Indigenous deities. Archaeology also has a contribution to make, with wide ranging studies having been undertaken, examining relationships between finds and structures, discovered on settlements across the province, to 'religious' ideas and beliefs (Green, 1976, Henig, 1984, Henig and King, 1986). Many temples, of 'Romano-Celtic' form have also been identified, the layout of which corresponds with Roman accounts referring to the organisation of 'religious' spaces (discussed on page 22). The presence of objects, such as statuary, figurines, altars, curse tablets, votive plaques, or inscriptions, from many sites containing temple buildings, mentioning deities referred to in Classical literature, (*cf* Woodward and Leach, 1993; 333), provides further evidence of their use as places where such beings were venerated. Archaeology has played an important role in emphasising the ideas and beliefs of Indigenous peoples (*cf* Scott, 1991). and inscriptions refer to gods such as Silvanus at Uley (Woodward and Leach, 1993) and the same god, Rosmerta and Cunomaglos, on altars and

reliefs at Nettleton Scrubb (Wedlake, 1982; 135-145), and Nodens at Lydney Park (Wheeler and Wheeler, 1932) show the worship of deities connected with such practices.

Other objects, such as tools, items of culinary and/or dining equipment, quern and mill stones, hones, needles, spindlewhorls and loom weights were interpreted as being connected with 'productive' activities, which can be broadly defined as representing technological acts and the provision of material or foodstuffs. These were, as a whole, thought to have been associated with a number of structures in the 'small town' surrounding the 'temple complex', providing services to the local community and travellers passing through the site upon the roads; including a granary, later re-used as a 'bakery' (Penn, 1957), an 'agricultural building' (Penn, 1968c; 2; Harker, 1969a; 233; Harker, 1969b; 7; 1970b; 190) and a smithy (Penn, 1968a). An 'oven building' within the 'temenos' was thought to have been used to produce bread for use as part of ceremonies, and to cater for pilgrims visiting the site (Penn, 1964b), and a 'blacksmith's shop' constructed in Temple I was thought to be the activity of squatters inhabiting the site following its abandonment (Penn, 1959). Little commentary has been made on the significance of activities associated with these structures. The finds from Penn and Harker's excavations appear to indicate that past activities were diverse and complex, and that production, agriculture, as well as the cookery and consumption of foodstuffs, may have existed in complex relationships with the 'religious' buildings and enclosures at the site, providing room for detailed discussion during the course of this study. The significance of such practices, when visible on other 'temple sites', has yet to be considered in detail, and this information is discussed in section 6.7

A number of other 'object classes were also examined, for which few interpretations were made, other than on their labelling according to basic function, to ascertain if these could also produce useful information. The items included decorative stonework from buildings, gaming counters, ornamental fixtures and fastenings, styli, vessel glass, window glass and structural fittings. Also examined were metal representations of leaves, bells, steelyards, terrets, model letters, marble bowls, pewter and marble vessels, window glass, skillets, candlesticks, ploughshare tips, horseshoes, skewers, foot ware, lance or spear heads, arrow heads, weights and a number of unidentifiable objects.

This analysis will also attempt to consider interpretations made about the use of objects as part of 'sacred' and 'profane' activities throughout the course of the study. The division of activities into 'religious' and 'productive' (non-'religious') 'forms' by researchers is evident at Springhead, from the material already discussed, and also on material from many other temple sites. At Uley, for example, material was divided into 'votive objects', including statuary, altars, figurines, caducei, votive plaques, lead curse tablets, weapons, miniatures, tokens, fired clay accessories and 'miscellaneous, probably votive objects' (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 88-147), but 'structural and functional materials', including building components and fittings, tools, vessels, metal working debris, and surface finds, were considered to possess no significance to these ideas and beliefs (*ibid*; 179-218, 327). Smith's study of material from temple sites divided material into 'votive' and 'personal' items, linked to

'religious' activities, in opposition to 'miscellaneous', 'structural', 'agricultural/industrial' items and 'furnishings', which were not (*cf* A. Smith, 2001; maps 5.11-5.12).

It may be overtly simplistic to label material as relating to 'sacred' and 'profane' 'categories' of behaviour, without consideration of the complexities involved in doing so. The desire to 'label' finds as *either* related, or unrelated, to 'religious' activities may restrict the amount of commentary that can be made on the use of temple sites. Such locales may have formed liminal places where aspects of the 'religious' and 'domestic' (i.e. non-religious) worlds would have met. The division of material, without question, into either 'sacred' or 'profane' categories may, therefore, limit discussion of 'religious' behaviour to proving whether or not material was relating to such activities, unable to encapsulate more complex aspects of behaviour (Insoll, 2001a; 15). At Uley, for example, it was considered to be uncertain if items of jewellery might have assumed a 'ritual' (presumably meaning having been deposited at the site as 'offerings', as suggested for other examples), or 'secular' functions (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 333). Aspects of 'sacred' and 'profane' behaviour may have been more intricate and changing. A place, or an object, might for example, take on different meanings when it was being used for events connected with 'religious' activities, which may have ceased to exist when these came to an end, material returning to a 'profane' state (Ghey, 2005; 112). People carrying out 'religious' rites, using items in particular spaces, may have been connected to the 'sacred' world, while others, observing and/or engaged in other activities, may have not (*ibid*).

It is, therefore, possible that 'religious' activities need not have existed in opposition to other forms of activities, which might be considered to be 'functional' (*cf* Merrifield, 1995, Brück, 1999; 327). Items from 'everyday life' in the physical world could have been used as part of 'religious' activities on temple sites, and specialised objects, such as figurines, miniature objects and altars need not form the only evidence for such activities. Examples of such relationships are briefly considered in a few reports on temple sites, but have yet to be explored as part of a systematic study of material. At Harlow, the possibility that the deposition of iron bill hooks, a blade, sheath and a fish spear might have been intended as 'personal offerings', the latter of these objects being drawn upon, with a sense of humour, as having been donated by a lamenting and unlucky fisherman, who could not get a catch from a nearby river (France and Gobel, 1985; 95). Knives and blades have been considered as perhaps having been used for sacrifices, and styli for inscribing dedications (*ibid*). Tools were, however, not considered to relate to 'religious' activities, and were thought to have been lost by workers constructing the temple (*ibid*), but could, perhaps, represent 'offerings' made by tradespeople. At Uley, it was considered that 'domestic and industrial activities' may have been connected to the 'ritual function' of the site, perhaps the metal working of 'votive items' and the use of styli to inscribe lead curse tablets (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 327). It should, however, also be stressed that, although much room exists for debate on the use of seemingly 'profane' items as part of 'religious' activities, it should not be forgotten that some objects may have been unconnected to ideas and beliefs associated with the temples, and may originate from activities carried out in the settlements and landscapes surrounding them.

2.3: Methods of analysis.

To enable analysis of the distribution of finds from Penn and Harker's excavations, the first priority of the study was to bring these objects into some form of coherent order, and it was necessary to construct a detailed catalogue of the material discovered at Springhead. Written accounts of material discovered were scattered between a large number of journal articles compiled by both Penn (1957; 1958, 1959; 1960; 1962; 1964b; 1965; 1967a and c; 1968a-d) and Harker (1969a and b; 1970a-c; 1971a and b; 1972; 1973a and b; 1974, 1975, 1978; 1979, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1984) and the evidence had not been examined as a combined whole. Full listings of all material discovered are included in the appendices to this study, further details on which can be consulted with reference to the contents.

The physical evidence was also rather mixed up, as a result of hurried transportation and storage of material, when finds were removed from Penn and Harker's homes, following their deaths. Their subsequent transfer to the Kent County Museums Service (Vale, 1989) and, afterwards, to Gravesham Borough Council, where the finds are now stored in an abandoned church at Rose Street, in Northfleet, and the Gravesend Historical Society museum at Milton Chantry in Gravesend further complicated matters. Little was known about what was contained within the collections (S. Soder, *pers. comm.*) and investigation had to be undertaken with the intention of evaluating the extent, nature and significance of all finds mentioned in the published literature and held in storage. It was, however, not possible to work on the hundred and eighty five large boxes containing 'bulk finds'; the ceramic assemblage, tile, animal bone, wall plaster and approximately eight thousand coins from Penn and Harker's excavations. This material could have provided interesting information about past activity at the settlement, although the large quantities of finds rendered them unmanageable as part of this study. None of the finds appear to be documented in the published literature and would require long term, specialist investigation if useful information is to be gained from them. All the finds were associated with considerable quantities of written information which had been recorded on bags in which material was contained and on notelets packed in and amongst the boxes. A decision was, however, made to examine the 'small finds' (objects of copper alloy, bone, glass, iron and lead), quantities of which were less considerable, but which were felt to provide a large and useful source of information about past activity, which related directly to the aims of this thesis.

Important limitations have been identified which may affect the usefulness of evidence from Penn and Harker's excavations as part of current research; including lack of accessibility to material, loss of data and a lack of illustration for some finds. The significance of this material is examined first as it has a bearing upon the amount of detail that can be obtained from the archaeology of the site, although it is still felt that a large amount of useful information remains available about past activities. There also appeared to be a large amount of material which could not be reconciled with that mentioned in the accounts published by Penn and Harker. These finds are referred to in the main text and a summary of the evidence has been included in the study, together with an assessment of the potential of the data for future publication.

The potential for detailed future research and reinterpretation is likely to increase, particularly as more becomes known about the site from the recent excavations, and it was, therefore, decided to provide a searchable database, included within the study, that could be interrogated to supply information on material and its significance, in as many different ways as possible, as part of future work. Material mentioned in the published accounts and from the Gravesend Historical Society collection has been quantified in a series of tables, and these can be consulted with reference to the specialist analysis of the context and treatment of particular finds 'types' carried out in chapters 5-7. The tables indicate whether objects are illustrated and references can be found, indicating where finds are portrayed and discussed in the appendices to this study. The tables are also accompanied by distribution maps, allowing the find spots of objects to be identified. Descriptions made of the objects and their illustrations can be consulted with reference to the relevant appendix outlined in the contents. Details are also provided upon whether objects could be located in the Gravesend Historical Society collection or, when descriptions are vague, where potentially similar objects could be identified, and a full photographic archive of 'small finds' from the store and museum has been compiled. Connections between this and finds mentioned in the text can be consulted with reference to the tables and appendices.

Once the catalogue of material had been constructed, it was necessary to examine the archaeological features and strata with which it was once associated. While the structures from Penn and Harker's excavations have been discussed in some depth, the stratigraphy and features (i.e. layers of soil sealing the site, dumps of material, pits, ditches, and their filling) have remained relatively uninvestigated, with details scattered amongst the various excavation reports. Analysis was undertaken upon how material from each of Penn and Harker's excavations related to the stratigraphic sequence, and a list of associations was produced, allowing detailed commentary upon the relationship between finds and the contexts from which they were discovered. A number of important limitations were identified, with variable standards existing in the recording of the stratigraphic sequence from parts of the site, although these were not felt to hamper analysis of the distribution of material significantly, as a considerable amount of useful information could still be obtained.

It was also decided that it would be important to examine the specified material from Penn and Harker's excavations against the preliminary results from other work undertaken at the site, particularly by Oxford and Wessex Archaeology, to see if recent discoveries amplified the available material. Despite limitations in area coverage, the Oxford Archaeology excavations upon the SEEBOARD cable trench in the south of the settlement are well published and important for analysis as they form a small, yet detailed, modern record of a number of archaeological deposits. Generally, amounts of finds (copper alloy objects, lead objects, worked bone and antler objects, glass, hones and quern stone fragments) were too limited to be able to pass detailed comment on their significance in relation to Penn and Harker's work. Iron objects and metal working debris did, however, display interesting parallels with their findings and are commented upon in this study. The material from the Wessex Archaeology excavations is still at an early stage of post-excavation analysis. It is, however, impossible

to ignore this work because of the discoveries of a number of structures which are vital to understanding activities at the settlement. A number of plans and sections from the area of the easternmost temple around the natural springs, the buildings surrounding the structure and the adjacent area of terracing to the east of this area were made available. The material around the westernmost temple, the northernmost area of terracing, and the area in the north west of the settlement containing the 'small square shrine', buildings and working areas had not been prepared adequately for post excavation analysis and could not be studied. No detailed finds evidence was, however, available for analysis, apart from the figurine fragments discovered, which were made available to the author because they formed a small quantity of material which could be easily provided for study. Material discovered from other excavations at Sprignhead is unsuitable for comparison with the finds encountered, including burials (Rashleigh, 1803a; 1803b; Union Railways (South) Ltd, 2001a; 2001b), and/or excavated areas that are too small and which have produced too few finds and features (Jessup, 1928; V. Smith, 1991; Philp and Chenery, 1996).

It was also necessary to contrast aspects of the assemblage from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain, to assess the importance of the information from Penn and Harker's excavations as a source for understanding activities associated with them. It was possible to postulate amounts of finds discovered from various sites although, aside from Uley (Woodward and Leach, 1993), Harlow (France and Gobel, 1985), Henley Wood (Watts and Leach, 1996) and Bath (Cunliffe, 1988), the assemblages have yet to be fully published (A. Smith, 2001; 10). A summary account of the finds from temple sites has also been provided by A. Smith (2001) in the appendices to his study, as he had the chance to examine their assemblages in detail, and the information is drawn on in this work, alongside commentary from the original reports. It would, however, be considered wise to check stratigraphic relationships between all material and phases of occupation from original reports from temple sites, as part of any intensive studies conducted in future, in case they have been misinterpreted by the original excavators (*cf* Casey and Hoffmann, 1994), and may relate to periods of occupation pre or post dating the use of temples, as Smith does not appear to have done this. Enough fully published, and well recorded information was, however, available to allow comparison between the finds from Springhead to those deposited contemporary with the use of temples on other sites. It should, however, be emphasised that the information from the site at Woodeaton was particularly problematic, as it was unclear whether material mentioned in the original excavations (Goodchild and Kirk, 1954; Kirk, 1949) was the same, or different, from that featured in modern reappraisals of the evidence (Bagnall-Smith, 1995; 1999). It is clear that the finds from this site would require a full and intensive reappraisal, in much the same way as the information from Penn and Harker's excavations examined in this study. It has been possible to draw more detailed comparisons in the examination of the distribution of specific 'types' of finds (Chapters 5-7) than in the analysis of fragmentation (Chapter 8) and relationships between material (Chapter 9), simply because more extensive information is available, and detailed work has yet to be pursued on the other issues, apart from Croxford's (2003) survey of fragmentation. A reasonable amount of comparative information could, however, be identified for the material in Chapters 8 and 9, and this has been placed at relevant points in the text.

3. Detailed accounts of individual structures and features discovered during Penn and Harker's excavations.

The structures within the southern 'temple complex' will be summarised first (pages 31-46), followed by discussion of the buildings discovered in parts of the site outside this area (see pages 47-58).

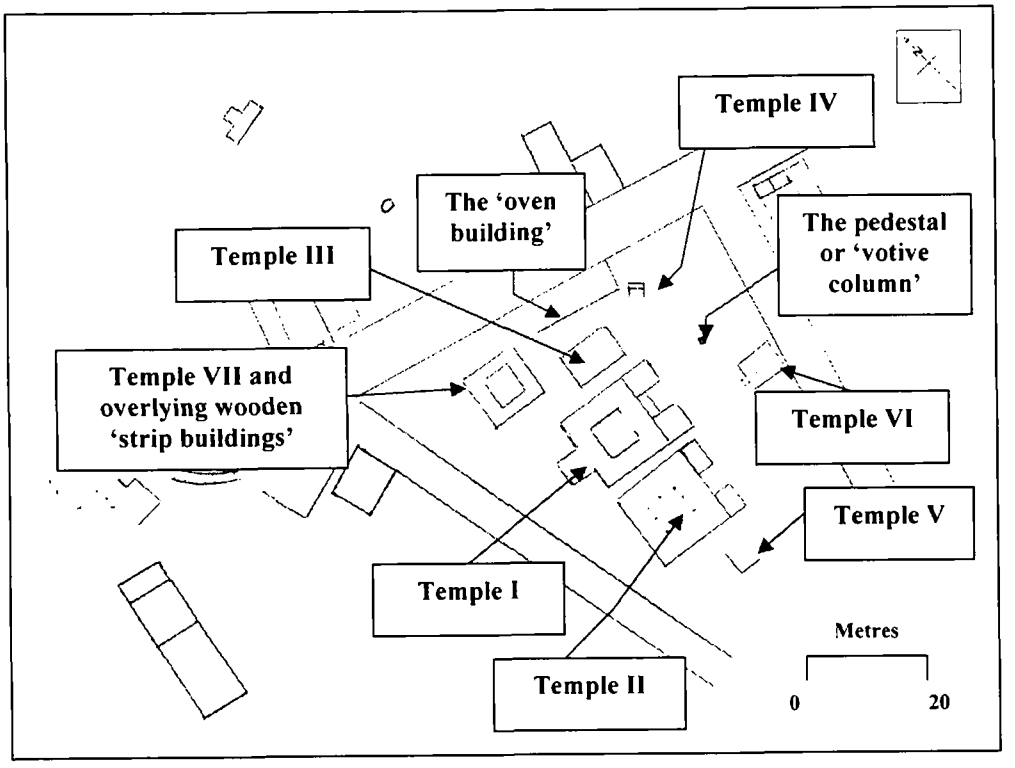
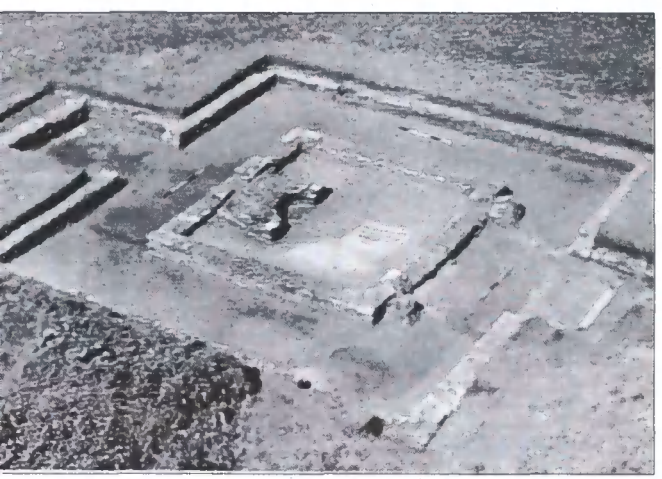
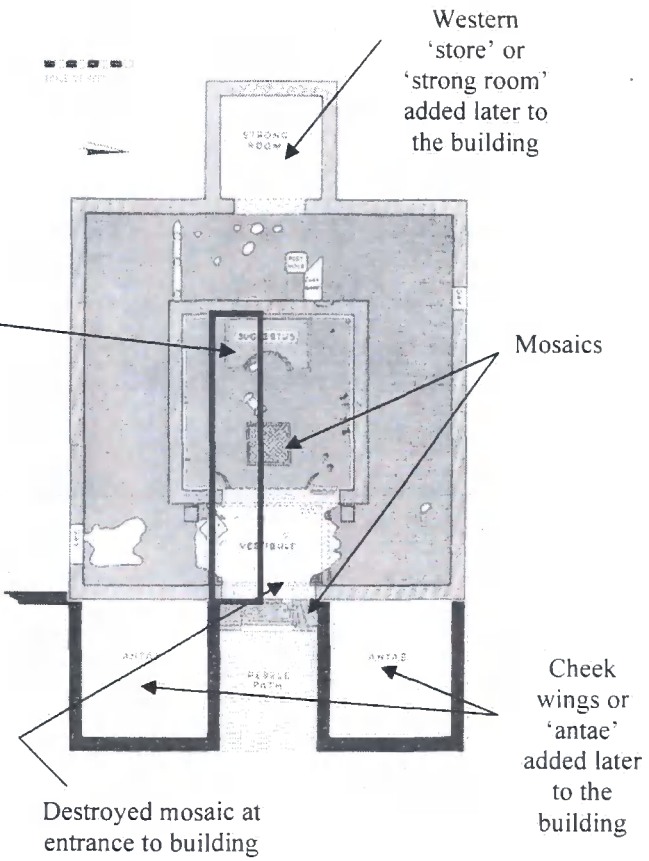


Figure 8: Location of structures identified within the 'temenos area' (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

Temple I (Penn, 1959).

The remains of this large stone structure were interpreted by the excavators as being those of a 'normally accepted....Romano-Celtic temple with a square *cella* at the centre, surrounded by a square ambulatory or portico' (Penn, 1959; 2) which was thought to have been used by worshippers to watch the priest performing rites and to nail votive offerings to the walls (Penn, 1968d; 10). A plan and photograph of the building and a section providing a general indication of the stratigraphic sequence described in the text can be seen in Figure 9 (overleaf), together with details on all features mentioned in this section (all details on chronology mentioned in this section can be seen in Penn, 1959; 39-41). The first building is described as having consisted of two sets of walls arranged into concentric squares and the foundations appear to have been dug through a layer of soil, classified as stratum Z2 (dated by coins and Samian to the first century, and a thinner layer, A (dated by coins and Samian to the first and early second centuries). The temple is described as having been surfaced with a series of floors, classified as B1, B2 and B3 (dated by Samian to the second century), raising it above the surrounding ground. The form of the temple appears to have been changed after this sequence of layers had been deposited and the latest floor, B3, was described as having been contemporary with the building of two square structures on the eastern side of the temple, each flanking the central entrance. These were interpreted as being cheek walls or '*antae*' similar to the Maison Carree and the temple at La Foret de Beaumont le Roger, France (Penn, 1959; 12) and were thought to be purely ornamental, (*ibid*; 14) constructed to make the building appear similar to an Italian style Classical temple (*ibid*; 12). An apsidal structure was built against the western wall of the central *cella*, and was described as a *suggestus* thought to hold a cult statue or altar in a manner comparable to similar features existing in the Jupiter-Tempel at Trier and at Caerwent. A small room was also added on the western side of the structure during this time and was interpreted as being a store or strong room for housing valuable objects connected with the temple (*ibid*; 20). Mosaics were added to the porch, the *cella* floor and the area immediately inside the entrance to the building during this phase of occupation, although the latter appears to have been destroyed at some time during the final occupation of the site. The temple appears to have remained occupied until at least the fourth century, and the latest coins from the floor of the structure dated to this period, before they were sealed by a layer of rubble.





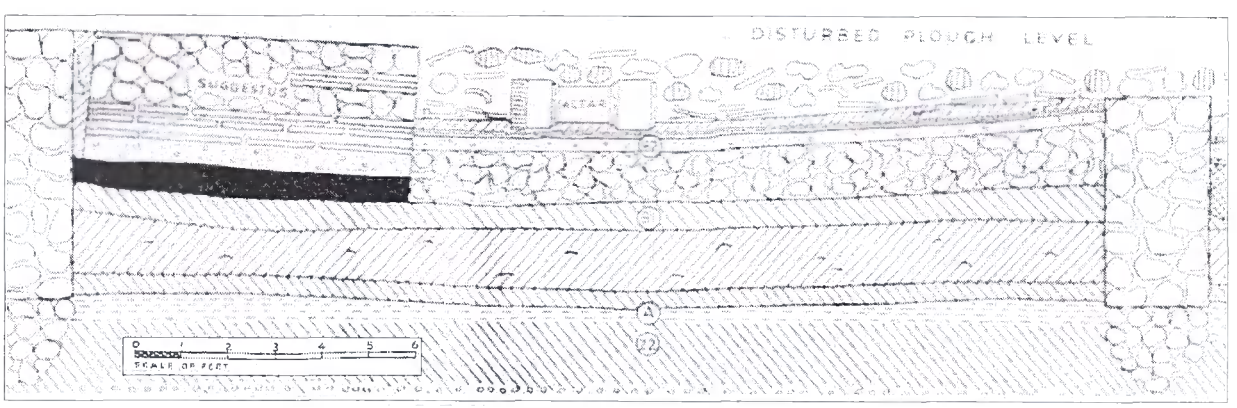
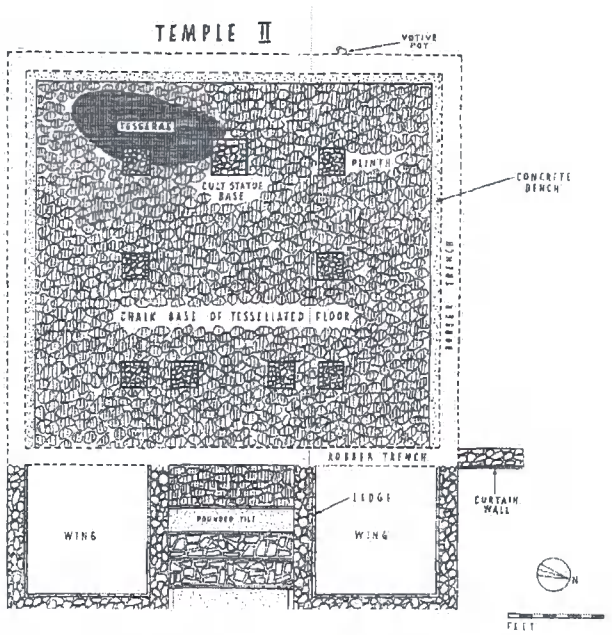


Figure 9: Aerial photograph of Temple I, looking north (Penn, 1959; pl I A). Scale of photograph is in feet. The section, which was drawn through the *cella*, is after *ibid*; fig 2) and is demarcated by a rectangle on the plan of the building, which is after *ibid*; fig 1).

Temple II (Penn, 1962).

This building was interpreted as being a Classical style temple, on the basis of two symmetrical cheek wings or 'antae' on either side of the entrance and a series of five steps, each approximately five inches high and raising the temple about two feet off the ground (Penn, 1962; 113) and comparisons were made with the Maison Carree at Nimes, the Temple of Augustus and Livia at Vienne and the Temple of Fortuna Virilis in Rome (*ibid*; 113-114). A plan and photograph of part of the building (a picture of the whole structure was not provided in the report) and a section providing a general indication of the stratigraphic sequence described in the text can be seen in Figure 10 (overleaf), together with details on all features mentioned in this section (all details on chronology mentioned in this section can be seen in Penn, 1962; table 1). The floor of the structure overlay a deposit of clay soil (*ibid*; 113), classified as stratum E (dated by coins and Samian to the second century) and this provides the earliest date attainable for the building. The structure was described as having been deliberately raised above ground level by a thick deposit of chalk, described as being a 'podium' (*ibid*; 114). The floor of the temple was tessellated in places but appeared to have been largely destroyed by ploughing and is described as being nine to twelve inches below ground level and sealed by the plough soil (*ibid*; 112). A 'hoard' containing coins dated to the fourth century was found placed in a crevice between a number of tiles in the northern 'antae' and these form the latest objects that can be used to date the final occupation of the temple. The building is described as having possessed an internal layout characterised by a large tiled plinth, situated at the west end of the structure, symmetrically positioned at the centre of an arrangement of a series of smaller tiled plinths, arranged in a concentric square (*ibid*; 112). The central tiled plinth was interpreted as being a 'cult statue base' (*ibid*; 110). A concrete surround, running round the south, north and west walls of the structure (*ibid*; fig 1) was identified as being a 'stone seat placed...for the benefit of devotees' (*ibid*; 115) allowing those in the temple to watch ceremonies (*ibid*) with parallels being drawn with structural features from the Hall of Initiation connected with the Mysteries of Eleusis (*ibid*).



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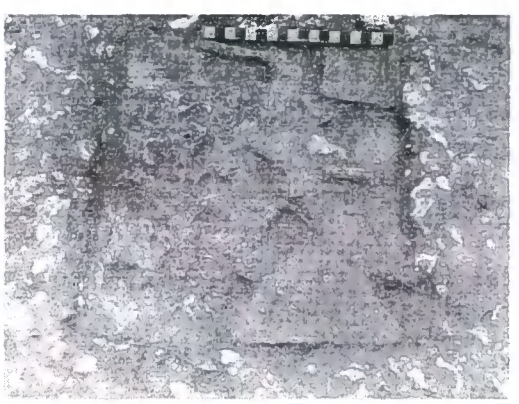

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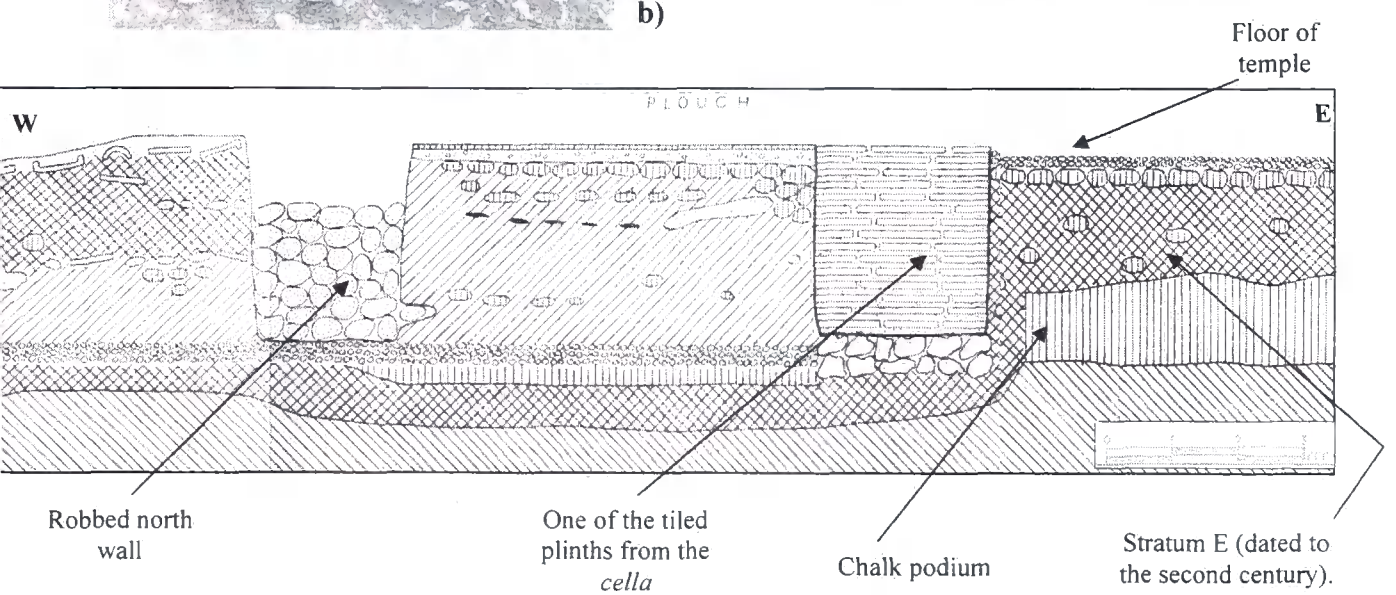
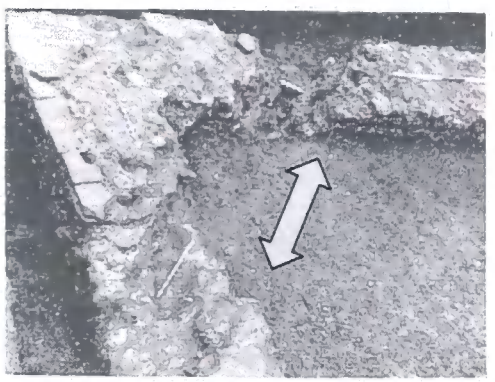


Figure 10: Plan (after Penn, 1962; fig 1) and section (after *ibid*; 2) drawn through the remains of Temple II (the precise location of the section is not indicated in the report). The photographs include a) showing the steps to the building and part of the northern 'antae', looking west, b) one of the 'plinths' from the *cella* (*ibid*; pl II A) and c) one of the plinths once the foundations of the building had been removed (*ibid*; pl II B). Scale on photographs is in feet and inches.

Temple III (Penn, 1960).

This rectangular structure was discovered immediately to the north of Temple I. The building was, initially, interpreted as being a 'priest's dwelling' on the basis of its similarity to a building given this title at Maiden Castle (Penn, 1960; 116; *cf* Wheeler, 1943; 132). A plan and photographs of the building and a section providing a general indication of the stratigraphic sequence described in the text can be seen in Figure 11 (overleaf), together with details on all features mentioned in this section (all details on chronology mentioned in this section can be seen in Penn, 1960; table 1). This interpretation was, however, eventually replaced by the idea that the structure might have been a 'sacred pool' (Penn, 1960; 117) on the basis that a large concentration of pottery found within the uppermost fill of the feature, classified as stratum F (*ibid*; 116) might have represented the remains of 'votive' pots thrown into water as it was unlikely that such material would have been left to form an 'unsightly rubbish dump' within the 'temenos area' (*ibid*; 117). The thickness of the walls (all approximate 36 inches thick) (*ibid*; 116), a lining of *opus signinum* covering these, the absence of features such as doors, and the presence of a 'deep channel' through the north western corner of the building which was thought to house a water pipe, were also used to argue that the structure could once have been a pool (*ibid*; 117). The layer of chalk on which the foundations of the structure rested (stratum C) contained no datable material. The foundations of the structure are, however, described as being cut through layers of clay classified as stratum J, D and L, all of which were dated by coins and Samian to the second century. The structure had been filled by two layers of clay (stratum E) and dark soil (stratum F) containing coins and Samian dated to the late second century and these provide the earliest possible terminal date for it.

a)



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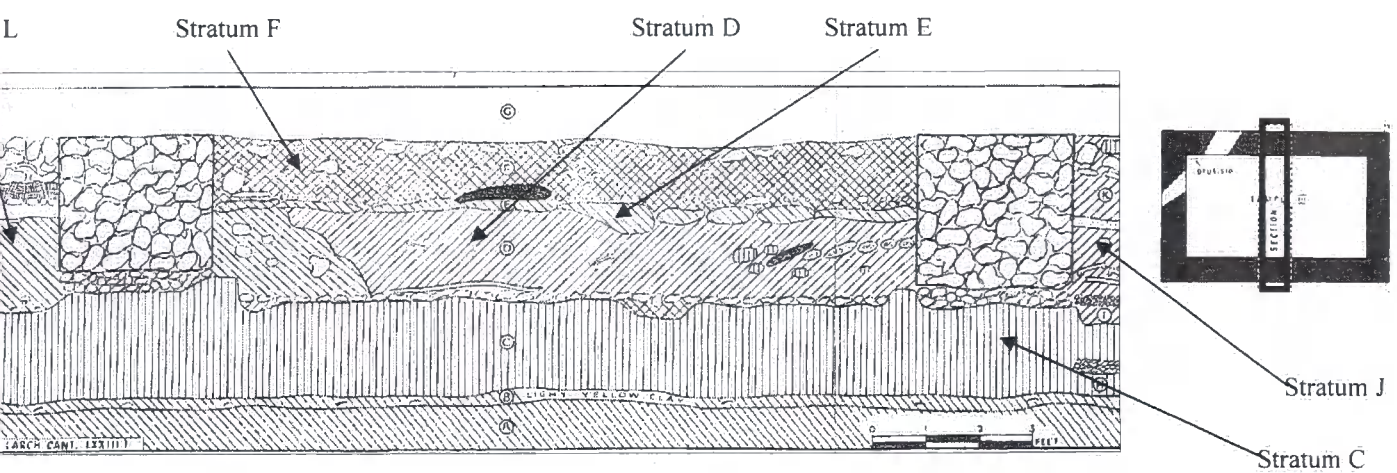
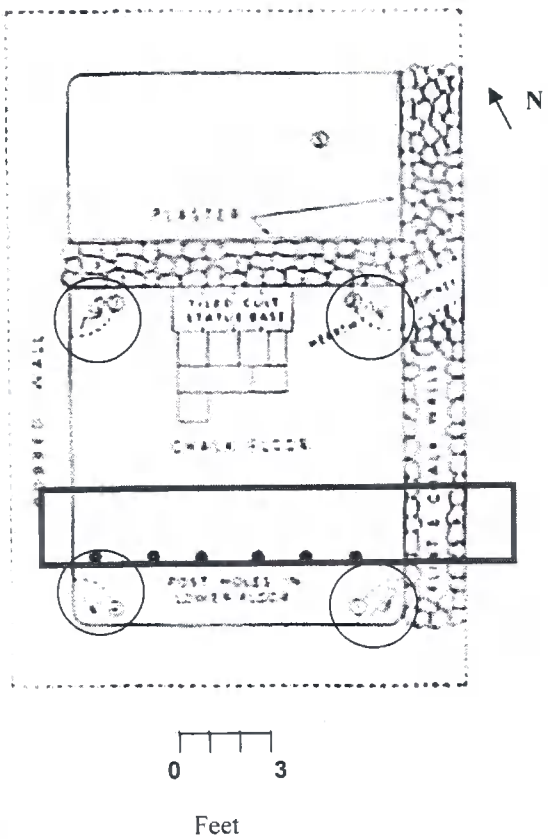


Figure 11: a) Photograph of Temple III, looking north (Penn, 1960; pl I A), **b)** photograph of the channel in the north west corner of the structure, the course of which is demarcated alongside by an arrow (after *ibid*; pl IV A; direction of photograph is unknown) and section drawn through the remains of the structure (after *ibid*; fig 2), the location of which has been shown on the adjacent plan (after *ibid*; fig 1). Scale on photographs is in feet and inches.

Temple IV (Penn, 1960).

This structure was interpreted as being a 'roadside shrine' (Penn, 1960; 124) on the basis that it was built close to the north eastern corner of the 'temple complex' where the Watling Street intersected with another road running south (*ibid*). A plan and photographs of the building and a section providing a general indication of the stratigraphic sequence described in the text can be seen in Figure 12 (overleaf), together with details on all features mentioned in this section (all details on chronology mentioned in this section can be seen in Penn, 1960; table 2). The building was interpreted as being a temple on the basis of finds made within it and consisted of two rooms, the larger of which was interpreted as the 'cult room' on the basis that four infants were discovered within it placed deliberately at each corner of the building (*ibid*; 121). Two burials had been made prior to the first flooring of the structure (*ibid*), one in the north-east corner was decapitated and one in the south-east corner was left whole. The same act was repeated prior to the second flooring of the structure and another two burials were made, one placed in the south-west corner being decapitated and one in the north-west corner whole (*ibid*). The infants were, therefore, interpreted as being 'sacrificial foundation burials' (*ibid*). A concentrated layer of tiles, protruding from the centre of the north wall of the room in which the burials were made were interpreted as being the remains of a 'cult statue base' (*ibid*; 118). A series of shallow post holes along the front of the room were thought to have been the remains of a 'low fence to prevent worshippers from stepping too near the statue' (*ibid*; 121). The foundations of the building are described as having cut a layer of chalk (stratum C), dated by coarse pottery to the early second century and the second floor layer (stratum F) contained a coin of the third century, giving an approximate date for the construction of the feature between these times



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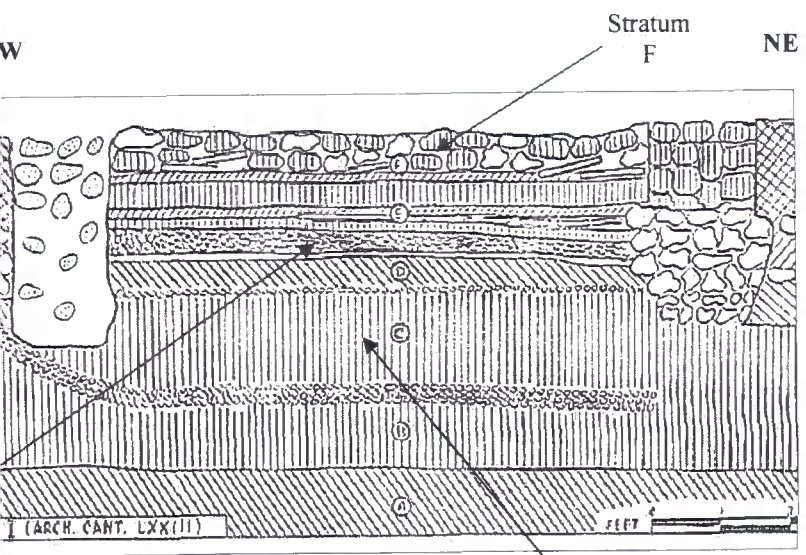

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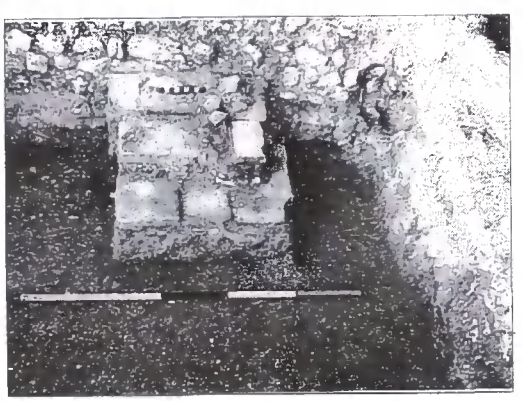


c)

Figure 12: Plan of Temple IV, showing the infant burials at the corners which are indicated by circles (after Penn, 1960; fig 4) and section (after *ibid*; fig 3) showing the stratigraphy associated with the structure. The plan was hazy in the original publication. The location of the section is indicated by the bold rectangle on the plan. Photographs include a) the southern room of Temple IV containing the infant burials (*ibid*; pl I B), b) the northern room, looking south (*ibid*; pl II A) and c) the 'cult statue base' in the southern room once the floors of the building had been removed (*ibid*; pl II B). Scale is in inches and feet.

Temple V (Penn, 1962).

This structure was not excavated completely because much of it was covered over by an adjacent railway embankment (*ibid*; 117). A plan and photographs of the building and a section providing a general indication of the stratigraphic sequence described in the text can be seen in Figure 13, together with details on all features mentioned in this section (all details on chronology mentioned in this section can be seen in Penn, 1962; table 2). The building was interpreted as being a temple on the basis of twenty two coins and six bronze bracelets which appeared to have been placed in a number of small groups in a seemingly deliberate manner inside the structure over a space of four feet alongside the western wall, amongst a layer of plaster and rubble (stratum D/H) filling the remains of the building (Penn, 1962; 119, 121). The grouping of similar types of objects within a small area led Penn to conclude that the coins and bracelets might have been attached to the wall as 'votive offerings' in small bags. These were thought to have fallen to the ground and decomposed, leaving their contents behind as traces of their existence (*ibid*; 119; 121). The coins from the layer formed the latest material that could be used to date the abandonment of the building to the fourth century. A layer of soil deposited inside the structure (stratum D) was dated by coins to the third century and provides the earliest date attainable for its presence at the site as no evidence was available to date the underlying strata. It is, however, possible that the structure could be earlier. The layers appear to be shown in the single section drawn through the remains of the structure, although it is unclear whether this was drawn through the western or eastern cross wall. It is, therefore, impossible to tell which of the layers is the fill of the room of the building. Few photographs of the remains of the structure were published or are known to have survived. In a later synopsis of the site, Smith suggests on his plan of the 'temenos area' that the building may have been an annexe or 'antae' to a large temple, similar to Temples I and II (A. Smith, 2001; map 5.11), although no work is known to have been undertaken to confirm this notion. The structure was never completely excavated because it lay beneath a railway embankment to the south west (*ibid*; 117). A row of tegulae and imbrices which had been cemented together, was found to the west of the structure (*ibid*; 116-117) and appeared to be part of a collapsed roof which had fallen *in situ*. The tile fall is said to have continued into the railway embankment (*ibid*; 117) and it is possible that a substantial part of a collapsed building might remain preserved in *situ* in the unexcavated areas around the temple.

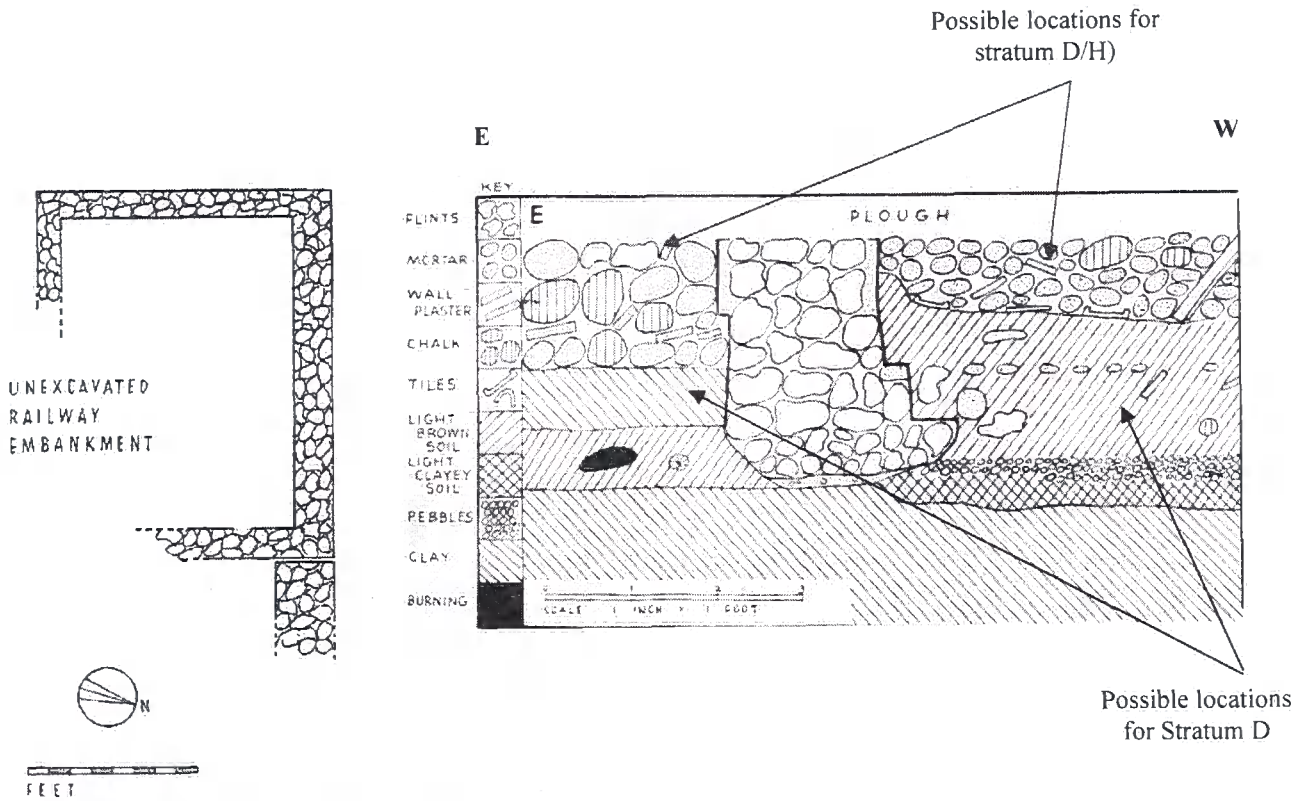


Figure 13: Plan (after Penn, 1962; fig 1) and section (after *ibid*; fig 3) drawn through Temple V and photographs taken of the tile fall discovered to the west of the building (Photograph on left; *ibid*; pl IV A; photograph on right; *ibid*; pl IV B).

Temple VI or 'temenos gateway' (Penn, 1967c).

This structure was discovered close to the eastern edge of the 'temenos area' and was interpreted as being a temple on the basis of a two foot square tiled base in the centre of the building, which was interpreted as being used for a cult statue or altar associated with the uppermost of two floors inserted into the building (*ibid*; 111). A plan of part of the building (a photograph of the whole structure was not provided in the report) and a section providing a general indication of the stratigraphic sequence described in the text can be seen in Figure 14 (overleaf), together with details on all features mentioned in this section (all details on chronology mentioned in this section can be seen in Penn, 1967c; 117-118). A feature interpreted as being a 'votive pit' was also discovered at the centre of the building; the fill of which contained twenty one coins and with a bird burial and large bronze ring placed on its southern side (*ibid*; 112). An iron finger ring and a mussel shell were also placed at the same level on the north side (*ibid*). The possibility that the structure could also have been a gateway into the 'temple complex' was also considered (*ibid*; 114). This idea was reached from the discovery of fragments of carved stonework from the rubble overlying the building, including fragments of Corinthian capitals, (*ibid*; 111, 112, table 4.13-14, figs 4.17-18) which the excavators suggested could represent the remains of a single triumphal arch (*ibid*; 115). The first of two floors inserted into the building was constructed on top of a layer of gravel interpreted as being a road (classified as 'road 5'), which was dated by the latest coins recovered to the late second or early third century. The structure appears to have continued in use with another floor laid that sealed coins dated to the second century, until, at least, the fourth century as coins dated to this time were the latest objects from the layer of rubble sealing the building.

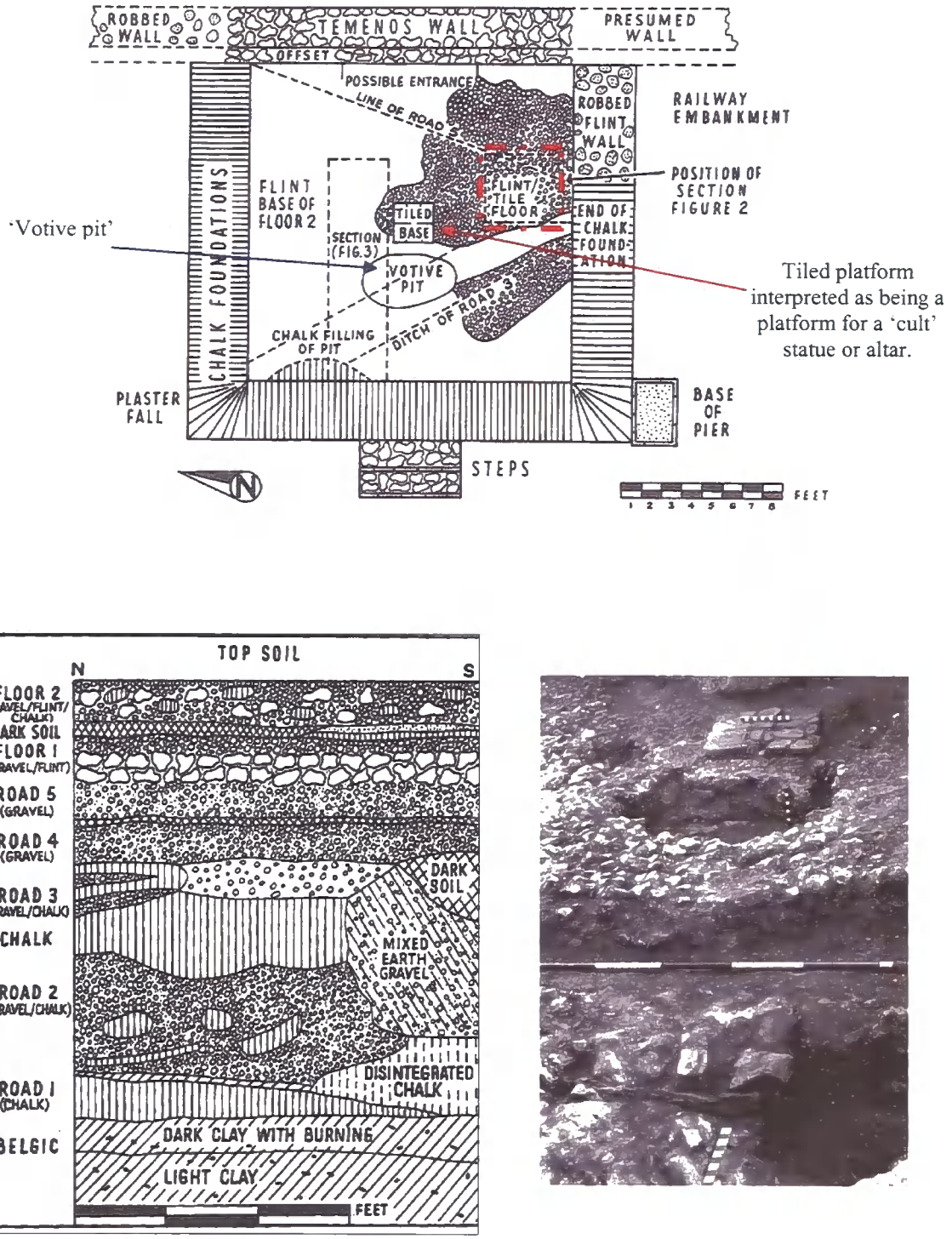


Figure 14: Plan (Penn, 1967c; fig 1) drawn through the remains of Temple VI and section (after *ibid*; fig 2; the location of which is demarcated by a red rectangle in the plan), showing details of stratigraphy discussed in the text. The photograph, looking north (*ibid*; pl; I) shows the 'votive pit' and the platform interpreted as being a platform for a 'cult' statue or altar.

Temple VII (Penn, 1967a; 1968c; Harker, 1971a; 1971b; 1972; 1973a; 1973b).

The structure classified as Temple VII appears to adhere to a 'Romano Celtic' form, consisting of walls forming concentric squares interpreted as representing a central *cella* with a surrounding ambulatory (Harker, 1971b; 7). No detailed records are known to have survived from the excavations, although a photograph of the structure was obtained (see Figure 15). The building is described as having been built on top of 'layers of packed chalk and a slight topping of pebbles' which sealed deposits, the latest datable objects from which were coins of Claudius, Vespasian and Nerva (*ibid*, 1973b; 226). No detailed records have survived from the excavations. Information was, however, obtained from one of the excavators, Mr. John Shepherd, who confirmed the general progression of the stratigraphic sequence (*pers. comm.*). The western wall of the temple is described as having been overlain by a deposit dated to the second century (Harker, 1973a; 8) by analysis of Samian, coarse pottery and coinage (for further discussion of these structures; see page 44). The rest of the building is said to have been overlain by layers of rubble dated to the second and third centuries (D. Cooper *pers. comm.*; Pollard, 1988; Wilson, 1972; 351; *ibid*, 1973; 323), which are described as containing quantities of mortar, *opus signinum* and painted wall plaster (Harker, 1971a; 236) Both these layers are described as being at the same level as Temples I and III, the walls of which were uncovered during the course of the excavations (*ibid*, 1971a; 236; *ibid*, 1972; 6) and provide a terminal date for Temple VII.

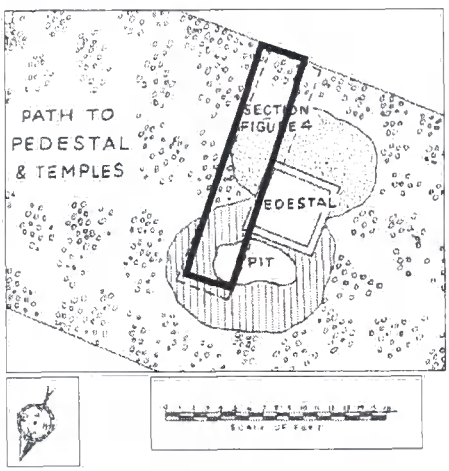
Figure 15: Photograph of Temple VII, courtesy of John Shepherd, University College London (scale is in feet). The direction from which the photograph was taken is unknown.

Wooden 'strip buildings' overlying Temple VII (Harker, 1971a; 1973a).

A succession of wooden buildings with floors of clay and crushed tile were discovered to the west of Temple VII (Harker, 1971a; 236) and 'overlying it slightly' (Harker, 1973a; 8) and are described as having fronted onto the road bounding the 'temenos' to the west (*ibid*). No detailed records or photographs are known to have survived from the excavations. Information was, however, obtained from John Shepherd, who confirmed the general progression of the stratigraphic sequence and described the discovery of at least three long 'strip' buildings (*pers. comm.)*. The structures were dated to the second century by analysis of Samian, coarse pottery and coinage (*ibid*) and were sealed by rubble dated to the third century (D. Cooper *pers. comm*; Pollard, 1988; Wilson, 1972; 351; *ibid*, 1973; 323) containing quantities of mortar, *opus signinum* and painted wall plaster (Harker, 1971a; 236) and described as being at the same level as Temples I and III, the walls of which were uncovered during the course of the excavations (Harker, 1971; 236; *ibid*, 1972; 6).

The pedestal or 'votive column' (Penn, 1958).

This large brick base was initially interpreted as being a possible support for an altar or the base of a tomb (Penn, 1958; 85) but its large size led the excavators to consider that it might have been the base of a free-standing 'votive column' (*ibid*; 87). This interpretation was influenced by the discovery of fragments of a Corinthian capital in a pit in front of the structure, and the 'pedestal' was thought to form the base of a structure imagined to be similar to the Column of Phocas in the Forum of Rome (*ibid*; 110). A plan showing the feature, a photograph of it and a section providing a general indication of the stratigraphic sequence described in the text can be seen in Figure 16 (all details on chronology mentioned in this section can be seen in Penn, 1958; table 3). The foundations of the structure cut through layers (stratum A and B) dated by coarse pottery and coinage to the first century and C (dated by coarse pottery to the second century). Third century coins were recovered from a layer of soil filling the pit next to the 'pedestal' and partially covering it (stratum E), indicating that the feature must have remained visible until at least this time.



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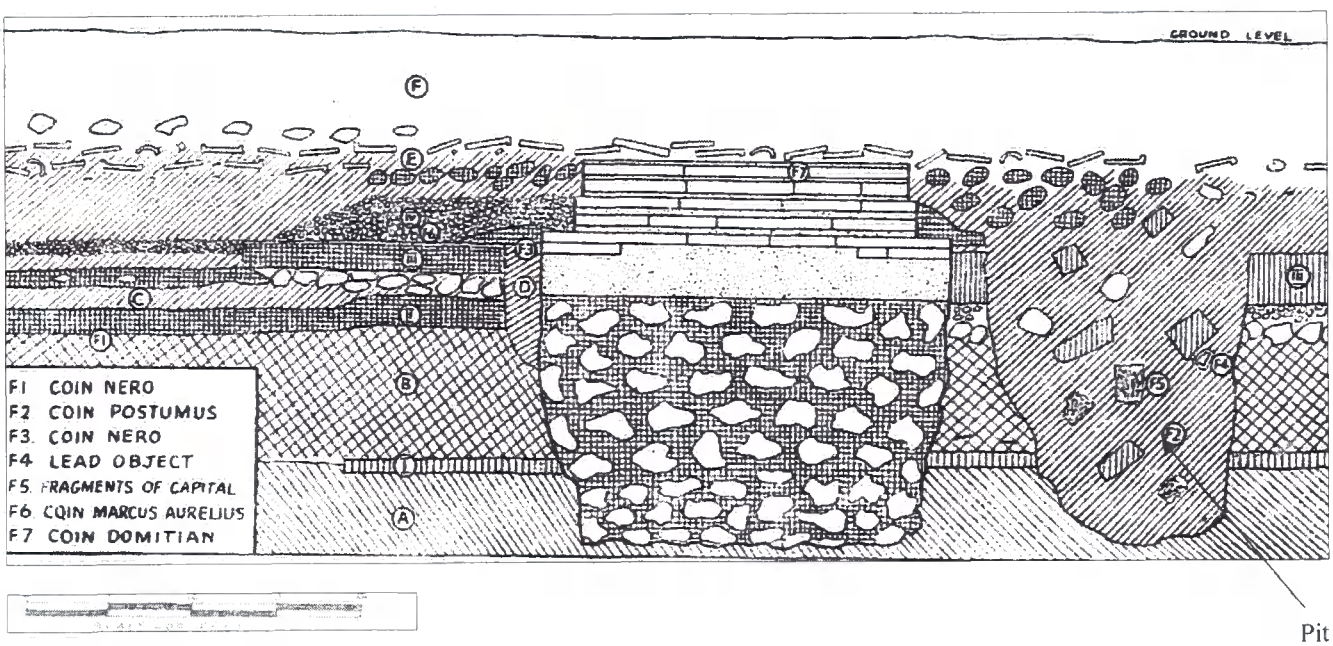


Figure 16: Photograph taken of the 'pedestal' (Penn, 1958; pl III A), a plan of it (after *ibid*; fig 1) and the section drawn through the strata around it (after *ibid*; fig 4) the location of which is indicated by a rectangle on the plan. Scale of photograph is in inches.

The 'oven building' (Penn, 1964b).

An area containing a number of ovens was interpreted as being an 'oven building'. A plan of this part of the site (a photograph of the whole area was not provided in the report) and a section providing a general indication of the stratigraphic sequence described in the text can be seen in Figure 17, together with details on all features mentioned in this section (all details on chronology mentioned in this section can be seen in Penn, 1964b; table 1). The area was given its name on the basis of nine clearly defined features, interpreted as being ovens, which were contained within it (*ibid*; 173-175; fig 1). The first ovens at the site, classified as six and seven, were cut into a layer of soil termed 'stratum B', the latest datable finds from which comprised second century Samian. A structure was then built, characterised by 'crude flint walls' (*ibid*; 172) and a series of four large post holes, approximately 11 inches in diameter and 18 inches deep, running along the line of the north wall (*ibid*; 175). Because of its association with the post holes, the wall was interpreted as having supported a 'high timber superstructure' (*ibid*), forming a 'lean to' which slanted down to the low south wall of the building (*ibid*; 176). Three more ovens, classified as one, three and four appear to have been constructed upon a layer termed stratum C, the latest finds from which comprised second century Samian (*ibid*; 172). These ovens went out of use and were sealed by a 'clay bank', the latest objects from which were second century coins, designated as stratum E, into which four more ovens; two, five, eight and nine are said to have been cut (*ibid*). The next layer in the stratigraphic sequence is the plough soil and the date the structure went out of use is unknown.

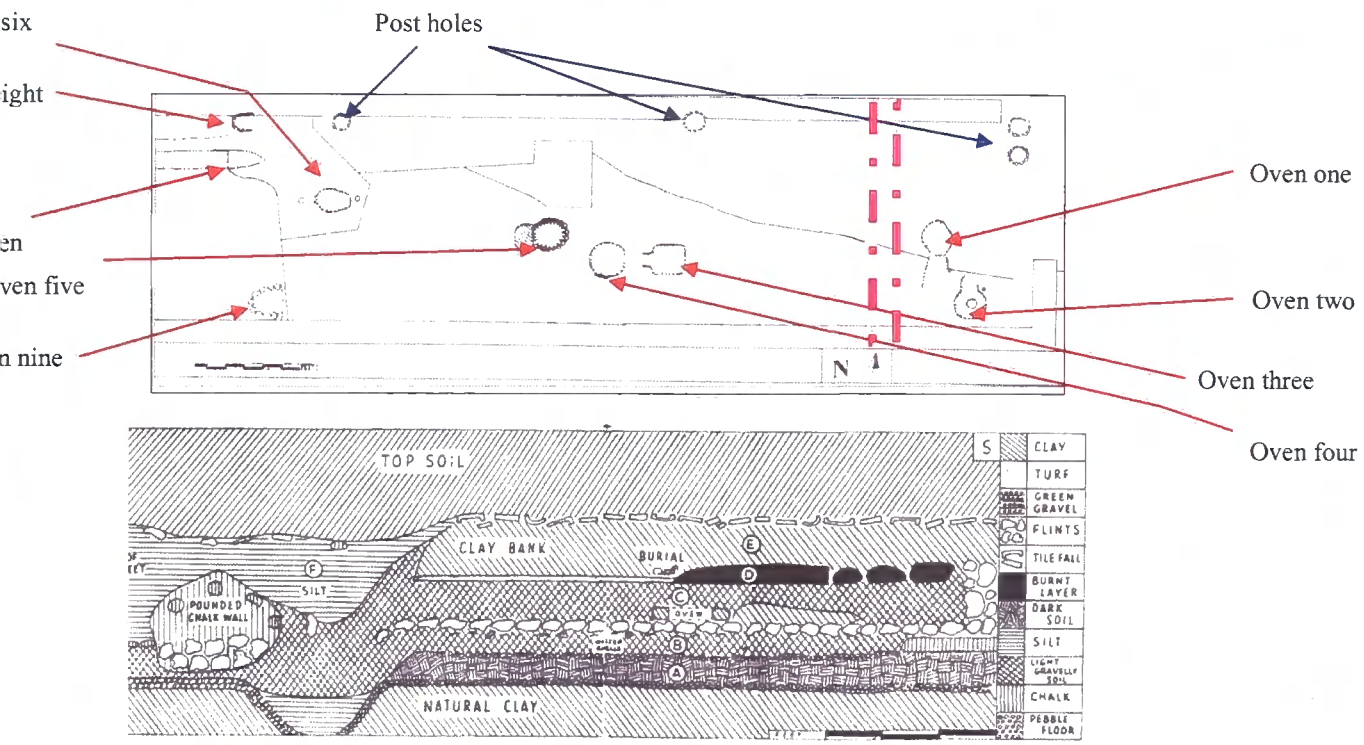


Figure 17: Redrawn plan of the 'oven building', indicating features discussed in the text (after Penn, 1964b; fig 1). The original plan had to be simplified for presentation as it was confusing, showing all phases of occupation associated with the area containing the building. A section has also been included (after *ibid*; fig 2), showing the stratigraphic sequence discussed in the text. The location of the section has been highlighted on the plan by a pink rectangle.

Structures in the areas peripheral to the 'temenos'.

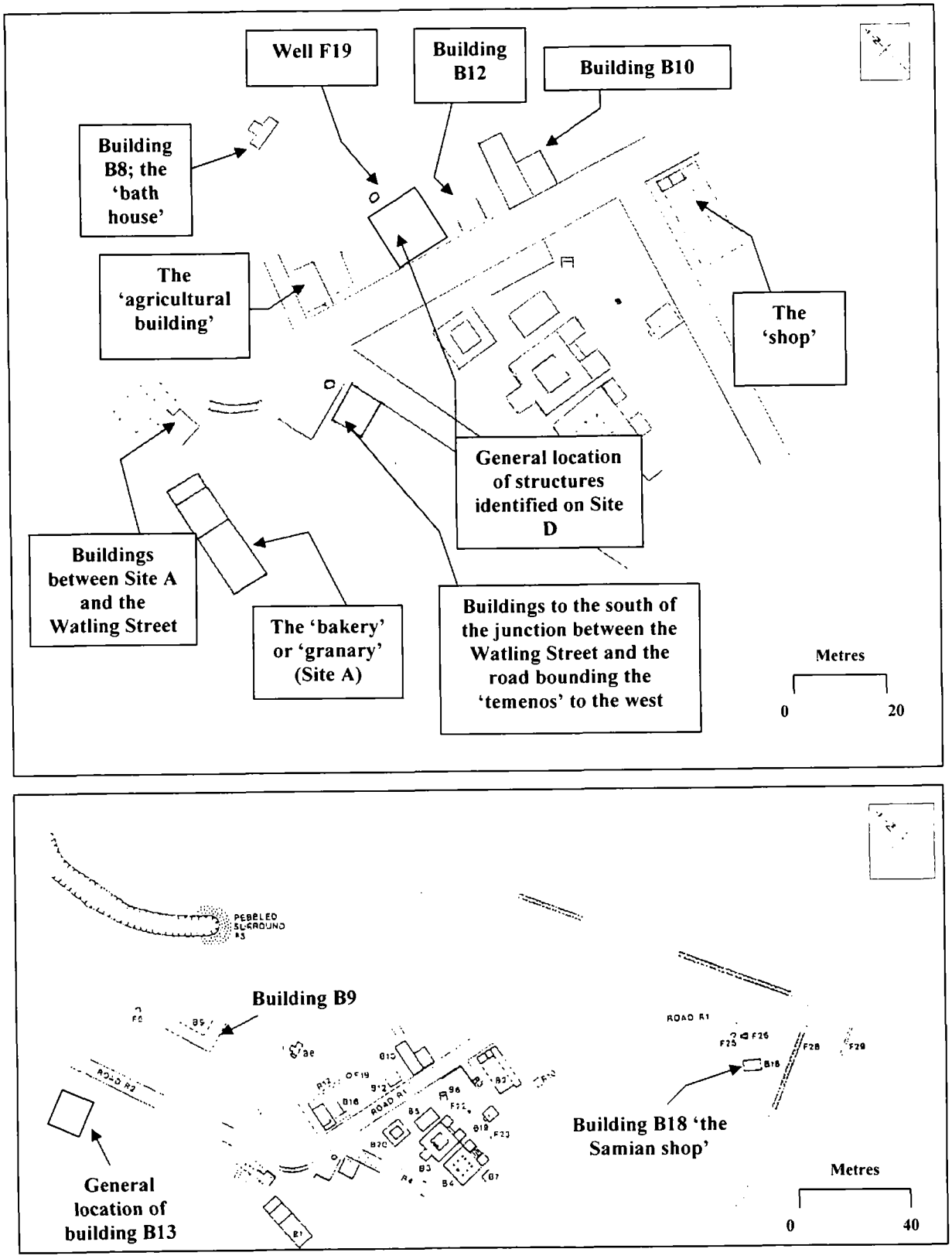
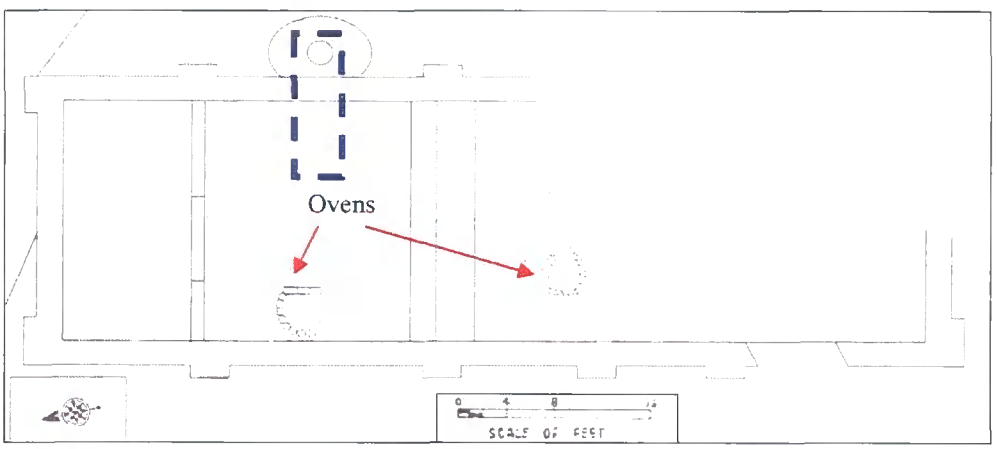


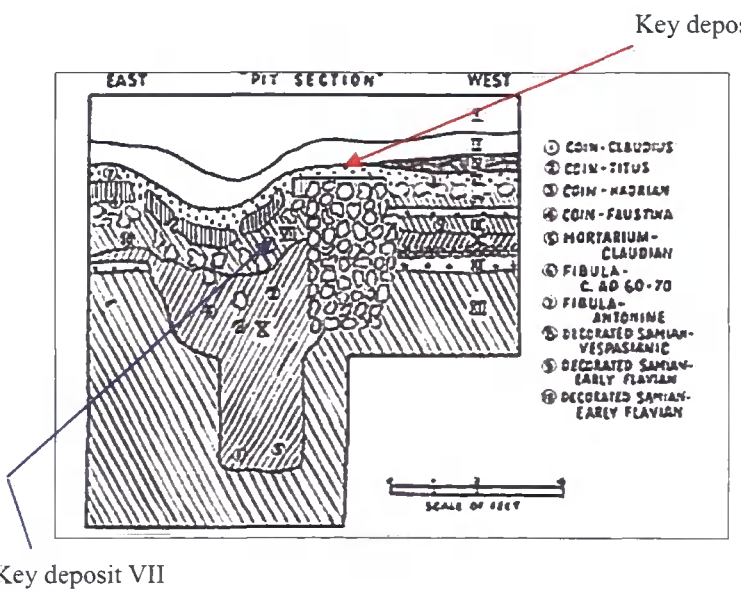
Figure 18: Structures discovered in parts of the site peripheral to the 'temenos area' (plans after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

Site A, (Penn, 1957).

The remains of a stone building in the south western part of the site were interpreted as being a granary due to a number of buttresses built into the walls (Penn, 1957; 60). No photographs of the structure as a whole are known to have survived, although it can be seen on an aerial photograph given to the author by John Shepherd, which shows a crop mark of an identical structure in the part of the site where the 'granary' was claimed to have been found (see Figure 19 a, overleaf). A plan of the building and details on the stratigraphic sequence can also be seen in Figure 19. All details on chronology mentioned in this section can be consulted with reference to Penn, 1957; table 1). The latest layer through which the foundations of the 'granary' were dug, classified as 'key deposit VII', contained second century Samian, providing the earliest possible date for the structure. The building appears to have remained in use until early in the third century, when a layer described as 'key deposit IV' is said to have accumulated over its walls, the latest object from the stratum being a coin of the third century. The structure is also described as being a 'bakery'. This interpretation was made on the basis of the discovery of two features identified as ovens (*ibid*; 60-61) surrounded by layers of charcoal and burnt clay (*ibid*; 59-60). It is possible that the structure was originally a granary and, when it fell out of use, the ovens were built within its remains (Detsicas, 1983; 76).

Aerial photograph of the site, confirming the location of the 'granary' structure (ringed in blue). The course of the Watling Street is outlined by red arrows (photograph courtesy of John Shepherd).



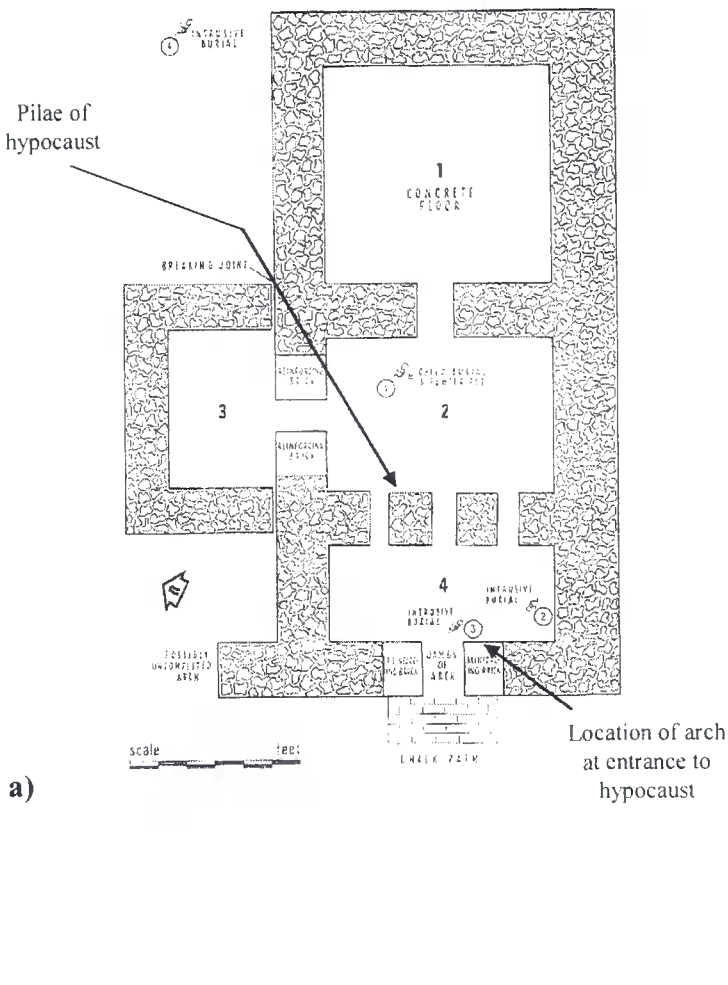


Redrawn plan of the 'bakery', indicating features discussed in the text (after Penn, 1957; fig 2). The original plan had to be simplified for presentation as it was confusing, showing all phases of occupation associated with the area containing the building. A section has also been included (after *ibid*; fig 5), showing details of the stratigraphic sequence discussed in the text. The location of the section has been highlighted on the plan by a blue rectangle.

Figure 19: Records relating to the 'bakery' or 'granary' structure

Building B8 (Penn, 1968a).

This structure was thought to have been a small bath-house as it contained a hypocaust (Penn, 1968a; 171). The *pilae* of the hypocaust are described as being square and consisting of 'alternate layers of flint and brick' (*ibid*) and part of an arch is said to have led into it was interpreted as being the stokehole (*ibid*). No section drawings were published of the stratigraphy associated with the remains of the structure, although details were provided in the text. A plan of the structure can be seen in Figure 20, showing features discussed in this section. Details on chronology mentioned in this section can be seen with reference to Penn, 1968a; 172 and 176.



a)

b)

c)

Figure 20 : Plan of building B8 (after Penn, 1968a; fig 5) showing features discussed in the text) b) photograph of room of the hypocaust, numbered two on the plan, looking south, showing *pilae* (*ibid*; pl III) Scale is in feet and c) Photographs of the *pilae* of the stokehole arch leading into the hypocaust (*ibid*; pl IV). Scale is inches

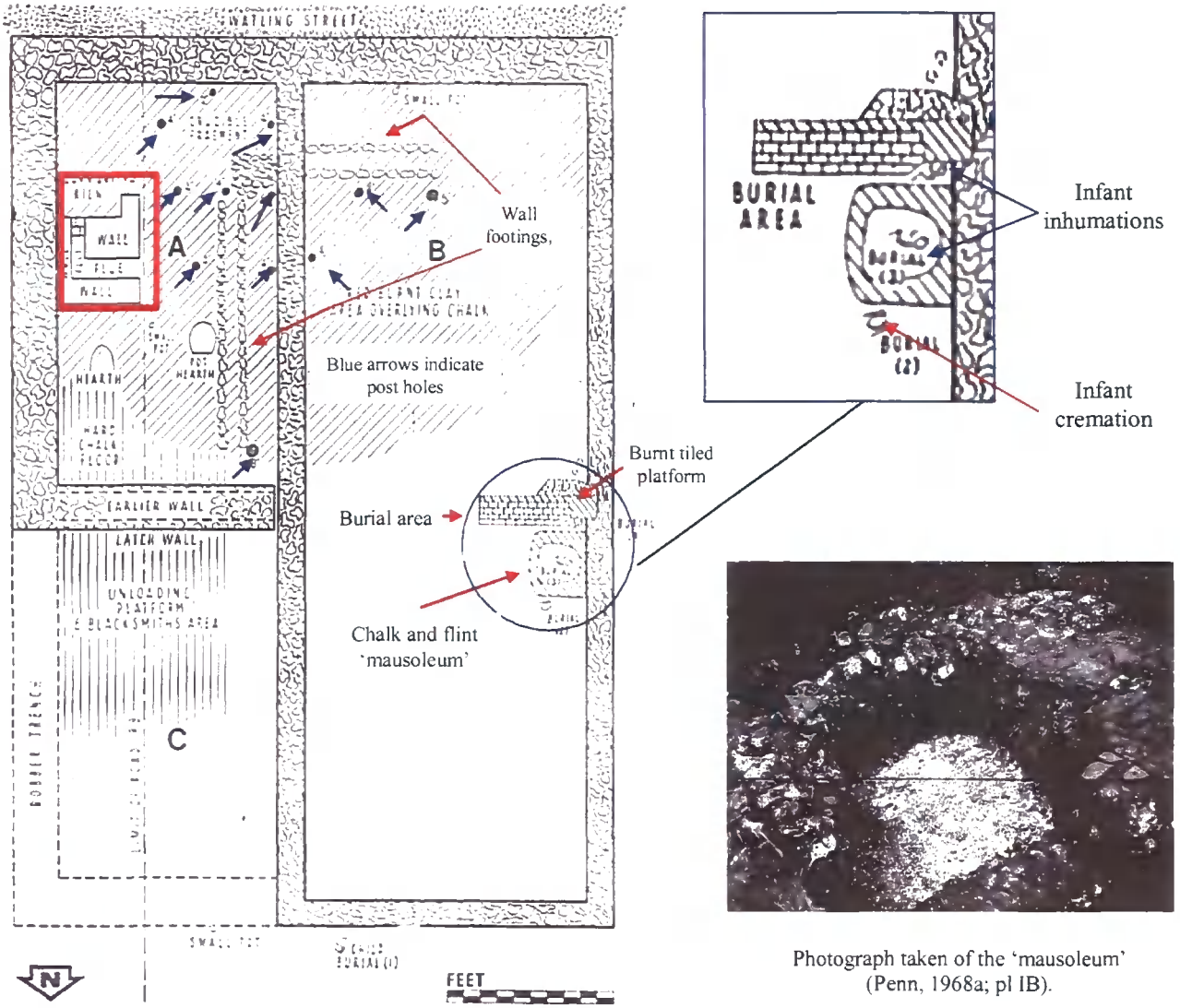
Two photographs exist (Figure 20 b-c), confirming the description made in the report that the *pilae* of the hypocaust were square and consisted of 'alternate layers of flint and brick' (*ibid*; 171). Part of an arch led into the hypocaust and was photographed (Figure 20 c). The arch was thought to have formed

part of a stokehole that had never been used, possibly on the 'grounds of economy' (*ibid*; 172). It is also plausible that the feature could also have been destroyed by the later construction of a 'chalk path' at the entrance to the arch. The first concrete floor of the building sealed sherds of second century pottery, providing a *terminus post quem* for the structure. The hypocaust appears to have been abandoned some time in the fourth century, as coins from this period were found in the debris used to fill it. The chalk floor above the hypocaust may have remained open for longer, although it is impossible to provide a date for its abandonment as no stratified evidence was recovered.

Building B10 (Penn, 1968a).

This large, rectangular structure, originally comprising three rooms (A, B and C), was discovered on the opposite side of the Watling Street, facing the southern 'temenos area'. The foundations of the structure were cut through a layer classified 'stratum 3' and overlay 'stratum 2', the latest items from which were first century coins and brooches. The first floor layer known to have been inserted into the building, 'stratum 4' contained second century Samian and was thought to represent the earliest period of its use. The building is thought to have remained open until at least the fourth century, the latest item from a thin layer of clay sealing the remains of the structure being a coin of this period. No photographs of the structure as a whole are known to have survived. A plan and section for the structure can be seen in Figure 21. Details on chronology mentioned in this section can be consulted with reference to Penn, 1968a; table 1).

A flint feature, comprising a hollow with a chalk floor was constructed within the southern part of room B, over the floor of the building, stratum 5, and interpreted as being a 'mausoleum' (*ibid*; 170). This was associated with a tiled platform that had been 'extensively cracked by heat' (*ibid*). An infant inhumation had been placed within a central hollow in the flint 'mausoleum', another was found between this and the tiled platform, and the cremation of a child was found immediately to the south of the features (*ibid*). The damage caused by heat to the tiled platform was used to suggest that it might have been used for conducting cremations, on the basis of the burial discovered (*ibid*). The latest objects contained within the floor on which the features stood were coins dated to the second century and the burials must have been made between this time and the fourth century, when they would have been sealed by stratum 8.



Photograph taken of the 'mausoleum' (Penn, 1968a; pl IB).

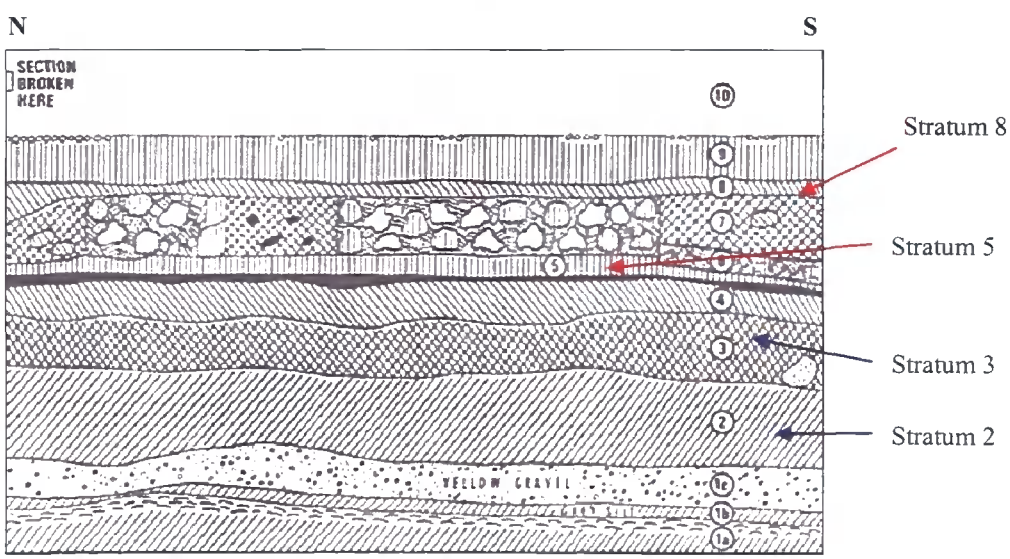
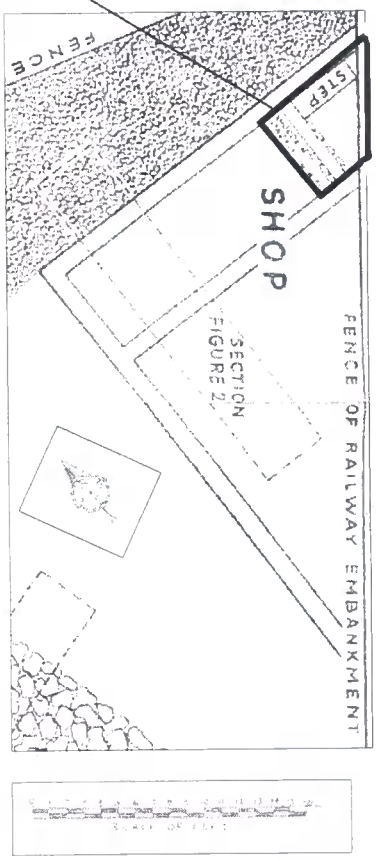


Figure 21: Features, burials and stratigraphy associated with building B10 (Plan is after Penn, 1968a; fig 1; section is after *ibid*; fig 2). The location of the section is given in red on the plan.

The 'shop' (Penn, 1958).

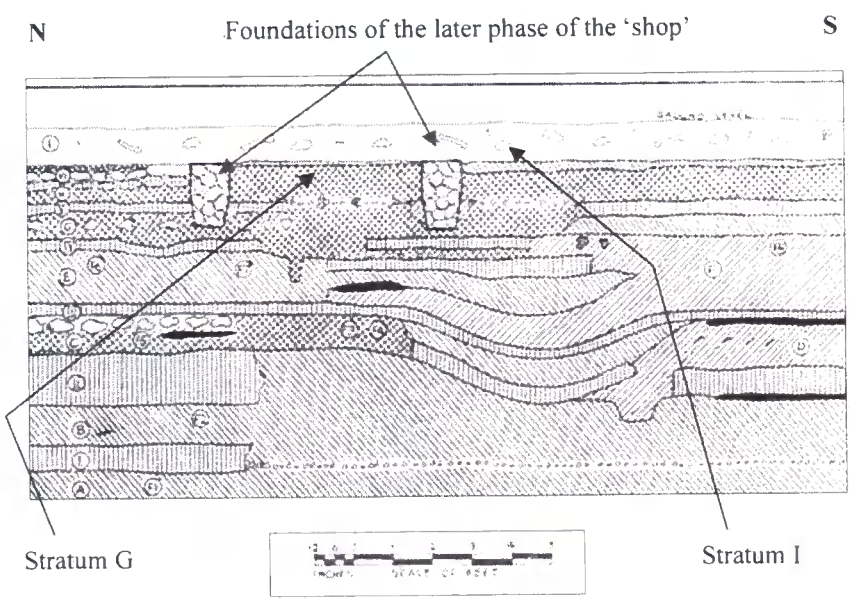
This building was described as being 'the normal layout of a Romano-British shop with its large living and store room behind and its open shop front facing the street' (Penn, 1958; 79). A plan, section and photographs of all features mentioned in this section can be seen in Figure 22. Details on chronology mentioned in this section can be consulted with reference to Penn, 1958; table 1). Much of the building was under the railway embankment which runs through the middle of the site and only three rooms could be excavated. The building was originally thought to have been made of timber and later replaced by a masonry structure which cut the original floors (*ibid*). The later building was recorded in plan, although few photographs have survived. The single image that exists in the report shows a feature interpreted as being a threshold or door step in the northern room, rising over a trench lined with a double row of flints, thought to have held a wooden partition wall (*ibid*; 80). The earlier phase of the building was not portrayed at all, apart from a photograph of a carbonised beam, said to have been found in the original floor (*ibid*; 80). The floor of the first phase of the structure is said to have overlain a layer classified 'stratum G', the latest material from which was second century Samian. The foundations of the building cut this layer, providing a *terminus post quem*, although the remains of this building were sealed by 'stratum I', the layer of plough soil and it is not possible to provide a date for its abandonment.

Photograph of feature interpreted as being a threshold or door step in the northern room and in front of it, the trench lined with a double row of flints, thought to have held a wooden partition wall (Penn, 1958; pl II A). Scale is in feet.



Plan of the 'shop' and surrounding areas (after Penn, 1958; fig 1)

Photograph of carbonised floor beam, said to have been found in the original floor of the building (Penn, 1958; pl II B). Its location is unknown. Scale is in inches.

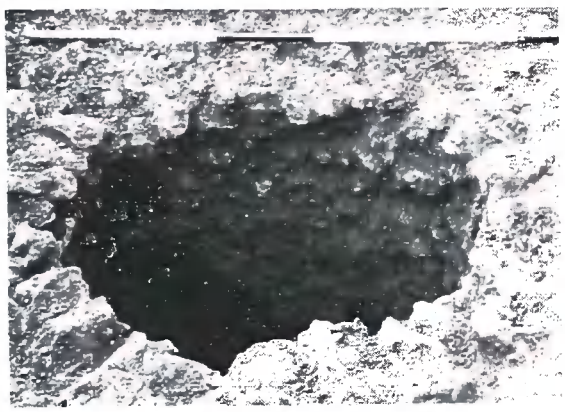


Section drawn through the area occupied by the 'shop' (after Penn, 1958; fig 2)

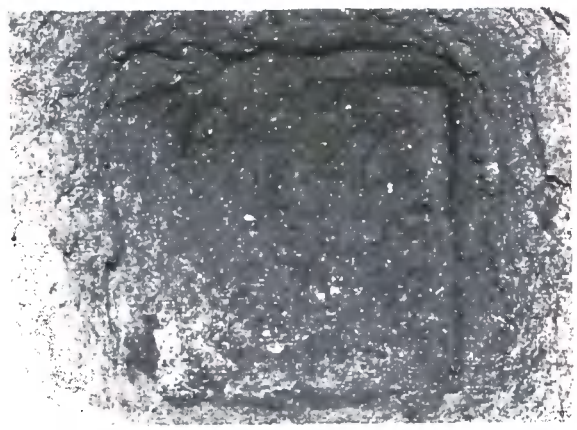
Figure 22: Stratigraphy and features associated with the 'shop'.

Well F19 (Harker, 1970a).

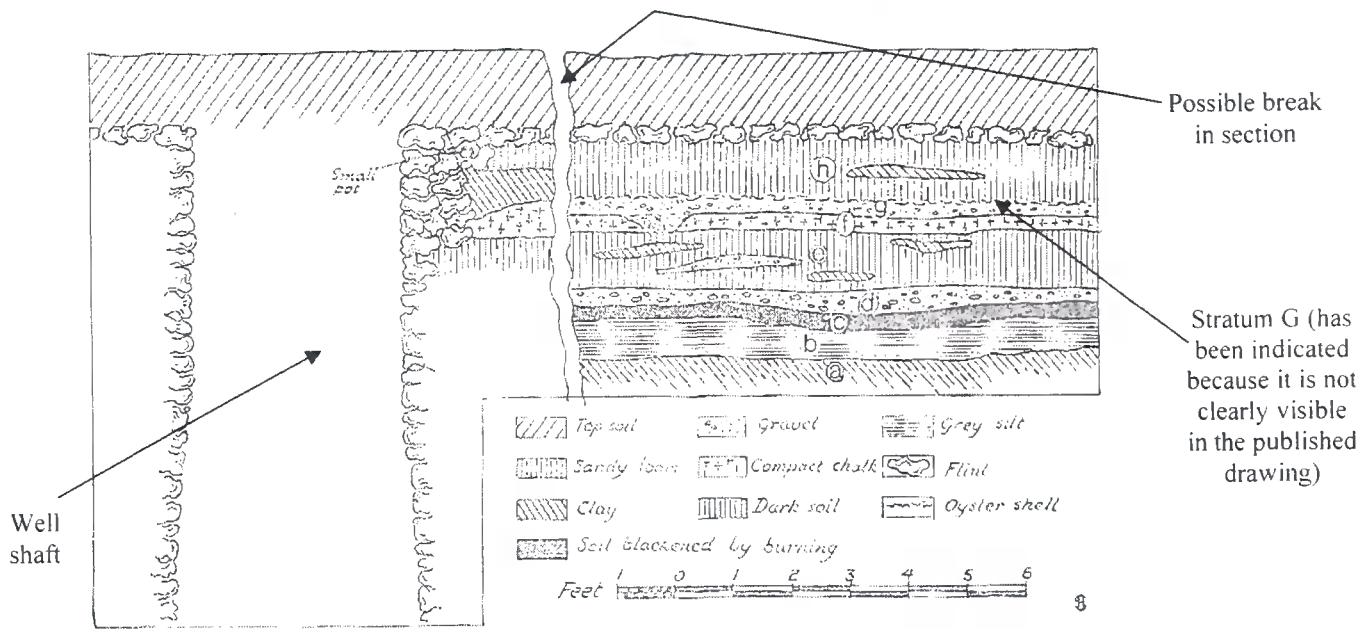
This feature was discovered on the northern side of the Watling Street, in the area directly opposite the 'temenos area'. No plans are known to have survived of the feature, although a section drawing and photographs were published and can be seen in Figure 23, overleaf. The well was described as being fourteen feet deep, with a circular opening at the top, surrounded by an area cobbled with a single layer of large flints and roughly levelled with small flints and stones. The shaft is described as having been lined with flints to a depth of eleven feet and six inches and timber lined at the bottom for two feet and six inches. The feature is described as being circular in section until nine feet and six inches down, becoming square thereafter (Harker, 1970a; 140). Details on chronology mentioned in this section can be consulted with reference to *ibid*; 140 and 142). The latest layer cut by the feature that produced dating evidence was a chalk layer, classified as 'layer F' interpreted as being a floor (*ibid*; 140), on which was found a first century coin. It is clear, however, that other overlying layers 'g', 'h' had to be deposited before it was constructed. The feature appears to have been open until the late second century when it was filled, the latest object in the well shaft being a coin dated to the third century.



Photograph of Well F19 (Harker, 1970a; pl I A). Scale is in feet. The direction from which the picture was taken is unknown



Photograph looking down the shaft of Well F19 (Harker, 1970a; pl I B). The direction from which the picture was taken is unknown



Section drawn through the area occupied by Well F19 (after Harker, 1970a; fig 1) showing details of stratigraphy mentioned in the text. The drawing is recorded as having been made from east-west (*ibid*; 140) although the co-ordinates were not depicted.

Figure 23: Photographs and stratigraphy associated with excavations on Well F19.

The 'agricultural building' (Penn, 1968c, Harker, 1969b; Harker, 1970b).

The remains of a long, narrow 'structure', described as being an 'agricultural building' (Harker, 1969b; 7), occasionally referred to as the 'agricultural area' (Penn, 1968c; 2) or building B16 (*ibid*; 18), were discovered to the north of the Watling Street, opposite the 'temple complex'. No detailed records or photographs are known to have survived from the excavations, although a few brief details exist in the published literature, mentioning that the building was characterised by a small southern section fronting onto the main road (Harker, 1969b; 7) and a long room at the northern end (Penn, 1968c; 2) which is said to have contained a huge, flint lined post hole, thought to be the support for a treadmill used to work mill stones as part of the processing of grain (*ibid*). A number of 'shallow pits' were also noted during the excavations (Harker, 1970b; 190) although their precise location and relationship with the 'agricultural building was not discussed. The structure was dated to the first century (Wilson, 1970) although no further details were provided about how this was done.

Buildings upon Site D, (Harker 1969a; 1969b; 1970b).

An unidentified number or buildings, represented by a succession of floors, 'numerous' post holes, and showing signs of extensive burning (Harker, 1969a; 233) are recorded as having been discovered in an area, classified as Site D, located to the north of the Watling Street and directly opposite the 'temenos' area'. The archaeology of the area is mentioned in a number of publications. Its location is unclear in the first account in which it is mention, where it is simply described as being between the 'two main Roman roads' (Harker, 1969b; 7). As work progressed on the area, more details were given and it is described in later work as being immediately adjacent to the northern edge of the Watling Street (Harker, 1970b; 190). No detailed records or photographs are known to have survived from the excavations. Some deposits from the site are recorded as having been dated to the second and third centuries (Wilson, 1971; 288), although no information has survived to provide a chronology for the buildings discovered.

Building B18, the 'Samian ware shop' (Penn, 1965; Detsicas, 1968).

This structure was found in the north eastern part of the settlement, The building is described as having a chalk floor (Detsicas, 1968; 217) and as having been partially burned down (*ibid*; 227), although no further records are known to have survived from the excavations. The floor contained a large quantity of Samian ware which was dated between AD 45-200 (*ibid*) and was analysed by Detsicas, who produced a specialist report upon it. The Samian cannot be used to provide a precise date for the structure, as the absence of records means that other later material may have been discovered during the excavations but not reported. Penn's interpreted building B18 as being a 'Samian shop' (Penn, 1965; 112). Detsicas did not agree with Penn's interpretation and considered the pottery to be 'domestic refuse' deposited over the floor of the structure when it went out of use (Detsicas, 1968; 227).

Remains of buildings south of the junction between the Watling Street and the road bounding the 'temenos area' to the west (Harker, 1977, 1978).

A rectangular clay area, resembling a floor, enclosed by flint foundations (Harker, 1977; 6; 1978, 5) was discovered during excavations in this area, together with a large pit (*ibid*; 8). No further information is known to have survived about this part of the site and a date cannot be provided.

Excavation of an area between Site A and the Watling Street (Harker, 1979).

A small group of wooden buildings are said to have been discovered between the course of the Watling Street and the 'granary' building (Harker, 1979; 7). No further information has survived about these structures and a date cannot be provided.

Building B9 (Penn, 1968a)

The remains of this building was excavated in advance of the construction of a new carriageway of the A2 motorway through the site, but only a small part of it was examined due to a lack of time (Penn, 1968a; 181). It was, therefore, decided to preserve the structure beneath the road (*ibid*; 182). The building is described as possessing a tessellated floor and possessing inner and outer walls forming a corridor that was twelve feet wide (*ibid*; 181). No detailed records have survived from the excavations and it cannot be dated.

Building B12 (Penn, 1965)

This structure was discovered to the north of the Watling Street and was only partially excavated as much of it was destroyed by workers digging a drainage trench in the area (Penn, 1965; 111). The building was described as being a small, rectangular structure (*ibid*). No further details have survived and the building cannot be dated.

Building B13. (Penn, 1964a)

This building was discovered to the west of the 'temenos' area. Most of the structure was destroyed by contractors conducting operations to widen the A2 motorway (Penn; 1964a, lvi) and very little of it could be excavated. No records have known to have survived and no date can be provided for the structure.

Other archaeological remains from Penn and Harker's excavations for which evidence is limited.

Although evidence is limited, it is also important to note the possibility of earlier occupation in the area of the 'southern temple complex', traces of which were encountered but never fully published Occasional references are made to the discovery of parts of buildings underlying this area, which are claimed to date to the first century. A first century building with flint footings and a clay and chalk floor is described as having been discovered in the 'temenos' area, underlying part of the wall that surrounded the 'temple complex' (Penn, 1966a; lxiii). The lower foundations of a substantial building are also mentioned as having been discovered underlying Temples I and III (Harker, 1969a; 233) and must predate the second century as they were almost completely covered by both of these structures (*ibid*). A first century structure is said to have been found to the somewhere to the west of the temenos (Harker, 1977), although further details were not provided.

There also appears to be evidence for first century occupation underlying the areas peripheral to the southern 'temple complex' and the remains of a number of first century ditches were encountered but never commented upon in detail. A large ditch, 12ft wide and 8ft deep, dated by pottery to the first century AD was discovered to the south of the 'temple complex' (Penn, 1964a; lvii). A section of ditch 10 ft wide and 9 feet deep was found to the west of the settlement with another smaller ditch running parallel to this (*ibid*; 116; fig 1). Three, roughly parallel ditches, dated by pottery in their fills to the first century, were discovered running across an area north of the Watling Street, classified as Site D, crossing the line of and cutting through a fourth ditch, of the same date, which lay almost at right angles to the features. (Harker, 1970b; 190; 1971b; 6-7). The ditches have recently been claimed to represent an early military camp (V. Smith, 2004; 4) although no further evidence is known to have been revealed from excavations to support this idea. 'Several large pits', dated by pottery to the first century, are also recorded as having been discovered outside the 'temenos', in an area directly opposite the 'temple complex' to the north of the Watling Street (Harker, 1970b; 190), although no detailed records are known to have survived from the excavations.

It is likely that the area excavated by Penn and Harker was also in use during the Iron Age, although this is poorly understood. Harker also alludes to a 'complex system of early ditches and pits of votive character, underlying the Roman site, strongly suggesting that here was an important religious sanctuary of the Belgic Britons' (Harker, 1980; 288). It is a shame that access was not granted to information about the Iron Age occupation of the site, said to have been compiled as part of a dissertation on the material from Harker's excavations (French, 1984) since this information could have been useful. In a brief interview with the author, she alluded to the discovery of pits containing complete Roman pottery vessels, Iron Age pottery and animal bone found in a line during excavations on Site D (D. Cooper, (nee French) *pers comm.*), although she refused to provide any further information until a copy of the author's research was presented to the Council for Kentish Archaeology.

4: Assessing the records for the site: limitations and opportunities.

4.1: Introduction.

Important limitations have been identified from work on the finds from Penn and Harker's excavations which may affect the usefulness of material as part of current research and these will now be explored. The following analysis draws attention to problems with the accessibility to material from the Gravesend Historical Society collection, the completeness of this assemblage and an awareness of variable standards of recording which have affected presentation of finds, stratigraphy and chronology of the site. Although these limitations in the data have bearing upon the amounts of detail that can be obtained from Penn and Harker's excavations, it will be shown in the following chapters that useful information is available about past activity at Springhead through a study of finds and their distribution It is important that large quantities of finds were identified that could not be reconciled with examples mentioned in the literature and it is felt that this material has potential to be developed for future publication and research.

4.2: Problems with access to material and records from Penn and Harker's excavations.

It is not easy to gain access to material from the site, which is seen as a source of commercial potential by the Gravesend Historical Society and Gravesend Borough Council. Both organisations are reluctant to co-operate with researchers as they fear that the information from Penn and Harker's excavations will reach Wessex and Oxford Archaeology, who will exploit it as part of their research. These commercial considerations impacted upon this study and the Gravesend Historical Society took six months to agree access to their finds, although this was eventually granted with some reluctance.

The Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit are said to have undertaken some form of post excavation work on the finds from Springhead, which they held for eight years after Harker's death (A. Ridgers, *pers. comm.*). When approached for information the organisation stated that they no longer possess any records related to this work and did not know where they had gone (D. Cooper, *pers. comm.*; B. Philp, *pers. comm.*) and it appears that the material has been lost.

Some of the glass from the site is held by Mr. John Shepherd at University College, London. The existence of this material was realised late in the course of this study, following discussion with members of the Gravesend Historical Society, who had discovered its existence and made an attempt to recover it (V. Smith, S. Soder; *pers. comm.*). It was impossible to arrange a convenient place to view and study the glass as Mr. Shepherd was engaged in moving jobs and research material from the Museum of London to University College and did not have time to provide access (for more specific discussion of the significance of the information see the commentary on glass from Penn and Harker's excavations on page 158).

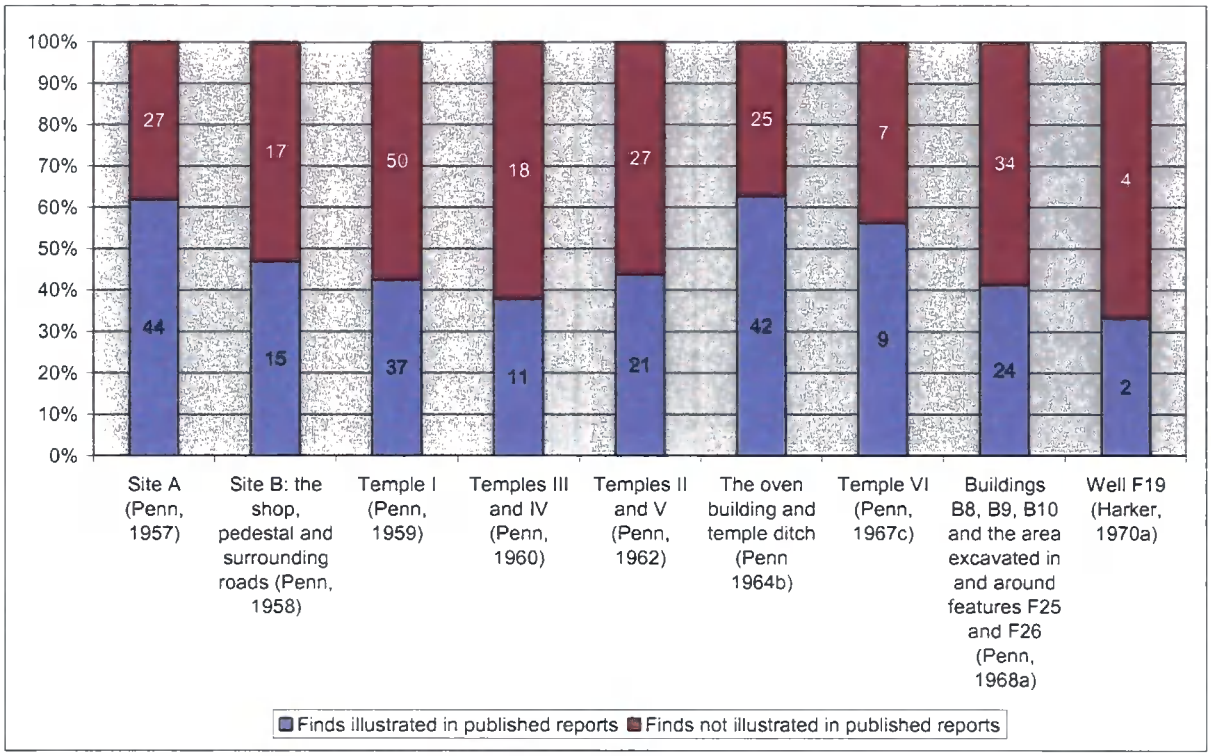
4.3: Limitations in standards of finds recording.

Identification of finds was often hampered by a lack of illustration (see Figure 24). This had little effect upon the analysis of the distribution of finds from Penn and Harker's excavations; enough information was available from the published literature to allow relationships between finds and contexts to be studied. It is, however, necessary to provide a full discussion of the reliability of the evidence to provide a general awareness of limitations that will affect the usefulness of the finds evidence as part of future research.

The first publication of archaeology from the site (Site A) in 1957 was the most detailed, with 62% of finds being drawn. Illustrations as a whole, decline in publications after this time, and never increase above 50%, with the exception of the excavations upon the 'oven building' and temple ditch (1964), where 62% of finds were illustrated. The finds from excavations on Temple VI were relatively well illustrated (58%) compared to the other reports. It is, however, important to note that only sixteen finds were discovered that year, so this would have been easy to accomplish. The other interim reports compiled by Penn and Harker (Penn, 1965; Harker, 1968, 1969a, 1969b, 1970b, 1970c, 1971a, 1971b, 1972, 1973a, 1973b, 1974, 1975, 1979, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1984) cannot be discussed at this point because no illustrations exist in these publications.

There appeared to be no particular bias towards the illustration of certain 'finds types' used to classify material in the reports although, as a whole, objects that occurred in smaller quantities tended to possess more illustrations than those that were more frequently encountered. Fragments of glass vessels are poorly represented and this may have been caused by the transfer of much of the material to Mr. John Shepherd at University College, London who intended to publish it separately but never brought this about (J Shepherd; *pers. comm.*). The most frequent types of finds mentioned in the published literature, such as items of personal adornment and structural fittings, possess far less illustrations than the smaller 'object categories'. This is likely to have been influenced by the constraints imposed by the publication of material within short journal articles. This may have influenced the presentation of as wide a range of finds as possible, providing a balanced representation of all material discovered during excavations published in that year. The smaller quantities of finds may also have been considered more suitable for presentation because of the importance provided by their uniqueness.

Figure 24: Numbers of finds illustrated in the reports compiled by Penn and Harker in *Archaeologia Cantiana.*



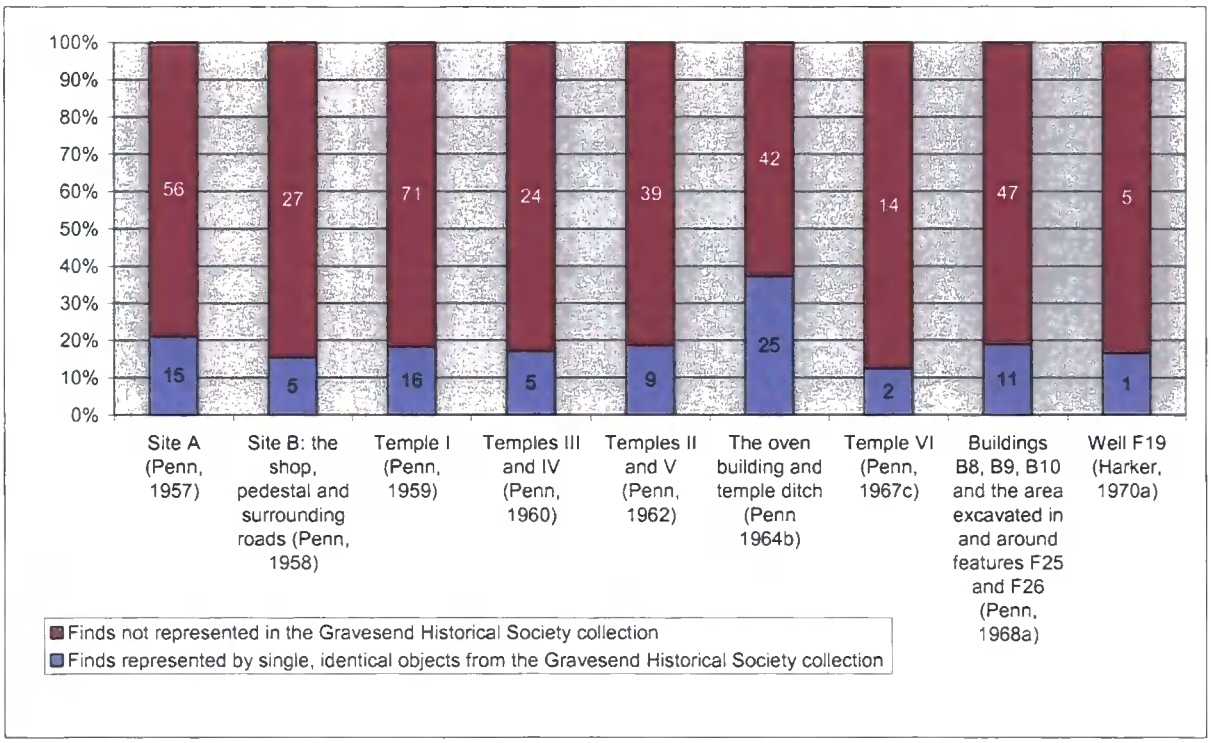
Finds type and no discovered	Finds illustrated	Finds not illustrated	Percentage of finds illustrated
Miniature objects (3)	3	0	100%
Altars (2)	2	0	100%
Spindle-whorls (4)	4	0	100%
Items of culinary equipment (8)	7	1	87%
Needles (12)	9	3	75%
Figurines (17)	10	7	59%
Tools (36)	19	17	53%
Ornamental fixtures and fastenings (15)	8	7	53%
Styli (6)	2	4	50%
Carved ornamental stone (13)	6	7	46%
Items of personal ornament (201)	90	111	45%
Quern or mill stone fragments(14)	6	8	43%
Gaming counters (10)	4	6	40%
Structural fittings (69)	20	49	29%
Hones (8)	2	6	25%
'Miscellaneous' objects (36)	17	50	25%
Glass vessel fragments (39)	7	32	18%
Fragments of window glass (1)	0	1	0%
Loom weights (1)	0	1	0%

Amounts of metal working debris were not quantified in the published literature and could not be included in the table and it was not possible to identify any of this material with certainty, as none of it was illustrated.

4.4: The loss of finds from Penn and Harker's excavations.

Few objects mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection (see Figure 25). This has, again, had little effect upon the intention of this research to analyse the significance of the distribution of finds from Springhead, as enough information was available from the published literature to allow relationships between finds and contexts to be studied. It is, however, important to recognise limitations in the data from Penn and Harker's excavations to provide an awareness of the usefulness of this evidence as part of future research. In all but one case (1964), finds identical to objects mentioned in the published literature could be found for no more than 21% of items from any excavation. No finds from the interim reports compiled by Penn and Harker (Penn, 1965; Harker, 1968, 1969a, 1969b, 1970b, 1970c, 1971a, 1971b, 1972, 1973a, 1973b, 1974, 1975, 1979, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1984) were illustrated or recorded in detail, to allow identification. Full quantification of numbers of items discovered was not given in any of these publications and, although details are provided on a few finds, the extent of material encountered is unknown. It is also necessary to bear in mind that, because many finds from these excavations may not have been recorded, then they could have been lost or deliberately removed from the collection, leaving no trace at all for their existence. Apart from the glass, which had been sent to Mr. John Shepherd at University College London, it was impossible to ascertain whether certain types of finds were missing from the collection which could have indicated their removal elsewhere for storage, perhaps pending specialist analysis or conservation. This possibility must, however, be raised given the significant quantities of items of personal adornment, structural fittings and tools missing from the collection (see Figure 25), all of which could have been deliberately removed. Given the lack of illustrations for many finds, it is plausible that some of the three hundred and forty five objects identified from the collection which could not be reconciled with published examples do not have to be unpublished items. The material could have been mentioned in the reports but was simply not illustrated and is felt to possess potential for future research (see Figure 24 on page 69).

Figure 25: Amounts of finds from the published reports compiled by Penn and Harker in *Archaeologia Cantiana* which were represented by single, identical objects from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.



Finds type and no discovered	Located	Not located	Percentage located
Spindle-whorls (4)	3	1	75%
Altars (2)	1	1	50%
Figurines (17)	8	9	47%
Miniature objects (3)	1	2	33%
Items of personal ornament (201)	49	152	32%
Items of culinary equipment (8)	2	6	25%
'Miscellaneous' objects (36)	12	55	18%
Tools (36)	6	30	17%
Styli (6)	1	5	17%
Hones (8)	1	7	13%
Needles (12)	1	11	8%
Structural fittings (69)	5	64	7%
Ornamental fixtures and fastenings (15)	1	14	7%
Glass vessel fragments (39)	1	38	3%
Quern or mill stone fragments (14)	0	14	0%
Carved ornamental stone (13)	0	13	0%
Gaming counters (10)	0	10	0%
Loom weights (1)	0	1	0%
Fragments of window glass (1)	0	1	0%

Amounts of metal working debris were not quantified in the published literature and could not be included in the table and it was not possible to identify any of this material with certainty, as none of it was illustrated.

4.5: Limitations in chronological recording.

This research encountered many complexities in the chronology established of the site which require discussion. Penn's dating of deposits using coarse pottery has been criticised. A. Detsicas argued in a private letter addressed to him that he had placed an overdue reliance on rim forms, paying insufficient attention to general form and fabric (Harker, 1980; 286). It has, however, been accepted that the general dating of the site is mostly correct as this rested on a much wider basis than just coarse pottery (*ibid*) and Detsicas also appears to have agreed with the dating of the majority of structures in his publication summarising the remains from the settlement (Detsicas, 1983). In a few cases, dates have been revised by Detsicas on the basis of re-analysis of finds. Temple I, thought to have been constructed at the very beginning of the second century (Penn, 1959; 4, 40), is now thought to have been built slightly later than originally proposed, at some time around AD 120 (Detsicas, 1983; 70 *cf* Penn, 1959; 39-41). The structure in the south-west of the settlement, identified as being a 'granary' and 'bakery' is now thought to have been constructed at some time during the first half of the second century (Detsicas, 1983; 76), rather than at the beginning (Penn, 1957; 56-57). Apart from these changes, all other dates in the written records from Penn's excavations in print remain unchallenged.

The current dating of the site has been upheld by members of the Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit who said that they had worked on producing a chronology for all material from Penn and Harker's excavations (D. Cooper, *pers. comm.*; B. Philp, *pers. comm.*). Pollard based some of his research on Roman pottery from Kent on material from Springhead and confirms the dates supplied by Harker for a number of areas excavated between 1972 and 1977 (Pollard, 1988; 9; 231-232, 234-238, 240-242). The areas dated accurately include the area north of Watling Street, designated as 'Site D' (Wilson, 1971; 288) and the area containing Temple VII (*ibid*, 1972; 351; *ibid*, 1973; 323). The lack of written records from the other areas studied by Pollard, means that their location is ambiguous and cannot be provenanced accurately enough to allow adequate discussion (*cf* Wilson, 1970; Frere, 1977; Goodburn, 1978). Fortunately, the material described as being excavated is extremely limited, consisting of the fragmentary remains of a few buildings providing little detailed information, as records from this work have not survived.

Despite claims that the dating of the site is generally accurate, the organisations involved in working on the remains from Springhead have yet to submit a single, detailed publication on the chronology of all material discovered which can be critically analysed. It is advised that caution be exercised in all future work until a detailed study of the surviving ceramic and coins assemblages has been made by specialists. Commentary on chronology has been kept to a bare minimum in this study, although it is not always possible to avoid passing reference to dates attributed to individual structures when mentioning the context of finds. It was possible to comment broadly on the distribution of finds in relation to the stratigraphic sequence. The significance of the deposition of material through time could still be considered without detailed reference to chronology and this approach is felt to have yielded useful information about past activity which will be discussed throughout this study.

It is important to note that this study will, hopefully, allow more work to be undertaken on the chronology of the site in the future. Without re-appraisal of the current state of surviving 'small finds' and written evidence from Penn and Harker's excavations, no work will be possible at all on dating of the site as the material is too scattered, mixed up and poorly understood for reanalysis to take place. The published results of this study could, therefore, be used as a point of reference on which to substantiate more detailed work on dating, particularly specialist studies of coinage and pottery from the Gravesend Historical Society collection, the provenance of which is well documented on the boxes and bags in which the finds are contained.

4.6: Variations between excavation reports in standards of stratigraphic recording and details upon numbers of finds recovered

The quality of stratigraphic recording and information upon numbers of finds recovered varies considerably between different parts of the site and, although descriptions exist of contexts and finds in all excavated areas, detailed records have not always survived. A considerable amount of information is available for the majority of the southern 'temenos area'; wide areas were dug and information obtained was recorded in a detailed way. It was, therefore, possible to analyse the distribution of the majority of material discovered from this part of the site with considerable accuracy (for a plan showing the extent of the areas excavated; see Figure 26, where they have been indicated by blue dashed lines and shading). The only part of the 'temenos' where detailed information has not survived has been the part of the site occupied by Temple VII (outlined in red on Figure 26), although some photographs of features associated with this area were obtained from Mr. John Shepherd, an excavator who excavated upon this part of the site in the 1970s.

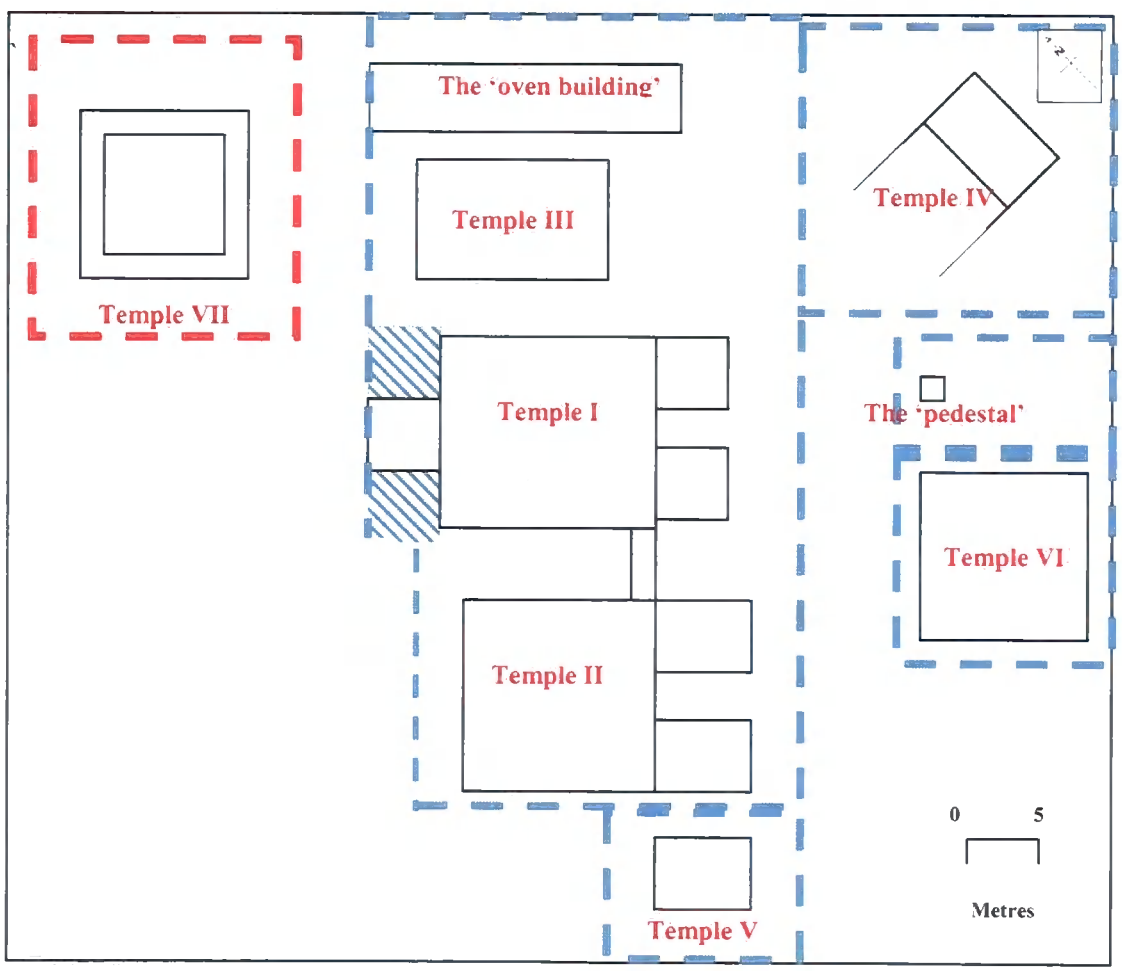
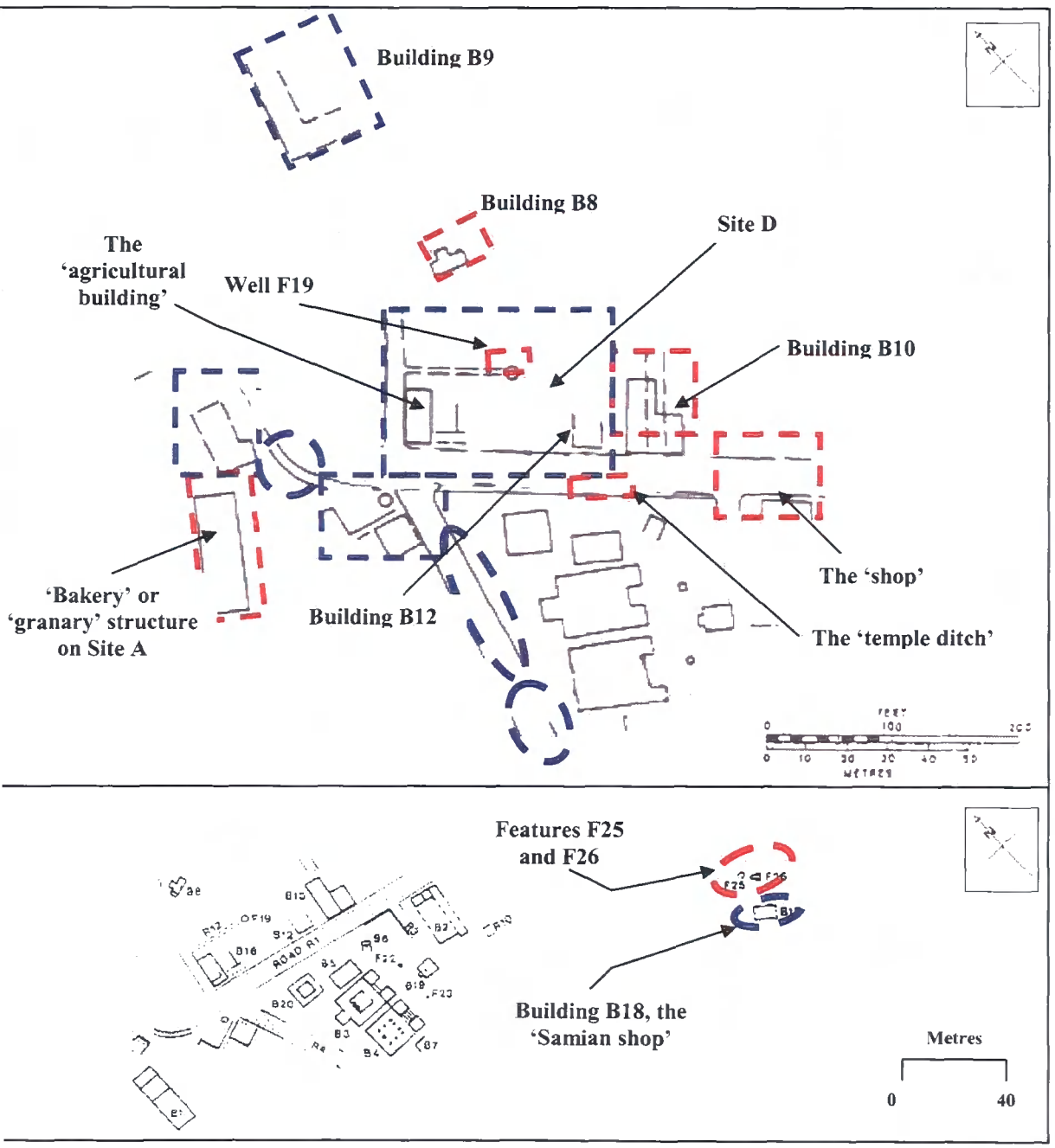


Figure 26: Plan showing the extent of areas excavated within the southern 'temple complex'. Any part of the site outside of a dashed line or is not shaded represents an unexcavated area (after A.Smith, 2001; map 5.11).

In the areas peripheral to the southern 'temple complex' detailed records of stratigraphy and numbers of finds recovered exist for a number of areas, including the 'temple ditch' bounding the 'temenos' to

the north, the areas in and around the 'bakery' or 'granary' structure on Site A, buildings B8, B10, well F19, the 'shop', and in the north west of the settlement, the areas in and around oven F25 and corn-dryer F26. The location and extent of these areas has been demarcated in red in Figure 27 . In other parts of the site, demarcated in blue on Figure 27, descriptions exist of contexts and finds, but detailed records have not survived. These areas include the section of Watling Street and the areas and structures around this; Site D, the 'agricultural building', buildings B9 and B12, all to the north of the 'temple complex', together with a ditch and a group of un-named structures discovered beyond the road bounding the 'temenos' to the west and the 'Samian shop', building B18, in the north east of the site.



ure 27: Plan showing the extent of areas excavated beyond the southern 'temenos' (the uppermost plan is after private, ıpublished document submitted to the author by Wessex Archaeology; the lower plan is after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

The variable recording of stratigraphy and numbers of finds between excavations affected the amount of information that could be obtained about the distribution of material in certain parts of the site, although enough detailed information was available from all excavated areas to allow detailed commentary upon the archaeology and interesting patterning was observed in the distribution of material. Limitations in the evidence from these parts of the site and their effect upon studying the distribution of evidence have been discussed in more detail throughout the following analysis.

4.7: Potential of data from Penn and Harker's work for future publication.

Despite the limitations apparent in the data from the work directed by Penn and Harker, a considerable amount of material exists from their excavations which has potential for future research and publication. Three hundred and forty five finds from the Gravesend Historical Society collection could not be reconciled to objects mentioned in the published literature (Figure 28, overleaf) and their significance is assessed throughout the course of this study, in the analysis of particular finds classes, undertaken between chapters five and seven. Even if some of these items were described in the published accounts, but could not be identified as being such due to a lack of illustration, it is clear that the finds are inadequately recorded and could be developed for future publication. Such an activity that would probably be beneficial as it would, ultimately, be accompanied by the current work by Wessex and Oxford Archaeology. It would, however, be possible to use this material for future research as part of a specialist analysis of all finds known from the settlement. The archaeology of Roman period activity in North Kent is poorly understood and the information from Springhead would always be useful in a local context and could play an important role in enhancing knowledge of activity in the region for purposes of local heritage management. The potential for further development of the assemblage in this respect is outlined in more detail in the conclusions to this study.

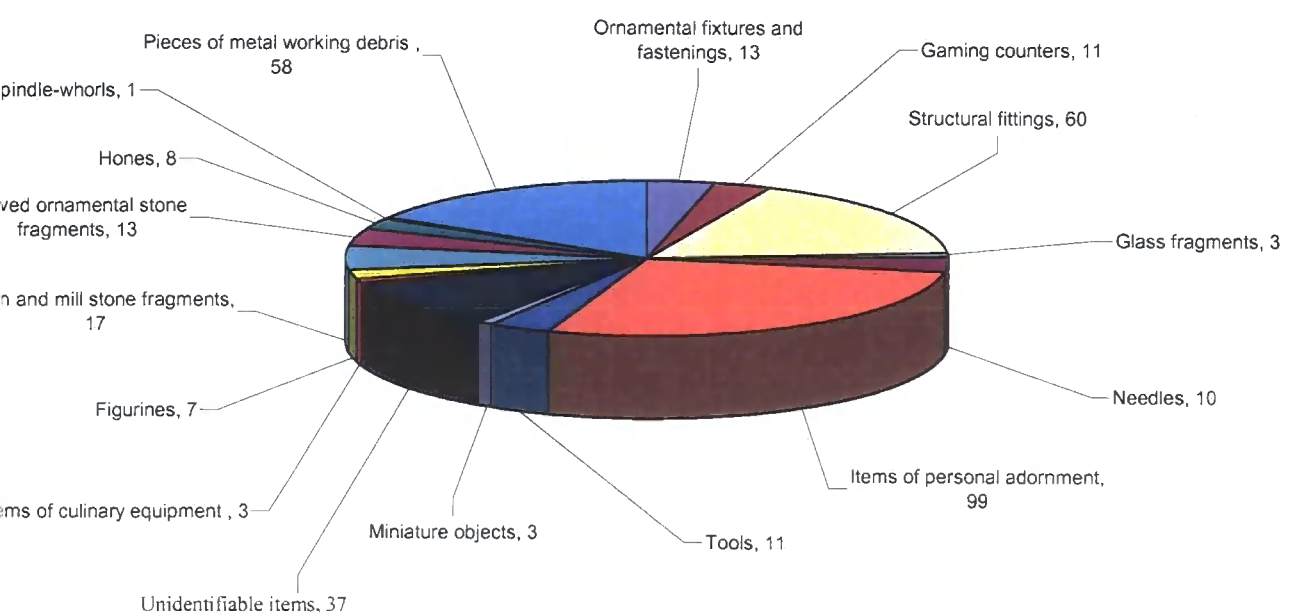


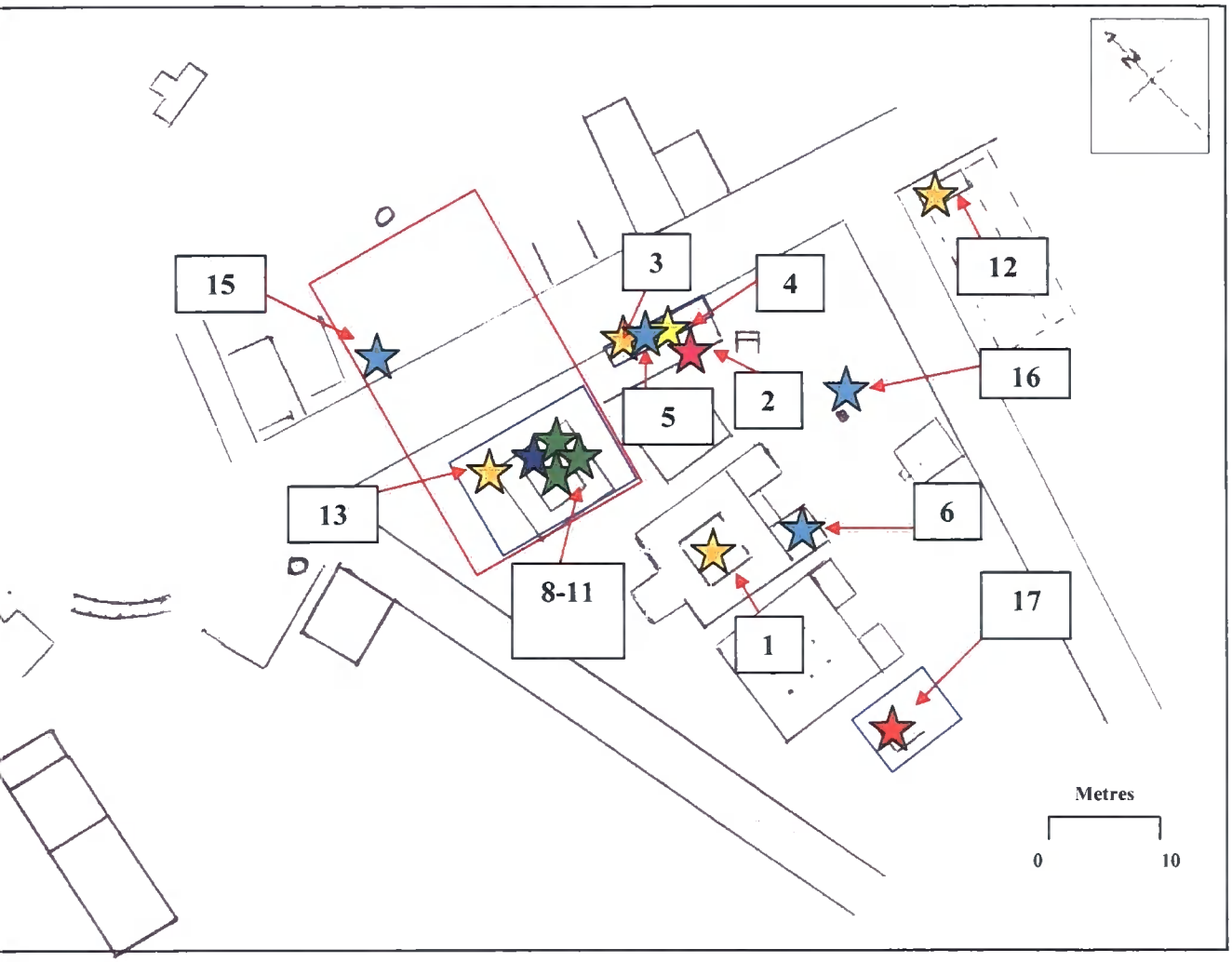
Figure 28: Numbers of 'small finds' discovered in the Gravesend Historical Society collection that could not be reconciled with those mentioned in the written accounts compiled by Penn and Harker.

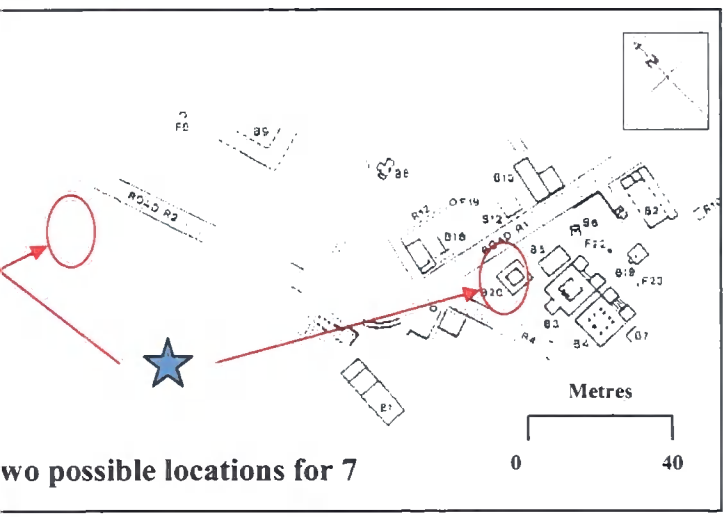
5: Analysis of the distribution of specific 'finds types' from Penn and Harker's excavations, interpreted as being associated with 'religious' activities.

5.1: Figurines.

The distribution of figurines discovered is shown in Figure 29, on page 71. Table 1 indicates where finds have been illustrated and whether similar objects could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection. For further details on items mentioned in the table, consult the appropriate reference in Appendix 1, where finds and their details have been placed in numerical order. The remains of three figurines were identified from the Gravesend Historical Society store that could not be reconciled with any certainty to examples mentioned in the published literature. The items include the head of a pipe clay figurine with the hair seemingly painted in either red or orange (Photograph 11 on page 276), an un-numbered pipe clay bust depicting the head and shoulders of a figure (Photograph 12 on page 276) and part of what would appear to be a pipe clay shoulder or arm, decorated to depict traces of drapery (Photograph 13 on page 277). Another fragment showed extremely faint traces of diagonal lines at one edge (Photograph 14 on page 277) which appeared to be a hand. A few fragments of pipe clay, bearing traces of designs, were identified from the collection which, conceivably, could have been fragments of figurines. (Photograph 15-16 on page 278). A figurine of a dog was also identified from the collection (Photograph 9 on page 275), although it is possible that the item may also have been some form of decorative fastening as the front legs were bent backwards in a way which might suggest that they could have been used as a clip.

Figure 29: Distribution of figurines mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).





wo possible locations for 7

'Pseudo Venus' figurine

Bronze statue part (hand)

Bronze, model arm and hand

'Dea Nutrix' figurine

Bronze statuette of a dog

Pottery head

Ambiguous figurine, either due to lack of detail in recording or incompleteness of find

The blue rectangles represent the maximum extent of the excavated area in which the discoveries **3**, **4**, **5**, **8**, **9**, **10**, **11**, **13**, **15** and **17** are claimed to have been found. The red rectangle represents the maximum extent of the excavated area in which discovery **15** is claimed to have been found. The find spot of **14**, a 'Pseudo-Venus' figurine, has not been included on the distribution map, because its findspot was ambiguous

Table 1: Figurines from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker: information on whether objects were illustrated in published reports and whether they could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Find no (FIGUR), and details on the location where is described.	**Illustrated**	**Single, identical object identified**	**Similar objects identified**
1 (Page 264)	Yes (Figure 81 on page 264)	Yes (Photograph 2 on page 271)	No
2 (Page 265)	No, but it was photographed in the original report. For further details on this image, see page 265)	Yes (Photograph 6 on page 273)	No
3 (Page 265)	Yes (Figure 82 on page 265)	Yes (Photograph 4 on page 272)	No
4 (Page 265)	No, but it was photographed in the report. For further details on this image, see page 265).	Yes (Photograph 3 on page 272)	No
5 (Page 265)	No	No	No
6 (Page 266)	Yes (Figure 83 on page 266)	Yes (Photograph 5 on page 273)	No
7 (Page 266)	No, but it was photographed and, because it could not be found in the GHS collection, these images are provided in the appendix (Photograph 1 on page 271)	No	No
8 (Page 267)	Yes (See discussion in on page 267)	No	No
9-10 (Page 267)	No	No	No
11 (Page 268)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 9 on page 275)
12 (Page 268)	Yes (Figure 84 on page 268)	Yes (Photograph 7 on page 274)	No
13-14 (Page 268)	No	No	No
15 (Page 269)	No	No	No
16 (Page 269)	Yes (Figure 85 on page 269)	Yes (Photograph 8 on page 274)	No
17 (Page 270)	Yes (Figure 86 on page 270)	Yes (Photograph 10 on page 275	No

The figurines from Penn and Harker's excavations form an extensive, detailed and important source of information about the potential uses of such objects as part of activities on a temple site, the assemblage forming the joint second largest quantity recorded, when viewed against the assemblages from others (Table 2, on page 74). The figurines encountered at Springhead were often interpreted as being parts of small models representing the deities worshipped at the site, which are outlined in the following text, and in the references to the finds made in Appendix 1. Such finds have played an important role, together with dedications and other objects, as part the identification of 'cults' associated with other temple sites. This can be seen in Woodward and Leach's, comparative survey of material, where a 'cult' of Mercury, together with his associates the goat and cockerel, was identified at Uley, following the discovery of statues and figurines of them, together with inscriptions and images on altars, plaques and curse tablets and models of caducei (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 333-334). A 'martial cult' was identified at Lamyatt Beacon, on the basis of three figurines of Mars, one of Minerva, brooches depicting mounted warriors, and seventeen miniature representations of weapons (*cf* Leech, 1986; 272). At Nettleton Scrubb, it was suggested that Apollo was the major deity worshipped as representations of him were discovered on an inscribed bronze plaque, an intaglio, and a dedication made on an altar. Four items were also interpreted as representing a 'subsidiary cult' of Mercury, including two reliefs and two representations of his associate, the cockerel in the form of a figurine and candlestick (*cf* Wedlake, 1982; 135-50). At Lydney Park, six stone, and nine copper alloy, dogs were discovered and were thought to be connected with a 'cult' of Nodens/Nudens Mars, as a dog's head was etched above an inscription addressed to this deity on a copper alloy tablet (*cf* Wheeler and Wheeler, 1932; 39-43). Smith also tried to broaden the work undertaken by Woodward and Leach, by suggesting that, at Brigstock, four projectile heads, a trident and two bronze horse statuettes carrying riders depicted in military dress may have shown that 'religious behaviour' at the site to have possessed a partly martial character (A. Smith, 2001; 78-79). Although the evidence was less extensive, a martial 'cult' was also have claimed to have existed at Woodeaton, due to the discovery of two horse and rider brooches and two figurines of Minerva (*ibid*; 143). The frequent occurrence of objects thought to be associated with the worship of particular deities surviving upon sites is of some interest and may be significant in allowing an understanding of 'religious' activities, although there could, of course, have been many others worshipped at temple sites over the many years of their use, but the evidence has simply not survived.

te name	Source(s)	Number of figurines
ey (Gloucestershire) **FP**	Woodward and Leach, 1993	19
oodeaton (Oxfordshire)	Goodchild and Kirk, 1954; Kirk, 1949; Bagnall-Smith, 1995; 1999	18
ringhead (Kent)	In this study	18
myatt Beacon (Somerset)	Leech, 1986	13
dney Park (Gloucestershire)	Wheeler and Wheeler, 1932	13
eat Chesterford (Essex)	Collins, 1978; Miller, 1995	9
rlow (Essex) **FP**	France and Gobel, 1985	8
istor-by Norwich 1-2 (Norfolk)	Atkinson, 1930.	7
ckwold (Norfolk)	Wilson, 1963; 1966	7
ttleton Scrubb (Wiltshire)	Wedlake, 1982	7
ycomb (Gloucestershire)	Lawrence, 1864	5
th (Avon)	Cunliffe, 1988	4
igstock 1-2 (Northamptonshire)	Greenfield, 1963; Taylor 1963	4
merton (Somerset)	Wedlake, 1958	4
rley Heath (Surrey)	Winbolt, 1927; Goodchild, 1938	4
hester (Northamptonshire)	Green, 1976	4
aiden Castle (Dorset)	Wheeler, 1943	4
erwent (Gwent)	Ashby, Hudd, and King, 1910	3
oft Ambrey (Worcestershire)	Stanford, 1974	3
dmanchester (Essex)	Green, 1986	3
gan's Hill (Somerset)	Rahtz and Harris, 1958; Rahtz and Watts, 1989; Boon, 1989	3
edworth (Gloucestershire)	Baddeley, 1930; Webster, 1983	2
eenwich Park (Middlesex)	Sheldon and Yule, 1979	2
y Chimneys (Essex)	Turner, 1999	2
untham Court (Sussex)	Burstow and Hollyman, 1955	2
orth (Kent)	Klein, 1928	2
anctonbury (West Sussex)	Mitchell, 1910	1
elmsford (Essex)	Wickenden, 1992	1
lchester 5 -Grammar School- ssex)	Hull 1958	1
lchester 6 -Gosbecks- (Essex)	Hull, 1958	1
ns Farm (Essex)	Atkinson and Preston, 1998	1
nley Wood (Somerset) **FP**	Watts and Leach, 1996	1
lvedon (Essex)	Wilson, 1972	1
llingstone 1-2 (Kent)	Meates, 1979	1
istleton (Leicestershire)	Wilson, 1965	1
rulamium 2 (Hertfordshire)	Wheeler and Wheeler, 1936	1
st Coker (Somerset)	Lewis, 1966	1
ycock Hill (Berkshire)	Cotton, 1957	1
nchester (Hampshire)	Biddle, 1975	1

able 2: Comparison between the number of figurines recorded from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain. **FP** denotes that the site is fully published.

Table 3 shows the occurrence of figurines in archaeological contexts at Springhead between the first and fourth centuries AD. There are a number of inconsistencies between the accounts compiled by Penn and Harker, with Green's later summary account (1976) of the objects. These will be discussed in the following text, as they are important when trying to assess the number of items discovered, and determining the locations from which they were found.

Date of contexts	Figurines
First century AD	2
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	3
Late second or early third century AD	0
Third century AD	0
Late third or fourth century	0
Fourth century AD	6
Unknown	7

Table 3: Occurrence of figurines in archaeological features and stratum of different periods.

It appeared that figurines were, as a whole, deposited in and around the part of the site containing the southern 'temenos' **(FIGUR 1, 2-6, 8-11, 13, 16, 17)**. Only two 'Pseudo-Venus' statuettes were discovered during the Wessex Archaeology excavations in the northern part of the site (see page 734) and one other figurine **(FIGUR 7)** is recorded as having been discovered far to the west of the site, although this is debateable (page 266). A difference appears, therefore, to exist between amounts of objects deposited in the northern and southern areas of the settlement. This is unlikely to be result of activities such as hill wash as the area around the natural springs forms a significant depression and material should have collected in this area if it had been washed down from the parts of the site to the north. Given the first century date of remains from this area, the difference in amounts of objects deposited in the northern part of the site may simply reflect a lack of such items during the early Roman period, as few may have been in circulation. It is clear, however, that figurines could have been used during this time, but were simply not deposited. The evidence deposited in later periods in the southern part of the site might, however, perhaps indicate changes in practices, such as the deliberate leaving behind of such objects there, perhaps as 'offerings'.

More detail about the use of figurines at Springhead can be obtained when their distribution is examined more closely. Three figurines **(FIGUR 2, 6, 12)** from Penn and Harker's excavations came from second century features and strata. No significant pattering could be identified in the distribution of the items as a whole, although the context of individual finds may provide some information about past activities, and a few ambiguities in recording were identified, that have a bearing on interpreting the numbers of finds discovered. A bronze thumb **(FIGUR 6)**, discovered beneath Temple I, may be related to the period of occupation associated with Temple VII, and the temples excavated by Wessex Archaeology, in the first century. Although the item was interpreted as being a figurine, it has an iron attachment at the point of the thumb joint, and it is possible that this forms a fixture or fastening to

attach it to something. It may, for example, have been used as a clamp for fixing something to a wall[6]. A pipe clay 'Pseudo Venus' figurine **(FIGUR 12)** from stratum F, a layer of dark soil beneath the structure interpreted as being a shop, on Site B may, as with the last example, also be associated with the early occupation of the site, although a lack of continuous stratigraphic recording between Site B and the buildings in the 'temenos' makes this impossible to prove. Green also mentions that two fragments of pipe clay 'Venus' figurines were found during this excavation (1976; 228) and it is possible that more than one object may have been discovered. A bronze casting of a clasped hand **(FIGUR 2)** recovered from a layer filling the remains of the 'oven building' (stratum C), appears to be an isolated find. There are, however, inconsistencies between the original accounts and Green's later research. The latter mentions that a single hand was found from the site, but this came from excavations on Temple I, and the object was described as holding fruit (1976; 228), an attribute not present on the example recorded from Penn's excavation. No such object could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection and it is likely that this reference may represent an undiscovered item.

The majority of figurines from Penn and Harker's excavations appear to have been deposited in features during the fourth century **(FIGUR 1, 3, 4, 16, 17)** and have been traditionally regarded as meaningless 'rubbish', deposited amongst the remains of the site when it was levelled, and when it had ceased to possess any 'religious' significance (Penn, 1964b; 112; 1967b; 116), being occupied by 'squatters' and given over to 'industry' during this time. The presence of these objects, together with other finds that may have been deposited as the results of 'religious' activities, may, however, suggest that the site was still being used for such practices (see section, beginning page 214). At least two, and possibly three, 'Pseudo-Venus' figurines had also been deposited within the 'temenos' during this time. The objects mentioned in the records compiled by Penn include one example **(FIGUR 1)** left on the cella floor of Temple I, and the other **(FIGUR 3)** incorporated into the fill of the 'temple ditch'. Green also mentions that part of another 'Pseudo Venus' figurine was discovered from the fill of the latter (1976; 228) and it is possible that more of these objects could have been discovered. The retainment and burial of the figurines at the site is of some interest, considering that the items would have been at least one hundred, if not two hundred, years old, at the time of their deposition (*cf* Jenkins, 1958; Jenkins in Penn, 1959; 56). This was recognised by the excavators and led to suggestions that the had been used in a fragmentary condition for a considerable period because of the cutting off of supplies to the site, due to civil disturbance in later Roman Britain, with communities having to worship broken statuettes because they were all that was available (Penn, 1968c; 13). It is, of course, possible that the items got into fourth century contexts because they were scooped in with the rubble used to level the site. This should, however, not be automatically assumed; statuary from other temple sites, such as at Henley Wood (Watts and Leach, 1996; 131) and Uley (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 325) may show that such objects may have been considered to be of great importance, and curated for considerable periods of time, and this could also be the case for the Springhead figurines.

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[6] It is also possible that the find could be part of a statue, although it might be unusual to fix small, individual parts to what would have been a life sized object, which could be made in one piece. It could, however, be the case that the thumb was made as a separate part for a larger statue; possible reasons might include its repair or remodelling.

The seven 'Pseudo Venus' figurines from Springhead, at least five **(FIGUR 1, 3, 12-14)** from Penn and Harker's excavations and two from the Wessex Archaeology excavations (page 279), are interesting as only five such objects have been recorded from temple sites in Roman Britain; Elms Farm (Atkinson and Preston, 1998; 94), Hockwold (Green, 1976; 212), Elms Farm and Irchester (*ibid*; 181) producing one 'Pseudo Venus' figurine each, and Godmanchester (Green, 1986; figs 12.14-12.15), two examples. The *Dea Nutrix* figurines **(FIGUR 8-10)** are fewer, with only three examples known from Springhead, but none are yet known to have been identified from any other 'temple site' in Roman Britain. Fulford has remarked that few associations for such objects could be considered 'votive' (Fulford, 1989; 248), arguing that they occur mainly in contexts thought to represent 'commercial' activity; including the remains of a structure, interpreted as being a warehouse destroyed by fire, at Gauting, Germany; and also at London, where such objects were found with a quantity of unused Samian dumped within the waterfront and thought to have been broken during transport to Britain and thrown away at the docks (*ibid*; 248).The only time that such items are thought to have been deposited in a potentially 'religious' context has been at Nornour on the Isles of Scilly, where thirteen fragments of 'Pseudo-Venus' and *Dea Nutrix* figurines were recorded. These were associated with large quantities of items of personal adornment, which were deposited within and over the remains of a wheelhouse and a number of other unidentifiable structures, (*ibid*; 246) and the presence of so many similar objects, which seem to have been deliberately selected for deposition, together with statuettes of goddesses led to consideration that they could have been left behind deliberately as 'offerings' to deities at a shrine (*ibid*; 247).

As part of his summary of the structural evidence from Penn and Harker's excavations, Detsicas stated that perhaps too much had been made of the significance of the 'Pseudo-Venus' figurine from the cella floor of Temple I, writing that the object was 'of a type common enough throughout the western Roman world in ordinary domestic contexts' (Detsicas, 1983; 70) seeming to imply that such objects may have possessed little significance to 'religious' activities associated with the temples. It is, however, important to emphasise that the seven 'Pseudo Venus' and three *Dea Nutrix* statuettes from Springhead makes them, after Nornour, the largest assemblage of such items discovered in a 'religious' context, and if images found at sites are to be thought to represent particular deities worshipped at them, as suggested by Woodward and Leach's survey, then the occurrence of these finds at the site may be important, perhaps indicating that they were once associated with ideas and beliefs connected to the temple buildings and 'temenos'. It is, however, necessary to emphasise that the other figurines recorded from Penn and Harker's excavations show that other deities may have been worshipped at Springhead. The imagery depicted by the objects may provide ground for discussion about the potential significance of their use and deposition at the site. The depiction of a bathing woman on the 'Pseudo-Venus' figurines may be of interest given the potential associations between the temples and the natural springs to the north and it is possible that the deposition of such objects may have been symbolic in relation to the watery nature of the site (Jenkins, 1958; 64-65), and similar suggestions have been made by other authors because the objects have been recovered from other sites containing sacred springs, such as at Vichy (Green, 1976; 15). An image of three bathing women holding robes or towels, one with water spurting from her nipples and one with an upturned urn with a stream flowing from it, considered to be

a painting of three water nymphs, was discovered painted onto a niche in the 'deep room' beneath the nearby villa at Lullingstone, which is only c 10 km from Springhead (Meates, 1987; pl 5). It will probably never be possible to prove that the painting was made as the result of similar ideas and beliefs to those that resulted in the use and deposition of 'Pseudo Venus' figurines at Springhead. Despite this, the depiction of motifs of this sort, also in a watery context, situated above a well, is interesting and one wonders whether similar images could have existed at Springhead.

Little can be said about the distribution of other figurines **(FIGUR 5, 7-10, 13-15)** as no detailed records survive to indicate their relationship with the stratigraphic sequence. It is important to note that an inconsistency exists between the record of a piece from a 'pipe-clay Venus', mentioned as having been discovered during excavations on Temple VI (Green, 1976; 228) and said to have been mentioned in the report detailing this work (Penn, 1967c), although no such object could be identified in this publication. Some useful information may, however, be provided by a bronze statuette of a small dog **(FIGUR 11)**, discovered during excavations in the area occupied by Temple VII. An example was also discovered from the collection, (Photograph 9 on page 275), although it is unclear if it is the same object. The statuettes are of interest in relation to recent findings from the Wessex Archaeology excavations, where a large number of these creatures, some with chains around their necks, were deliberately buried within a first century pit, together with a human skull, near the easternmost temple, at the entrance to the enclosure surrounding the natural springs (Union Railways (North) Ltd, undated b; 1), indicating their importance to symbolic practices associated with this area. A pit was also discovered by Harker, containing the remains of 'several dogs', which had been buried with the remains of a large, unidentified bird, other animal bones and pottery in front of the CEGB switching station, north of the A2 (Harker, 1977; 9) and this may also be significant, although no further information was provided in the report. The material from Springhead can be added to ample evidence for the use of images of dogs in activities associated with temple sites, particularly at Lydney Park, which produced thirteen statuettes, together with an inscription of a dog's head, made above text addressed to 'Nudens Mars' on a copper alloy tablet (Wheeler and Wheeler, 1932; 39-43. Statues of dogs were also encountered at Pagan's Hill, where a stone torso of such a creature was buried in a well (Boon, 1989). Connections between the animals and hunting are evident at Nettleton Scrubb, where a 'Diana and hound' statue was discovered (Wedlake, 1982; pl II A). At Farley Heath, a bronze 'sceptre binding' was discovered portraying a dog, together with a stag, raven, a figure with an axe hammer, a figure with a wheel, a trident, a boar, and two ravens at Farley Heath (*cf* Goodchild, 1938), although the significance of this image is less clear..

5.2: Items of personal adornment.

Deposits from the areas of the site excavated by Penn and Harker are characterised by large quantities objects that could be worn upon the body, or used to prepare it for personal display. The finds classified by the excavators, and also by other researchers in brief summaries of material from the 'temenos' (A. Smith, 2001), as belonging to this category include brooches, bracelets, armlets, beads, rings, pins, combs, necklaces, pendants and 'cosmetic sets' comprising nail files, tweezers and ear scoops, often attached together on rings. There are too many items of personal adornment to allow their display on a single distribution map; the find spots of different 'categories' of objects can, therefore, be seen on a number of diagrams on the following pages (Figure 30 to Figure 36), together with reference numbers to allow identification in the following text. Table 91, included in Appendix 2 (page 283) because of its size, provides details of where finds shown on the maps are discussed, whether they are illustrated and if objects could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection. Nineteen nine items were also discovered which could not be reconciled with examples mentioned in the published literature, and details are provided in Table 4, below.

'Type' of object	Amount	Reference to photograph of objects, and details on their location
Brooches	10	Photographs 26-27 (pages 323-324), 31-34 (pages 326-327), 36-39 (pages 328-330).
Bracelets	17	Photographs 41 (page 332), 45-58 (pages 334-336).
Pins	49	Photographs 61-63 (pages 343-344), 66-70 (pages 345-346), 73 (page 347), 75-76 (page 348), 79-83 (pages 349-351), 85-97 (pages 351-355), 99 (page 356), 101-107 (pages 357-359), 109-119 (pages 360-363), 123 (page 364).
Beads	9	Photographs 125-133 (pages 366-370)
Finger rings	9	Photographs 136-138 (pages 373-374), 140 (page 375), 142-146 (pages 376-378).
Tweezers	3	Photographs 147-149 (pages 380-381).
Nail files	1	Photograph 151 (page 383).
Pendants	1	Photograph 154 (page 387).

Table 4: Items of personal adornment from the Gravesend Historical Society store that could not be reconciled with examples mentioned in the published literature.

Table 5: Comparison between the number of items of personal adornment from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

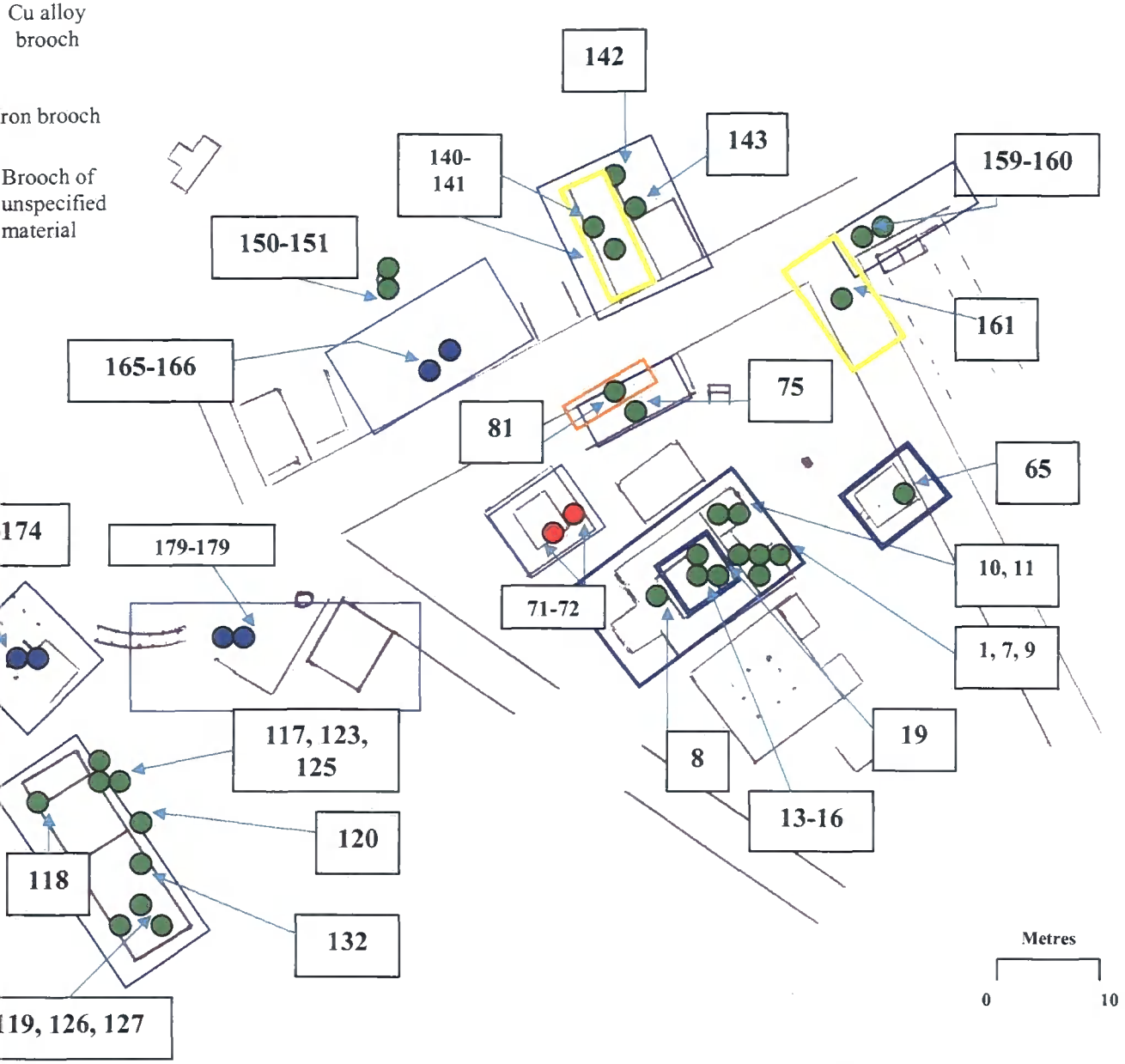
Site name	Source(s)	Number of items
ney Park ucestershire)	Wheeler and Wheeler, 1932	664
leton Scrubb tshire)	Wedlake, 1982	307
nghead (Kent)	In study	200
ucestershire) **FP**	Woodward and Leach, 1993	174
odeaton fordshire)	Goodchild and Kirk, 1954; Milne, 1931; Kirk, 1949; Bagnall-Smith, 1995; 1999	168
low (Essex) **FP**	France and Gobel, 1985	144
ley Wood nerset) **FP**	Watts and Leach, 1996	79
n (Avon)	Cunliffe, 1988	68
ulamium 2 rtfordshire)	Wheeler and Wheeler, 1936	47
yatt Beacon nerset)	Leech, 1986	34
lmsford (Essex)	Wickenden, 1992	27
nborough rey)	O' Connell and Bird, 1994	27
den Castle rset)	Wheeler, 1943	20
ntham Court ssex)	Burstow and Hollyman, 1955; 1956; 1957)	12
ford fordshire)	Bradford and Goodchild, 1939	11
kwold (Norfolk)	Wilson, 1963; 1966	10
ft Ambrey rcestershire)	Stanford, 1974	9
eshill rwickshire)	Magilton, 1980; Grew, 1980	9
ey Heath rey)	Winbolt, 1927; Goodchild, 1938; 1947; Lowther and Goodchild, 1943	6
hester 1-2 mpshire)	Boon, 1974	6
an Down nerset)	Apsimon, 1965	5
an's Hill nerset)	Rahtz and Harris, 1958	4
grove rthamptonshire)	Quinnell, 1991	4
lon Hill (Dorset)	Drew, 1931	4
Lancing Down (Sussex)	Bedwin, 1981	4
Verulamium 1 (Hertfordshire)	Lowther, 1937	4
Ivy Chimneys (Essex)	Turner, 1999	3
Colchester 5 -Grammar School- (Essex)	Hull, 1958	3
Elms Farm (Essex)	Atkinson and Preston, 1998	3
Colchester 1 -Sheepen- (Essex)	Hull, 1958	3
Colchester 8 -Temple of Claudius- (Essex)	Drury, 1984	3
Mutlow Hill (Cambridgeshire)	Wait, 1985 a	3
Camerton (Somerset)	Wedlake, 1958	3
Brigstock 1-2 (Northamptonshire)	Greenfield, 1963; Taylor, 1963	2
West Coker (Somerset)	Wait, 1985 a	2
Weycock Hill (Berkshire)	Cotton, 1957	2
Bozeat (Northamptonshire)	Hall and Nickerson, 1970	2
Caistor-by Norwich 3 (Norfolk)	Gurney, 1986	2
Great Dunmow (Essex)	Wickenden, 1988	2
Caistor-by Norwich 1-2 (Norfolk)	Atkinson, 1930	1
Wycomb (Gloucestershire)	Lawrence, 1864	1
Godmanchester (Essex)	Green, 1986	1
Chedworth (Gloucestershire)	Baddeley, 1930	1
Colchester 6 - Gosbecks- (Essex)	Hull, 1958	1
Kelvedon (Essex)	Wilson, 1972	1
Bourton Grounds (Buckinghamshire)	Green, 1966	1
Collyweston (Northamptonshire)	Knocker, 1965	1
Pulborough - Glebelands- (West Sussex)	Bedwin, 1980	1

Figure 30: Distribution of brooches from Penn and Harker's excavations (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

Cu alloy brooch

ron brooch

Brooch of unspecified material



Blue rectangles and squares represent the maximum extent of the excavated areas in which the following discoveries were made: **8, 13-16, 65, 71-72, 75, 132, 142, 143, 165-166, 173-174, 178-179**. Orange rectangles represent the same for discovery **81**, yellow ones for **140, 141, 161.**

The location of **190-191** (brooches of unspecified material) is ambiguous, and the finds could not be displayed on the map.

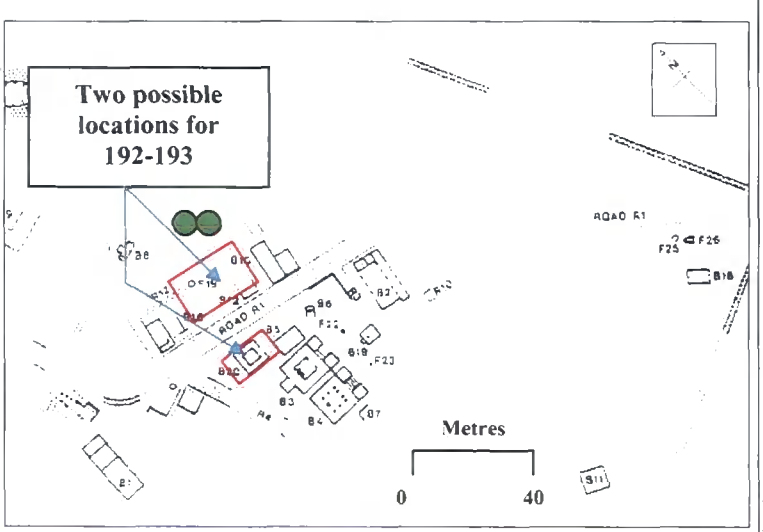
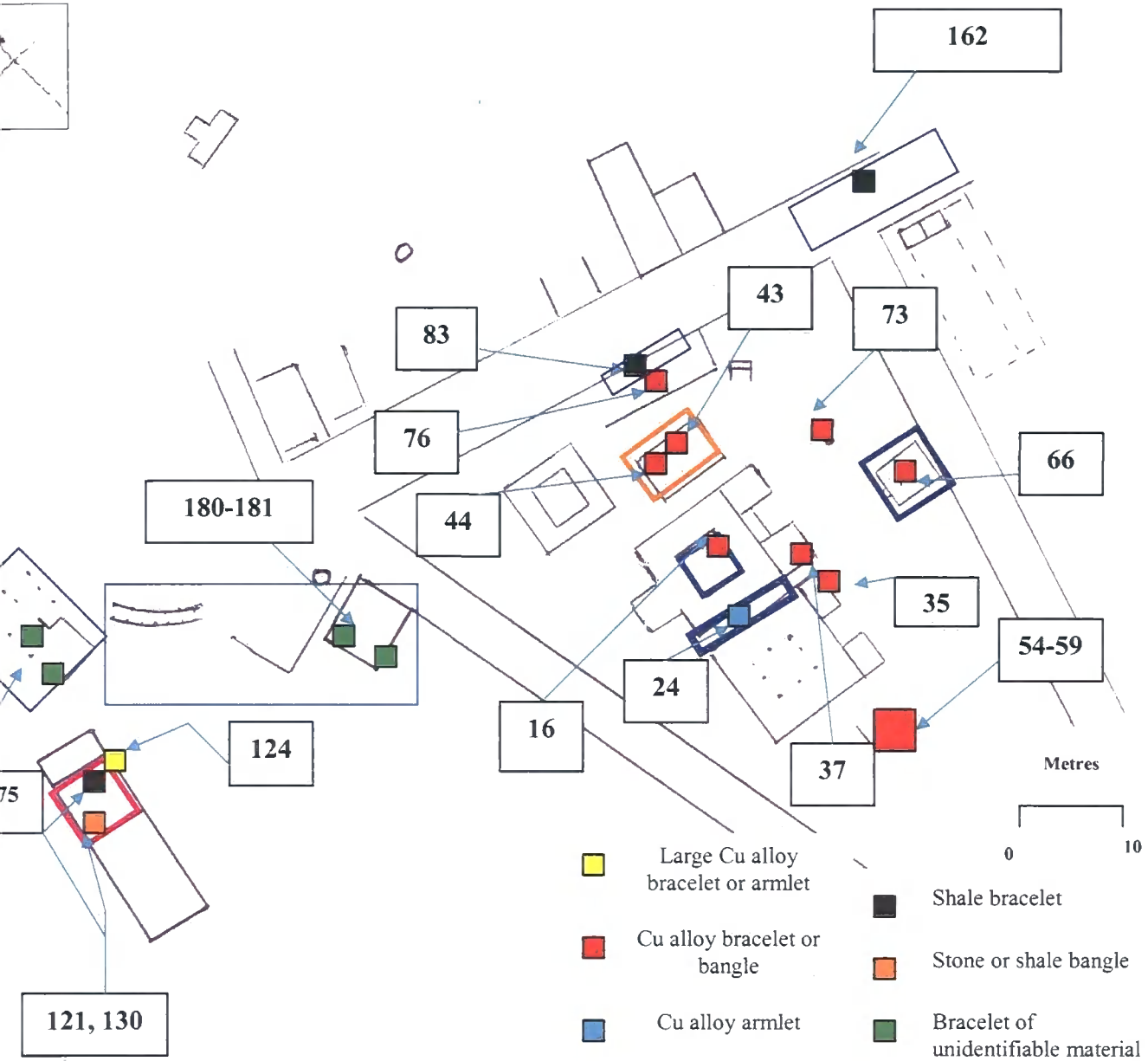
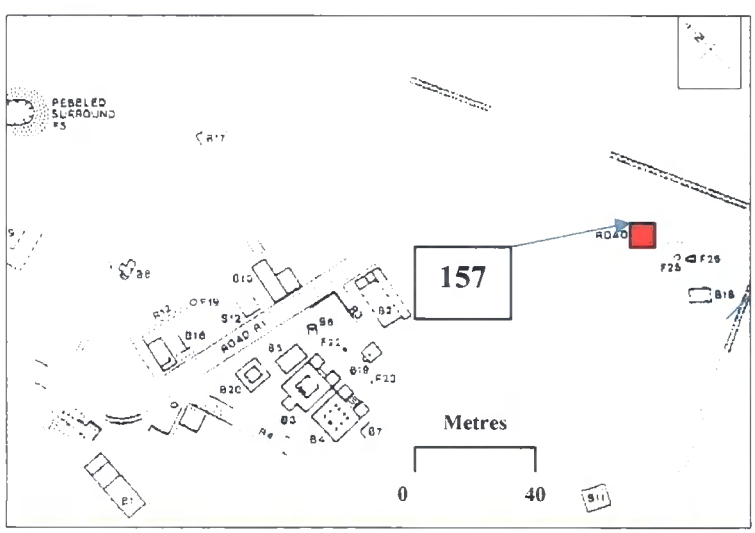


Figure 31: Distribution of bangles, bracelets and armlets from Penn and Harker's excavations (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

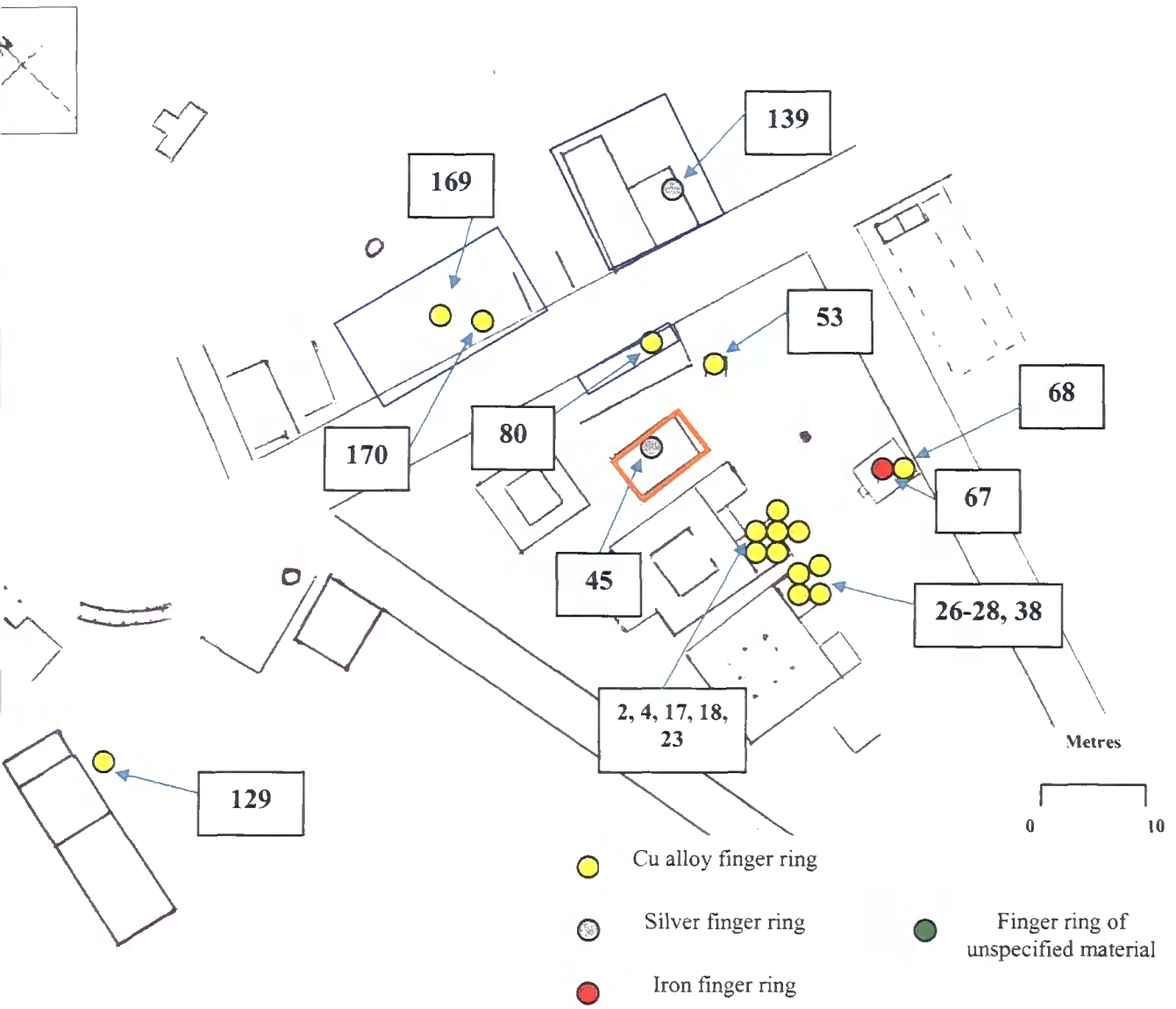


Blue rectangles and squares represent the maximum extent of the excavated areas in which discoveries **16, 24, 66, 83, 162, 174-175** and **180-181** were found. Orange rectangles represent the maximum extent of the excavated areas in which discoveries **43** and **44** were found. Pink squares represent the same for **121** and **130**



arge versions of symbols displayed on the key esent a concentration of finds within an area that e too numerous to be displayed on the distribution map without impairing its clarity.

Figure 32: Distribution of finger rings discovered from Penn and Harker's excavations (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).



Blue rectangles and squares represent the maximum extent of the excavated areas in which discoveries **80, 139,** and **169-170** were found. The orange rectangle represents the maximum extent of the excavated area in which discovery **45** was found.

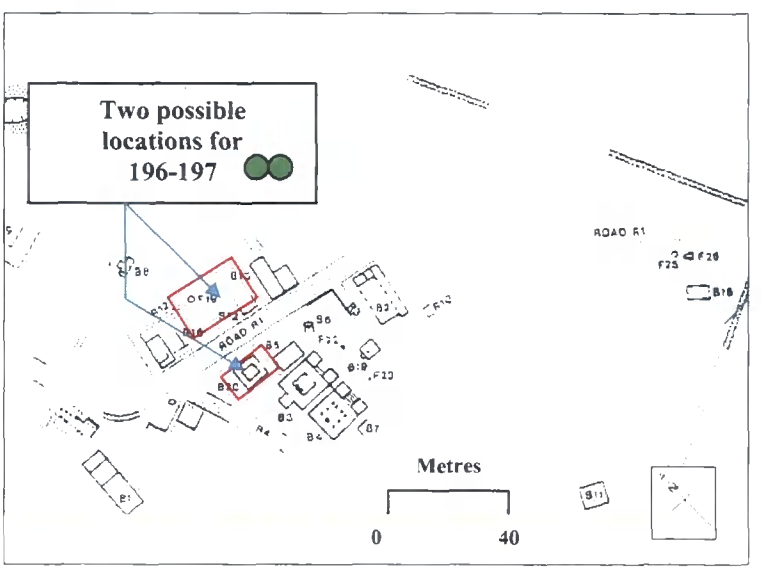
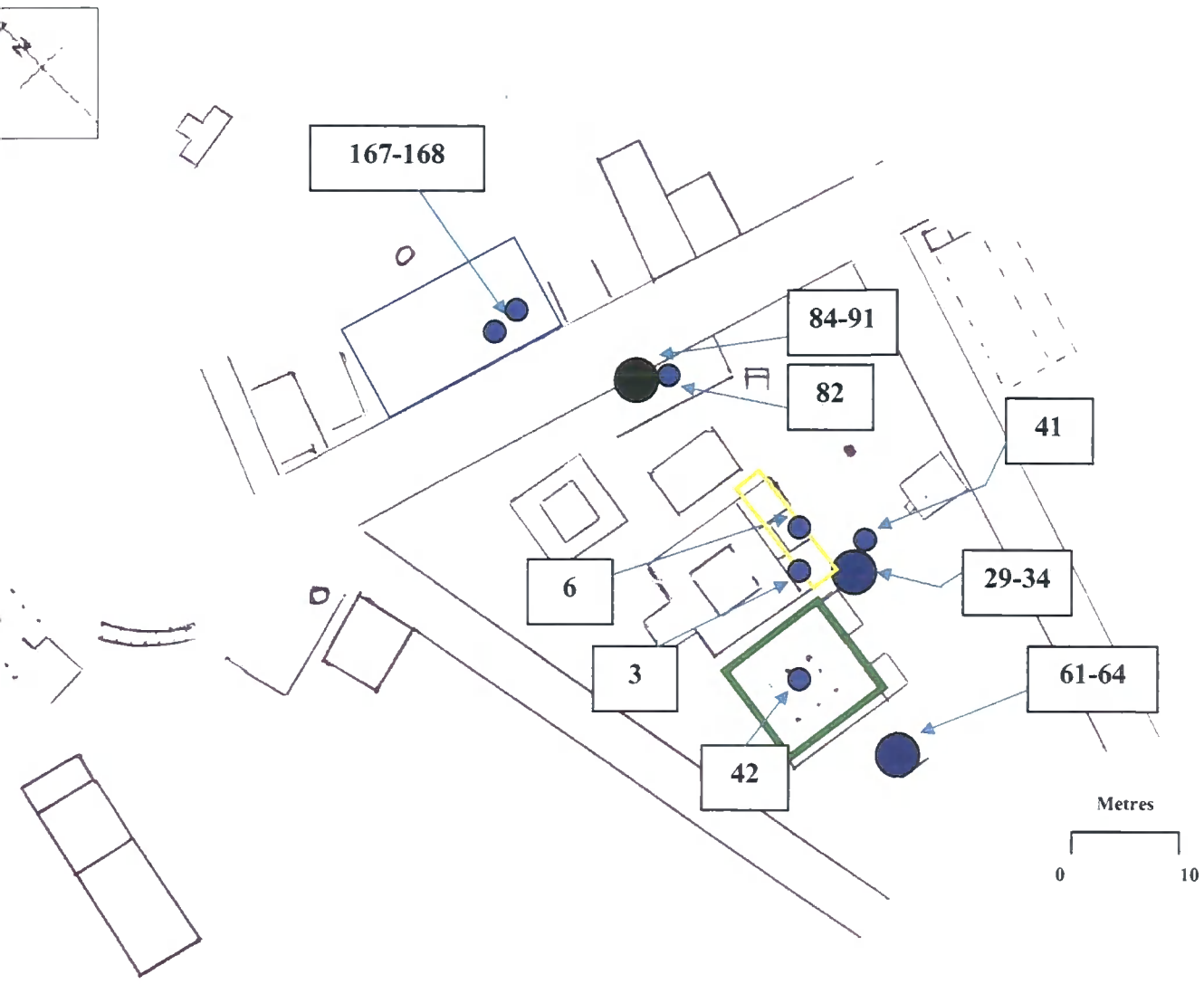


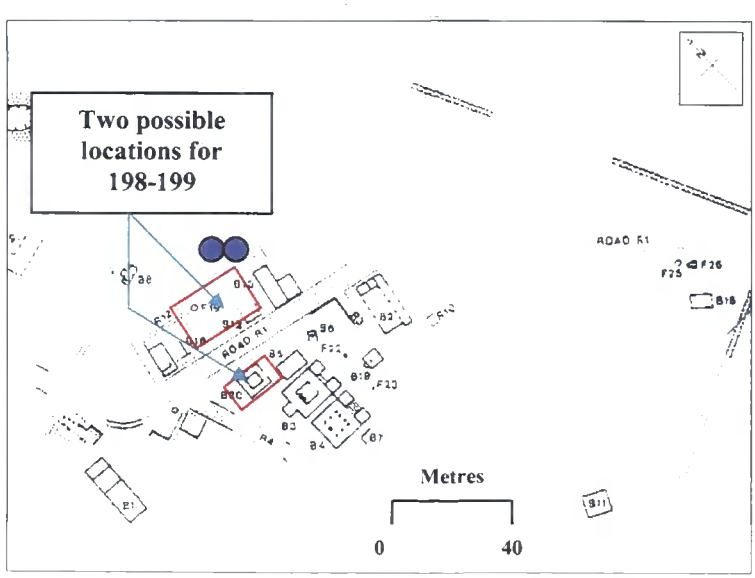
Figure 33: Distribution of beads from Penn and Harker's excavations (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).



Jet bead

Glass bead.

The green square represents the maximum extent of the excavated area in which the discovery **42** is claimed to have been found. The yellow rectangle shows the same for 6 and the blue rectangle for **167-168.**



Large versions of symbols displayed on the key represent a concentration of finds within an area that are too numerous to be displayed on the distribution map without impairing its clarity.

Figure 34: Distribution of pins from Penn and Harker's excavations (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

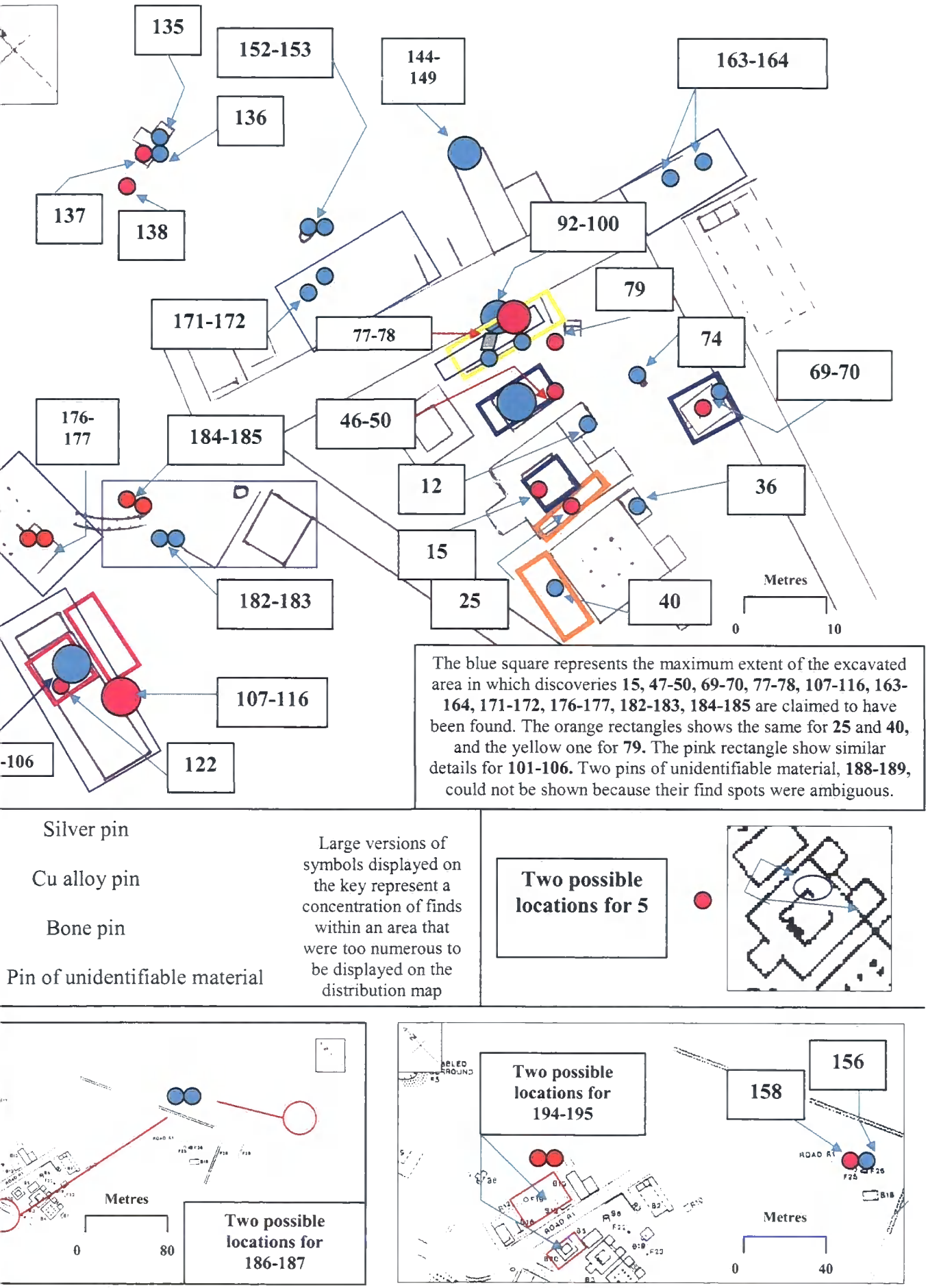


Figure 35: Distribution of items from 'cosmetic sets' from Penn and Harker's excavations (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

Cu alloy tweezers

Cu alloy nail cleaner

Cu alloy ear scoop

Orange rectangles represent the maximum extent of the excavated area in which discovery **39** was found.

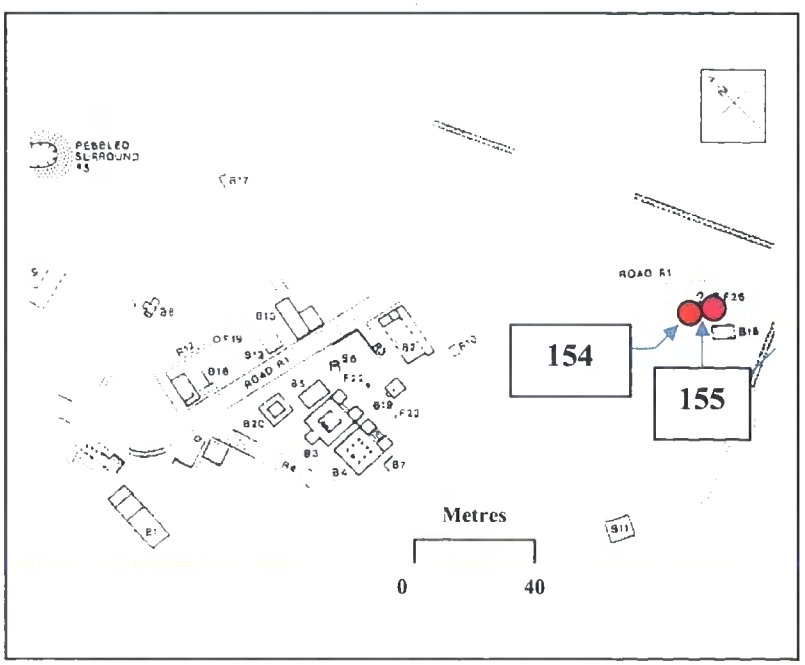
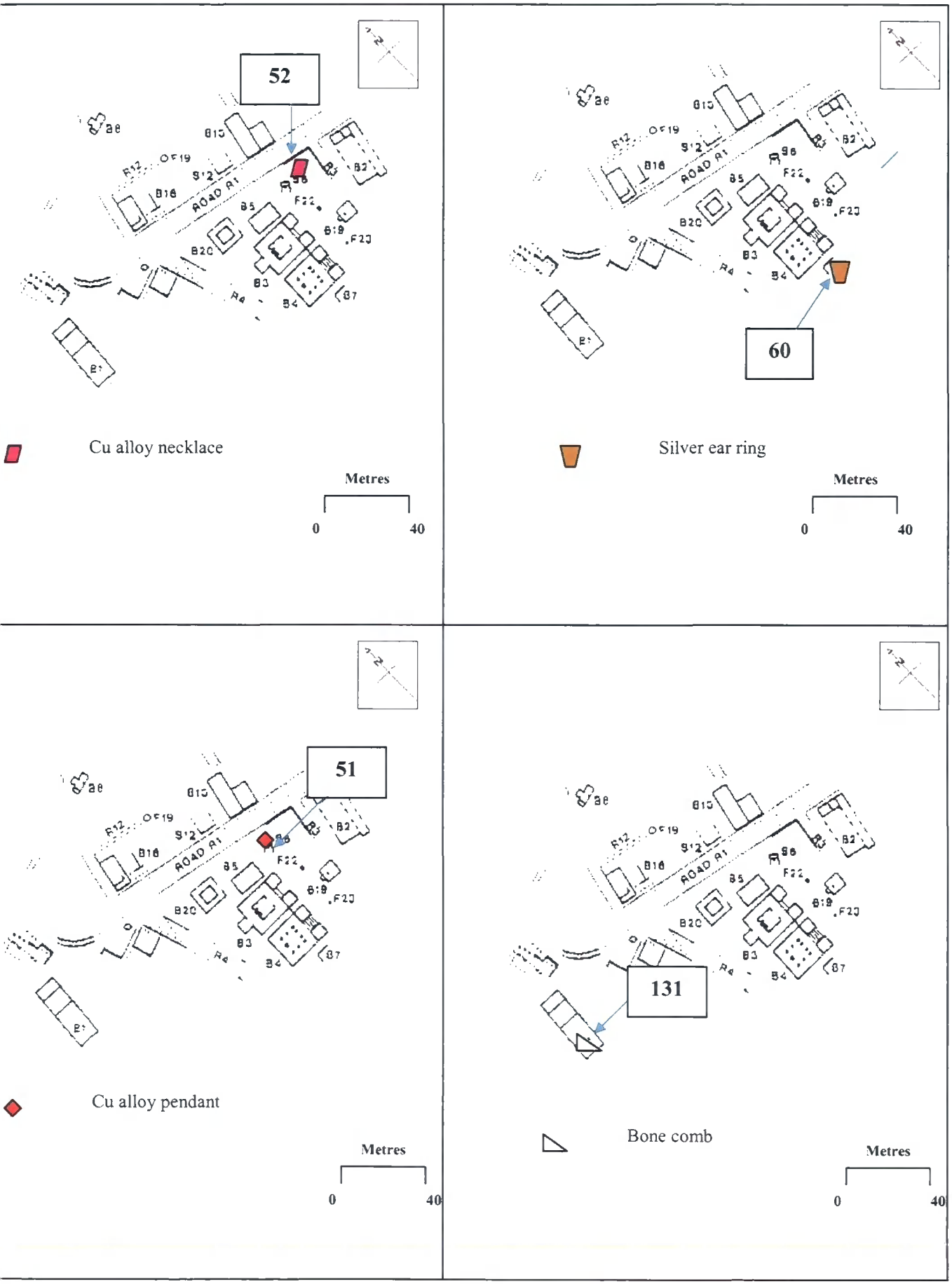


Figure 36: Distribution of necklaces, ear rings, pendants and combs from Penn and Harker's excavations (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).



Items of personal adornment have been frequently encountered upon temple sites in Roman Britain, (Table 5, overleaf), and the bringing and leaving behind of so many of these objects at Harlow, Henley Wood, Lamyatt Beacon, Lydney Park, Nettleton Scrubb, Great Chesterford, Uley, and Woodeaton (*cf* Woodward and Leach, 1993; 332-334), has led to suggestions that the items may have been deliberately brought to and deposited at such sites as the results of ideas and beliefs associated with their 'religious' significance, perhaps being 'offerings' made to deities, which were preserved by being intentionally buried, forgotten about, and/or protected from later dispersal by the collapse of buildings (*cf* Woodward, 1992; 69-71). It has also been suggested that assemblages from temple sites differed from 'domestic' ones due to the occurrence of large amounts of specific types of finds being present on the former, and that this may reflect particular ideas and beliefs associated with the 'religious cults' (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 332). The most dramatic of these appears to be Lydney Park, where the assemblage was especially high in pins and bracelets, and also Woodeaton and Harlow, where brooches appear to considerably outnumber other types of finds. Pins also appear to be much higher from Nettleton Scrubb, although quantities of items were, as a whole, more balanced, with other types of such finds also occurring in large numbers. Such differences might indicate that particular types of such objects were being used and deposited at the site more frequently as the result of 'religious' ideas and beliefs. It is possible, however, that the occurrence of specific finds could reflect fashion trends at particular times when the most items were deposited, such as the prevalence of brooches in the early Roman period (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 332).

Figure 37, overleaf, provides a summary of some of the statistical data compiled by Woodward and Leach, alongside a summary of the items of personal adornment found at Springhead, to allow comparison of the assemblage of items of personal adornment from Penn and Harker's excavations with these sites. Due to ambiguities in reports, and uncertainty over whether some of the material from the Gravesend Historical Society collection was published, the figure shows, firstly, the minimum amount of material from Penn and Harker's excavations; reflecting data mentioned only in the written accounts. The maximum possible amount of items that may have survived is also given; which includes objects mentioned in the written accounts, and also all finds from the Gravesend Historical Society collection that could not be reconciled with examples mentioned in the published literature. Regardless of the original amounts of objects discovered during the work directed by Penn and Harker, the general character of the material from their excavations presents interesting possibilities for discussion. Whether maximum or minimum quantities of items of personal adornment are postulated, the Springhead assemblage contains far larger quantities of pins than any other items, although these differences are far more pronounced if the maximum figure is used. The presence of many of these objects at the site might, therefore, also represent the bringing to and deposition of particular items as part of 'religious' activities associated with it. There are, however, many other items of personal adornment in the assemblage and, although these occur less regularly, considerable quantities of examples have also been found, and the significance of all the material will now be examined in detail

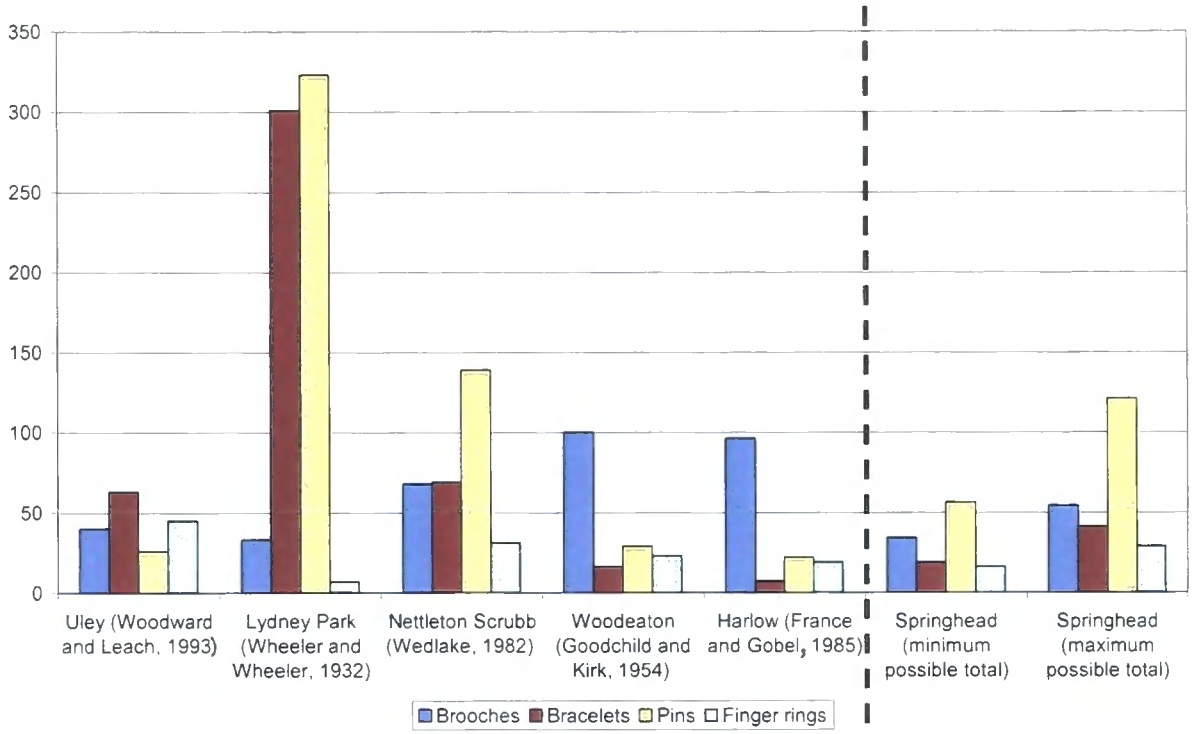


Figure 37: Comparison between amounts of items of personal adornment, from temple sites in Roman Britain, with similar material from Springhead (after Woodward and Leach, 1993; table 20). Quantities of finds from other sites, and smaller finds categories, such as nail cleaners, tweezers, ear scoops, ear rings and combs, were too limited to provide useful information.

The frequency of items of personal adornment in archaeological features and stratum throughout the history of Springhead is shown overleaf (Table 6). Although the dating of a considerable amount of this material is unknown, and little information about could be discerned from examination of the distribution of material from early deposits; the larger quantities of finds deposited in the later periods may, however, have been significant to activities associated with the site. Few objects are mentioned from first century deposits, and appear to be widely dispersed amongst features and strata; meaning that little comment can be passed on the significance of their distribution. The majority of examples, as expected for typical finds assemblages from this period, appear to be brooches, found from strata in the areas later to be occupied by Temple I **(PER 9, 13)**, building B10 **(PER 142-143)**, and the granary on Site A **(PER 117-119, 143)**, and pins **(PER 69-70)**, from layers predating Temple VI. It is possible that these finds are the dispersed remnants of activities associated with the first century Temple VII and the temples and enclosure excavated by Wessex Archaeology around the natural springs. This may also be the case for a number of widely dispersed finds discovered from contexts dated, ambiguously, to either the late first or early second centuries. The trend of depositing brooches continues, from strata underlying both Temple I **(PER 7, 11, 19, 21)** and the 'shop', on Site B **(PER 161)**, with the only other find being a single glass bead **(PER 6)** discovered beneath the former of these structures.

Date of contexts	Items of personal adornment
First century AD	6
Late first-early second century AD	5
Second century AD	27
Late second or early third century AD	7
Third century AD	2
Late third or early fourth century	16
Fourth century AD	85
Unknown	64

Table 6: Occurrence of items of personal adornment in archaeological features and stratum of different periods.

In the second century, items appear to have been deposited more frequently. Unsurprisingly, given the early date, the majority of finds, once again, consisted of brooches **(PER 10, 14, 75, 120, 123, 125, 159, 160)**, although a much wider range of finds was recorded from deposits, perhaps indicating a growing diversity in access to items and, through this, more variety in the use of material as part of 'religious' activities. The items include pins (**PER 5, 15, 46, 77-78, 122** and see commentary on at least four of these objects from Site A, which could not be ascribed a number on page 306), tweezers, nail cleaners and ear scoops **(PER 20-22)**, glass beads **(PER 3)**, rings **(PER 4. 17, 18, 23, 45)**, bracelets **(PER 43, 44, 76, 121)** and armlets **(PER 124)**. Many finds associated with Temple I appear to predate the structure and may, once again, be associated with the earliest periods of occupation at the site, and include glass beads **(PER 3)** rings **(PER 4, 17-18)**, pins **(PER 5)** and brooches **(PER 10)**.

Some finds, contemporary with Temple I, may demonstrate a link between items of personal adornment to 'religious' ideas and beliefs connected with this building. The objects include a brooch **(PER 14)** which was incorporated into either stratum B1 or B2, thought, respectively, to be the first and second floor layers of the building. The spherical head of a bronze pin **(PER 15)** was also recorded as having been discovered in the *cella,* in stratum B1. Some tweezers, a nail cleaner and part of an ear scoop attached to a ring **(PER 20-22)** were incorporated into stratum B1, a deposit of light soil interpreted as being an early floor layer at the entrance to the building. An iron ring **(PER 23)** was also recorded as having been associated with stratum C, the floor of the 'porch'. It is unlikely that the objects were incorporated into the fabric of the structure as the result of accidental loss, as they were discarded in very noticeable places, where it is very unlikely that they would have been mislaid. The deposition of the material might, therefore, indicate the deliberate incorporation of material into the fabric of the building, perhaps as the result of 'offerings' associated with its creation, alterations and/or repair.

A few items of personal adornment from second century contexts, **PER 75, 77, 78, 159-160**, together with at least four pins from key deposit V on Site A, which cannot be ascribed a reference number (further details on page 306), were discovered, which appear to be widely dispersed, and little information can be obtained about past activities from a study of their distribution. The majority of other objects from this period **(PER 43-46, 76, 120-125)** appear, however, to have been deposited within certain parts of the site, along with quantities of other finds, and raise many issues for discussion when attempting to interpret the significance of 'rubbish' disposal upon it, and relationships between material to 'religious' and 'profane' activities (see section beginning on page 212).

A few objects **(PER 42, 144-149)** were found in deposits dated, rather ambiguously, between the late second and early third centuries. Of these, six bone pins **(PER 144-149)** found during excavations on building B10, appear to have been deposited as part of a concentration of material, left on the floor within the northern part of Room B of building B10. These finds may, as with the material from the second century deposited on Site A, indicate the use of such items as the result of potentially 'religious' practices in the areas outside the 'temenos', suggesting that the landscape surrounding it may also have formed a focus for such behaviour. The finds appear to have been left with five small, complete pottery vessels, a stylus, a hone and a needle, around an area containing four infant burials, and may demonstrate that activities associated with the building may have been more complex than its suggested use as a smithy (Penn, 1968a; 171). The significance of the deposit is explored in greater detail on page 213). Few records exist for items of personal adornment discovered in deposits dated, generally, as having originated in the third century. These refer to a minimum of two bone and two metal pins, discovered from key deposit IV on Site A, which could not be ascribed a number (see commentary on **PER 101-116**, beginning page 306), examination of the distribution of which provided no further light into past activities.

A small quantity of items of personal adornment came from archaeological contexts dated, ambiguously, between the late third and early fourth centuries. Many objects came from the rubble overlying parts of the site **(PER 52, 53, 65, 66, 101-106, 126-130, 133-137)** and appeared to be dispersed finds, with little information being available from examination of their distribution. One of the finds **(PER 52)** was, however, an elaborate necklace was also discovered, which is currently unique, being the only example of such an object known from a 'temple site' in Roman Britain. The majority of items of personal adornment which were recorded from dated contexts appear to be associated with deposits relating to the occupation of the site in the fourth century. As might be expected from deposits dating to this time, bracelets were far more common **(PER 16, 35, 37, 54-59, 73, 83)** and, in contrast with the earlier periods, few brooches were recorded **(PER 1, 81)**. Quantities of pins were also high **(PER 12, 25, 36, 40, 74, 92-100)** as were beads **(PER 29-34, 41, 61-64, 82, 84-91)**; although, as these appear to be the broken remains of larger items, such as necklaces or bracelets, the original proportion of material that they may represent is unclear. A reasonable quantity of finger rings **(PER 2, 26-28, 38, 80, 60)** were also found. The only ear ring **(PER 60)** and comb **(PER 131)** known from the site were also found. The deliberate placement and burial of items of personal adornment

within the 'temenos area' appears to be particularly evident during this period. Six bronze bracelets are described as having been discovered placed beside the western wall of Temple V, under and in a layer of plaster rubble that had accumulated inside the remains of the structure, described as stratum D/H. A single bracelet **(PER 54)** was recorded and then, within the space of two feet, another five **(PER 55-59)** were found (Penn, 1962; 121). Other items of personal adornment, including an ear ring **(PER 60)** and four glass beads **(PER 61-64)** were recovered from below the layer of plaster and rubble, at the same level as the bracelets and coins, and further reinforce the concentrated nature of material within this part of the site. Three rings **(PER 26-28)**, a bracelet **(PER 35)**, a pin **(PER 36)**, and six glass beads **(29-34)** had been placed within a crevice between two tiles forming part of the final rubble layer filling the northern 'antae' of Temple II, which were interpreted as being part of a 'hoard'. It is possible that the glass beads, coming from a relatively confined space, may have formed part of a bracelet or necklace, the string for which may have perished. A concentration of other items of personal adornment, including a pair of tweezers **(PER 39)**, bracelet **(PER 37)**, ring **(PER 38)** and glass bead **(PER 41)**, is also evident in the plough soil immediately around the northern 'antae' of Temple II and the possibility must be raised that they could have once formed part of the 'hoard', but were ploughed out during later land use. It is, perhaps, interesting that so little evidence for the intentional deposition of items of personal adornment occurs at Springhead occurs during the main period of use at the site. It is, however, possible that such objects were brought there, but simply not buried, and/or were dispersed by later building work. There appears to be some evidence that the fourth century material was deposited at a time when the site was in a state of structural decay, or collapse, with looting and deliberate dismantlement of its buildings taking place. Examination of other finds from contemporary deposits may challenge current interpretations that the site had ceased to possess a 'religious' significance during the fourth century, and suggest conflict between the remaining devotees, and those engaging in its destruction. These issues are considered in detail on page 214.

The material from Springhead may also be of some importance as, perhaps surprisingly, although generalised patterning has been observed in the 'types' of items of personal adornment brought to, and left behind at temple sites, which may be significant when attempting to understand 'religious' activities (discussed at the start of this section), little information is currently available on how such objects may have been used upon them through examination of the contexts in which they were deposited. The only other examples that could be identified were at Henley Wood, where three quarters of all the bracelets found at the site, were discovered in the fill of the ditch, claimed to demarcate the extent of the 'temenos area' to the east of the temple. Rings, bracelets and pins had also been placed in distinct clusters at the northern and southern ends of the feature and were interpreted as representing specific depositional events, where this material had been intentionally buried (A. Smith, 2001; 92). This may have been carried out as part of rites symbolically connected with the 'temenos' boundary. At Bath, thirty four intaglios, two ear rings, seven finger rings, eleven bracelets, four brooches, an amber bead, six wooden combs and four pins were deposited within the springs, and the placing of such items in the water may also have been deliberate, although it has been suggested that such behaviour could have been limited in scope, considering that the springs were in use over a three hundred year period

(*ibid*, 124; also, *cf* Isserlin, 2007). It is important to note, in relation to the material from the springs at Bath, that parallels may exist at Springhead. Although the material has yet to be fully published, Wessex Archaeology have recorded encountering a large number of brooches, together with large quantities of coins, from the dried up bed of the springs (website one) and it is likely that similar evidence for the deliberate deposition of items of personal adornment into the features will also be revealed from their excavations.

As a whole, there appeared to be little indication that particular forms of items of personal adornment were deposited in certain areas of the site during the course of its use. It is interesting that many more glass beads appear to have been recovered from deposits within the 'temple complex', fourteen were discovered, as opposed to five from outside this area, although the lack of comprehensive finds listings for excavations from many parts of the latter raises the possibility that examples could have been found here but were simply not mentioned in the literature. The frequent deposition of pins in strata from parts of the site peripheral to the 'temenos' was, however, an interesting characteristic and may be significant to past activities, and was very distinct when compared with the distribution of other items of personal adornment between these areas (see table, overleaf). The patterning is not influenced by variations in standards of recording, and appears to be genuine as, although full records do not exist for amounts of finds discovered in some parts of the site peripheral to the southern 'temple complex', quantities of pins from these areas represent the minimum amount of such finds known to have been discovered. This is far higher than deposits within the 'temenos', where the majority of deposits appear to have been fully recorded and form an accurate source of information , the only exception being a small part of the site occupied by Temple VII. Even if large quantities of pins had been discovered in this latter area, it would be unique, and the general absence of pins from deposits in the rest of the 'temenos' would still require explanation in relation to the large quantities of such objects found elsewhere on the site.

It is possible that the difference between amounts of pins deposited in the southern 'temenos' and the areas peripheral to it may have been influenced by the use and deposition of such items as part of activities in the landscape around the 'temple complex'. It has already been shown that there is convincing evidence to suggest that items of personal adornment may have been symbolic to 'religious' activities on 'temple sites', at the start of this section, as so many were brought and deposited upon them. The seemingly deliberate burial within the 'temenos', in and around Temples I, II, V and VI at Springhead, also shows that such practices were occurring at the site. It is, perhaps, interesting that such evidence appears to have been deposited in parts of the site outside the 'temenos'. At the very least, if these items were related to 'religious' activities, then the disposal of items relating to such behaviour may have been carried out purposefully in these areas. If the objects represent traces of symbolic activities, associated with the 'religious' significance of the site connected with the landscape around the 'temenos' then it is possible that the 'sacred' area was not solely confined to the 'temple complex' alone. Features such as the natural springs to the north of the site may still have been of significance. The entire settlement may have formed a point in the landscape where 'offerings' could

be placed and the traditional image of a 'temple complex' subdivided from its surrounding settlement may no longer be appropriate.

	Objects recovered from deposits within the southern 'temenos area'	Objects recovered from deposits peripheral to and outside of the southern 'temenos area'
Pins	11	62
Brooches	13	29
Beads	14	13
Bracelets	16	12
Armlets	1	1
Finger rings	12	7
Nail cleaners	1	2
Tweezers	2	3
Ear scoops	1	0
Ear rings	1	0
Necklaces	1	0
Pendants	1	0
Combs	0	1

Table 7: Comparison between amounts of items of personal adornment recorded from deposits within and in the areas peripheral to, and outside of, the southern 'temenos area'.

It is unfortunate that sixty four items of personal adornment could not be provenanced to dated contexts, the majority from parts of the site where detailed records on stratigraphy have not survived. Little can be said about the distribution of such material and quantities of different finds have been displayed in Table 8, which also shows the individual finds numbers, to enable further consultation in Appendix 2.

Finds type.	Quantity	Individual finds numbers (PER)
Brooches	16	**106-107, 132, 140, 141, 151, 165-166, 173-174, 179-180, 191-192, 195-196**
Bracelets	6	**157, 162, 175-176, 181-182**
Pins	26	**47-50, 79, 101-116, 138, 152-153, 156, 158, 163, 164, 171-172, 177-178, 183-186, 187-188, 189-190, 197-199**
Armlets	1	**24**
Pendants	1	**51**
Finger rings	5	**139, 169, 170, 199-200**
Tweezers	1	**154**
Nail cleaners	1	**155**
Glass beads	4	**167-168, 201-202**

Table 8: Details on items of personal adornment which could not be provenanced to dated contexts.

5.3: Miniature objects.

A number of items are recorded as having been discovered during Penn and Harker's excavations that were interpreted as being miniature representations of tools. Green suggests that some of these objects may have possessed a 'religious' significance, forming 'offerings', perhaps the tools of trades or weapons representing the professions of devotees, made to deities, with a small model object being dedicated because it would be un-economic and inconvenient to offer a complete and real version (Green, 1976; 42). It is possible that the items might have been considered appropriate for deities connected with the use of such objects (*ibid*) or, if such beings were represented by small statuettes, then it might be appropriate to offer a miniature version to a model of a deity. It is also possible that token offerings of items, such as model weapons, were used as part of activities on many sites because full sized objects could have been banned, perhaps due to fear of violence.

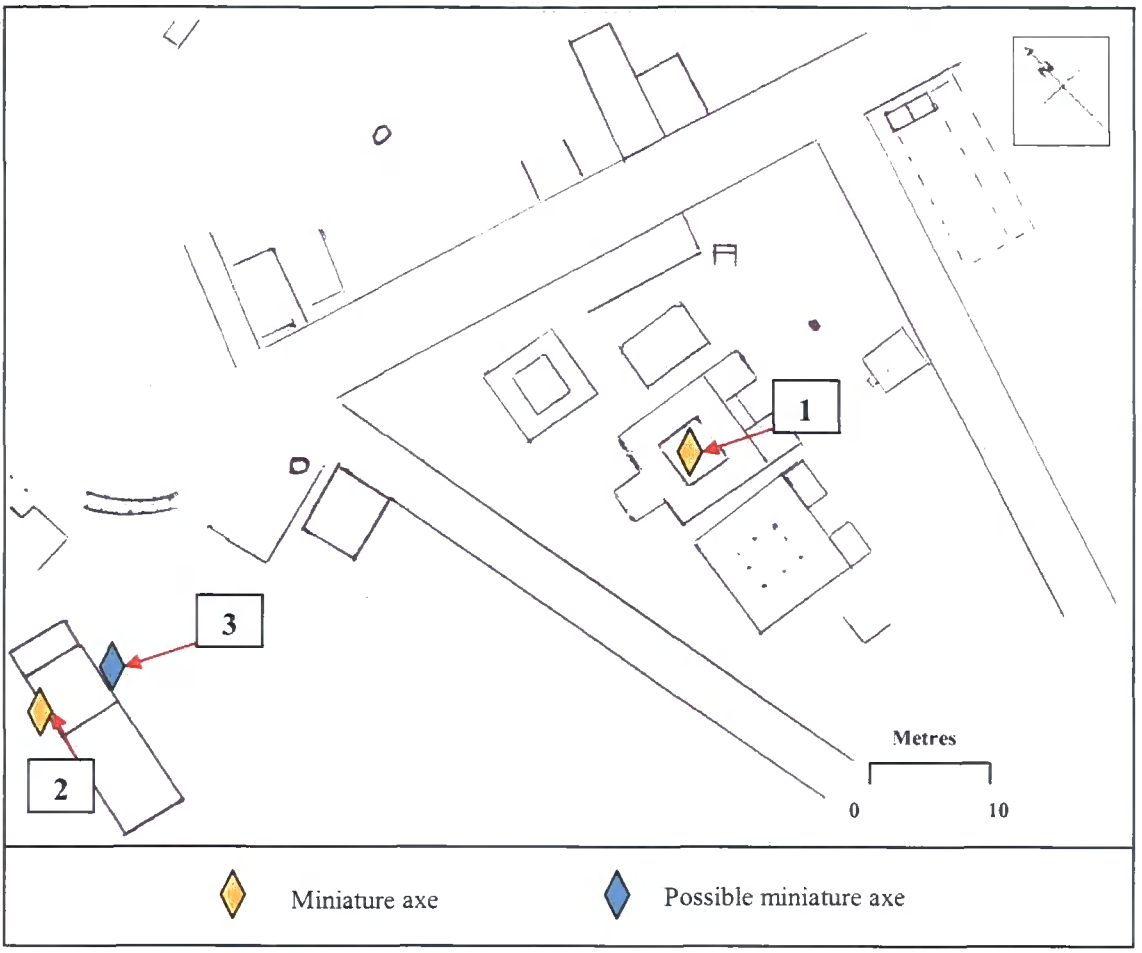
The distribution of miniature objects from Penn and Harker's excavations is indicated in Figure 38, on page 97 and Table 9, which accompanies this, provides details on whether finds were illustrated and whether similar objects could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection. Table 11 also shows the occurrence of such finds in archaeological contexts at Springhead between the first and fourth centuries AD. Two other possible miniature tools were identified from the collection which were not mentioned in the written accounts compiled by Penn and Harker. The first of these (Photograph 157 on page 409) was a stone item with a central perforation, possibly representing an axe, mattock or hammer head. A bronze object was also identified, which consisted of a thin bar with two splayed ends (Photograph 158 on page 410), the leftmost of which appears to display traces of a small perforation. The find could have functioned as a chipping tool, perhaps the blade of a small gouge, but the perforation might suggest that the item could be the head of a miniature pick, attached to a vertical handle. It is also possible that the object could also be a representation of a shovel.

A pottery object resembling a wheel, with a rim, central axle and radiating spokes, was found in the Gravesend Historical Society Museum (Photograph 159 on page 410) and was immediately noted as being of possible significance to 'religious' activities, given the association between small model wheels and the worship of Jupiter and Taranis (*cf* Green, 1976; 10, pl IX e-h, j). A label accompanying the object identified it as being a lid, and it is possible that this could have been the case as the find displayed traces of thin vertical sides around its edge and could have fitted into the top of a small, ornamental box. It is, however, also feasible that the motif would still have been symbolic, and the object might have been brought to and used at the site because it possessed a 'religious' significance. The object adds to a small number of wheel images recorded from temple sites, such as Farley Heath, where a bronze 'sceptre binding' was discovered, showing a figure with one (Goodchild, 1938), Great Chesterford (Miller, 1995; fig 11) where a wheel decorated pot was discovered and at Wanborough, where five head dresses with wheel motifs were discovered (O' Connell and Bird, 1994; 93-94), suggesting that such imagery may have formed part of ceremonial activities.

Despite their potential for a strong association with 'religious' behaviour, as a whole, very few miniature objects appear to have been deposited upon temple sites in Roman Britain (Table 12 on page 97), with only nineteen being known to have produced them. The items may provide useful information on ideas and beliefs associated with such sites, and particular 'forms' of miniature items were deposited in large quantities at some, and have been interpreted, with other finds, as having been linked to specific forms of 'cults'. At Lamyatt Beacon, models of six sickles, four axes or choppers, a shield and twelve spears, were suggested to indicate the existence of a martial 'cult', a notion strengthened by the discovery of figurines, three of Mars and one of Minerva, together with five horse and rider brooches thought to represent equestrian warriors (Leech, 1986; 303). Similar practices might be attested from Woodeaton, where eleven model spears were recorded (Bagnall-Smith, 1995; 185) and at Uley, fourteen miniature spears, deposited between phases five to seven, were suggested to have been linked to a 'warrior cult of Mars', due to the discovery of two inscriptions on lead tablets, mentioning the god, and also two inscriptions mentioning Mars Silvanus (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 333-334). Ninety four miniature pottery vessels were also deposited at Uley during phases four and five, and these were also thought to be linked to specific 'forms' of 'religious' practices that took place during this time (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 144).

Very little detailed information is available on the context and chronology for the majority of miniature objects and it is difficult to comment upon the significance of their distribution. Green also mentions that a miniature lead axe head was found with a complete pot outside the base of the western wall of Temple II (1976; 228) and may have been deliberately buried as part of activities associated with this structure, although such a find could not be identified in the published literature. Two items interpreted as being model axes **(MINI 2-3)**, both from second century deposits that had built up over the floors of the granary (on Site A), were deposited a considerable distance from the 'temenos' area, and the deposition of these objects may provide insight into activities governing, and ideas influencing, the disposal of 'rubbish' from 'religious' activities (see page 212). Unlike the evidence from some sites, such as the axes from Woodeaton (*cf* Green, 1976; pl XXVIII j-l) and also the model shovel from Cirencester (*cf ibid*; pl XXVIII g), which can be clearly proven to represent complete small versions of these items, it is unfortunate that, aside from **MINI 1**, the pottery wheel, and stone axe, mattock or hammer head from the Gravesend Historical Society collection; the majority of miniature objects discovered from Springhead have not been made to directly resemble their larger counterparts, and cannot be argued with conviction to be model items. It is possible that **MINI 3** may have been the head of a spatula (Penn, 1957; appendix VI, no 12) and the object is ambiguous.

Figure 38: Distribution of miniature objects mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).



Find no (MINI), and details on the location within Appendix 3: where it is described.	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1 408	Yes (Figure 116 on page 408)	No	No
2 408	Yes (Figure 117 on page 408)	No	No
3 408	Yes (Figure 117 on page 408)	Yes (Photograph 156 on page 409)	No

Table 9: information on whether items were illustrated in published reports and whether they could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Date of contexts	Miniature objects
First century AD	0
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	2
Late second or early third century AD	0
Third century AD	0
Late third or fourth century	0
Fourth century AD	1
Unknown	3

Table 10: Occurrence of miniature objects in archaeological features and stratum of different periods.

Table 11: Comparison between the number of miniature objects recorded from Springhead against those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number of miniature objects
Uley (Gloucestershire) **FP**	Woodward and Leach, 1993	109
Lamyatt Beacon (Somerset)	Leech, 1986	23
Woodeaton (Oxfordshire)	Bagnall-Smith, 1995	14
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	6
Harlow (Essex) **FP**	France and Gobel, 1985	4
Worth (Kent)	Klein, 1928	3
Ivy Chimneys (Essex)	Turner, 1999	2
Caistor-by Norwich 1-2 (Norfolk)	Atkinson, 1930	2
Claydon Pike (Gloucestershire)	Miles and Palmer, 1983)	2
Brigstock 1-2 (Northamptonshire)	Greenfield, 1963	2
Frilford (Oxfordshire)	Bradford and Goodchild, 1939	2
Silchester 1-2 (Hampshire)	Boon, 1974	2
Wanborough (Surrey)	O' Connell and Bird, 1994	2
Lydney Park (Gloucestershire)	Wheeler and Wheeler, 1932	1
Hockwold (Norfolk)	Wilson, 1963	1
Nettleton Scrubb (Wiltshire)	Wedlake, 1982	1
Wycomb (Gloucestershire)	Lawrence, 1864	1
Godmanchester (Essex)	Green, 1986	1
Collyweston (Northamptonshire)	Knocker, 1965	1
Chanctonbury (West Sussex)	Mitchell, 1910	1

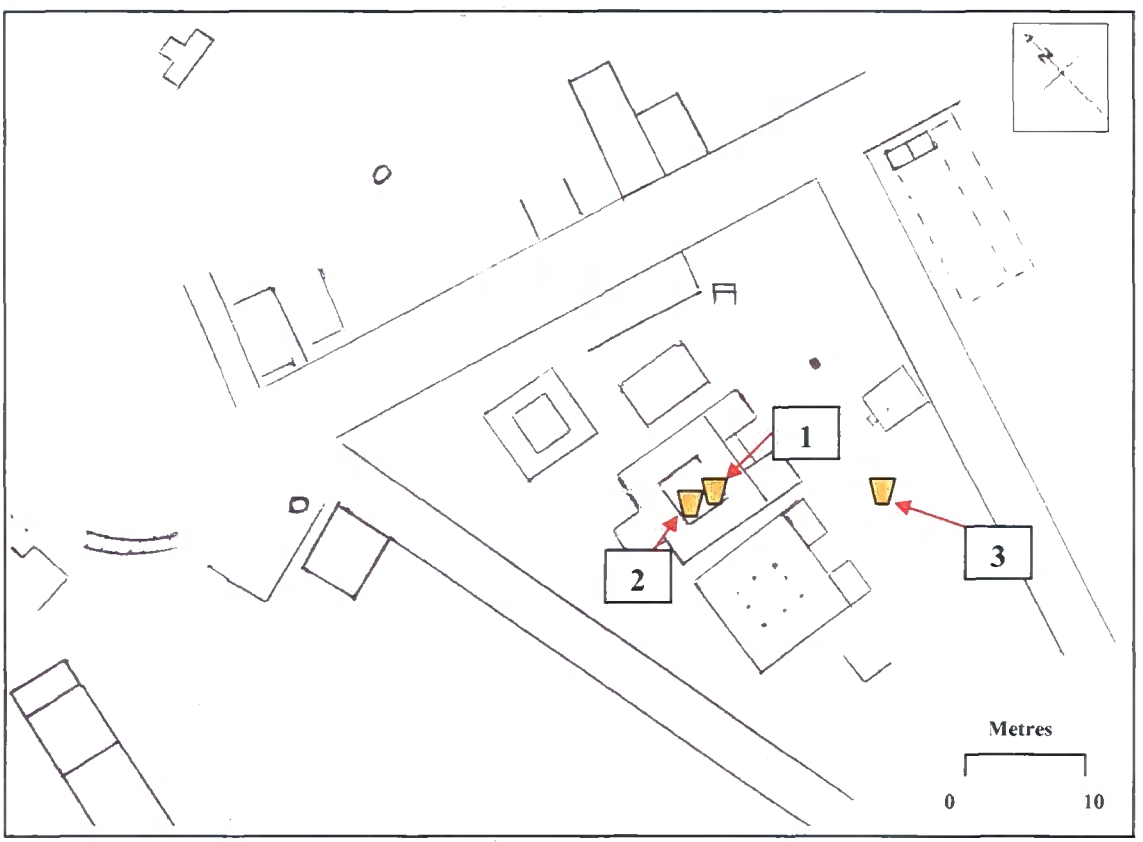
	Axes	Iron horns	Pick	Anchor	'Martial items'
Caistor by Norwich 1 and 2	2	0	0	0	0
Ivy Chimneys	0	2	0	0	0
Silchester	2	0	0	0	0
Wanborough	2	0	0	0	0
Brigstock 1 and 2	1	0	0	0	0
Claydon Pike	1	0	0	0	0
Hockwold	1	0	0	0	0
Nettleton Scrubb	1	0	0	0	0
Wycomb	1	0	0	0	0
Lydney Park	0	0	1	0	0
Woodeaton	3	0	0	1	2
Godmanchester	0	0	0	0	0
Collyweston	0	0	0	0	0
Lamyatt Beacon	4	0	0	0	0
Uley	0	0	0	0	0

	Spears	Shield	Sickles	Wheels	Pottery vessels
Woodeaton	11	0	0	0	0
Godmanchester	0	0	0	1	0
Collyweston	0	0	0	1	0
Lamyatt Beacon	12	1	6	0	0
Uley	14	0	0	0	94

5.4: Altars.

Only a single altar, and two bases which might have supported such objects, are recorded as having been discovered at Springhead and it was, therefore, difficult to obtain detailed information upon their use as part of past activities through a study of their distribution. A map, showing the find spots of where such items were discovered has, however, been provided in Figure 39, and Table 12 provides details on whether the finds were illustrated and if parallels could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Figure 39: Distribution of altars mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).



Find no (ALTR) and details on the location in Appendix 4 where it is described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1 (Page 413)	Yes (Photograph 160 on page 415)	Yes (Photograph 160 on page 415)	No
2 (Page 413)	Yes (Photograph 160 on page 413)	Yes (Photograph 160 on page 413	No
3 (Page 414)	Yes (Photograph 161 on page 415)	No	No

Table 12: Altars from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker: information on whether objects were illustrated in published reports and whether they could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Table 13 shows the occurrence of altars in archaeological contexts at Springhead. Both examples that could be dated appear to have been deposited at the site in the fourth century. A single altar **(ALTR 1)** is recorded as having been discovered from the cella floor of Temple I, together with a base **(ALTR 2)**. Although both these finds were fitted together by the excavators (Photograph 160 on page 415), it should not be automatically assumed that they originally formed part of the same object. A possible altar base **(ALTR 3)**, similar to that from Temple I, was discovered in front of the steps of Temple II, although its position in the vertical stratigraphy and, therefore, its date are unclear. Apart from the use of such items to infer the presence of 'cults' to Mercury at Uley (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 333-334) and to Apollo and Silvanus at Nettleton Scrubb (Wedlake, 1982; 79, 87), little commentary has been made about the distribution and condition of such finds when encountered on temple sites, despite some interesting aspects of their treatment, discussed below. Overall, few altars appear to have been recorded from temple sites in Roman Britain and, aside from Springhead, only eleven could be identified (Table 14).

Date of contexts	Altars and altar bases
First century AD	0
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	0
Late second or early third century AD	0
Third century AD	0
Late third or fourth century	0
Fourth century AD	2
Unknown	1

Table 13: Occurrence of altars in archaeological features and stratum of different periods.

Site name	Source(s)	Number of altars
Nettleton Scrubb (Wiltshire)	Wedlake, 1982	5
Uley (Gloucestershire) **FP**	Woodward and Leach, 1993	3
Bath (Avon)	Cunliffe, 1988	1
Harlow (Essex) **FP**	France and Gobel, 1985	1
Springhead (Kent)	In study	1

Table 14: Comparison between numbers of altars from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Despite a lack of altars, forty eight 'bases' have been noted from excavations on temple sites in Roman Britain, and these have often been interpreted as supports for such objects (see table, overleaf). Other, similar features have been interpreted as bases for statues, but must also be considered as potential supports, and are included in the table. Six possible altar bases are noted during Penn and Harker's excavations. Aside from **ALT 2** and **3**, the 'pedestal' was, initially, interpreted as being a possible support for an altar (Penn, 1958; 85) and, in the oven building, an area of un-bonded tiles shaped like a 'truncated cone', situated at the far western end of the structure, was interpreted as being

a 'crude altar base' perhaps used 'to sanctify bread making' (Penn, 1964b; 175). A large tiled plinth at the western end of the cella in Temple II (Penn, 1962; 110) and a concentrated layer of tiles protruding from the centre of the north wall in the largest room of Temple IV were interpreted as being the remains of 'cult statue bases' (Penn, 1960; 118). A two foot square, tiled base in the centre of Temple VI was also interpreted as being used for such purposes (Penn, 1967c; 111). If such features were used to support altars, then it is necessary to enquire where the objects might have gone, and what this might mean when attempting to understand past activities. It is possible that altars were particularly attractive to antiquaries, with their inscriptions and imagery, and could have been removed in later periods. The items could, however, have been taken away from some sites when they were destroyed, in the Roman period. It is, perhaps, possible that altars still possessed great 'religious' significance, and were taken elsewhere to continue the veneration of deities, when sites had to be abandoned, perhaps due a decline of large scale use for worship and/or inability to maintain their upkeep. More negative connotations can also be suggested, the objects could have been removed by those who destroyed sites, with aggressive intent, showing their desire to end worship upon them. In such an instance, the disposal of the objects could have taken place in secret, away from the main site, to avoid persecution from deities or their worshipers, who might seek revenge through physical, or more abstract 'supernatural' means involving spells or curses.

Site	Number of bases
Bath	1
Brigstock	1
Coleford	1
Elms Farm	1
Harlow	1
Hayling Island	1
Silchester	1
Thistleton	1
Lullingstone	1
Collyweston	1

Site	Number of bases
Maiden Castle	1
Ratham Mill	1
Uley	1
Crownthorpe	1
Wanborough	2
Titsey	2
Henley Wood	3
Nettleton Scrubb	4
Caistor by Norwich	5
Verulamium	8

Table 15: Amounts of features which could have been used as bases for altars, recorded from temple sites in Roman Britain (information from A.Smith, 2001).

Some of the surviving evidence from temple sites, although limited, would appear to indicate that it could have been considered unacceptable to discard altars carelessly, and the objects would have been considered worthy of careful and special treatment when discarded. At Uley, a segment from a large altar depicting the god Mercury, a ram, and a cockerel, appears to have been used as a step for entering the central doorway into the double aisled 'basilica' or 'church' structure in the fifth and sixth centuries AD, being placed face downwards (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 318). The inversion of altars also occurred in the floor of the apsidal 'baptistery' attached to the north-western side of the 'basilica', where two fragments of the same altar and a second example, depicting Mercury, were also found (*ibid*). The construction of this building over the ruined temple may have been highly symbolic, hinting at the abandonment and replacement of the old site, and a disregard for its associated ideas and beliefs.

The need to walk over the altars and stand on top of them as part of entry to, and movement around the new building could also have possessed similar connotations. The inversion of the altars may have been intentional, perhaps because it was considered offensive and dangerous to walk directly over the image of a god and, although the deposition of the objects might have formed a symbolic gesture of disregard, doubts may have remained about treating them too roughly. It is, however, also important to emphasise that such acts could also be interpreted in a more positive light. A stone head, thought to be of Mercury, appears to have been retained and curated following the abandonment of the 'basilica' and then deposited during the late sixth and early seventh centuries within a pit close to the foundations of the later 'church' (*ibid*; 70-75; 324-325). It is, therefore, possible that some objects of 'religious' significance were retrieved from the ruins of the old site, and looked after, perhaps in secret, while it was being destroyed Such an explanation might also apply to the altars, which may have been inverted and hidden within the floors and entrance to the 'basilica', perhaps to keep them safe from persecution.

Other evidence for the potentially symbolic treatment of discarded altars occurs at Nettleton Scrubb, where one, dedicated to Apollo Cunomaglos, and two others that bore no traces of inscriptions, were left behind in the fourth century upon the final floor of the octagonal 'shrine', along with a group of objects; including a bronze plaque dedicated to Apollo Decimius, a bronze knife, four finger rings, a bracelet, a spoon, a brooch and separate pin, a bronze handle, an unidentifiable ivory object and a bronze disc. Also found were a series of iron rods, bars and a split pin, which had been placed in close proximity to one another and the arrangement of which was thought to form part of a shield (Wedlake, 1982; 79). The placement of the altars on the floor together with these finds may suggest that they were intentionally left behind. The arrangement of material was interpreted as being the result of 'votive offerings' made when the structure had been used as 'an improvised shrine for the practice of pagan rites' (*ibid*), although it is also possible that the finds could have been left behind, perhaps as part of an abandonment ceremony, being sealed within the temple when it was pulled down and levelled.

Another potentially symbolic placement of an altar also occurs at Nettleton Scrubb during the fourth century, in one of the structures accompanying the temple (Building XVIII), where the upper part of an altar, dedicated to Silvanus and the Numen Augusti, had been reused in the chamber of a furnace (Wedlake, 1982; 87). The inscription had been discoloured by fire and may well have been visible when the fragment was placed in the chamber, so it appears unlikely that it became incorporated by accident and the builder may have intentionally inserted the object within the furnace. This activity may have been contemporary with the leaving behind of the altars and 'offerings' on the floor of the octagonal temple, discussed above. As with Uley, possibilities behind the incorporation of the object into the furnace might include hostility to the worship of Silvanus or the Numen Augusti, or disbelief in their existence, with those who took the fragment perhaps feeling that it could be reused without fear of repercussions from the deities or their worshippers. The incorporation of the altar could have been more positive, although still suggesting conflict, with the fragment being hidden within the furnace to prevent its destruction by others. It is possible that the altars and finds buried within the octagonal temple could have been deliberately hidden, in a similar manner. On a final point of note, the

possibility may also exist that these items could have been deliberately buried as part of an aggressive intent to destroy the building and remove material associated with worship there from circulation. A concentration of human bones from fourteen individuals, displaying evidence for heavy blows to the skull, decapitations from the severing of vertebrae and other cuts on rib, arm and leg bones, found scattered in the rubble sealing the objects (*ibid*; 84-86) are of interest, in respect of such an interpretation.

Given the potentially symbolic placement and deposition of altars at Uley and Nettleton Scrubb, it is possible that the leaving behind and toppling of the altar on the floor of Temple I during the fourth century may also have been intended with a powerful visual impact in mind. The object appears to have been deposited at a time when the site may have been in a state of widespread structural decay and/or collapse, and parts of the building may have been taken away and re-used (see section beginning page 214). At such a time of change, it is possible the toppled and fallen altar could have been considered to symbolically represent the decline of the old ideas and beliefs associated with the temples; and such an act could also have been carried out as part of an aggressive gesture when it was abandoned and/or destroyed. It is, however, also possible that the object may have been retained at the site in defiance, despite the damage occurring to it, perhaps showing that the old ideas and beliefs continued to be upheld, despite the inability of the worshippers to maintain or prevent the physical infrastructure of the buildings from being pulled down, or decaying.

5.5: Summary and discussion - Attempting to understand 'religious' activities at Springhead through analysis of the distribution of specific finds 'types' claimed to be associated with them.

The assemblage from Springhead shares many similarities with those from other temple sites, producing considerable quantities of objects, such as figurines, items of personal adornment, miniatures and altars. Unlike some sites, such as Uley, Lydney Park, Nettleton Scrubb and Bath, Springhead has not produced items such as curse tablets, votive plaques, or inscriptions that might indicate the names of the deities worshipped there, although it is possible that dedications could have been inscribed on organic materials, which have perished. Interpretations, made by Penn, Harker and other researchers, have suggested that the 'temenos area', and the temple buildings within it, may have formed a specialised place for the use of such items, forming a boundary between the physical world and a 'sacred' existence, beyond this, where contact could be made with deities, through 'religious' activities. The distribution of remains, normally interpreted as having related to such behaviour, would appear to indicate that there does appear to be a strong association between such material, and the 'temenos'; items of personal adornment being particularly significant as they appear to have been deliberately buried within it (see below). There is, however, some evidence that material may have been used and deposited in other parts of the site; and such activities may not have been confined solely to the 'temenos' and could have taken place within a wider landscape of 'religious' significance, a concept that will be discussed in due course.

The seven 'Pseudo-Venus' figurines and three *Dea Nutrix* statuettes, while only a small proportion of material, represent the largest quantities of such items known from a 'temple site' in Roman Britain and, in the case of the latter, after the assemblage from Nornour, the largest concentration of such finds from a 'religious' context. If the frequent occurrence of images, provided by various objects, including figurines, statuary and inscriptions, found at sites are to be ascribed to 'cults' involved with the worship of particular deities, then it must be considered that the bringing to, use and deposition of specific items at Springhead might also be related to 'religious' ideas and beliefs. At least two, and possibly three, 'Pseudo-Venus' figurines may have been curated for one hundred, and possibly two hundred, years before they were deposited, suggesting that they may have been considered to form objects of particular importance. The symbolism provided by such objects may be of interest, given aspects of the site's character and deposits, and the imagery of a bathing woman may possess some relation to the watery focus of the site upon the natural springs.

The other figurines were more varied. Two model body parts were, however, found, and it is possible that these may reflect intentional depictions of limbs, perhaps deposited as 'offerings' connected with healing, forming examples of a small number of such objects recorded from sites, including Uley, Bath, Muntham Court and Lydney Park. One, or possibly two, statuettes may indicate the role of dogs in 'religious' practices, especially when viewed in relation to their deliberate burial within pits and shafts at the site, adding to the evidence provided by statuary, figurines and inscriptions at Lydney Park,

Pagans Hill, Nettleton Scrubb and Farley Heath, providing further indication of the involvement of these animals in symbolic activities associated with temple sites.

The items of personal adornment from Penn and Harker's excavations share parallels with the general character of assemblages from Lydney Park, Woodeaton, Harlow and Nettleton Scrubb, which produced large quantities of specific 'types' of these finds, perhaps indicating that particular 'forms' of objects were being brought to, used, and deposited at the site as the result of 'religious' ideas and beliefs. Quantities of pins from Penn and Harker's excavations were much higher, when compared to other 'types' of objects, such as bracelets and finger rings, although brooches were also well represented. Pins appear to have been deposited more frequently in parts of the site peripheral to the 'temenos', and perhaps represent the dispersed traces of activities connected with other parts of the landscape surrounding the 'temple complex', which may also have been imbued with a symbolic significance. This may be particularly significant regarding the natural springs to the north of the site and, although the temple buildings constructed around them were destroyed at the beginning of the second century, the features, and also the enclosure and arena focused around them, may still have been regarded as being of significance, and used for 'religious' practices.

The tendency of studies on items of personal adornment from temple sites to focus upon general trends evident in the 'types' of objects deposited upon them, appears to have been undertaken at the expense of detailed investigation upon the significance of their potential uses, treatment and deposition upon them. The items of personal adornment from Penn and Harker's excavations appear to be important in this respect, indicating that many of objects appear to have been buried in and around parts of the site with deliberate and potentially symbolic intent; such as the deposits associated with Temple V, the 'votive' pit in Temple VI, and from the 'hoard' of items deposited in the northern 'antae' of Temple II. This material forms a detailed source for the deliberate burial of such objects on a temple site, as surprisingly few examples have been recorded from others in Roman Britain, aside from Henley Wood and Bath. Analysis of the distribution of items of personal adornment appeared to indicate that the deposition of single finds may also have been important, those found built into the fabric of Temple I would have been very difficult to overlook, and appear to have been incorporated into the structure in ways that are unlikely to be coincidence, perhaps reflect aspects of 'religious' ideas and beliefs connected with the use of such objects, and the structure as a whole.

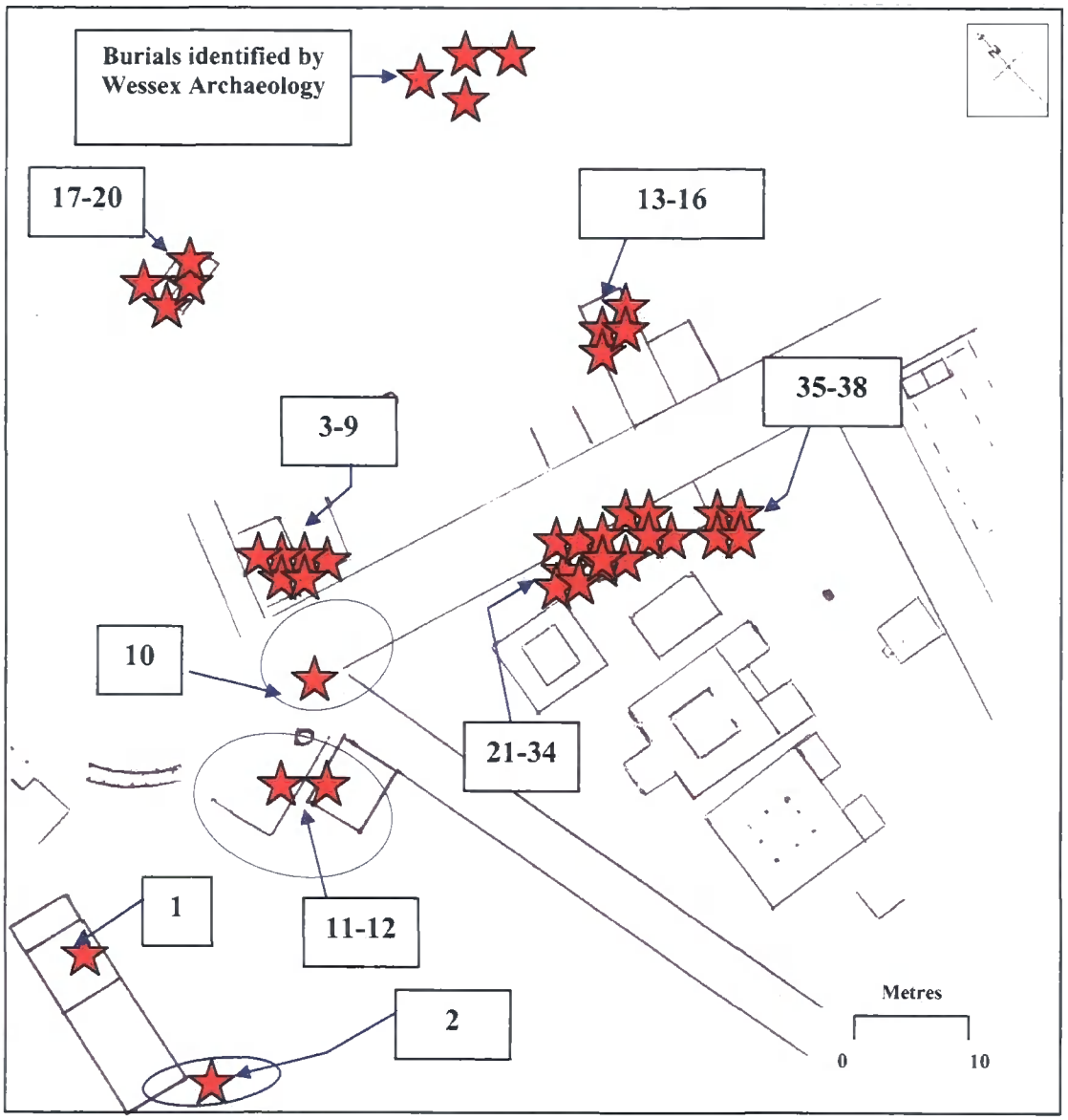
The distribution of other 'types' of finds thought to have been related to 'religious' activities, miniature objects and altars, unfortunately, provided little information about past activities as individual items in their own right. Although miniature weapons have played a role in the identification of 'warrior cults', at sites such as Lamyatt Beacon and Uley, the finds from Penn and Harker's excavations produced little significant information on past activities as, with the exception of two axe heads and a wheel, the latter of which may be significant to the worship of Jupiter and/or Taranis, the rest could not be proven with conviction to represent replicas of larger items, and remain ambiguous. The distribution of altars provided equally little information, although surviving examples from temple

sites, such as Uley and Nettleton Scrubb, may suggest that such objects were considered to be of great significance, perhaps being defaced and placed in humiliating positions, as the results of aggressive acts by those seeking to end practices associated with the site. It is, however, also possible that such material was being symbolically incorporated into the remains of new 'religious' buildings, hidden by the remaining believers, perhaps to keep such important objects safe from persecution.

It is also felt necessary to discuss the burial of infants at Springhead, which has been suggested, in some cases, to have been connected with 'religious' ideas and beliefs associated with the site (Figure 40, overleaf, shows their distribution and Appendix 32 provides detailed descriptions, photographs and illustrations). There appears to be very little evidence for the burial of infants on temple sites in Roman Britain, the only examples known being from Henley Wood, where one baby was deposited in a hole associated with the second temple, perhaps suggesting a symbolic link to ideas and beliefs associated with the building, although it was also considered that the feature might represent part of an earlier structure, predating this (Watts and Leach, 1996; 17), and Maiden Castle, where the fragmentary bones of a child were deposited close to the Neolithic long mound and western rampart of the hill fort (Wheeler, 1943; 356). Aside from these examples, only one other site is known to have produced further evidence; one burial and the remains of three other articulated infants being found in Iron Age deposits at Uley (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 257). Although it is possible that infant remains could have perished on many sites due to acidic soil conditions, and they may not have been noticed by excavators, the thirty eight examples discovered from Springhead form a particularly distinct characteristic of the assemblage from the site, and require detailed investigation to shed light on their potential significance as part of its use.

Associations between the burials and 'religious' activities may be evident from examination of the distribution of remains. The four well known inhumations, from Temple IV **(INF 35-38)**, buried at the corners of the building, would strongly appear to be associated with this structure. The burials were thought to be the result from 'similar ceremonies of different periods' (Penn, 1960; 121) as two interred with the construction of the second floor were placed at the opposite side of the temple to the earlier two, indicating that their existence must have been known. Because one burial associated with each floor was decapitated, it was also considered that this act must also have contained some special significance or purpose to rites associated with the building, and that the infants might have been 'sacrificial foundation burials' (*ibid*; 122). The building does not resemble a traditional form of 'Romano-Celtic' or 'Classical' temple, although its presence within the 'temenos' enclosure raises the possibility that it may have been linked to 'religious' activities associated with this area.

Figure 40: Distribution of infant burials from Penn and Harker's excavations (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).



The blue ovals represent the maximum extent of the excavated area in which the discoveries **10-12** are claimed to have been found.

Scott has drawn upon these inhumations, suggesting that the re-occurring decapitation and internment at the corners of Temple IV may represent aspects of long standing 'rituals' carried out as the result of the beliefs of Indigenous peoples, because decapitation did not accord with Classical 'religious' ideas, which regarded human mutilation and sacrifice as being abhorrent (Scott, 1991; 116). Fourteen inhumations from the southern 'temenos', buried within the 'oven building' **(INF 21-34)**, were also drawn upon to suggest links between the burial of infants and the 'religious' area. The idea that the burial of infants might have been related to older traditions associated with the site, prior to the Roman occupation, is particularly interesting, as a group of Iron Age infant inhumations were buried within the 'religious' enclosure constructed around the natural springs, on the area of terracing directly

overlooking the features. The burials appear to have been placed, in line with one another, in a series of pits or post holes and interpreted as being the remains of a round house (Phil. Andrews, *pers..comm.*). A complete, but currently unidentified animal skeleton was discovered placed in a pit or post hole at the end of this line, and it is also possible that the deposition of this at the end may also have possessed some form of symbolic significance (records of the deposits can be consulted on page 747).

It is, perhaps, interesting that parts of the 'temenos', associated with aspects of 'religious' behaviour that are commonly interpreted as being associated with Classical worship, such as the use of temples with concentric ambulatories, are spatially distinct from areas containing infant burials, such as the 'oven building' and Temple IV, and may have been intentionally kept this way in the past. The potential association between infant burial and 'religious' activities in the Iron Age, and the incorporation of this practice into activities associated with the second century 'temenos' might, therefore, indicate the acceptance of older ideas and beliefs associated with the site into this area but, at the same time, a reluctance to assimilate them altogether, confining them to the peripheries of the 'temple complex'.

It is also clear that a number of specific parts of the settlement, outside, the southern 'temple complex', and particularly to the north, were also repeatedly used for infant burial in the Roman period. Three complete infant burials **(INF 17-19)** were found within the debris filling the hypocaust of building B8, two having been placed just inside the entrance to the hypocaust, and one within its central room. Another infant burial **(INF 20)** was discovered just outside the north east corner of the building, although it is uncertain if it was related to the others. Two inhumations and a cremation were found placed within a small area in the large western room of building B10, and had been deposited around the remains of a burnt feature made of tiles, which had been 'extensively cracked by heat', and also a bowl-like structure, made of flints, with a circular hollow filled with chalk, interpreted as being a 'mausoleum'. One of the inhumations **(INF 12)** was placed close to the 'tiled platform'. Another **(INF 13)** appeared to have been placed within the 'mausoleum'. A cremation **(INF 15)**, contained in a pot with an upstanding tile on either side, had also been placed to the north of this feature. A single inhumation **(INF 16)** was also discovered just outside the north wall of the building, although it is unclear if it was connected with the 'burial area'. A grouping of six burials **(INF 3-9)** are recorded as having been discovered, together with other scattered infant remains, within an area interpreted as being a courtyard to the east of the 'agricultural building' 'within a few square yards' of one another. Despite the fact that no plans or sections of this area are known to have survived, it is clear from the description that infant remains were deposited within a very limited area and were contemporary

It has been argued that the strict laws requiring burial outside of towns do not seem to have applied to infants and their deposition amongst the remains of buildings may simply reflect a convenient way of disposing them (Merrifield, 1987; 52). Similar ideas also appear to have influenced Harker's playing down of the significance of infant burial at Springhead (Harker, 1980; 288). There does, however, appear to be indications that the northern part of the site, around the edges of the 'temenos', was

considered appropriate for such activities, and various locations within this area, as has been demonstrated above, appear to have possess a 'sense of place' for the occasion of burial, with the repeated bringing to and internment of the remains of children in such locations. Although it may be overtly simplistic to interpret all infant burials as representing a single, unified 'religious' practice, it is possible that the landscape at Springhead around the natural springs, and in the northern part of the 'temenos', was considered to be symbolic place for such behaviour, perhaps influenced by long standing traditions of Indigenous peoples, evident from the burial of babies in the Iron Age enclosure around the natural springs. Although its reasons are unclear, the distribution of burials at Springhead may have been far more complex than simply the casual interment of babies, simply because there was nowhere else available to place them. It is, however, also necessary, in respect of this interpretation, to emphasise that not all of the burials **(INF 1, 2, 10-12)** and those discovered by Oxford Archaeology (Boyle and Early, 1994; 33-35) were clustered, and the deposition of some of them could have formed single, isolated events.

6. Analysis of the distribution of specific 'finds types' from Penn and Harker's excavations, interpreted as being associated with 'productive' activities.

6.1: Tools.

Considerable quantities of these items, which could have been used in the production of material; including knives, spades, shears, tongs, hammers, axes, axe-hammers, punches, chisels, hoes, scalpels, sickles, bill hooks, awls and bits, were identified during Penn and Harker's excavations. Some of these objects, such as the knives and tongs, could, however, also fall under the category of 'items of culinary and dining equipment' (see page 116), perhaps being used for cutting or for holding food over a fire, and knives could, perhaps, also have been used as weapons (page 168). It is felt, however, that it was sensible for the excavators to classify them under the general category of 'tools' to emphasise that they may have possessed a wide variety of uses. The distribution of tools discovered during Penn and Harker's excavations is shown in Figure 41. Table 16 indicates where finds have been illustrated and whether similar objects could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Ten possible tools were identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection which could not be provenanced to the excavations of Penn and Harker, and photographs of the items can be seen in Appendix 5. The objects included a roughly triangular blade, although the length of the handle and its curvature raise the possibility that this could also belong to a pair of shears (Photograph 169), a fragment of a blade attached to a long handle (Photograph 170), and a long thin blade that was very corroded at the edges (Photograph 171), which could also have formed part of a weapon. A clasp knife with a bone or antler handle was also discovered (Photograph 172). The remains of two objects were also identified, which possessed long shafts ending at deliberately widened, projecting tips (Photograph 174 and Photograph 175). These finds could have been punches, possibly used for making and enlarging holes in hot metal (*cf* Manning, 1985; 9-10) or wood, although they are probably too short and thin to have been used on stone, unless for finer elements of dressing and decoration. The wide protruding tips on both the objects may indicate that they could also have served as drifts, the protruding section being used for widening holes (*cf ibid*). Two finds which could be interpreted as being parts of small tongs were identified from the Gravesend Historical Society Museum (Photograph 176-Photograph 177). It is possible that the objects are also parts of shears or knives, but the cutting edges had become blunted or broken off.

Figure 41: Distribution of tools mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

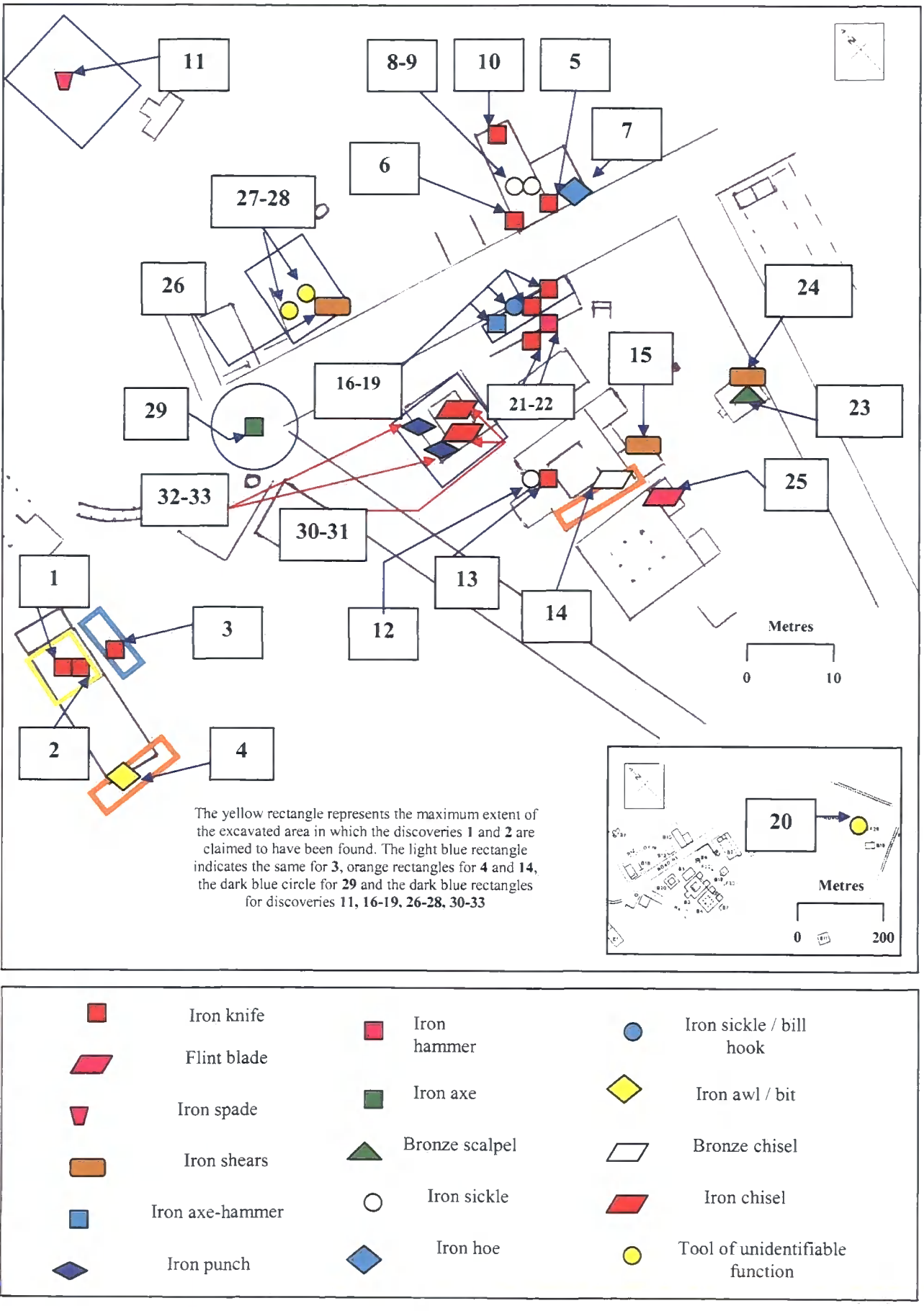


Table 16: Tools from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker: information on whether objects were illustrated in published reports and whether they could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Find no (TOOL) and details on the location where described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1 (Page 418)	Yes (Figure 119 on page 418)	Yes (Photograph 163 on page 426)	No
2 (Page 418)	Yes (Figure 119 on page 418)	No	No
3 (Page 418)	No	No	No
4 (Page 419)	Yes (Figure 120 on page 419)	No	No
5 (Page 420)	Yes (Figure 121 on page 420)	No	No
6 (Page 420)	No	No	No
7 (Page 420)	Yes (Figure 121 on page 420)	No	No
8-9 (Page 420)	No	No	No
10 (Page 420)	No	No	No
11 (Page 421)	Yes (Figure 122 on page 421)	No	No
12-13 (Page 421)	Yes (Figure 123 on page 421)	No	No
14 (Page 421)	Yes (Figure 123 on page 421)	Yes (Photograph 166 on page 427)	
15 (Page 421)	No	No	No
16-17 (Page 422)	Yes (Figure 124 on page 422)	No	No
18 (Page 422)	Yes (Figure 124 on page 422)	Yes (Photograph 165 on page 427)	No
19 (Page 422)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 164 on page 426)
20 (Page 422)	Yes (Figure 125 on page 422)	No	No
21 (Page 423)	Yes (Figure 126 on page 423)	No	Yes (Photograph 162 on page 426)
22 (Page 423)	Yes (Figure 126 on page 423)	No	No
23 (Page 423)	Yes (Figure 127 on page 423)	No	No
24 (Page 424)	Yes (Figure 128 on page 424)	No	No
25 (Page 424)	Yes (Figure 129 on 424)	Yes (Photograph 167 on page 427)	
26-33 (Page 425)	No	No	No

Knives appear to be particularly common finds from temple sites (Figure 42, overleaf) and the frequent presence of such items could suggest their use as part of specific activities associated with them, potentially 'religious' in nature, such as sacrifices. This possibility was suggested at Nettleton Scrubb, following the discovery of an ornamented bronze knife, that could only have been used effectively for stabbing, as the shank and knob would have been too heavy to allow cutting, and this was suggested to have possessed a specialised use for specific 'rituals' (Wedlake, 1982; 79). Damage to the tips of many knives is also evident at Springhead, and the objects may also have frequently been used to stab, perhaps as part of similar activities (page 202). The knife from Nettleton Scrubb had been left upon the final floor of the octagonal 'shrine', with a group of altars and a collection of 'religious' objects, and its potential significance to 'religious' activities may have meant that it was buried as part of rites connected with its abandonment of the temple (already discussed on page 102). Other potential connections between knives and 'religious' activities may be evident at Great Chesterford, where a bone handle, depicting Hercules wearing a torc, was interpreted as being part of such an object (Collins, 1978; 13).

The assemblages from Springhead, and Nettleton Scrubb appear to be different from other temple sites, producing a particularly wide range of tools, in much larger quantities (Figure 43). This may be because manufacturing of material appears to have taken place upon them at a much larger scale. It can be seen that, when compared to other temple sites which, as a whole, have produced far less evidence for production, that the tools from Springhead and Nettleton Scrubb, along with large quantities of items, such as spindlewhorls (at Nettleton Scrubb; see page 129), needles (at Springhead; see page 126), items of culinary and/or dining equipment, and quern or mill stones, evidence for metal working, hearths and ovens (discovered at both; see pages 119, 123 and 135, respectively) indicate that production may have been particularly concentrated at these locations. It is, perhaps, interesting that the temple at Nettleton Scrubb and Springhead would have been viewed amongst the sights, sounds and smells related to manufacturing, and visitors may have experienced this while making their way to the buildings and their 'temenoi'. The nucleation of production may have been orchestrated with symbolic intent, activities being deliberately undertaken, and demonstrated to those visiting the sites, because of their 'religious' significance. This issue will be considered in greater detail at the end of the chapter, when the significance of production on temple sites is analysed as a whole (page 134).

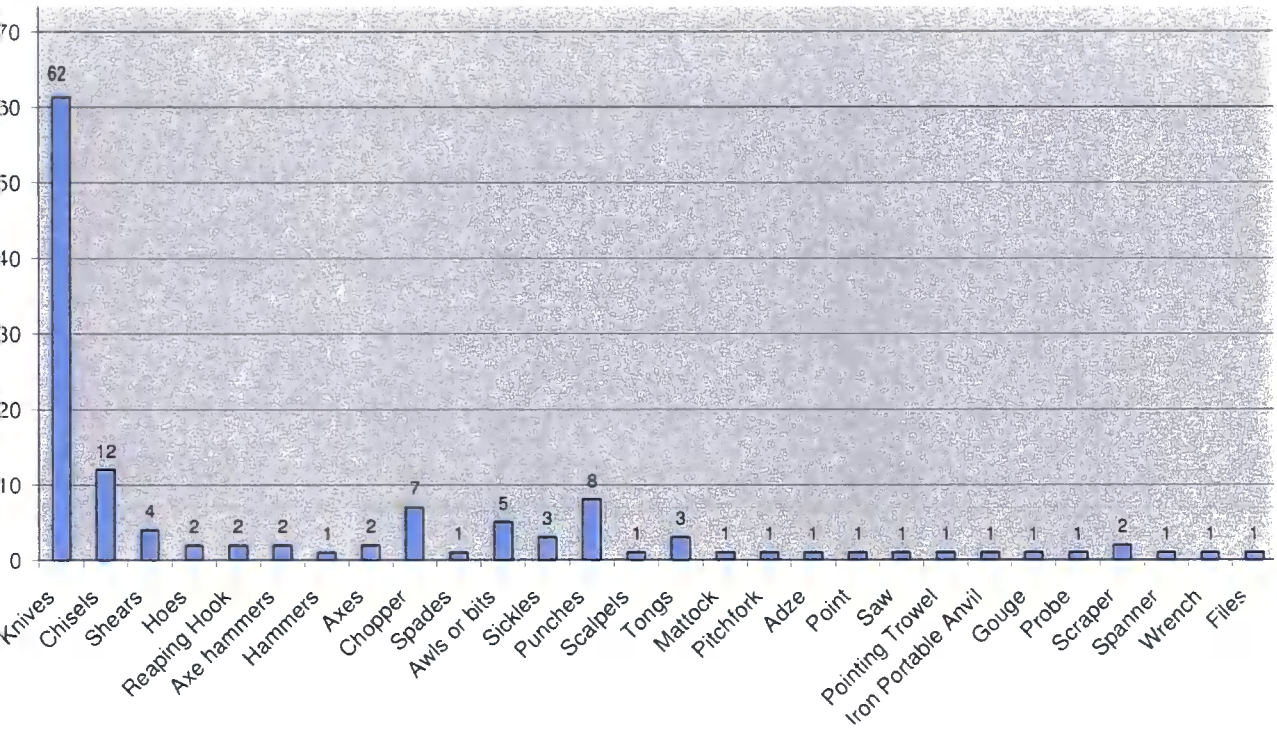
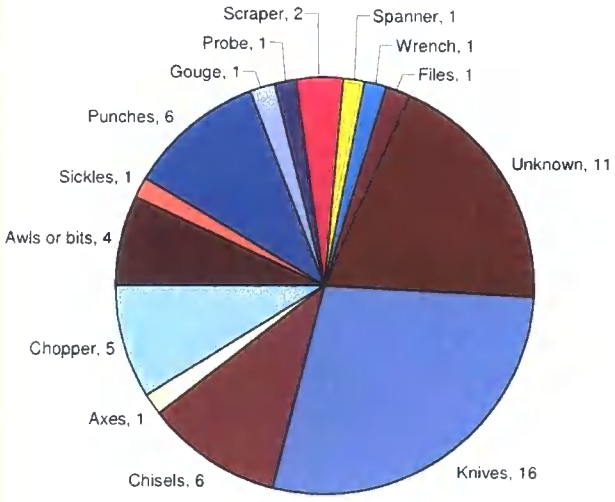


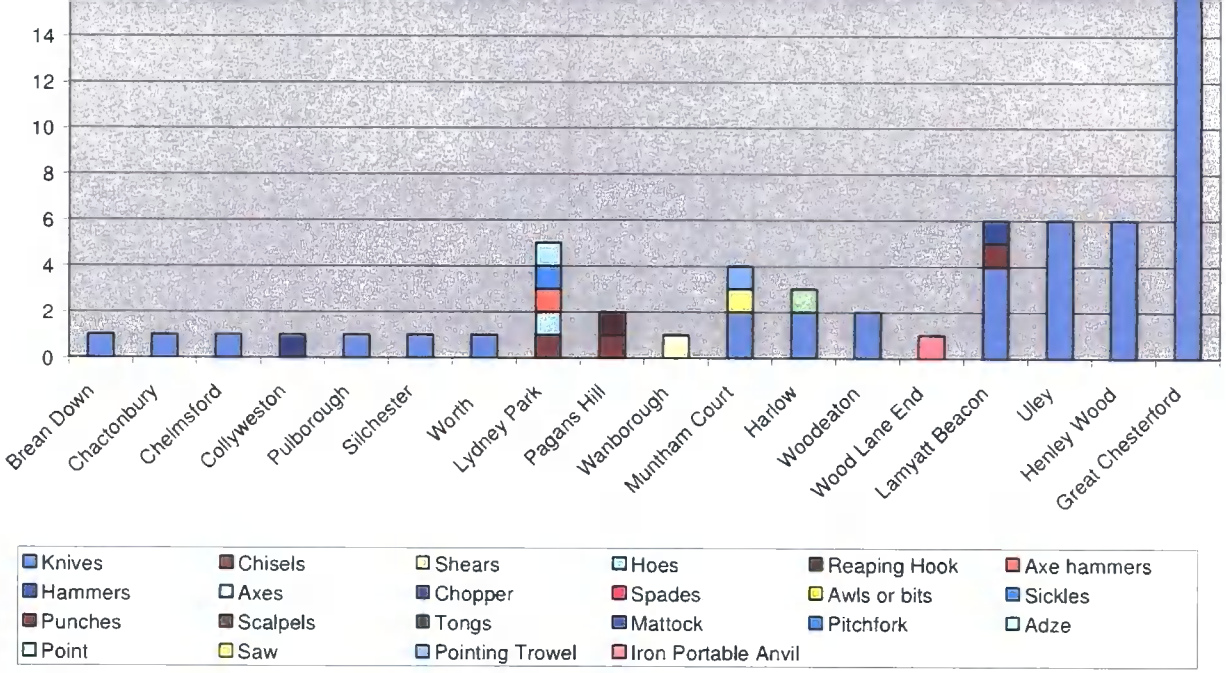
Figure 42: 'Types' of tools recorded from temple sites in Roman Britain.

name	Source(s)	Number
leton Scrubb ltshire)	Wedlake, 1982	53
nghead (Kent)	In study	35
it Chesterford ex)	Collins, 1978; Miller, 1995	17
ow (Essex) **FP**	France and Gobel, 1985	8
ney Park ucestershire)	Wheeler and Wheeler, 1932	7
ley Wood nerset) **FP**	Watts and Leach, 1996	6
ucestershire)**FP**	Woodward and Leach, 1993	6
yatt Beacon nerset)	Leech, 1986	6
itham Court sex)	Burstow and Hollyman, 1955; 1956	4
ns Hill (Somerset)	Rahtz and Harris, 1958	3
hester 1 Sheepen- ex)	Hull, 1958	2
borough (Surrey)	O' Connell and Bird, 1994	2
deaton fordshire)	Goodchild and Kirk, 1954	2

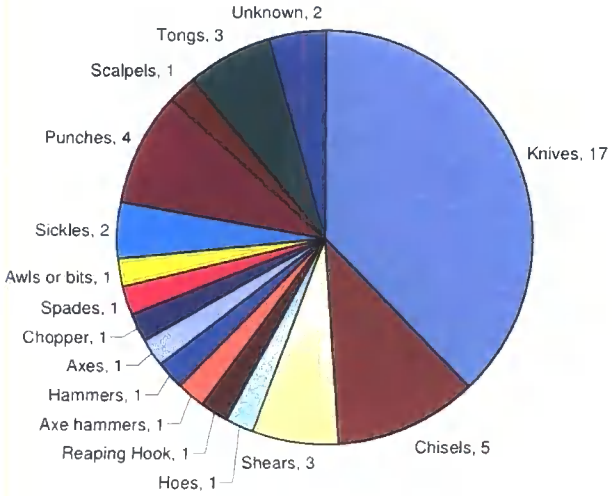
Site name	Source(s)	Number
Wycomb (Gloucestershire)	Lawrence, 1864	2
Bath (Avon)	Cunliffe and Davenport, 1985	1
Brean Down (Somerset)	Apsimon, 1965	1
Chanctonbury (West Sussex)	Mitchell, 1910	1
Chelmsford - Caesaromagus - (Essex)	Wickenden, 1992	1
Collyweston (Northamptonshire)	Knocker, 1965	1
Jordon Hill (Dorset)	Drew, 1931	1
Pulborough (Sussex)	Bedwin, 1980	1
Silchester 3 (Hampshire)	Boon, 1974	1
Verulamium 2 (Hertfordshire)	Wheeler and Wheeler, 1936	1
Wood Lane End (Hertfordshire)	Neal, 1984	1
Worth (Kent)	Klein, 1928	1

Table 17: Comparison between the number of tools from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.





Springhead (maximum total)



Springhead (minimum total)

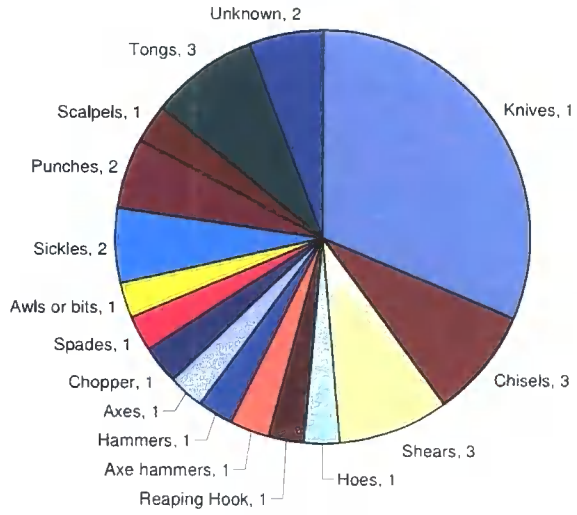


Figure 43: Comparison between 'types' of tool from temple sites in Roman Britain.

Examination of the distribution of tools from Penn and Harker's excavations, initially, yielded problems, as a lack of detail on the context of many finds, meant that these items could not be examined in relation to the chronology of the site (Table 18). There appeared to be no patterning evident in the distribution of particular kinds of tools from different parts of the site, although examination of the context of many finds raises a number of issues, discussed below.

Date of contexts	Tools
First century AD	1
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	6
Late second or early third century AD	0
Third century AD	0
Late third or fourth century	5
Fourth century AD	10
Unknown	14

Table 18: Occurrence of tools in archaeological features and stratum of different periods.

There appeared to be associations between the distribution of tools, and many of the buildings at the site, where ovens had been constructed and used, in deposits from the second century onwards. Three iron knives **(TOOL 1-3)** were found in 'key deposit VI', a layer which had accumulated over the floors constructed in and around the central part of the granary, on Site A, which appears to have been reused in the second century. An oven **(OVEN 3)** had originally been built into the flint floor at the centre of the structure; and this appears to have remained in use when the deposit accumulated around it, being made higher, and remaining open. Another oven **(OVEN 2)** was constructed within the remains of the granary, and may also have been in use during this time, although a lack of detail in the recording of stratigraphy meant that this was impossible to confirm. The other tools known from second century deposits, a knife **(TOOL 21)** and a hammer head **(TOOL 22)** came from the 'oven building', in a layer (stratum C) sealing the remains from a phase of occupation associated with two ovens **(OVEN 12, 19)** found at the eastern end of the structure. During the late third or early fourth centuries, the five tools, including two knives **(TOOL 5-6)**, a hoe **(TOOL 7)**, and two sickles **(TOOL 8-9)** were deposited amongst a layer of burnt clay, stratum 7, which had accumulated over an area containing two ovens and a corn-dryer **(OVEN 20-22)** within the southern rooms (A and B) of building B10. The items may also be significant as part of a concentration of ironwork, which had become incorporated into the layer of clay, and it is possible that they may be related to metal working, perhaps collected as a 'blacksmith's stock' (page 152-162). Four tools, including a knife **(TOOL 13)**, a sickle **(TOOL 12)** AND a chisel **(TOOL 14)** were found on the final floors of Temple I, thought to have been re-used by 'squatters', for production, in the fourth century, once the site had been abandoned (page 214), and two ovens **(OVEN 25, 26)** had been constructed upon the final floor of the western corridor during this time. The close associations between tools with the remains of areas and phases of activities involving the use of ovens might be argued to suggest that they represent traces of production associated with these parts of the site, which could, perhaps, have been prevented from being damaged and dispersed by later activities, such as ploughing, by the walls enclosing them. .

6.2: Items of culinary and dining equipment.

A small number of objects were discovered during Penn and Harker's excavations that were interpreted as having been used for the cookery and consumption of foodstuffs. The finds consist mainly of spoons **(CU 1-3, 5-8)**, and also a fork-like object **(CU 4)**. It is, however, also possible that such items could have been used for other activities; for example, to adorn the body with powders or paints as costumes for ceremonies associated with the site. In such a respect, some of the 'ligulae' from Penn and Harker's excavations **(CU 5-6)**, with their long handles, could have been used to reach inside the, tall, thin necks of cosmetic bottles, to reach such materials. A map, showing the distribution of these items, can be seen in Figure 44, overleaf. Table 19, on the following page, indicates where finds have been illustrated and whether similar objects could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection. Three spoons were also discovered in the Gravesend Historical Society collection that could not be reconciled with examples in the written accounts (Photograph 156 on page 409 and Photograph 158-Photograph 159 on page 410).

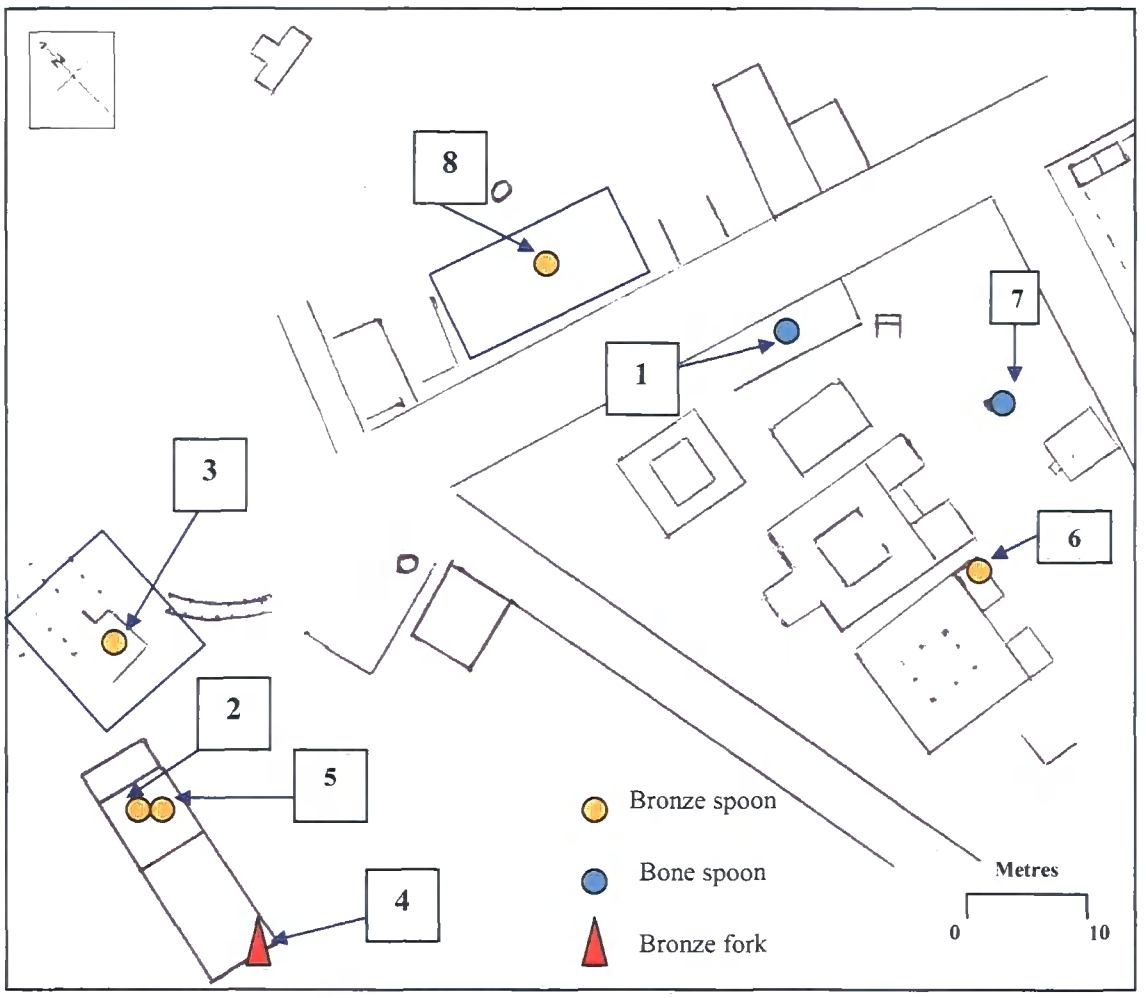
Dining and culinary implements have been noted from excavations upon only twelve temple sites from Roman Britain, aside from Springhead (Table 21, on page 119). Quantities of such objects are much higher from Lydney Park and Nettleton Scrubb. At the latter, an object was found in the 'votive' deposit placed on the final floor of the temple, and may be linked with 'religious' activities associated with the structure, perhaps carried out as part of a ceremony connected with its abandonment (already discussed on page 102). It is possible that such objects could have been used to consume foodstuffs by visiting pilgrims, perhaps as part of feasts and ceremonies. Such assertions are strengthed by the discovery of large quantities of shellfish remains at Springhead, buried with seemingly deliberate intent, in and around the southern 'temenos area' (page 141). Finds could also have been left behind as 'offerings', perhaps in thanks for meals provided by the temple authorities, perhaps explaining why so many were not taken away after use.

Examination of the distribution of items of culinary and/or dining equipment from deposits of different chronological periods yielded little information (Table 20, on page 119). As with many of the tools, discussed in the previous section, items often came from the floors of buildings, particularly in areas where ovens had been in use, perhaps representing traces of activities carried out in these parts of the site, often from the same deposits which also contained tools, discussed in the previous section. During the second century, a bronze spoon **(CU 2)** was recorded from key deposit VI, on Site A, inside the remains of the granary building, in association with the phase of occupation associated with **OVEN 2**, and possibly **OVEN 3**. A bone spoon, **(CU 1)** was found in stratum C from the 'oven building', a layer forming a destruction level associated with two ovens **(OVEN 11-12)**.

A bronze object with three prongs **(CU 4)**, discovered from a fourth century deposit, was described as being the 'handle of a ligula or probe'. It is, however, conceivable that the item could also have been

used as a small fork, with the prongs used to pick up pieces of food, and the scoop at the other end of the object could also have functioned as a spoon, and the find is currently unique amongst objects known to have been recovered from temple sites in Roman Britain.

Figure 44: Items with a potential use as culinary and/or dining equipment mentioned as having been discovered in accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).



The blue rectangles represent the maximum extent of the excavated area in which discoveries **3** and **8** are claimed to have been found.

Table 19: Items of culinary and/or dining equipment from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker: information on whether objects were illustrated in published reports and whether they could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Find no (CU) and location where described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1 (Page 436)	Yes (Figure 130 on page 436)	Yes (Photograph 179 on page 440)	No
2 (Page 436)	Yes (Figure 131 on page 436)	No	Yes (Photograph 178 on page 440)
3 (Page 437)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 178, Photograph 180 and Photograph 181; on pages 440-441)
4 (Page 437)	Yes (Figure 132 on page 437)	No	No
5 (Page 438)	Yes (Figure 133 on page 438)	No	No
6 (Page 438)	Yes (Figure 134 on page 438)	No	No
7 (Page 438)	Yes (Figure 135 on page 438)	No	No
8 (Page 439)	No		No

Table 20: Distribution of items of culinary and/or dining equipment in archaeological contexts of different periods.

Date of contexts	Items of culinary and dining equipment
First century AD	0
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	2
Late second or early third century AD	0
Third century AD	0
Late third or fourth century	0
Fourth century AD	3
Unknown	2

Table 21: Comparison between the number of dining and culinary implements from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number of spoons discovered
Lydney Park (Gloucestershire)	Wheeler and Wheeler, 1932	40
Nettleton Scrubb (Wiltshire)	Wedlake, 1982	29
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	10
Uley (Gloucestershire) **FP**	Woodward and Leach, 1993	8
Lamyatt Beacon (Somerset)	Leech, 1986	5
Verulamium 2 (Hertfordshire)	Wheeler and Wheeler, 1936	4
Bath (Avon)	Cunliffe, 1988	2
Bozeat (Northamptonshire)	Hall and Nickerson, 1970	1
Brean Down (Somerset)	Apsimon, 1965	1
Caistor-by Norwich 3 (Norfolk)	Gurney, 1986	1
Great Chesterford (Essex)	Collins, 1978; Miller, 1995	1
Harlow (Essex) **FP**	France and Gobel, 1985	1
Richborough 1-2 (Kent)	Bushe-Fox, 1932	1

6.3: Quern and mill stones.

A number of objects encountered during Penn and Harker's excavations were identified as being quern and mill stones, used for the production of flour. A map, showing the distribution of these items, can be seen in Figure 45. Table 22, on page 123, indicates where finds have been illustrated and whether similar objects could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection. Further details on objects mentioned in the table, are provided in Appendix 7. Thirty-five possible quern or mill stone fragments and the remains of a single mill stone were also identified that did not resemble any of the finds in the accounts compiled by Penn and Harker, and these can be seen in the section beginning on page 448.

Although a few, isolated, finds were recorded from fourth century contexts **(QUML 2)**, or could not be dated **(QUML 3-5, 12)**, the majority of quern and mill stones **(QUML 6-11)** were recorded from deposits dated to the second century (Table 24, overleaf) and were found on the floors, and buried within pits dug through the floor of the 'oven building', close to the area occupied by **OVEN 11-12** and, again, as with tools and items of culinary and/or dining equipment, it is possible that the walls of the structure have preserved traces of activities associated with its use for production . The other item discovered from second century deposits, a 'large fragment' from a mill stone **(QUML 1)** was also, interestingly, found within an agricultural context, and may have been protected from dispersal by being sealed in the robber trench which once formed part of the east wall of the granary building on Site A

Quern and mill stone fragments are recorded from only eleven other temple sites in Roman Britain, (Table 23, on page 123). The majority of these are quern stones, only Brigstock, Ivy Chimneys and Springhead, having produced single mill stones. Although quantities of the latter appear to be limited. they may form important evidence for the processing of foodstuffs on a large scale, possibly to make bread to be used as part of sacrifices, or perhaps to cater for the needs of pilgrims visiting the sites. Chelmsford and Springhead appear to have produced much larger quantities of quern stones, and it is possible that such items were also used widely there. It is, however, possible that many finds may have been overlooked on these, and other sites, and could have been passed over as building rubble, particularly if fragments did not possess traces of features that might, otherwise, lead to their identification, such as curving edges or socket holes. Besides the quern stone fragments from Chelmsford and a few from Uley, Nettleton Scrubb and Verulamium, very little evidence for widespread agricultural activity appears, however, to have been recorded from other ' temple sites' in Roman Britain, no corn-dryers are known to have been found, and only one other granary is recorded, from excavations at Wood Lane End (Neal, 1984). It is possible, however, that the many ovens recorded from temple sites in Roman Britain could have been used for the baking of bread (page 146).

This lack of evidence, makes the large quantities of quern and millstones found at Springhead, and the general character of the archaeology of the site in general, of particular interest. The remains of at least

two mill stones, together with at least thirty nine parts of querns, suggests that Springhead may have formed an important focal point for local agriculture; some of which may have been linked to the 'religious' significance of the site. Large features, with raised floors above a furnace chamber, that could have been used as corn-dryers, were identified by Wessex Archaeology within the northern 'temenos', just to the south of the temple besides the Springs. A rectangular building, characterised by a number of mortared flint pads, contained a feature constructed from chalk blocks, lined with layers of fired clay, and filled with layers of charcoal, ash, burnt clay and daub, that was also interpreted as being a corn-dryer (page 721). A structure was also discovered on the terracing immediately to the east of the temple, which contained a deep pit, lined with a deposit containing charcoal and fired clay, which may have formed a stokehole, leading into a depression interpreted as being a drying chamber. The building also covered a banjo-shaped depression, the clay of which displayed signs of burning, overlain by a thin layer containing burnt wood and charcoal, a post hole and sloping groove within the feature suggesting the presence of a raised drying floor (page 728).

The terracing around the natural springs, identified during the Wessex Archaeology excavations is also of interest and, although this has been interpreted as representing a seating or standing space for those using the site as a meeting place (Union Railways (North) Ltd, undated b; 1), they could also have been used for growing crops. The springs could have formed an ideal source of water for agriculture, and it is possible that such practices could have symbolically linked to 'religious' aspects of the site. The large and conspicuous granary on Site A, of a similar size to the temple buildings within the southern 'temenos', would have been a prominent and noticeable feature within the landscape, perhaps constructed on such a large scale to emphasise the importance of agricultural connections, and could have been used to store wheat for large amounts of people; perhaps as part of festivals, sacrifices, and to cater for the needs of pilgrims visiting the site. The importance of agriculture may also be further strengthened by the four corn dryers discovered during Penn and Harker's excavations **(OVEN 4-5, 20, 29)**, and one found by Philp and Chenery in the south west of the settlement (Philp and Chenery, 1996; fig 1), and the discovery of ploughshare tips **(PLOUGH 1** and Photograph 322 on page 594), bill hooks **(TOOL 17)** and sickles **(TOOL 8-9, 13)**.

Figure 45: Distribution of quern and mill stones mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

The blue rectangle represents the maximum extent of the excavated area in which discoveries **3-5** and **12** are claimed to have been found.

Table 22: Quern and mill stones from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker: information on whether objects were illustrated in published reports and whether they could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Find no (QUML) and details where described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1-2 (Page 445)	No	No	No
3-5 (Page 446)	No	No	No
6-11 (Page 446)	Yes (Figure 138 on page 446)	No	No
12 (Page 447)	No	No	No

Table 23: Comparison between the number of quern and mill stone fragments from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number of quern or mill stone fragments discovered
Chelmsford (Essex)	Wickenden, 1992	57
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	41
Uley (Gloucestershire) **FP**	Woodward and Leach, 1993	13
Nettleton Scrubb (Wiltshire)	Wedlake, 1982	11
Verulamium 2 (Hertfordshire)	Wheeler and Wheeler, 1936	11
Lancing Down (Sussex)	Bedwin, 1981	6
Great Chesterford (Essex)	Collins, 1978; Miller, 1995	5
Henley Wood (Somerset) **FP**	Watts and Leach, 1996	5
Ivy Chimneys (Essex)	Turner, 1999	2
Wanborough (Surrey)	O' Connell and Bird, 1994	2
Brigstock 1-2 (Northamptonshire)	Greenfield, 1963	1
Caistor-by Norwich 3 (Norfolk)	Gurney, 1986	1

Date of contexts	Quern and mill stones
First century AD	0
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	7
Late second or early third century AD	0
Third century AD	0
Late third or fourth century	0
Fourth century AD	1
Unknown	4

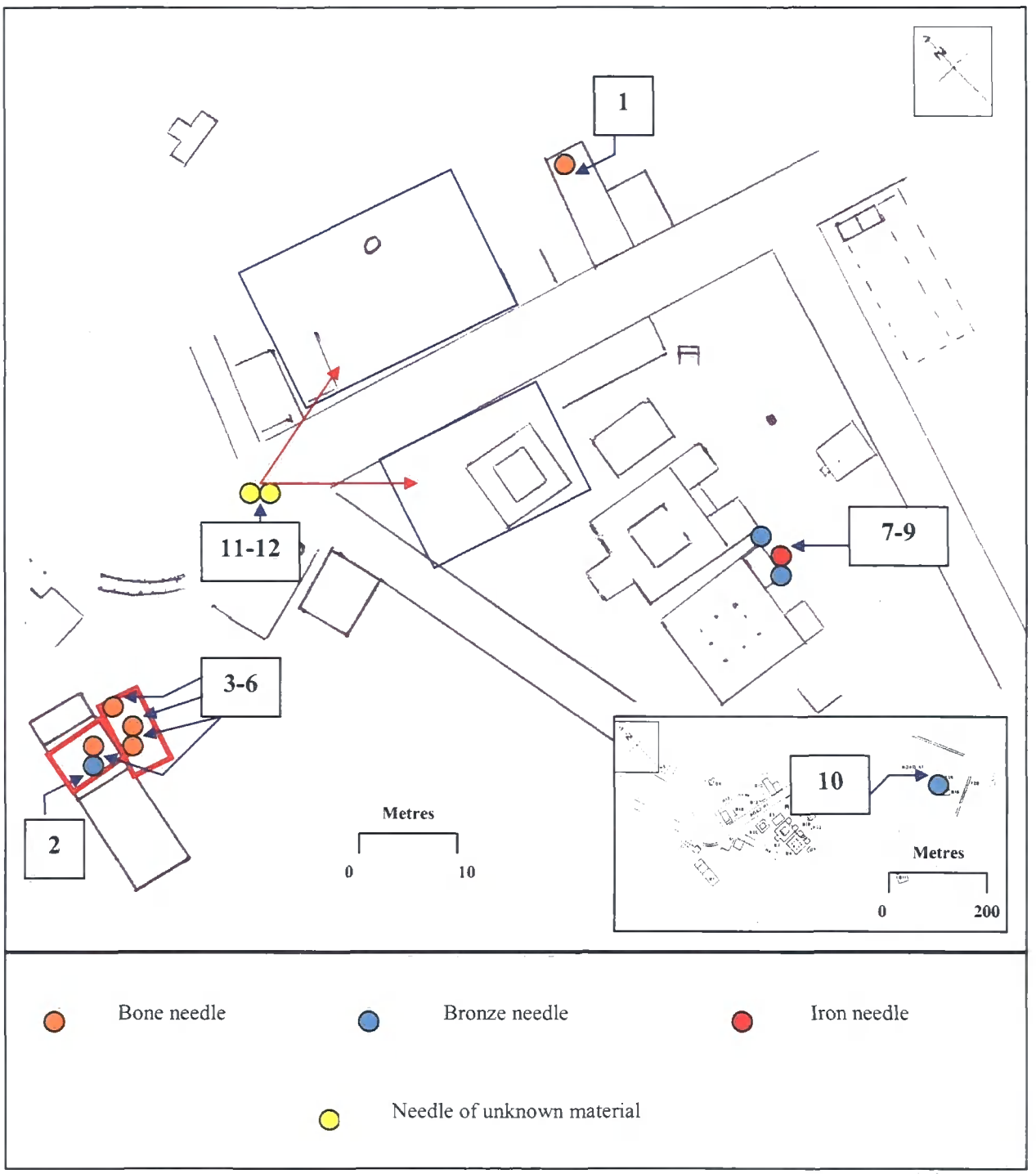
Table 24: Occurrence of quern and mill stones in archaeological features and stratum of different periods.

6.4: Needles.

Twelve needles are mentioned in the published literature compiled by Penn and Harker. The distribution of these finds can be seen in Figure 46. Table 25 provides details upon whether finds could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection and whether they were illustrated in the written accounts. Nine needles were identified from the collection that could not be reconciled with examples mentioned in the published literature, including two of copper alloy (Photograph 205 on page 465 and Photograph 208 on page 466), five of bone or antler (Photograph 201-Photograph 204 on pages 464-465) and three of iron (Photograph 206-Photograph 207 on page 466, and Photograph 209 on page 467). Both of the iron needles had extremely large eyes and may have been used for weaving larger fibres such as rope or netting. One of the objects (Photograph 208 on page 466) is recorded as being a 'figurine?' on the packet in which it is contained, although this is improbable and the object appears to be a needle head.

Needles have been recorded from relatively few temple sites in Roman Britain (Table 27, overleaf) and quantities of such finds appear to be too limited to be able to comment on their significance in detail. Springhead has, so far, produced the highest quantities of such items and, given the plentiful evidence for production at the site, it is possible that the objects represent further evidence for manufacture there; perhaps showing the working of textiles, when combined with other 'classes' of material, such as spindle-whorls and loom weights (page 127). There appears, however, to be no obvious traits discernable from analysis of the distribution of such objects that might shed light on past activities, and the date of many items is unknown (Table 26). Three needles, two made of bronze **(NEED 7-8)** and one of iron **(NEED-9)** discovered in the soil overlying the steps of Temple II may have been dispersed, perhaps by ploughing, from the concentration of objects thought to have been placed as a 'hoard' of 'offerings' in the northern 'antae' (page 216).

Figure 46: Distribution of needles from accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).



The red rectangles represent the maximum extent of the excavated area in which discoveries **3-6** were found. The blue rectangles represent the maximum extent of the excavated areas in which discoveries **11-12** may have been found.

Table 25: Needles from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker: information on whether objects were illustrated in published reports and whether they could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Find no (NEED) and location where described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1 (Page 462)	Yes (Figure 139 on page 462)	Yes (Photograph 200 on page 464)	No
2 (Page 462)	Yes (Figure 140 on page 462)	No	No
3-6 (Page 462)	No, but see Figure 140 and accompanying text on page 462	No	No
7-8 (Page 463)	No	No	No
9 (Page 463)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 206-Photograph 207 on page 466)
10-12 (Page 463)	No	No	No

Table 26: Occurrence of needles in archaeological features and strata of different periods.

Date of contexts	Needles
First century AD	0
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	1
Late second or early third century AD	1
Third century AD	2
Late third or fourth century	0
Fourth century AD	1
Post Roman period	1
Unknown	6

Table 27: Comparison between the number of needles recorded from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number of needles discovered
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	21
Great Chesterford (Essex)	Collins, 1978; Miller, 1995	8
Chelmsford - Caesaromagus - (Essex)	Wickenden, 1992	4
Lamyatt Beacon (Somerset)	Leech, 1986	3
Nettleton Scrubb (Wiltshire)	Wedlake, 1982	3
Harlow (Essex) **FP**	France and Gobel, 1985	2
Lydney Park (Gloucestershire)	Wheeler and Wheeler, 1932	2
Uley (Gloucestershire) **FP**	Woodward and Leach, 1993	2
Wood Lane End (Hertfordshire)	Neal, 1984	2
Collyweston (Northamptonshire)	Knocker, 1965	1

6.5: Spindle-whorls and loom weights.

Four items mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker were interpreted as being spindle-whorls. The distribution of these finds can be seen in Figure 47. Table 56 provides details upon whether items could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection and whether they were illustrated in the published literature. Two objects which could have functioned as spindle-whorls were identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection, and could not be reconciled with examples mentioned in the written accounts compiled by Penn and Harker; one of copper alloy (Photograph 213 on page 474) and the other, made of pottery (Photograph 215 on page 475). The distribution of spindlewhorls at Springhead, unfortunately, appeared to provide little information on past activities, as too few examples were recorded (Table 29, overleaf). A single item from a second century context **(SPIN 4)** appeared to be an isolated find, although all the spindle-whorls found in fourth century contexts **(SPIN 1-3)** came from the filling of the 'temple ditch'. A single loom weight **(LOOM 1)** was recorded from the excavations (see Figure 48 and Table 31 on page 138 for further information), but the location of its discovery was uncertain and no further information is available about the find.

As a whole, few of these items appear to have been recorded from temple sites in Roman Britain (Table 30 and Table 32) The assemblages from Springhead, and particularly Great Chesterford, when combined with other objects such as needles and loom weights, from both of these sites (for Springhead, see pages 124 and 127; for Great Chesterford, see pages 129 and 130) are, however, more extensive, and may indicate the manufacturing of textiles, or perhaps the donation of 'offerings' connected with such practices. It is also interesting that Nettleton Scrubb has produced considerable quantities of spindle whorls, which adds to the considerable evidence for production thought to have taken place at the settlement, the significance of which has been considered in section 6.1.

Figure 47: Distribution of objects interpreted as being spindle whorls from accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

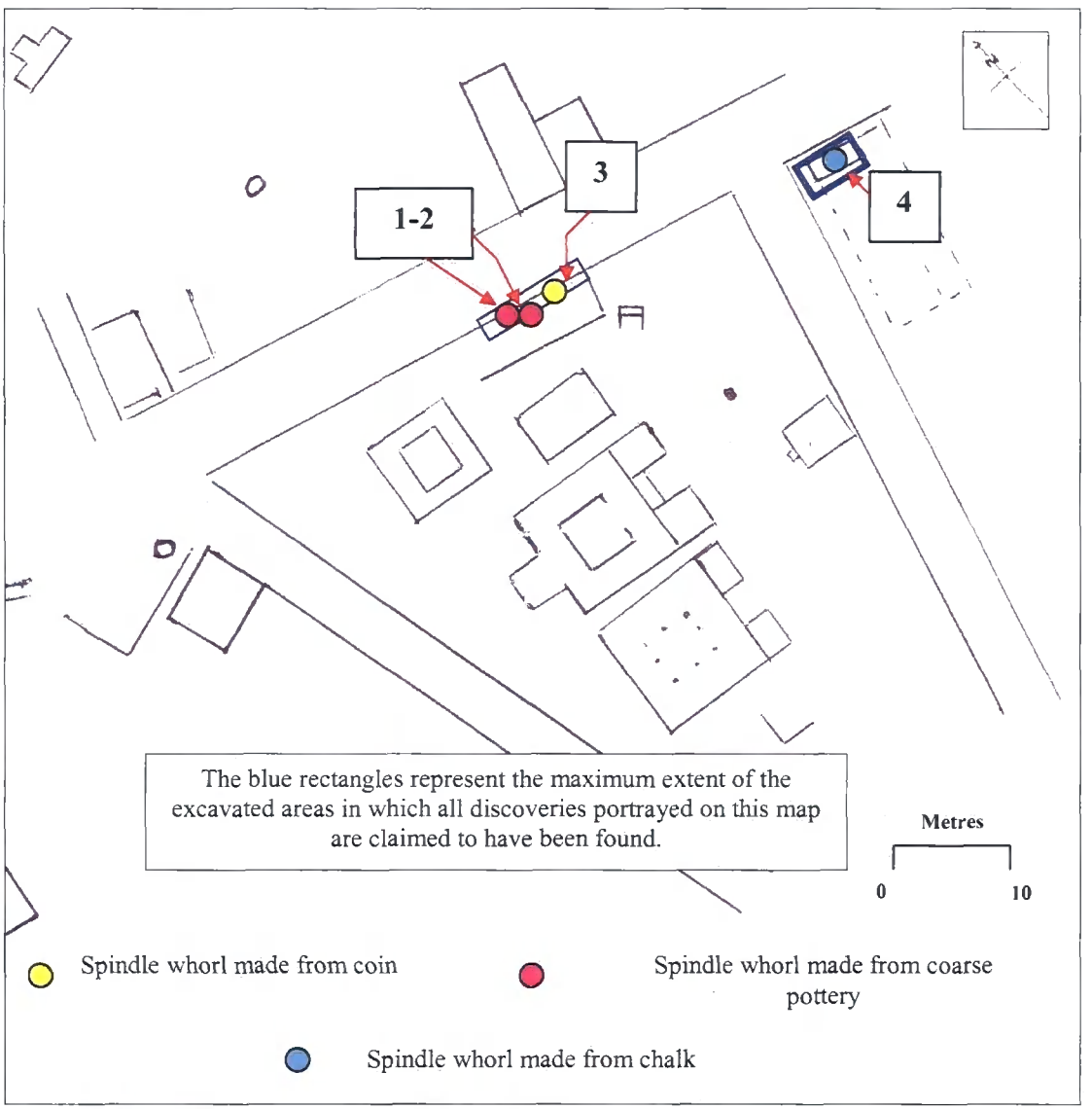


Table 28: Spindle whorls from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker: Information on whether objects were illustrated in published reports and whether they could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Find no (SPIN) and details on the location where described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1 (Page 471)	Yes (Figure 141 on page 471)	Yes (Photograph 211 on page 473)	No
2 (Page 471)	Yes (Figure 141 on page 471)	Yes (Photograph 212 on page 473)	No
3 (Page 471)	Yes (Figure 141 on page 471)	No	Yes (Photograph 213 on page 474)
4 (Page 471)	Yes (Figure 142 on page 471)	Yes (Photograph 214 on page 474)	No

Table 29: Occurrence of spindle-whorls in archaeological features and strata of different periods.

Date of contexts	Spindle whorls
First century AD	0
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	1
Late second or early third century AD	0
Third century AD	0
Late third or fourth century	0
Fourth century AD	3
Unknown	0

Table 30: Comparison between the number of spindle-whorls from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number of spindle-whorls discovered
Nettleton Scrubb (Wiltshire)	Wedlake, 1982	25
Henley Wood (Somerset) **FP**	Watts and Leach, 1996	8
Great Chesterford (Essex)	Collins, 1978; Miller, 1995	7
Bath (Avon)	Cunliffe, 1988	5
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	5
Uley (Gloucestershire) **FP**	Woodward and Leach, 1993	4
Maiden Castle (Dorset)	Wheeler, 1943	2
Worth (Kent)	Klein, 1928	2
Brean Down (Somerset)	Apsimon, 1965	2
Lamyatt Beacon (Somerset)	Leech, 1986	1
Pagans Hill (Somerset)	Rahtz and Harris, 1958	1

Figure 48: Distribution of loom weights mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

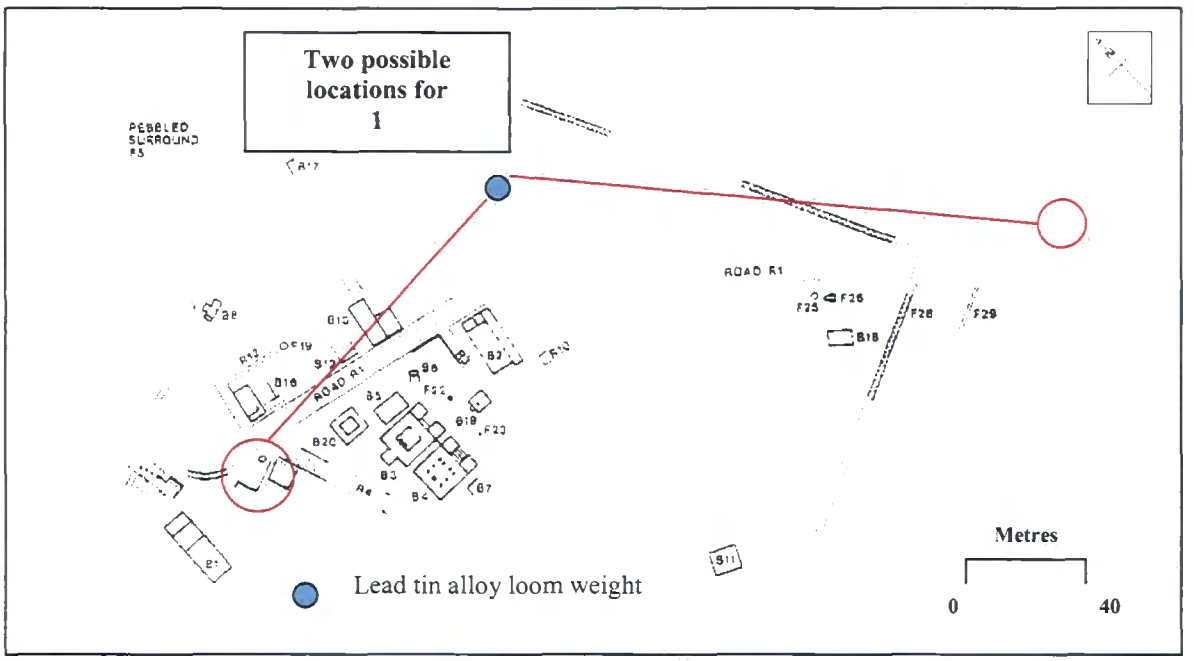


Table 31: Details on the loom weight from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker.

Find no (LOOM) and details on the location within Appendix 26 where it is described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1 (Page 472)	No	No	No

Table 32: Comparison between the number of loom weights from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number of loom weights discovered
Great Chesterford (Essex)	Collins, 1978	1
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	1

6.6: Hones.

Eight objects thought to have been hones were identified from the published records compiled by Penn and Harker. A map, showing the distribution of these items, can be seen in Figure 49. Table 33 overleaf, indicates where finds have been illustrated and whether similar objects could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection. Another eight objects (Appendix 10; Photograph 216-Photograph 223), which could not be reconciled with examples mentioned in the published literature, were identified from the Gravesend Historical collection, that were also described as being such by writing on the boxes in which they were contained. Too few objects were discovered for any obvious patterning to be discernable in their distribution at the site, although some **(HONE 1-2. 4, 5)** were closely associated with deposits from phases of activities involving production in particular parts of the site. Aside from Springhead, hones are only known to have been recorded from ten other temple sites in Roman Britain (Table 35). Quantities are limited, and aside from the possibility that they may have been used to sharpen sacrificial instruments, or tools used for the cookery of foodstuffs consumed or sacrificed as part of ceremonies, the objects appear to provide little information. Although not from a 'temple site', the deposition of hones with considerable quantities of complete Samian vessels in the gutter of the forum at Wroxeter may, however, suggest that such objects could have been deliberately brought to and deposited at sites in symbolic ways. It is, however, possible that this assemblage could have been the remains of the contents from a stall that was abandoned and then collapsed during the fire that appears to have destroyed the building (Atkinson, 1942; 36).

Figure 49: Distribution of objects interpreted as being hones from accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

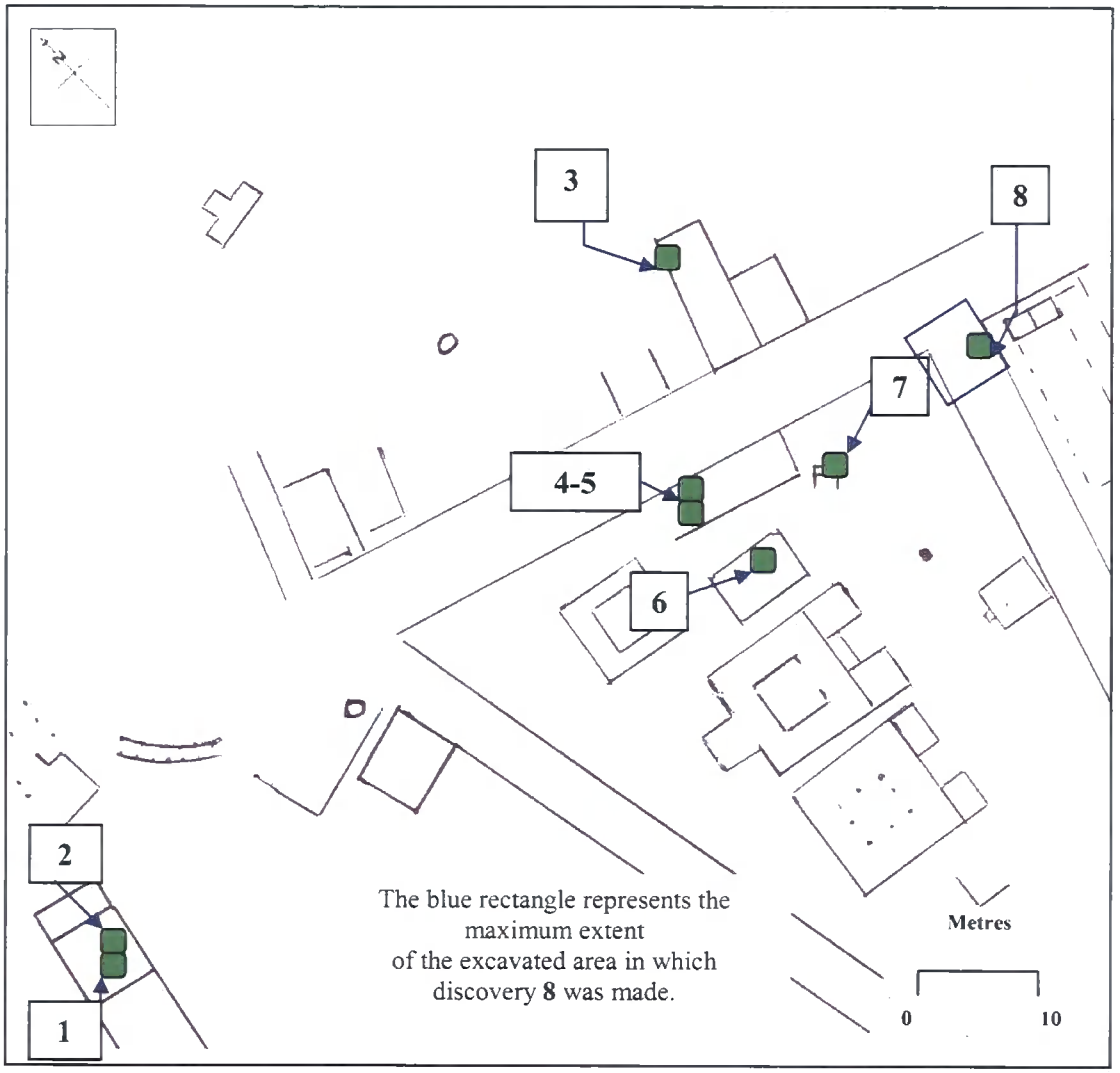


Table 33: Hones from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker: information on whether objects were illustrated in published reports and whether they could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Find no (HONE) and details on the location within Appendix 10 where it is described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1-3 (Page 477)	No	No	No
4 (Page 477)	Yes (Figure 143 on page 477)	No	No
5 (Page 477)	No	No	No
6 (Page 478)	Yes (Figure 144 on page 478)	No	No
7-8 (Page 478)	No	No	No

Table 34: Occurrence of hones in archaeological features and stratum of different periods.

Date of contexts	Hones
First century AD	0
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	5
Late second or early third century AD	1
Third century AD	0
Late third or fourth century	0
Fourth century AD	0
Unknown	2

Table 35: Comparison between numbers of hones recorded from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number of hones discovered
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	15
Uley (Gloucestershire) **FP**	Woodward and Leach, 1993	10
Henley Wood (Somerset) **FP**	Watts and Leach, 1996	9
Croft Ambrey (Worcestershire)	Stanford, 1974	3
Lamyatt Beacon (Somerset)	Leech, 1986	3
Nettleton Scrubb (Wiltshire)	Wedlake, 1982	2
Verulamium 2 (Hertfordshire)	Wheeler and Wheeler, 1936	2
Bath (Avon)	Cunliffe, 1988	1
Brean Down (Somerset)	Apsimon, 1965	1
Woodeaton (Oxfordshire)	Goodchild and Kirk, 1954	1

6.7: Summary and discussion - Attempting to understand 'productive' activities at Springhead through analysis of the distribution of specific finds 'types' claimed to be associated with them.

The assemblage of finds from Penn and Harker's excavations relating to production, agriculture and the cookery and consumption of foodstuffs forms one of the largest, and most varied, from a temple site in Roman Britain. The extensive quantities of tools, items of culinary and dining equipment, quern and mill stones, spindlewhorls, needles, loom weights and hones discovered appear to indicate that such activities may have been particularly concentrated at the site and possible reasons for their presence there will be considered in detail in this section. Knives were particularly common finds, as with many other temple sites from Roman Britain, and the frequent presence of such items might suggest that they could have been linked to specific practices associated with the 'religious' significance of such sites, perhaps used as part of sacrificial rites. The assemblage of items of culinary and/or dining equipment appears to be relatively small; although quantities from sites such as Lydney Park and Nettleton Scrubb are exceptional, suggesting that such objects may have been widely used and/or deposited as the results of specific practices associated with them, perhaps feasting, although the possibilities exist that such items could have also possessed a cosmetic purpose, preparing the body for display as part of ceremonies.

Evidence for the preparation of food on a large scale at Springhead may also be indicated by the many quern and mill stones discovered. With the exception of Chelmsford, which has also produced many of these objects, the site appears very different to those from other temple sites in Roman Britain due to its strong association with agricultural activities, and the presence of other items such as ploughshare tips, bill hooks and sickles, together with many corn-dryers and a large granary, makes the assemblage very distinct. Springhead appears to have produced more needles than from any other temple site in Roman Britain and with Great Chesterford and Nettleton Scrubb, which have also produced many needles, spindle whorls and loom weights, the assemblages from these sites appear to be particularly distinct, perhaps indicating the manufacturing of textiles, or the donations of 'offerings' connected with such practices. The distribution of tools, items of culinary and/or dining equipment, together with quern and millstone fragments and hones can, in many cases, be linked with phases of activity where ovens appear to have been used in various buildings and working areas; the re-used granary on Site A, building B10, the 'oven building' and the final floors of Temple I. It is possible that the remnants of activities associated with these areas have been protected by later dispersal from activities such as ploughing, by the walls of the buildings amongst which they were deposited.

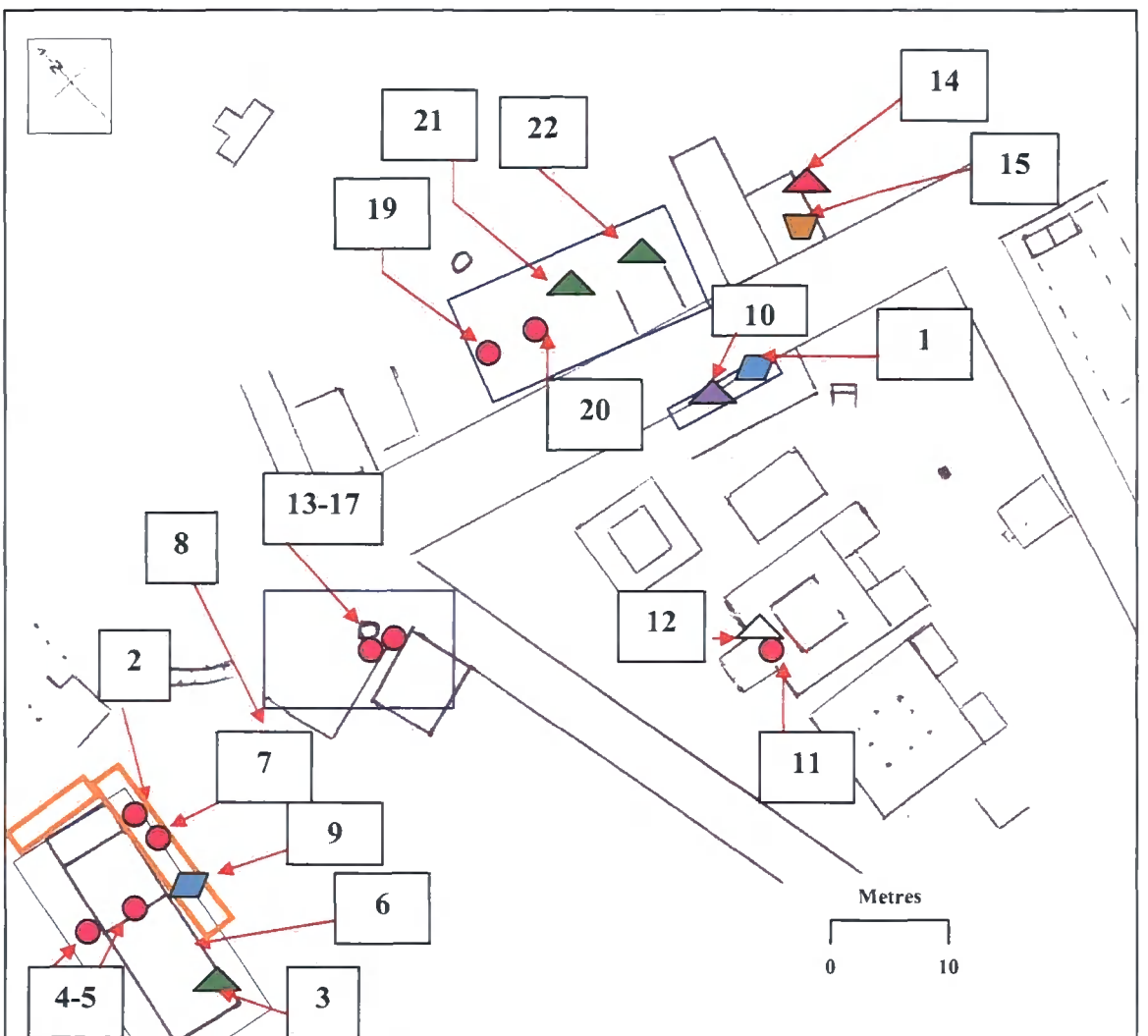
Although much evidence for technological, agricultural and culinary practices is observable amongst the archaeological remains from Springhead, the reasons for the undertaking of such activities has yet to be seriously considered in research upon the site. The majority of finds associated with 'productive' behaviour were only considered in terms of their technological function, through their categorisation in excavation reports. Commentary has been equally limited in present publications on the settlement, the

only conclusions made stating basic aspects of technology, emphasising that 'some industrial and manufacturing self sufficiency was a feature of most communities' and that agriculture 'was essential to produce food to maintain life' (V. Smith, 2004; 9-10). There may be more potential for exploration of relationships between production and the use of temple sites for 'religious' activities. There appears to be, for example, some evidence from other sites that metal working may have been linked to the creation of objects used as part of rites and offerings (*cf* Leach, 1962; Schrufer-Kolb, 2004), although the evidence is often ambiguous. The 'small town' at Holbrooks, a quarter of a mile to the north east of the temple at Harlow, produced evidence for a smelting hearth, and miniature axes, bronze leaves and bronze letters, which shared parallels with objects from the temple site, and were thought to have been intended for use there (Conlon, 1973). It is, however, unclear why such objects should be left behind at Holbrooks after their production, as they surely would have been intended for use elsewhere, unless the site had to be abandoned suddenly. Although the objects could have been made by the metal workers, it is also possible that they were deposited at the site, as 'offerings', or as material from 'religious activities' at the site itself, although more excavations would be needed to pursue these issues further. At Uley, some of the many 'votive rings', deposited at the site, thought to have been used as part of a 'cult' of Mercury, still had thin flanges attached to them, suggesting that they were cast within moulds, yet never prepared for final use and, perhaps, made there (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 215), being discarded as imperfect and unwanted objects, or perhaps deposited as 'offerings' connected with metallurgy. There is some evidence for the latter at the temple on the Grammar School site at Colchester, where a plaque was discovered.to 'god Silvanus Calliriod' donated by 'Cinintusmus the copper smith VSLM' (Hull, 1958; 239), and, at Bath, lead and pewter ingots, and a mould for casting solar amulets, two of which were also discovered, were thrown into the springs (Cunliffe, 1988; 5, 23-24), providing further evidence for the donation of 'offerings' by metal workers.

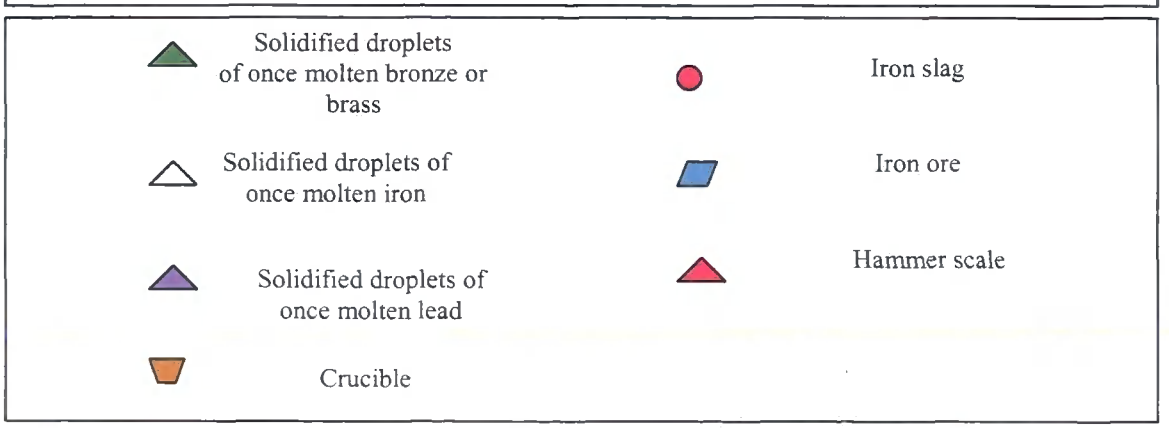
It is, however, disappointing that although metal working has been identified from many 'temple sites' in Roman Britain, the significance of such practices to the 'religious' use of sites is frequently unclear. Details on material are scattered widely throughout reports in descriptions of contexts; and an intensive study would be needed to bring the information together, and to assess its significance. Material analysed as part of this research had, therefore, to be drawn from Smith's general survey of material discovered (A. Smith, 2001; 213-266). It appears that iron slag was found at Brean Down, Pagans Hill, Nettleton Scrubb, Uley, Caistor by Norwich, Ivy Chimneys, Wanborough, the Temple of Claudius at Colchester and Kelvedon, although the amounts of material discovered is unclear, and they may pre or post date the 'religious' use of these sites, particularly at Uley (*cf* Woodward and Leach, 1993; 215). The same limitations affect the evidence for the working of copper alloys; slag, ingots and solidified droplets from bronze working having been found at Chanctonbury and Woodeaton, slag and crucible fragments at Nettleton Scrubb, and a single waste drip from the 'triangular temple' at Verulamium. Moulds were found at Bath and Nettleton Scrubb and suggested to have been used for the manufacturing of pewter (Wedlake, 1982; 71-74). At Uley, two pieces of litharge (lead oxide) were identified, and these were suggested to be the by-products of the recovery of silver from lead by cupellation (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 216).

Considerable quantities of evidence for metal working were recorded from Penn and Harker's excavations and, unlike the material from other temple sites, represent a relatively well recorded source of information, allowing more detailed discussion about potential relationships between such activities and 'religious' activities. The information is fully outlined in Appendix 29, and the distribution of material can be seen in the figure, below.

Figure 50: Distribution of metal working debris mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).



The blue rectangles represent the extent of the excavated areas in which the discoveries **2-6, 10, 13, 19-22** are claimed to have been found. The orange rectangles represent the same for **8-9**. The find spots of **16** and **18** could not be plotted as their location was uncertain



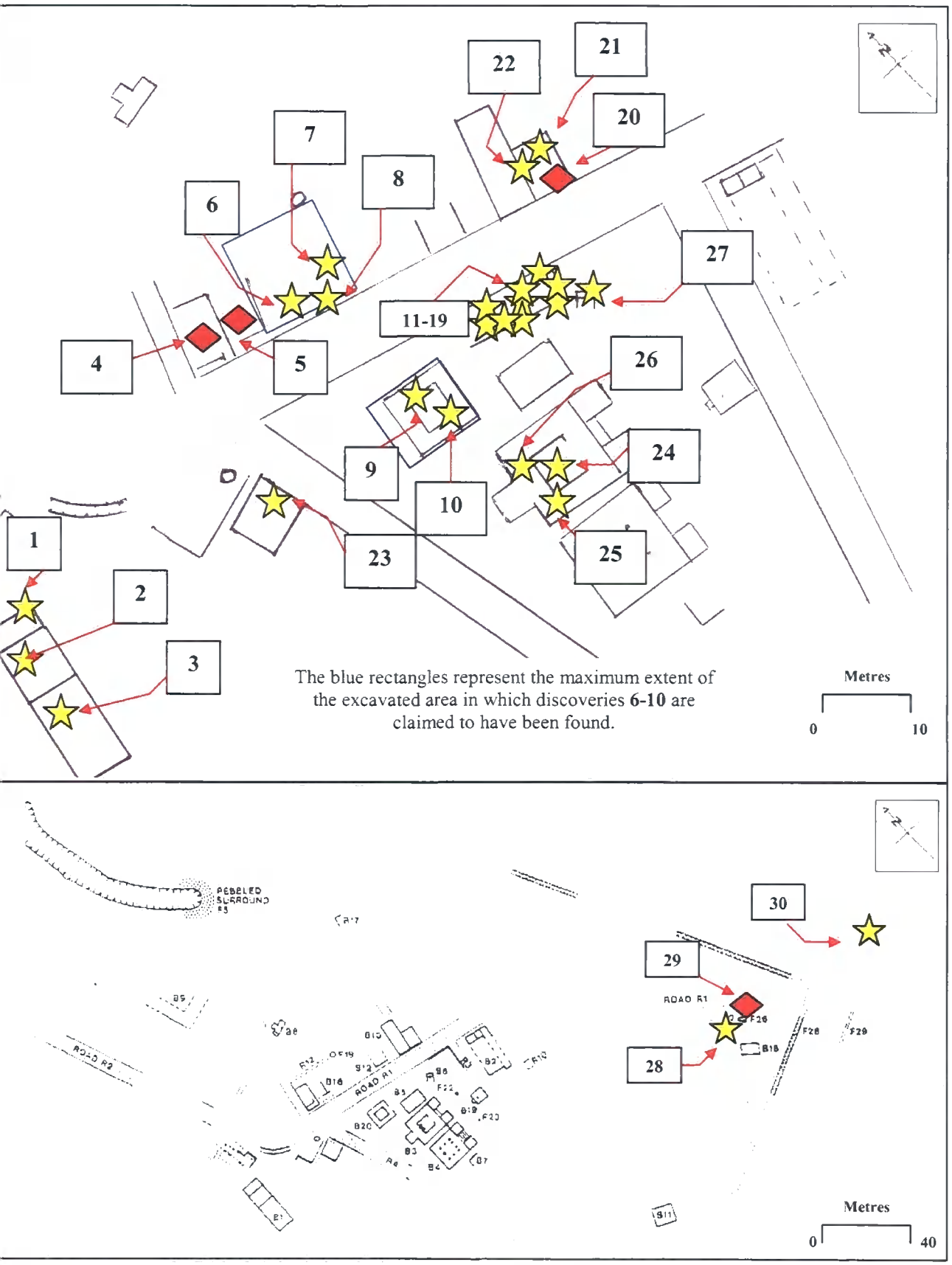
Much of the evidence appears to have been associated with the times the temples and 'temenos areas' were in use, raising a number of possibilities for discussion about the significance of relationships between production and 'religious' activities, which will be considered in due course. Extensive evidence for bronze working, represented by solidified droplets of molten metal **(MET 21)** were recorded from first century levels associated with Site D, and appear to indicate an association between such practices and the occupation associated with Temple VII, and perhaps the temple and ancillary buildings identified by Wessex Archaeology. Evidence for iron working appears in second and third century deposits. A small quantity of iron ore **(MET 1)** was deposited in the fill of **OVEN 11** from the 'oven building' in the second century, although this evidence is probably too limited to suggest a direct indication of a link between metal working and activities associated with the southern 'temenos'. Elsewhere, discoveries of extensive deposits of iron slag **(MET 19, 20)** were identified on Site D from second and third century deposits, Oxford Archaeology also discovered copper working debris, iron hammer scale, hearth lining mixed with iron slag and smithing slag, two unfinished nails and a pair of 'blacksmith's tongs', from a relatively small area, dated to either the second or third centuries, in the south east of the settlement, suggested to form the remains of a 'smithy' (Boyle and Early, 1994; 24-26). Iron working, represented by hammer scale **(MET 14)**, and possibly fragments from a crucible **(MET 15)** were deposited amongst the remains of building B10 in either the late third or fourth centuries. During the final occupation of the site, iron slag **(MET 11)** and solidified droplets of this metal **(MET 12)** were deposited on the floors of Temple I, and a molten run off, thought to be from lead working **(MET 10)** was deposited in the fill of the 'temple ditch' during the fourth century. These activities were suggested to be the activities of squatters utilising the site after its abandonment, the significance of such interpretations being assessed in detail in section 9.4.

It is, however, disappointing that, apart from a single, partially finished brooch deposited on Site A during the second century **(PER 120)**, there appears to be no further evidence that might suggest that metal production there could have been intended to produce objects linked with the 'religious' use of the site. It is possible that objects produced were exported outside the site, and are not archaeologically visible, and this might suggest that production bore no direct relation to material used for 'religious' activities, although there could, however, still have been close links between production and its symbolic importance. Those engaged with industrial, agricultural and culinary practices may have taken advantage of the site's long standing tradition of being a prominent meeting point within the landscape, close to tribal boundaries and major roads (discussed in section 1.2) and a good trade could, therefore, have been conducted with the many visitors, who may have passed through the site, on their way to and from the Continent and the rest of the province, and particularly at times when the site could have been used intensively for 'religious' activities, such as at fairs and festivals. Production could have been organised and administered by the temple authorities, perhaps to boost trade, providing income for the upkeep and maintenance of the buildings and 'temenos'. A relationship between those engaged in 'religious' activities and workers undertaking production may have been particularly important as, if the temples, and areas around the natural springs, were considered to be a place where deities dwelt, then such beings might be perceived to be sensitive to, and antagonised by,

changes in the environments they presided over (*cf* Ghey, 2005; 116) particularly if smoke and fire were generated, and waste products were deposited, within their realms. It could, therefore, have been necessary for close engagement, and those undertaking production would have been intensely aware of their relationship to the sacred landscape, which would have permeated their everyday lives. The springs could also have been particularly important as a source of water for those using heat to produce material at the site, who would, perhaps, need it to quench their fires, as the next nearest source of water, the Thames, was a considerable distance (approximately two miles) away, and aspects of production and 'religious' life could also have been closely linked by this.

Some aspects of 'productive' activities may, however, have been directly associated with the 'religious' use of the site at Springhead. Fifteen ovens were identified from Penn and Harker's excavations, and five by Wessex Archaeology within the 'temenos areas', all of which appear to be contemporary with their use for such practices (see figure overleaf). The construction of a hearth **(OVEN 24)** within the pit beneath the apsidal *suggestus* in the cella of Temple I, and another **(OVEN 27)** in the north west corner of Temple IV, while both these structures were in use, indicates the possibility that they were created as the result of 'religious' activities associated with the buildings. Many hearths have been discovered in associations with temples in Roman Britain and, although their purpose is unclear, it is possible that they were used for sacrifices to deities, or perhaps for preparing foodstuffs eaten as part of particular ceremonies associated with the buildings. The use of hearths appears to be relatively rare from 'Romano-Celtic' temples in Britain and where this occurs, the central cellas of these structures were often kept free from such activities, perhaps for fear of disturbing the deities residing within. Such activities appear to have been constrained to the ambulatories of the structures, at Lamyatt Beacon (Leech, 1986; 266) and Brean Down (Apsimon, 1965; 195), although there are, however, a few exceptions, which may suggest variations from such customs. The deposit beneath the suggestus of Temple I, forms one of only a few examples where the cella appears to have been used, and hearths are only known to have been found in such location on a few sites, such as at Crownthorpe (Gurney, 1986; 5) and Godmanchester (Green, 1986; 17). The temple at Woodeaton contained three superimposed features, which appear to have occupied a central position in the cella, and may have played an important role as part of activities carried out throughout its history (Goodchild and Kirk, 1954; 22-25).

Figure 51: Distribution of features identified as being ovens, corn-dryers and pottery kilns mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).



Despite these examples, as a whole, such activities appear to be associated with temples that do not possess concentric ambulatories, with very individualised forms, which appear to be less closely associated with strict Classical notions concerning the use of 'religious' space. Temple IV, with its baby burials, suggested to have been related to Indigenous practices (page 113) forms such an examples, and other include the hexagonal temple at Collyweston (Knocker, 1965; 60), the circular temples at Brigstock, which produced five examples (Greenfield, 1963; 237), Croft Ambrey, which produced two (Stanford, 1974; 18) and Hayling Island, where three small burnt holes forming a regular triangle opposite the entrance to the temple were suggested as being the marks from a brazier or tripod (Downey, King and Soffe; 1980; 297). At Uley, the late Roman 'shrine', converted from the original temple, also contained a hearth in its northern corridor (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 63). There is possible evidence for hearths built within the cellas of the circular and octagonal temples at Nettleton Scrubb, although the excavators were unable to determine whether these were related to their use, and they may pre and post date them (Wedlake, 1982; 10, 44-45, 53, 82).

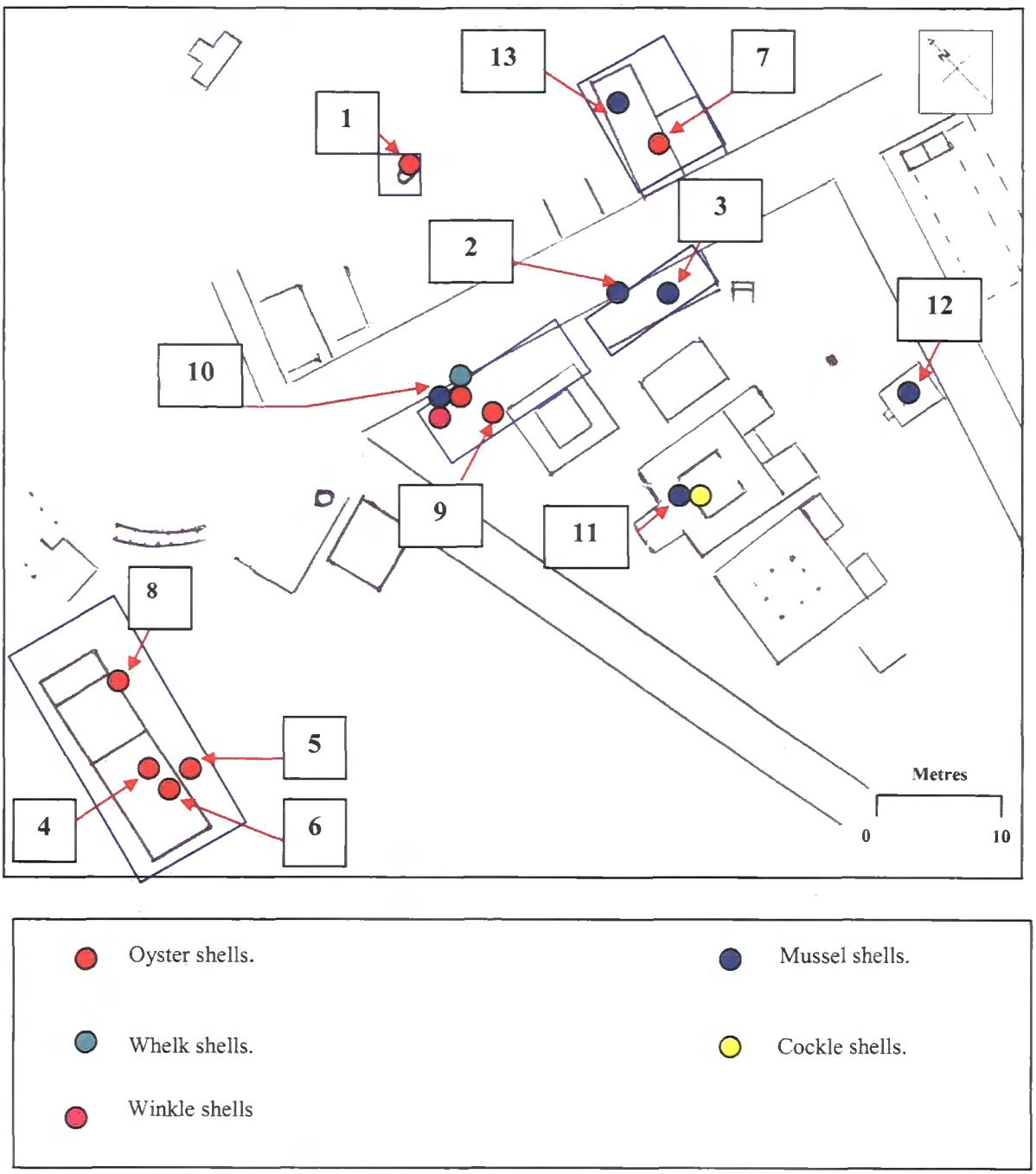
A considerable number of other ovens were also identified within the 'temenos areas' at Springhead. The form of many of the features strongly suggesting that they may have been used for the production of foodstuffs. A building, or working area, demarcated by a floor of burnt clay, discovered during the excavations undertaken by Wessex Archaeology within the northern 'temenos area', immediately to the south of the temple constructed beside the natural springs, contained the remains of two ovens which may have been intentionally designed for such purposes. A broadly circular depression of burnt clay was discovered, into which a layer of stones had been placed, and it is possible that these could have been heated and set into the floor to form a hob, heating and burning the clay underlying them, to allow the cookery of foodstuffs. To the north of this feature, a circular hollow, displaying evidence for burning was discovered, into which was inserted a complete pot, filled with charcoal, with a layer of flat pottery sherds and chalk lumps on top. The ceramic and chalk platform may have been placed inside the vessel to avoid contamination with the charcoal, and perhaps to serve as a heated surface allowing the cookery of small pieces of food within its interior. Further details on the features can be seen on page 723. Six small ovens constructed from pottery vessels were also found during Penn and Harker's excavations inside the southern 'temenos' **(OVEN 9-11, 12, 14)**, and also one from outside, in building B10 **(OVEN 22)** and may have been used for similar purposes. Elsewhere, within the northern 'temenos', the remains of another building, demarcated by a series of large ditches and post holes, were discovered close to the eastern temple, containing a circular depression, lined with a layer of heat-affected clay, into which a layer of cobbles had been pushed, perhaps like the first example discussed (page 725). A feature of similar form was also discovered in the building constructed upon the area of terracing within the 'temenos' enclosure, immediately to the east of the temple (page 728). The colonnaded building to the south of the eastern temple beside the springs contained a shallow pit, lined with a surface of burnt clay, and containing a deposit of ash, and was flanked by two large post holes, directly opposite one another possibly to support the uprights for a spit or beam on which to hang a cooking pot (page 721). It is interesting that so many ovens were constructed within the 'religious' enclosures, in close proximity to the temples and although, unlike the examples found within such

structures, it is possible that they may not have been directly associated with 'religious' activities, they could still have been used to produce material to be used as part of ceremonies or sacrifices, or to feed pilgrims visiting the site (*cf* Penn, 1964b; 174).

The structures of the other ovens discovered within the 'temenos area' at Springhead and the surrounding settlement, aside from the corn-dryers already discussed in section 6.3 (page 129), provide no clear indications of function. The remains of a possible pottery kiln, discovered in 1922, were recorded close to the area of the natural springs and building B9, and described as being a 'smother kiln' containing 'typical specimens' of 'Upchurch (i.e. BB2) pottery (Jessup, 1928; 339). Some temples appear to have been linked with ceramic production, such as Farley Heath, where two kilns were found within the 'temenos' (Lowther and Goodchild, 1943; 38), although the relationship between the example from Springhead and the 'religious' use of the site is unclear.

Another feature of interest, given the associations between the site and the production of foodstuffs, are extensive deposits of marine remains, the majority of them shellfish (see figure, overleaf), evident in the early stratigraphic sequence from many parts of the settlement; the concentrated nature of which might suggest they had been gathered together and buried deliberately, perhaps after consumption of their contents. A trench cut between the Watling Street and Temple VII encountered an extensive layer of shells and fish bones, at the base of two separate layers of chalk blocks, topped with gravel, interpreted as being the foundations of Temple VII. The deposit was described as being extensive, containing oyster, mussel, winkle and whelk shells **(SHELL 9)**, and also the bones of salmon, cod, haddock and plaice, covering approximately sixty feet and noted, in some places, as being up to four inches thick (Harker, 1973a; 8). At the same level, another layer of oyster shells **(SHELL 10)** approximately four metres wide and, in places, fifteen to twenty centimetres deep, was recorded from an area excavated between Temple VII and either the Watling Street or the 'Temenos Road' to the west (Harker, 1974; 12). The seemingly intentional deposition of such extensive amounts of marine remains within the 'temenos' raises the possibility that they could have been connected to activities associated with the 'religious' significance of this area (Harker, 1974; 12); perhaps being symbolically buried as sacrifices or resulting from feasting carried out as part of construction ceremonies associated with Temple VII. It is, however, also possible that the deposits of shellfish may have built up before this structure was built, and could also have been connected with the occupation identified by Wessex Archaeology around the natural springs. Other concentrated deposits of shellfish remains have also been from areas beyond the southern 'temple complex' in levels relating to the early occupation of the site, and may share similar origins. A 'thick layer of oyster shells' **(SHELL 7)**, dated to the first century, was found underlying building B10, which appears to be approximately four inches thick, and extends for at least thirteen feet (Penn, 1968a; 166) Another layer of oyster shells, about an inch thick, but at least nine feet in length, and also dated to the first century **(SHELL 1)** was discovered over a chalk floor constructed close to Well F19 (Harker, 1970a; 140).

Figure 52: Distribution of find spots of discoveries of shellfish remains mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).



The areas demarcated in blue represent the maximum extent of the excavated area in which discoveries **1**, **4-7**, **9** and **10** are claimed to have been found.

Large quantities of shellfish remains also were also recorded from excavations on Site A, in the first century levels predating the granary, and 'hundreds' of oyster shells **(SHELL 8)** were found in a pit underlying the wall of the building.

Shellfish appear to be less numerous in deposits dating from the second century onwards, with activities involving their deposition at the site appearing to be far more private, and not occurring on the same scale as in earlier periods. Links with 'religious' activities may, however, be evident by the deposition of remains **(SHELL 3, 11)** in the hearths constructed within Temples I and IV **(OVEN 24, 27)**. Such direct associations appear to be rare on 'temple sites', the only other examples known being Woodeaton, where shells were found in association with one of the hearths constructed within the temple (Goodchild and Kirk, 1954; 25). At Hayling Island, the differential treatment of particular species of shellfish was evident, with large dumps of cockle, oyster, winkle and mussel shells found at different places within the 'temple complex' (Downey, King and Soffe, 1979; 15) and may indicate aspects of organisation inherent in sacrificial activities or feasting. At other sites, deposits appear to have accumulated and buried, perhaps symbolically, as the results of activities associated with 'temenos' boundaries; at Lancing Down, eight hundred and ninety seven shells, mainly oysters, were buried in the gully demarcating the 'temenos' (Bedwin, 1981; 53) and, at Great Chesterford, large quantities of oysters were buried within the ditch terminals at the entrance to the 'temple complex' (Collins, 1978; 7). Shellfish **(SHELL 13)** also appear to have been buried in a symbolic manner as part of smaller acts at Springhead, particularly with the infant burials **(INF 13-16)** from the 'mausoleum area' in building B10, with many finds and an animal burial, amongst the filling of the 'votive pit' at the centre of Temple VI (page 218), and a brooch **(PER 117)**, from Site A, also appears to have been deliberately buried in a pit, containing hundreds of oyster shells **(SHELL 1)** beneath the granary. These examples form an important source of evidence for the placement of such remains with other finds, as part of symbolic acts on temple sites, the only other example currently known being from Bourton Grounds, where a horse skull, crowned with a large smooth pebble, had been ringed with oyster shells, and buried in pit under the threshold of an ancillary building (Green, 1966; 361). Relatively few shells were associated with the remains of ovens outside the temples, and 'about fifty mussels **(SHELL 11)** were deposited at the base of **OVEN 11**, from the 'oven building', mixed with a layer of burnt earth, charcoal, fragments of burnt bone and baked clay bearing straw impressions, and would appear to indicate further links with culinary and/or dining practices (Penn, 1964b; 173-174). Evidence for the associations between the use of shellfish and cookery, or their burning as part of sacrifices may be indicated at Brigstock, where oyster shells were buried with burnt clay, charcoal and sheep bones, perhaps also consumed at the site, in a stone, slab-lined oval pit to the north east of the polygonal temple (Greenfield, 1963; 235), and at Great Chesterford, where large numbers of burnt oyster shells had been buried in pits (Miller, 1995; 24-27).

7: Analysis of the distribution of other specific 'finds types' from Penn and Harker's excavations.

7.1: Introduction.

A number of other 'finds types' were encountered during Penn and Harker's excavations, the significance of which was never examined, beyond their initial classification. The objects included pieces of carved ornamental stonework, ornamental fixtures and fastenings, vessel glass, styli, structural fittings and fastenings and gaming counters. Bells, window glass, foot ware, horse equipment, metal letters, weights, pewter vessels, plough share tips lighting equipment, weapons, metal leaves, a steelyard, a skewer and a marble bowl were also found. The distribution of these 'finds types' was examined to ascertain whether it could provide information about activities at Springhead, although, as a whole, information was quite limited.

7.2: Carved ornamental stone.

Thirteen pieces of carved ornamental stone were mentioned as having been discovered in the published reports compiled by Penn and Harker. The distribution of examples mentioned in the published literature can be seen in Figure 53. Table 36 provides details upon whether the objects could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection and whether they were illustrated in the reports. Nine fragments were also identified from the collection that could not be reconciled with any certainty to the examples mentioned in the literature (Photograph 224-Photograph 232 on pages 488-492). Commentary on individual finds can be found in Appendix 11.

Figure 53: Distribution of fragments of carved ornamental stone from accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

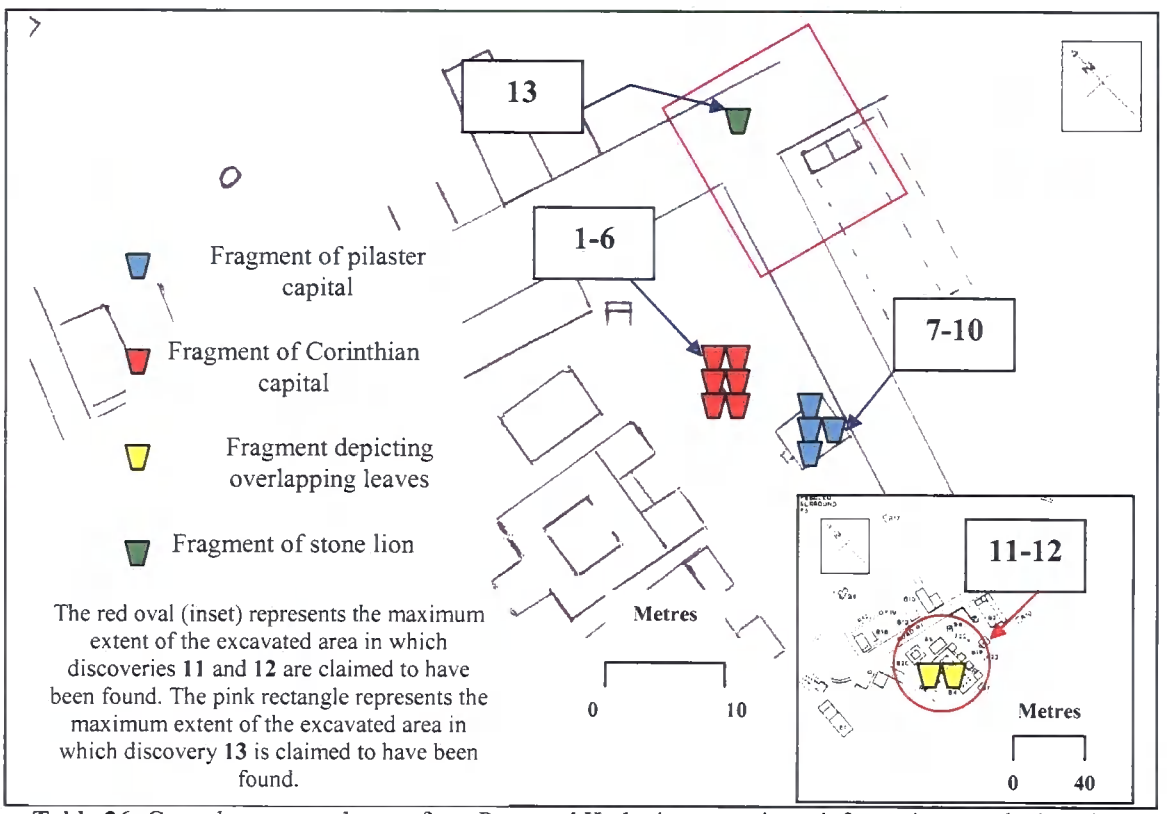


Table 36: Carved ornamental stone from Penn and Harker's excavations: information on whether objects were illustrated and whether they could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Find no (CARVST) and details on the location within Appendix 11	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1-4 (Page 486)	Yes (Figure 145 on page 486)	No	No
5-6 (Page 486)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 227 on page 489)
7-8 (Page 487)	Yes (Figure 146 on page 487)	No	Yes (Photograph 224 and Photograph 225; page 488)
9-13 (Page 487)	No	No	No

Very little information could be obtained on the distribution of seven fragments of stone **(CARVST5-6, 9-13)** due to a lack of detail in the recording of their context. The other examples come from levels relating to the destruction of the site (see table 39, overleaf) and appear to be the remains of its destroyed buildings. Few fragments of carved ornamental stonework could be identified from temple sites in Roman Britain (Table 37), and, although they may represent the remains of such buildings, their distribution provided little information on past activities. It is possible that so little material may have been found because it had been deliberately removed and re-used for building when sites were levelled. The fragments of structures at Springhead do, however, raise many possibilities for discussion, when the significance of their deposition and relationships to other material are considered (section 9.4).

Table 37: Comparison between amounts of fragments of carved ornamental stonework recorded from Springhead against those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number of fragments discovered
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	19
Bath (Avon)	Cunliffe and Davenport, 1985	12
Nettleton Scrubb (Wiltshire)	Wedlake, 1982	11
Brean Down (Somerset)	Apsimon, 1965	6
Chedworth (Gloucestershire)	Baddeley, 1930	5
Greenwich Park (Middlesex)	Sheldon and Yule, 1979	4
Silchester 4 (Hampshire)	Boon, 1974	4
Colchester 3 and 4 -Sheepen- (Essex)	Crummy, 1980	2
Jordon Hill (Dorset)	Drew, 1931; 1932	2
Pagans Hill (Somerset)	Rahtz and Harris, 1958	2
Silchester 1-2 (Hampshire)	Boon, 1974	2
Camerton (Somerset)	Wedlake, 1958	1
Colchester 8 -Temple of Claudius- (Essex)	Drury, 1984	1
Farley Heath (Surrey)	Lowther and Goodchild, 1943	1
Irchester (Northamptonshire)	Green, 1976	1
Weycock Hill (Berkshire)	Cotton, 1957	1
Uley (Gloucestershire)	Woodward and Leach, 1993	1

Table 38: Occurrence of pieces of carved ornamental stone in archaeological features and strata of different periods.

Date of contexts	Pieces of carved ornamental stone
First century AD	0
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	0
Late second or early third century AD	0
Third century AD	0
Late third or fourth century	2
Fourth century AD	4
Unknown	7

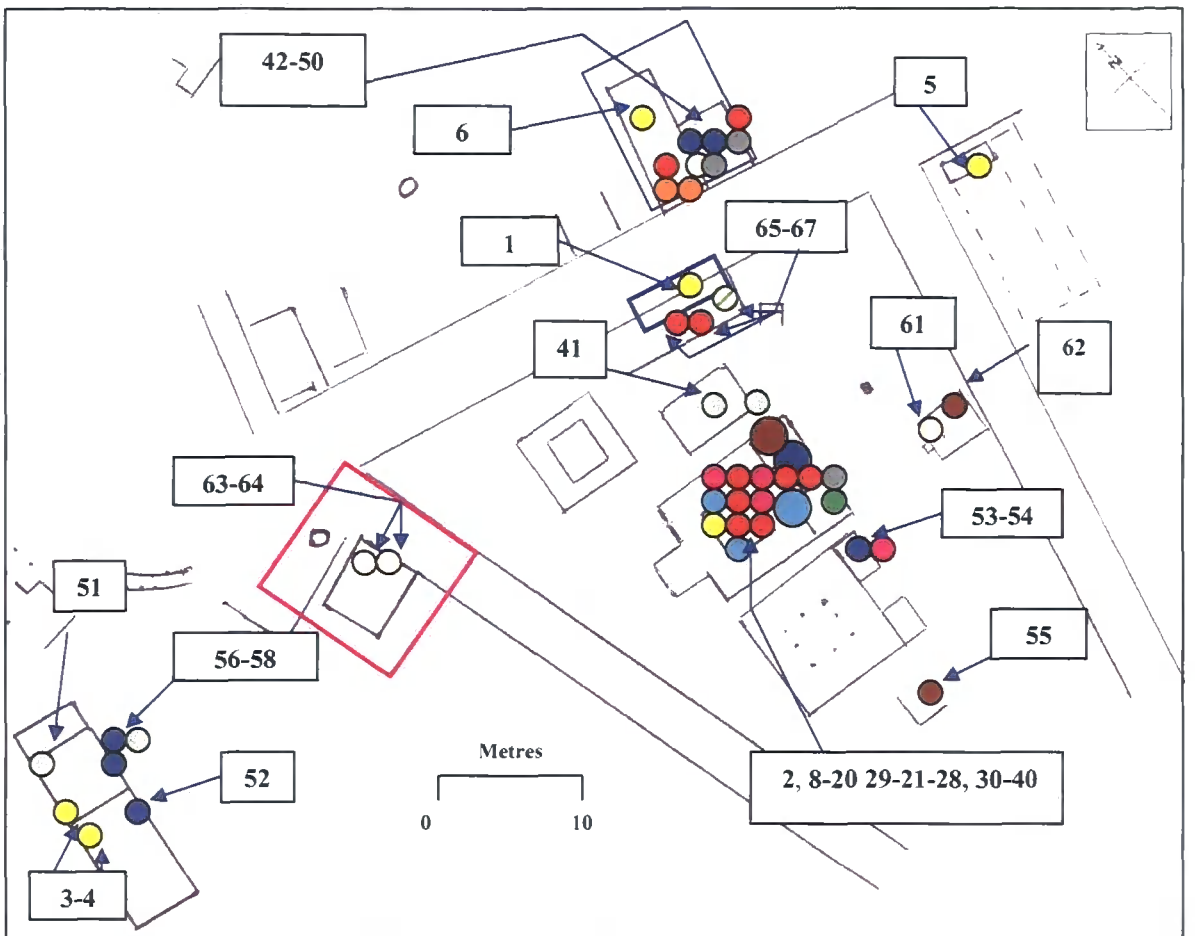
7.3: Structural fittings and fastenings.

Considerable quantities of these items were found during Penn and Harker's excavations, and they were interpreted as being fixtures or fastenings, used for holding pieces of wood together. The distribution of these objects can be seen in Figure 54. Table 40 provides details upon whether the objects could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection and whether they were illustrated in the reports compiled by Penn and Harker. Commentary on individual finds can be found in Appendix 12. Seventy seven items were located in the Gravesend Historical Society collection that could not be reconciled with examples mentioned in the written accounts compiled by Penn and Harker, and details on the material are summarised in Table 39, below. One object, classified as an item of personal adornment, was a finger ring, with a key built into it (Photograph 142 on page 376).

'Type' of object	Amount	Reference to photograph of objects, and details on their location
Iron hinges	4	(Photograph 234-Photograph 237, on pages 505-507)
Iron, X-shaped fastening	1	(Photograph 238 on page 507)
Iron rivets	12	(Photograph 239-Photograph 250on pages 508-513)
Iron, T-shaped staples	2	(Photograph 251-Photograph 252 on page 514)
Iron split staples	2	(Photograph 255 on page 515 and Photograph 257 on page 516)
Iron key	1	(Photograph 259 on page 517)
Iron, U-shaped staple	1	(Photograph 260 on page 518)
Iron lynch pins	2	(Photograph 261-Photograph 262 on pages 518-519).
Iron cylindrical collar	1	(Photograph 263 on page 519)
Iron box corner	4	(Photograph 264-Photograph 267 on pages 520-521)
Iron latch lifters	2	(Photograph 268-Photograph 269 on page 522)
Iron, double pronged staples	2	(Photograph 270-Photograph 271 on page 523)
Iron nails	42	(Photograph 272-Photograph 282 on page 524-529).
Cu alloy nail	1	(Photograph 283 on page 529)

Table 39: Structural fittings and fastenings identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Figure 54: Distribution of structural fittings and fastenings mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).



Concentration of structural fittings within the same contexts are represented by larger circles. The blue rectangles represent the maximum extent of the excavated areas in which **1** and **6** are claimed to have been found, pink rectangles indicate the same for discoveries **63-64**.

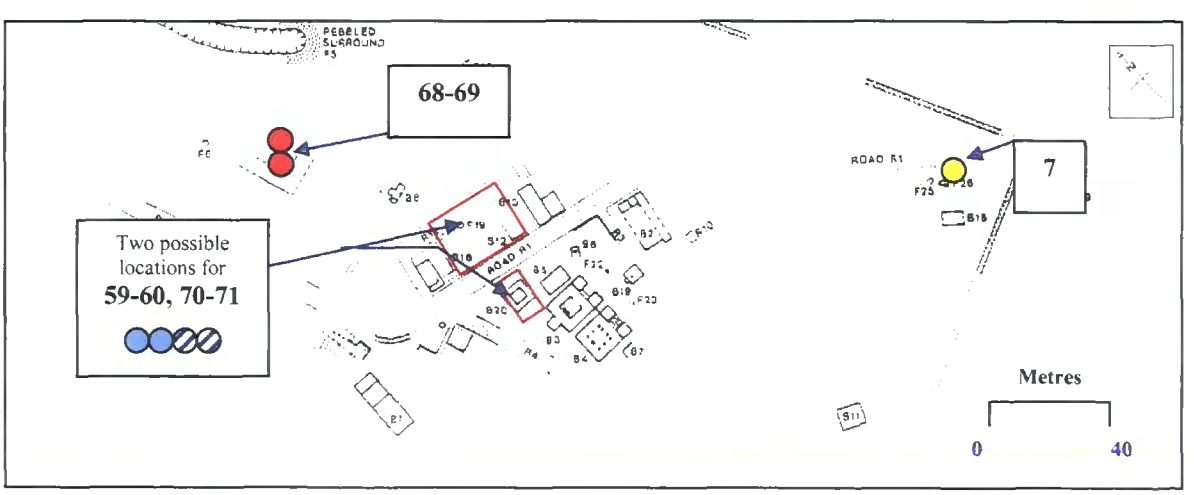


Table 40: Structural fittings from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker: information on whether objects were illustrated in published reports and whether they could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Find no (STRUCT) and details where described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1 (Page 496)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 283 on page 529)
2-3 (Page 496)	No	No	No
4-5 (Page 496)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 283 on page 529)
6-7 (Page 496)	No	No	No
8-9 (Page 497)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 272-Photograph 279 on pages 524-527)
10-11 (Page 497)	No	No	No
12 (Page 497)	Yes (Figure 147 on page 499)	No	No
13 (Page 497)	Yes (Figure 147 on page 499)	Yes (Photograph 233 on page 505)	No
14 (Page 497)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 251-Photograph 253 on page 514)
15 (Page 497)	Yes (Figure 147 on page 499)	Yes (Photograph 253 on page 514)	No
16 (Page 497)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 251-Photograph 253 on page 514)
17 (Page 497)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 251-Photograph 253 on page 514)
18 (Page 497)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 254-Photograph 255 on page 515)
19 (Page 497)	Yes (Figure 147 on page 499)	Yes Photograph 254 on page 515)	No
20 (Page 497)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 254-Photograph 255 on page 515)
21 (Page 497)	Yes (Figure 147 on page 499)	Yes (Photograph 256 on page 516)	No
22-28 (Page 497)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 239-Photograph 241 on pages 508-509)
29-30 (Page 497)	No	No	No
31-32 (Page 497)	Yes (Figure 147 on page 499)	No	No
33 (Page 497)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 233-Photograph 237 on pages 505-507)
34 (Page 497)	Yes (Figure 147 on page 499)	No	No
35-36 (Page 497)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 272-Photograph 279 on pages 524-527)

Find no (STRUCT)	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
37 (Page 497)	Yes (Figure 147 on page 499)	No	No
38-40 (Page 497)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 272-Photograph 279 on pages 524-527)
41 (Page 500)	No	No	No
42-43 (Page 500)	Yes (Figure 148 on page 500)	No	No
44-45 (Page 500)	No	No	No
46 (Page 500)	Yes (Figure 148 on page 500)	No	No
47-48 (Page 500)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 272-Photograph 279 on pages 524-527)
49-50 (Page 500)	No	No	No
51-52 (Page 501)	Yes (Figure 149 on page 501)	No	No
53 (Page 501)	No	No	No
54 (Page 501)	Yes (Figure 150 on page 501)	No	No
55 (Page 502)	No	No	No
56 (Page 502)	Yes (Figure 151 on page 502)	Yes (Photograph 258 on page 517)	No
57-58 (Page 502)	Yes (Figure 151 on page 502)	No	No
59 (Page 503)	No	No	No
60 (Page 503)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 258-Photograph 259 on page 517)
61 (Page 503)	Yes (Figure 152 on page 503)	No	No
62 (Page 503)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 258-Photograph 259 on page 517)
63-64 (Page 503)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 261Photograph 262 on pages 518-519)
65 (Page 503)	No	No	No
66-67 (Page 503)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 272-Photograph 279 on pages 524-527)
68 (Page 504)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 272-Photograph 279 on pages 524-527)
69 (Page 504)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 272-Photograph 279 on pages 524-527)
70-71 (Page 504)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 264-Photograph 265 on page 520)

Structural fittings and fastenings have been recorded from thirty one temple sites in Roman Britain, including Springhead (Table 41). The material from Penn and Harker's excavations, together with Uley, Wanborough and Great Chesterford, has produced particularly high amounts of such objects when compared to others. It is, however, possible that if fastenings, such as nails, were frequently encountered; then these finds may have been considered unworthy of full publication, or retention, by the excavators, perhaps because they were considered to provide little information about past activities, together with other 'bulk' material such as building stone and tile, other than indicating the presence of structures at a site.

Table 41: Current state of publication for structural fittings from temple sites in Roman Britain

Site name	Source(s)	Number of structural fittings discovered
Uley (Gloucestershire)	Woodward and Leach, 1993	3728
Wanborough (Surrey)	O' Connell and Bird, 1994	340
Great Chesterford (Essex)	Collins, 1978; Miller, 1995	329
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	133
Jordon Hill (Dorset)	Drew, 1931; 1932	50
Maiden Castle (Dorset)	Wheeler, 1943	33
Lancing Down (Sussex)	Bedwin, 1981	29
Harlow (Essex) **FP**	France and Gobel, 1985	28
Croft Ambrey (Worcestershire)	Stanford, 1974	21
Henley Wood (Somerset) **FP**	Watts and Leach, 1996	17
Verulamium 2 (Hertfordshire)	Wheeler and Wheeler, 1936	10
Brean Down (Somerset)	Apsimon, 1965	8
Lamyatt Beacon (Somerset)	Leech, 1986	8
Brigstock 1-2 (Northamptonshire)	Greenfield, 1963	6
Chelmsford (Essex)	Wickenden, 1992	6
Nettleton Scrubb (Wiltshire)	Wedlake, 1982	5
Woodeaton (Oxfordshire)	Goodchild and Kirk, 1954	5
Cosgrove (Northamptonshire)	Quinnell, 1991	3
Pagans Hill (Somerset)	Rahtz and Harris, 1958	3
Titsey (Surrey)	Graham, 1936	3
Collyweston (Northamptonshire)	Knocker, 1965	3
Chedworth (Gloucestershire)	Baddeley, 1930	2
Colchester 8 -Temple of Claudius- (Essex)	Hull, 1958, Drury, 1984	2
Bozeat (Northamptonshire)	Hall and Nickerson, 1970	2
Muntham Court (Sussex)	Burstow and Hollyman, 1955	2
Worth (Kent)	Klein, 1928	2
Caistor-by Norwich 3 (Norfolk)	Gurney, 1986	1
Chanctonbury (West Sussex)	Mitchell, 1910	1
Colchester 5 -Grammar School- (Essex)	Crummy, 1980	1
Frilford (Oxfordshire)	Bradford and Goodchild, 1939	1
Kelvedon (Essex)	Wilson, 1972	1

Regardless of whether the structural fittings and fastenings from sites are fully recorded, little consideration appears to have been made about their potential significance to past activities, beyond their basic function. It has, however, been briefly considered at Harlow (France and Gobel, 1985; 95)

and at Uley (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 331) that such items may have been significant to 'religious' activities, representing pieces of the temple buildings, and/or their furnishings. At Springhead, the distribution of structural fittings and fastenings from deposits associated with the early occupation of the site, as a whole, appeared to provide little information, and objects seemed to be relatively limited (Table 42). There was, however, far more material from later deposits, particularly those from the fourth century, perhaps representing the remains of structures and furnishings left behind when the site was destroyed.

Date of contexts	Structural fittings and fastenings
First century AD	3
Late first-early second century AD	1
Second century AD	8
Late second or early third century AD	0
Third century AD	1
Late third or fourth century	9
Fourth century AD	38
Unknown	100

Table 42: Occurrence of structural fittings and fastenings in archaeological features and strata of different periods.

Very few items appear to have been deposited in the first **(STRUCT 6, 51, 61)**, late first or early second **(STRUCT 5)**, second **(STRUCT 4, 54, 56, 57, 59)** and third centuries **(STRUCT 3)** and these appeared to be isolated finds. The deposits predating the second century 'temple complex' may, however, be parts of the early structures built at the site, and/or their furnishings, although such significance was not attributed to them at the time they were originally recorded, as traces of this occupation had yet to be discovered. A small number of finds were also discovered, which possess no detailed records on their provenance **(STRUCT 7, 52, 62-65, 68, 69)**, preventing further commentary on their distribution.

The distribution of material, deposited during later periods, aside from one object **(STRUCT 1)** from a fourth century context, which may have been an isolated find, did, however, present a number of interesting possibilities for discussion. Many iron structural fittings and fastenings, appear to be particularly concentrated within individual deposits, and may have been deliberately stored or buried in particular parts of the site. During the late third or fourth century, an lynch pin **(STRUCT 42)**, two bolts from a lock, **(STRUCT 43, 46)**, two keys, or hasps, also from locks **(STRUCT 44-45)** and at least two nails' **(STRUCT 47-48)** and spikes **(STRUCT 49-50)** were deposited, in a layer of burnt clay, upon the floor of building B10. Large quantities of iron structural fittings and fastenings were deposited on the floors of Temple I, and buried in the rubble sealing the remains of the building, during the fourth century **(STRUCT 12-32, 35-36, 38-40)**. Such associations are unparalleled elsewhere within the 'temenos', and the character of the assemblage associated with the temple is quite distinct. The objects could, therefore, perhaps form parts of furnishing and/or the superstructure to the building. The split staples **(STRUCT 18-20)** found along the northern wall of the *cella* were claimed to be *in situ*

as they were grouped in lines. It was suggested that they might have been from collapsed door jambs (Penn, 1959; 21). The same explanation was advanced for the three large nails **(STRUCT 38-40)** and the T-shaped staples **(STRUCT 14-17)** also found within it. More detailed commentary on the significance of these activities to the final occupation of the site can be seen in section 9.4

Structural fittings and fastenings also formed a major proportion of a concentration of iron objects, identified during analysis of the contents of the Gravesend Historical Society store. The material came from a box marked 'G273 A, iron frags in chalk floor at 50-53', an unknown location, and includes nine objects which appeared to be fastenings or bolts (Photograph 242-Photograph 250 on pages 509-513), three nails (Photograph 279-Photograph 281 on page 527-528), part of what appeared to be a latch lifter (Photograph 269 on page 522) and two narrow pieces of iron fused at right angles that may have been used to fasten pieces of wood together (Photograph 266 on page 521). The description written on the box containing the objects appears to indicate that the items were found in a single context at a particular location within the settlement and it is possible that they represent another deliberately deposited accumulation of iron work. The lack of information on the context of this material does, however, prevent further commentary on its significance.

Much of the discussion has been focused upon exploring the interpretation of concentrations of other 'forms' of iron objects from sites in Roman Britain, such as tools, weapons, and agricultural equipment, as representing 'blacksmith's stock', buried with the intention of re-smelting, but never recovered (*cf* Manning, 1972). The deposit from building B10, interestingly, included iron hammer scale **(MET 14)**, and possibly fragments from a crucible **(MET 15)**, and there appears to be association with the remnants of metal working activities. It is possible that many of the fittings and fastenings from Temple I could have been collected as 'blacksmith's stock', a burnt layer, deposited on the floor of the western corridor, containing quantities of iron slag **(MET 11)**. Droplets of once molten iron **(MET 12)** were also found on the floors. This interpretation, applied frequently, has been questioned in many studies of remains from Roman Britain, as it is unclear why past peoples did not recover the iron they deposited if it was intended for re-smelting. Studies examining the contexts in which iron objects from Roman Britain were deposited (Dungworth, 1998; Aldhouse-Green, 2002; Hingley, 2006) have attempted to look for other possibilities, beyond their collection as 'stock' metal, particularly emphasising that the burial of material may have been intended for symbolic reasons, perhaps as part of different 'rituals', emphasising that the use of the single interpretation of 'blacksmith's stock' to account for all material left on sites may be overtly simplistic. The character and composition of deposits is examined in detail in section 9.4, which considers the relationships between the deposition of such finds with the final occupation and abandonment of the site. All the material, claimed to have been deposited as 'stock metal', with detailed information on its context, was associated with this period and the material presents a number of interesting possibilities for discussion about the final use of the site; including possible conflict between iron workers carrying out their activities within one of the temples, as an aggressive act, intended to destroy it, and the rescue, and special burial of building parts by devotees, carrying out 'religious' acts in defiance of such persecution.

7.4: Ornamental fixtures and fastenings.

Sixteen objects are mentioned in the accounts published by Penn and Harker, and were interpreted as having been used to embellish objects in a decorative fashion. Such items were probably small fixtures from much larger finds; such as boxes, bags and items of clothing, and the possibility exists that more than one could have come from the same object. It is, therefore, possible that the assemblage could represent a relatively limited amount of material. Thirteen other ornamental fixtures and fastenings were also identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection; the majority of which were copper alloy studs (Photograph 284-Photograph 295 on pages 542-546), together with one enamelled, copper alloy lid from a seal box (Photograph 296 on page 546) and these could not be reconciled with the material from the written accounts. The distribution of the items can be seen in Figure 55 (page 156) and Table 45 (page 157) provides details upon whether items could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection and if they were illustrated in the published literature. Commentary on individual finds can be found in Appendix 13. Table 43 shows the relationship between ornamental fixtures and fastenings from Springhead with archaeological features and strata of different dates. There appears to be little obvious patterning in the distribution of these finds through time and, as the objects held in the Gravesend Historical Society collection could neither be provenanced, nor reconciled with examples mentioned in the written accounts, it is difficult to pass any meaningful comment upon them.

Date of contexts	Ornamental fixtures and fastenings
First century AD	0
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	5
Late second or early third century AD	0
Third century AD	1
Late third or fourth century	0
Fourth century AD	5
Unknown	4

Table 43: Occurrence of ornamental fixtures and fastenings in archaeological features and strata of different periods.

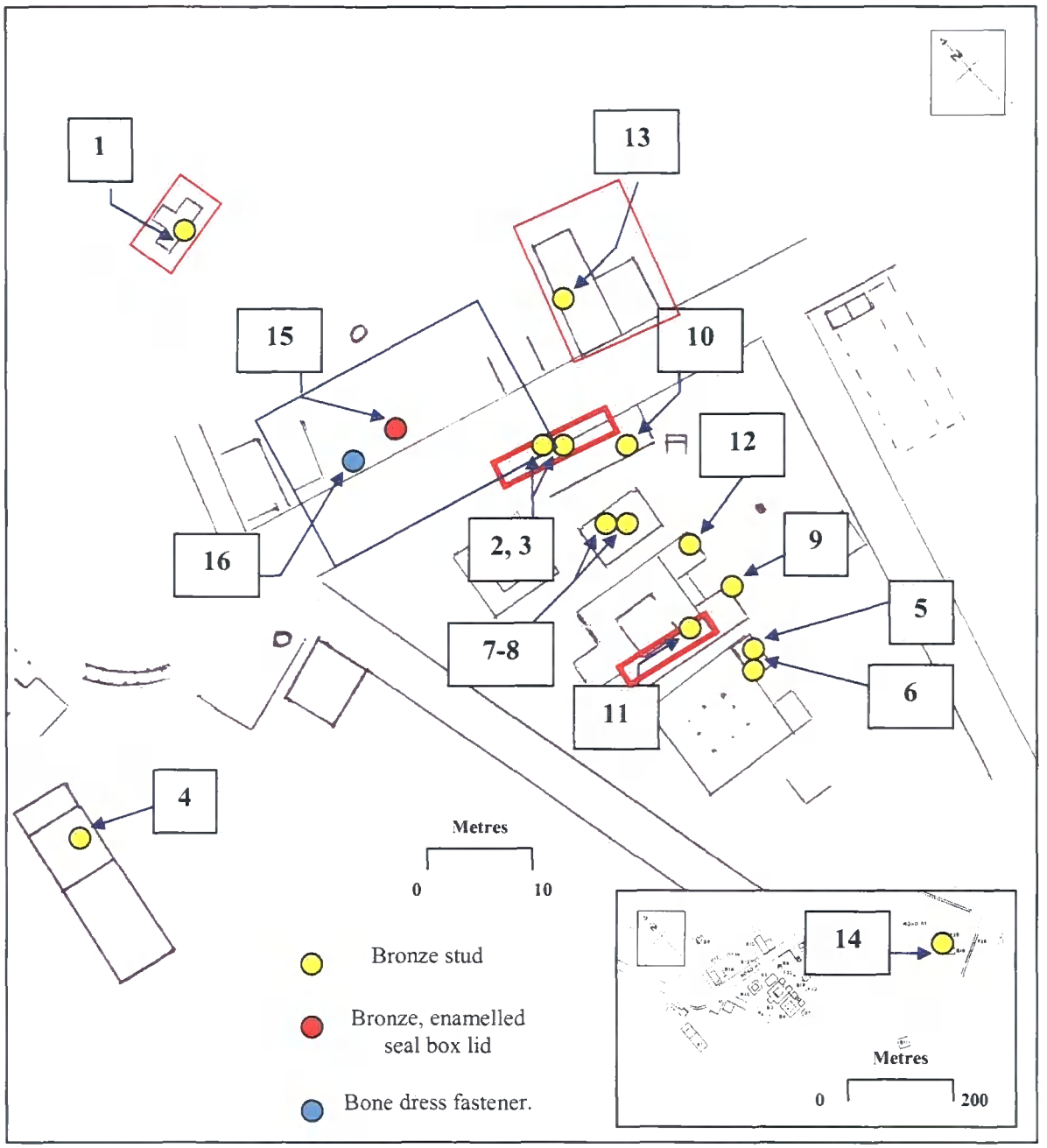
. Aside from Springhead, only sixteen temple sites from Roman Britain possess records for ornamental fixtures and fastenings (Table 44) and, of these, only four sites have produced more than six. It may be, however, that on many sites such finds were never fully published as, being small and quite ambiguous, such items might have been considered to provide little information. The objects appear to provide little detail on past activities, other than they may have been pieces of larger items, as little work has been done upon them.

Table 44: Comparison between the number of ornamental fixtures and fastenings recorded from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number of ornamental fixtures and fastenings discovered
Nettleton Scrubb (Wiltshire)	Wedlake, 1982	47
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	27
Verulamium 2 (Hertfordshire)	Wheeler and Wheeler, 1936	18
Harlow (Essex) **FP**	France and Gobel, 1985	14
Croft Ambrey (Worcestershire)	Stanford, 1974	6
Henley Wood (Somerset) **FP**	Watts and Leach, 1996	4
Lamyatt Beacon (Somerset)	Leech, 1986	4
Mutlow Hill (Cambridgeshire)	Wait, 1985 a	4
Wanborough (Surrey)	O' Connell and Bird, 1994	3
Bath (Avon)	Cunliffe, 1988	2
Lydney Park (Gloucestershire)	Wheeler and Wheeler, 1932	2
Chelmsford - Caesaromagus - (Essex)	Wickenden, 1992	1
Colchester 5 -Grammar School- (Essex)	Crummy, 1980	1
Kelvedon (Essex)	Wilson, 1972	1
Verulamium 1 (Hertfordshire)	Lowther, 1937	1
Weycock Hill (Berkshire)	Cotton, 1957	1
Woodeaton (Oxfordshire)	Goodchild and Kirk, 1954	1

At Uley, a concentration of studs, and pieces of matching antler inlay, at the westernmost excavated sector of the perimeter bank, bounding the site to the north, may indicate the deposition of a complete box within this feature when the site was destroyed (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 331). Although there is not enough information on the context of finds from Penn and Harker's excavations to determine whether the distribution of studs and fastenings might indicate the existence of material *in situ*, it is possible that detailed and intensive work on the distribution of such items on other temple sites might reveal traces of such material, perhaps furnishings disposed of when the site was destroyed, or even material intentionally buried as 'offerings'.

Figure 55: Distribution of objects interpreted as being ornamental fixtures and fastenings from accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).



The red rectangles represent the maximum extent of the excavated areas in which discoveries **1**, **2**, **3**, **11** and **13** were found. The blue rectangle represents the maximum extent of the excavated area in which discoveries **15** and **16** were found.

Table 45: Ornamental fixtures and fastenings from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker: information on whether objects were illustrated in published reports and whether they could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Find no (ORN) and details on the location where it is described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1 (Page 538)	Yes (Figure 153 on page 538)	Yes (Photograph 284 on page 542)	No
2 (Page 538)	Yes (Figure 154 on page 538)	No	No
3 (Page 538)	Yes (Figure 154 on page 538)	No	Yes (Photograph 290 on page 544)
4 (Page 539)	Yes (Figure 155 on page 539)	No	No
5 (Page 539)	Yes (Figure 156 on page 539))	No	No
6 (Page 539)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 285-Photograph 286 on page 542; Photograph 290-Photograph 292 on page 544; and Photograph 295 on page 546)
7 (Page 540)	Yes (Figure 157 on page 540)	No	No
8 (Page 540)	Yes (Figure 157 on page 540)	No	Yes (Photograph 287 on page 543)
9 (Page 540)	Yes (Figure 158 on page 540)	No	No
11 (Page 541)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 285 on page 542; Photograph 288, on page 543, and Photograph 295 on page 546)
12 (Page 541)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 285 on page 542; Photograph 287 on page 543; and Photograph 289 on page 543)
13 (Page 541)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 285-Photograph 286 on page 542; Photograph 290-Photograph 292 on page 544; and Photograph 295 on page 546)
14 (Page 541)	No	No	No
15 (Page 541)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 296 on page 546)
16 (Page 541)	No	No	No

7.5: Glass vessels.

The distribution of glass vessels mentioned in the published literature can be seen in Figure 56. Table 46 provides details upon whether the objects could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection and whether they were illustrated in the reports compiled by Penn and Harker. Commentary on individual finds can be found in Appendix 14. Two fragments of glass vessels were identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection that could not be reconciled with examples from the written accounts compiled by Penn and Harker; one of these being part of a bowl (Photograph 298 on page 555), and the other, unidentifiable (Photograph 299 on page 556).

It appears that much of the glass was retained by one of the excavators, John Shepherd, who stored the material at University College, London. The existence of this material was realised late in the course of this study, following discussion with members of the Gravesend Historical Society, who had made an attempt to recover it (V. Smith, S Soder; *pers. comm.*). It was, however, impossible to arrange a convenient place to view and study the material as Mr. Shepherd was engaged in moving jobs and research material from the Museum of London to University College and did not have time to provide access. It has, however, been possible to study all references made to discoveries of glass in the published literature. It is important to note that it should not be taken for granted that the material held by John Shepherd represents all the glass from the excavations at Springhead. Mr. Shepherd recalled that some of the glass from the excavations was given to the late Dorothy Charlesworth and it was uncertain if this had ever been returned, due to her death.

Little glass appears to have been recorded from temple sites in Roman Britain (Table 47 on page 160), and the assemblage from Springhead is, currently, the third largest known, and the material held by John Shepherd may raise the total even higher. Little can be currently said about the finds, due to the lack of material discovered on many sites, the limited publication of glass from Penn and Harker's excavations, and the larger assemblages from Nettleton Scrubb and Uley comprising only selectively published vessels, and not reflecting the full extent of items found.

Figure 56: Distribution of glass vessels from accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plans after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

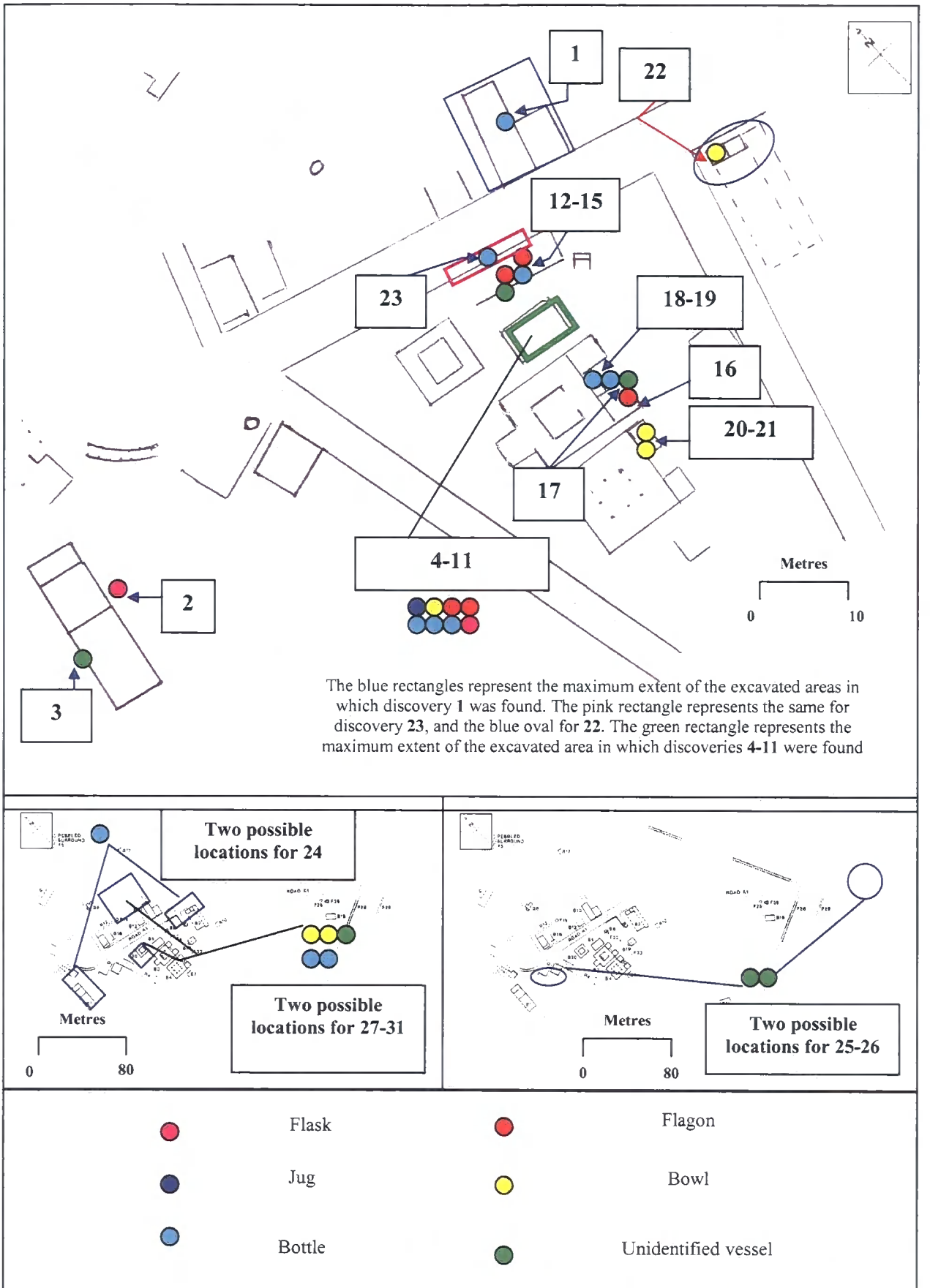


Table 46: Glass vessels from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker: information on whether objects were illustrated in published reports and whether they could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Find no (V GLASS) and details on the location within Appendix 14 where it is described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1 (Page 550)	Yes (Figure 159 on page 550)	No	No
2 (Page 550)	Yes (Figure 160 on page 550)	No	No
3 (Page 550)	No	Yes (Photograph 297 on page 555)	No
4-5 (Page 551)	No	No	No
6-7 (Page 551)	Yes (Figure 161 on page 551)	No	No
8-11 (Page 551)	No	No	No
12 (Page 552)	Yes (Figure 162 on page 552)	No	No
13-19 (Page 552)	No	No	No
20 (Page 553)	Yes (Figure 163 on page 553)	No	No
21 (Page 553)	No	No	No
22 (Page 553)	Yes (Figure 164 on page 553)	No	No
23 (Page 553)	No	No	No
24-31 (Page 554)	No	No	No

Table 47: Comparison between quantities of glass vessel fragments recorded from Springhead against those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number discovered
Uley (Gloucestershire)	Woodward and Leach, 1993	959
Nettleton Scrubb (Wiltshire)	Wedlake, 1982	24
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	33
Caistor-by Norwich 3 (Norfolk)	Gurney, 1986	2
Chelmsford - Caesaromagus - (Essex)	Wickenden, 1992	2
Cosgrove (Northamptonshire)	Quinnell, 1991	2
Farley Heath (Surrey)	Winbolt, 1927	2
Great Dunmow (Essex)	Wickenden, 1988	2
Henley Wood (Somerset) **FP**	Watts and Leach, 1996	2
Lamyatt Beacon (Somerset)	Leech, 1986	2
Pagans Hill (Somerset)	Rahtz and Harris, 1958	2
Verulamium 2 (Hertfordshire)	Wheeler and Wheeler, 1936	2
Wanborough (Surrey)	O' Connell and Bird, 1994	2
Colchester 8 -Temple of Claudius- (Essex)	Drury, 1984	1

Dating information was unavailable for eleven vessels **(VGLASS 1, 19, 22, 24-31)**, as detailed records had not survived on their contexts, although a significant amount of material appears to have been deposited during the second century (Table 48). Two fragments from this time appear to predate Temple I **(VGLASS 16-17)**, and may be remnants of the earlier occupation associated with Temple VII, the 'agricultural building' and the temples excavated by Wessex Archaeology.

Date of contexts	Glass vessels
First century AD	0
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	17
Late second or early third century AD	0
Third century AD	1
Late third or fourth century	0
Fourth century AD	3
Unknown	10

Table 48: Details on glass vessels in archaeological features and strata of different periods.

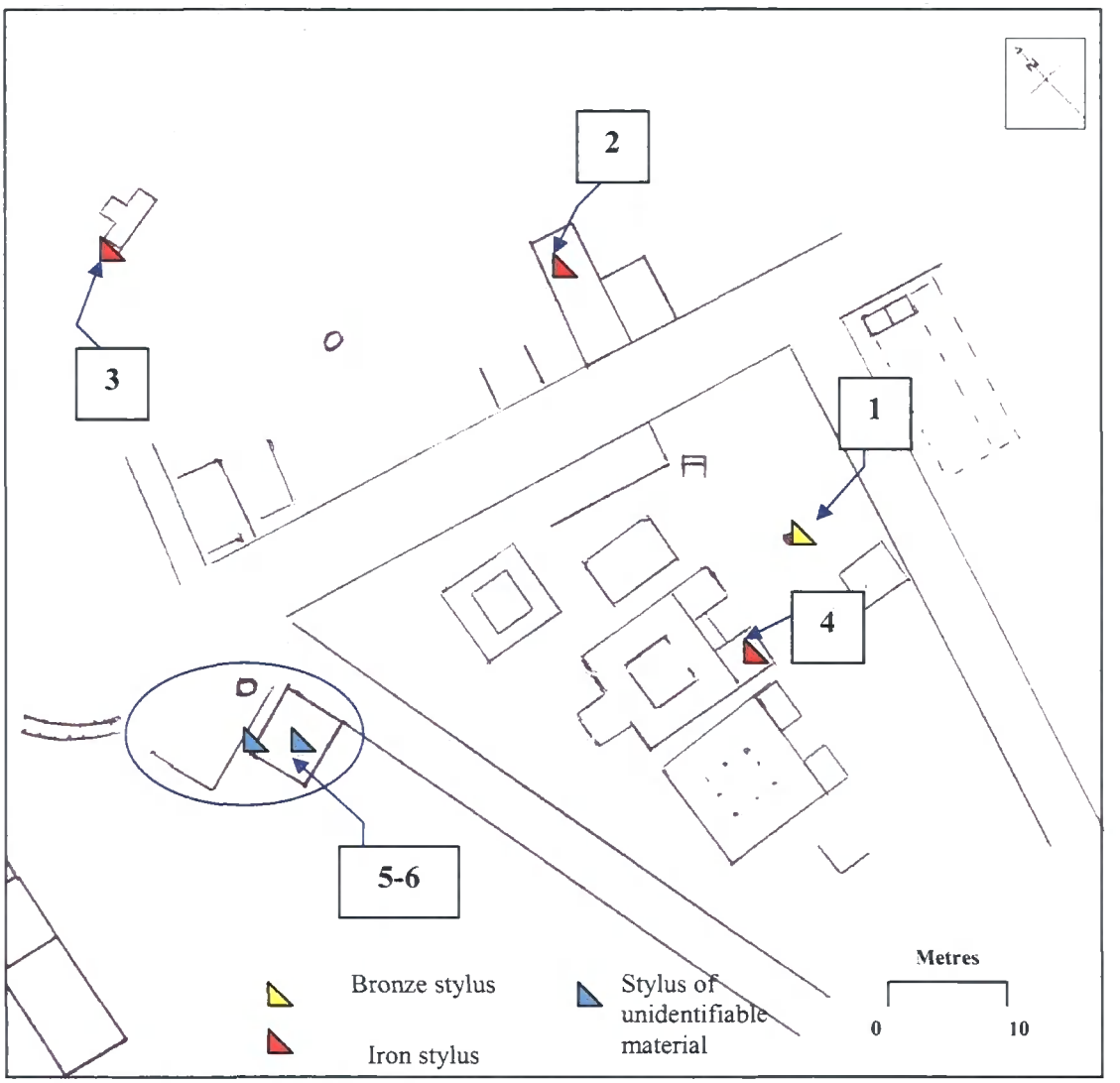
Much of the glass left behind during the second century was buried within the 'temenos area', with quantities of other 'small finds', much of which appears to have been deliberately intended. It is possible that the fragments were collected together and symbolically deposited in these parts of the site, and the material may be significant to 'religious' ideas and beliefs associated with the buildings in the 'temenos area'. Pieces from flagons **(VGLASS 12, 15)**, a bottle **(VGLASS 13)**, and a vessel of unidentifiable form **(VGLASS 14)** appear to have been intentionally deposited with a group of items, towards the centre of the oven building, the significance of which is discussed in detail on page 218). Another concentration of vessel glass, deposited following the abandonment of Temple III, including parts from bottles **(VGLASS 4-6)**, flagons **(VGLASS 7-9)**, a bowl **(VGLASS 8)**, a jug **(VGLASS 10)** and a flask **(VGLASS 11)** was found, together with other finds, and thousands of pottery sherds, and may be significant as a group of material 'dumped' within the 'temenos' as the results of activities associated with it. The significance of this 'rubbish' for allowing an understanding of activities associated with this part of the site is considered in detail on page 221. A few glass vessel fragments, from deposits dated to the fourth century, also appear to have been deliberately collected and deposited, perhaps as part of 'religious' activities. A fragment of colourless glass from a bowl, inscribed with the letter 'C', **(VGLASS 20)** and also another one of these objects **(VGLASS 21)** were found in the 'hoard' from the rubble filling the northern 'antae' of Temple II and is considered in relation to activities associated with final occupation and abandonment of the site, in section 9.4.

7.6: Styli.

A small number of objects were discovered that were interpreted as being styli, used for creating inscriptions on material. The distribution of these objects can be seen in Figure 57. Table 49 provides details upon whether the objects could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection and whether they were illustrated in the reports compiled by Penn and Harker. Commentary on individual finds can be found in Appendix 15. No unpublished examples could be identified from the collection of finds held in the store. Nettleton Scrubb has produced higher quantities of such items (Table 51) when compared to other temple sites from Roman Britain, and it is possible that such objects could have been used to inscribe vows, dedications and curses, attested on lead tablets at sites such as Uley (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 113-130) and Bath (Cunliffe, 1988; 59-266), where the written word appears to have been used to invoke the powers of deities. Despite the absence of evidence for such practices from Springhead, it is possible that material could have been present, but simply has not survived archaeologically, perhaps because the inscribed material was organic, and conditions were unsuitable for its preservation.

As a whole, the distribution of these finds appeared to provide little information on past activities (Table 50), although two of the objects may have been deliberately deposited at the site as the results of ideas and beliefs connected with it. During the second century, a complete bronze stylus **(STYL 1)** appears to have been deliberately left behind on a floor, classified 'III', in front of the 'pedestal', on its southern side. The object had a later ramp built over it, classified 'IV', and it is difficult to see how it could have been left there as the result of casual loss, being in a very noticeable position, when building was undertaken. As with a number of items of personal adornment, incorporated into the fabric of Temple I in a seemingly deliberate manner, it is possible that the stylus may have been significant, with these items, as finds placed in potentially symbolic ways, perhaps as 'offerings', as the result of construction work upon the buildings and structures within the 'temenos area'.

Figure 57: Distribution of objects interpreted as being styli from accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).



. The blue oval represents the maximum extent of parts of the site in which discoveries **5-6** were found.

Table 49: Styli from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker: information on whether objects were illustrated in published reports and whether they could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Find no (STYL) and details on the location where described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1 (Page 561)	Yes (Figure 165 on page 561)	Yes (Photograph 300 on page 563)	No
2-3 (Page 561)	No	No	No
4 (Page 561)	Yes (Figure 166 on page 561)	No	No
5-6 (Page 562)	No	No	No

Table 50: Occurrence of styli in archaeological features and strata of different periods.

Date of contexts	Styli
First century AD	0
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	1
Late second or early third century AD	1
Third century AD	0
Late third or fourth century	0
Fourth century AD	1
Unknown	3

Table 51: Comparison between the number of styli recorded from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number of styli discovered
Nettleton Scrubb (Wiltshire)	Wedlake, 1982	33
Henley Wood (Somerset) **FP**	Watts and Leach, 1996	10
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	6
Great Chesterford (Essex)	Collins, 1978; Miller, 1995	4
Uley (Gloucestershire) **FP**	Woodward and Leach, 1993	4
Maiden Castle (Dorset)	Wheeler, 1943	3
Harlow (Essex) **FP**	France and Gobel, 1985	2
Lamyatt Beacon (Somerset)	Leech, 1986	2
Brean Down (Somerset)	Apsimon, 1965	1
Colchester 5 -Grammar School- (Essex)	Crummy, 1980	1
Lydney Park (Gloucestershire)	Wheeler and Wheeler, 1932	1
Mutlow Hill (Cambridgeshire)	Wait, 1985 a	1

7.7: 'Finds types' where analysis of distribution provided little information on past activities, but which may provide some insight into activities on other temple sites.

Analysis of the distribution of many finds 'types' from the Gravesend Historical Society collection appeared to reveal no significant traits that might shed light into past activities at Springhead, because too few examples were discovered and/or their was a lack of detailed information on their contexts. Some interesting information on the relationships between such items and the use of other temple sites from Roman Britain was, however, revealed, when the material from the site was examined in the wider context of 'religious' activities in Roman Britain, which will be discussed below. The data resulting from the survey of the distribution of these finds can be found on the following pages, between 172 and 193. For purposes of convenient reference to this data, a table has been provided, overleaf, showing details on the location of maps indicating the distribution of each 'finds type', tables providing cross references to detailed descriptions of the items and illustrations and photographs, where available, located in the appendices to this study.

Ten objects thought to have been gaming counters, including six made of bone **(GAM 1-3, 5, 8, 9)**, two made of glass **(GAM 4, 6)** and two of pottery **(GAM 7, 10)** were identified from the published records of Penn and Harker. Twelve other objects were identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection; eight of which were made of bone (Photograph 301-Photograph 308 on pages 567-570), two of pottery (Photograph 309 and Photograph 310 on page 571), one of metal (Photograph 311 on page 572) and one of glass (Photograph 312 on page 572). As a whole, relatively few of these items have been recorded from temple sites, the thirty examples from Lullingstone, from a single board, associated with two burials in a chamber directly beneath the temple (Meates, 1979; 122-132) which was used to cover them, reflecting veneration of the spirits of the deceased. The assemblage from Henley Wood is also of interest, being considerably larger than any other temple site. It is possible that gaming counters were used for entertainment, as part of hospitality provided for people visiting the temple site, and the objects could have been symbolically connected with good or ill fortune, according to the wishes of deities, and deposited as 'token offerings', reflecting this (A. Smith, 2001; 93). The items could also have been used for purposes of divination, the positions of counters and the results of games being influenced by deities, informing a player of their fortunes and choices that they would have to make in their lives; the gaming board and counters from the Doctor's grave at Stanway were associated with objects interpreted as being divining rods (Crummy, 2007) and may suggest such possibilities. It is, however, important to note that, if such objects were used as part of games, then all assemblages of counters recorded from temple sites are relatively small. Complete examples of single gaming boards feature many pieces, at Lullingstone (discussed above) and Springhead (Website 2), thirty and twenty three counters were found, respectively, in graves. The Doctor's grave at Stanway also contained twenty six pieces and the Warrior's grave from the same site contained nineteen (*cf* Crummy, 2007) and, in comparison, it is possible that the remains from temple sites may represent relatively limited activities. The objects might, however, represent the limited survival of a few

counters from many games. It is also possible that tokens might not represent gaming, but could have been used as passes to allow entry onto the site, or certain parts of it.

Also discovered were one pewter, and one silver, models of leaves **(LEAF 1-2)**. It is possible that such items may represent the remains of decorative fixtures on statuary, architecture, or may have been intended as miniature items, perhaps connected with the veneration of foliage. Another pewter leaf (Photograph 314 on page 576) was identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection, as were five pieces of silver sheet, found in a box marked 'silver leaves', which displaying similar traces of decoration (Photograph 325 on page 606). The silver objects are, however, all fragmentary, and of irregular shape and it is, therefore, not possible to identify them with any certainty.

A small number of pieces of horse equipment were found, including two terrets **(HORSE 1-2)**, two harness rings **(HORSE 4-5)**, and a horseshoe **(HORSE 3)**. Springhead is one of only four temple sites known to have produced such objects and, although little information appears to be available from Penn and Harker's excavations, material from Maiden Castle, where fragments from fourteen horse shoes were discovered placed at the entrance to the 'temenos' and its accompanying roadway, close to a structure interpreted as being an altar (Wheeler, 1943; 120-121, 290-291), may suggest that such items could have been deliberately left behind and deposited, perhaps as 'offerings', due to 'religious' ideas and beliefs connected with this part of the site.

'Finds type'	Locations where distribution maps can be found, and tables, providing detail on specific finds	Location of table showing relationships between finds with strata of different periods	Location of table comparing the finds with quantities of similar items recorded from other temple sites in Roman Britain
Gaming counters	Figure 58 and Table 54 (page 172)	Table 68 (page 186)	Table 78 (page 189)
Metal leaves	Figure 59 and Table 55 (page 172)	Table 69 (page 186)	Table 79 (page 189)
Horse equipment	Figure 60 and Table 56 (page 174)	Table 70 (page 186)	Table 80 (page 190)
Model letters	Figure 61 and Table 57 (page 175)	Table 71 (page 186)	Table 81 (page 190)
Lighting equipment	Figure 62 and Table 58 (page 176)	Table 72 (page 187)	Table 82(page 190)
Weapons	Figure 63 and Table 59 (page 177)	Table 73 (page 187)	Table 83 (page 191)
Marble bowls	Figure 64 and Table 60 (page 178)	Table 74 (page 187)	Not provided, as find is currently unique
Pewter vessels	Figure 65 and Table 61 (page 179)	Table 75 (page 188)	Table 84 (page 191)
Ploughshares	Figure 66 and Table 62 (page 180)	Table 76 (page 188)	Not provided, as finds are currently unique
Window glass	Figure 67 and Table 63 (page 181)	Table not provided, as no details on context.	Table 85 (page 192)
Bells	Figure 68 and Table 64 (page 182)	Table not provided, as no details on context.	Table 86 (page 192)
Foot ware	Figure 69 and Table 65 (page 183)	Table not provided, as no details on context.	Table 87 (page 192)
Steelyards	Figure 70 and Table 66 (page 184)	Table not provided, as no details on context.	Not provided, as find is currently unique
Skewers	Figure 71 and Table 67 (page 185)	Table 77 (page 188)	Not provided, as find is currently unique
Weights	No map provided, as distribution is unknown, and no table included as no other details are available on item.	Table not provided, as no details on context.	Table 88 (page 193)

Table 52: Location of information on individual 'finds types' from Penn and Harker's excavations, examination of the distribution of which was felt to provide limited information on past activities.

A single model letter is mentioned in the accounts compiled by Penn and Harker; a thin sheet of gilt bronze, interpreted as being part of an 'A' **(LETTER 1)**. Lydney Park has produced forty five such finds, although, aside from these examples, they appear to be relatively rare from temple sites, with only five others, aside from Springhead, known to have produced them. The purposes such objects may have served are, however, unclear, although it is possible that they could have been used as part of 'religious' activities, perhaps to spell out dedications to deities or the names of devotees. Being interchangeable and reusable, such objects could be used for a variety of functions.

Two items of lighting equipment **(LIGHT 1-2)**, both of them candle holders, are recorded from Penn and Harker's excavations, and form part of a very small number of such finds, recorded from only six other temple sites in Roman Britain. All of these appear to be metal or clay candle sticks, although one object from Woodeaton was described as being a 'metal trident torch holder' (*cf* Bagnall-Smith, 1999; 154). It is possible that objects forming parts of tripods were not simply used for light, but also in which to burn offerings or incense as part of ceremonies connected with the temples. The trident form of the object from Woodeaton might also suggest that such items could possess a 'religious' symbolism, as may have a candle holder in the form of a cockerel from Nettleton Scrubb, regarded as being potentially symbolic of a 'cult' of Mercury (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 333). It is of course, possible that other sources of lighting could have been present on temple sites which have not survived archaeologically, such as wax candles and pottery lamps. It is also interesting to note another potentially 'religious' connection between lighting equipment and 'religious' practices amongst the ceramic assemblage from Springhead; a clay 'incense burner', which may well have been a torch, depicting three humanoid figures, one of them with horns, has recently been published (V. Smith, 2004; 8) and it is possible that further investigation of the ceramic assemblage has the potential to yield more interesting information of this sort.

Five weapons are mentioned in the written accounts, and consist of heads from spears **(WEAP 1, 3)**, lances **(WEAP 2)** and arrows **(WEAP 4, 5)**. Two of these **(WEAP 2, 5)** were, however, found in the modern road ditch of the A2 motorway, and it was suggested that they might not have been Roman. A single head, possibly from a spear or lance, was found in the collection, which could not be reconciled with examples mentioned in the published reports compiled by Penn and Harker (Photograph 319 on page 588). Although the items from Springhead appear to be too limited in number, and/or of ambiguous date, to provide little information on past activities, finds from other temple sites could suggest potential connections between such items and 'religious' activities. Small quantities of weapons are known to have been found on seventeen temple sites in Roman Britain, with no more than four being discovered from any of these, and they appear to provide limited information. Uley is, so far, the only site known to have produced considerable quantities of full sized weapons, and thirty two, deposited during phases two and three, were suggested to have been deliberately left at the site as part of an early 'warrior cult', a notion thought to be supported by two inscriptions mentioning Mars and two referring to Mars Silvanus, (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 131, 333). It was suggested that these could have been replaced by the later 'cult' to Mercury, as the two inscriptions to Mars Silvanus were

then overwritten by his name; and the decline of weapons, to only nine examples, in later deposits, were also suggested to represent this (*ibid*). It is, however, possible that miniature items, such as the eleven model spears found during this later period (*ibid*; 131) could represent a continuation of the 'cult' although full sized weapons may have been forbidden, perhaps for purposes of security.

Two pewter vessels, a pot **(PEWT 1)**, and a pan or skillet **(PEWT 2)** are mentioned in the written accounts. The former of these appears to have been placed with the inhumation of an infant **(INF 18)**, over the concrete floor of the central room in building B8. Little information exists to allow discussion of the significance of such items to 'religious' activities at Springhead, although twenty six appear to have been deliberately thrown, or placed, within the sacred springs at Bath (Cunliffe, 1988; 8-15). A 'pewter casting industry' is claimed to have existed during the fourth century at Nettleton Scrubb, although this may post date the use of the site for 'religious' activities. It is, however, uncertain if this metal was actually worked, as apart from a series of stone moulds, which could have been used to cast vessels of other metals (Wedlake, 1982; 67-74), no direct evidence for by-products resulting from pewter manufacturing have been published from the site.

A single item of foot ware was discovered, the remains of a boot **(FOOT 1)** represented by a group of hobnails that had corroded together in the shape of a sole. As a whole, such items appear to be relatively rare from temple sites in Roman Britain, although the assemblage from Uley was considerably larger and distinct, comprising a large amount of hobnails, four hundred and five in all (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 184). It is possible that such items could have possessed symbolic properties (*cf* Van-Driel Murray, 1999) relating to the 'religious' use of the site, perhaps being items belonging to pilgrims that became worn out and discarded, although it is possible that the objects could also have been symbolic of the journey made to the site, and could have been deliberately sacrificed by their owners, and left behind as 'offerings'.

The other finds mentioned in the accounts compiled by Penn and Harker are too limited to provide detailed information on past activities through an analysis of their distribution. Few, if any, appear to have been recorded from other temple sites in Roman Britain and little, or no, information can be gleaned from examination of their wider significance in this respect. Two bells **(BELL 1-2)** were found, and it is possible that music, or chimes might have been produced as part of ceremonies associated with the temples, or to convey moments for particular activities and/or changes in behaviour, marking the passage of time in such activities. A single piece of window glass **(WGLASS 1)** was mentioned in the published literature, and a single fragment was identified in the Gravesend Historical Society collection (Photograph 323 on page 596). It is possible that more window glass is held by John Shepherd at University College, London, as his collection of this material could not be investigated as part of this study. A single weight identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection (Photograph 324 on page 599) forms another example of a small amount of such items recorded from a few temple sites in Roman Britain. It is, however, worth noting that some of the items may have been connected with 'religious' activities, as a steelyard weight recorded from Great

Chesterford was claimed to depict Diana (Collins, 1978; 15). The other finds from Penn and Harker's excavations included a marble bowl **(MARB 1)**, a steelyard **(STEEL 1)**, a skewer **(SKEW 1)**, and two ploughshare tips, one mentioned in the written accounts **(PLOUGH 1)** and a single example, identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection (Photograph 322 on page 594), although no comparisons could be made between them and other material from 'temple sites', which have not produced such objects.

Forty-seven items were mentioned in the written accounts compiled by Penn and Harker which were unidentifiable, and little information could be obtained that might shed light into their use as part of past activities. This material can be consulted by referring to Appendix 27, starting on page 600. A number of objects were identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection which could not be reconciled with examples mentioned in the published literature and details on these items, and locations of their photographs, are summarised overleaf. Although little information could be obtained from examination of these finds, as a whole, it is, perhaps, interesting that Springhead has produced two metal rings, **UNID 10**, and also an example from the Gravesend Historical Society collection which could not be reconciled with the written accounts (Photograph 332 on page 608), both of which are too large to be worn on the finger, and their purpose is unclear. Only two other sites in Roman Britain are known to have produced similar finds (Table 89) although at Croft Ambrey it was also considered that the finds may have been washers (Stanford, 1974; 147). At Uley, the presence of thirty six such objects was a defining characteristic of the assemblage from the site, and it was thought that the finds might have been 'ring money' related to the 'cult' of Mercury and left behind as 'offerings' (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 332-333), although the role the items may have played in relation to this 'religious' activity was not discussed in any further detail. The use of such objects is unknown, although it is interesting to note that examples were found within the Doctor's grave at Stanway, Colchester (Crummy, 2007) and it is possible that their inclusion may have been significant to divination as the eight rings discovered were placed next to the eight rods thought to have been used for such purposes. It is also interesting that, at Springhead, **UNID 10** had been placed on the base of the 'votive pit' within the middle of Temple VI, next to a bird burial, and opposite a mussel shell and an iron finger ring, and this may suggest that the item was symbolically buried as part of activities associated with the 'temple complex', perhaps as 'offerings'. The significance of relationships between different finds from the deposit are considered in the section beginning on page 602.

Description of item	Location of photograph in Appendix 27
Fragment of leather thong tied with a knot	(Photograph 327 on page 606),
Large copper alloy ring	(Photograph 332 on page 608),
A fragment of a copper alloy disc with a hole in it	(Photograph 333 on page 608),
Unidentifiable object of carved bone	(Photograph 334 on page 609),
Fragment of folded copper alloy sheet	(Photograph 335 on page 609)
Curved bronze object	(Photograph 336 on page 609),
Two unidentifiable iron objects	(Photograph 337-Photograph 338 on page 610),
Fragment of copper alloy bar decorated with incised crossed lines	(Photograph 339 on page 610),
Three iron and two copper alloy rings, or links, of twisted metal	(Photograph 340 on page 611),
Part of an iron link or ring	(Photograph 341 on page 611),
Circular, copper alloy disc with a central hole	(Photograph 342 on page 612),
A piece of lead wire	(Photograph 343 on page 612),
An iron hook, which appears to have been attached to something larger	(Photograph 344 on page 613)
Five unidentifiable iron objects	(Photograph 345-Photograph 349 on pages 613-615),
Two handles from unidentifiable objects; the first made of bronze and in the form of a lion, and the latter, made of bone or antler.	(Photograph 350-Photograph 352 on pages 615-616)
Thirteen pieces of badly corroded iron	(Photograph 353-Photograph 356 on pages 617-618).

Table 53: Details on unidentifiable objects that could not be reconciled with examples mentioned in the published literature, and locations of their photographs.

Figure 58: Distribution of gaming counters mentioned in published accounts (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

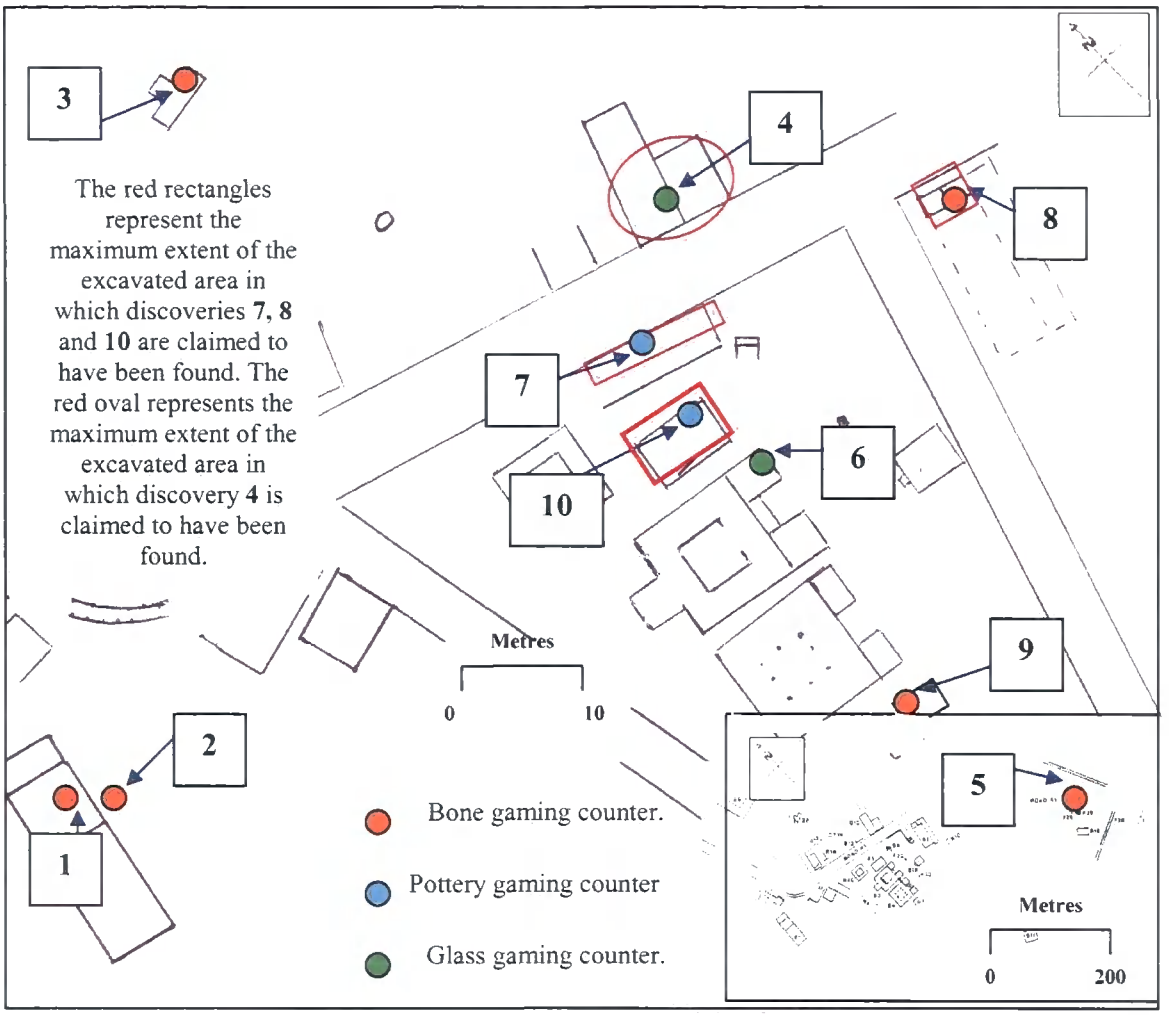


Table 54: Gaming counters from Penn and Harker's excavations: information on objects illustrated in published reports and whether they could be identified in the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Find no (GAM) and details on the location where described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1-2 (Page 565)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 301-Photograph 308 on pages 567-570)
3 (Page 565)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 303; page 568)
4 (Page 565)	No	No	No
5 (Page 565)	Yes (Figure 167 on page 565)	No	Yes (Photograph 301 on page 567, and Photograph 303-Photograph 304 on page 568)
6 (Page 565)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 312; page 572)
7 (Page 566)	Yes (Figure 168 on page 566)	No	Yes (Photograph 311; page 572)
8 (Page 566)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 301-Photograph 304 on pages 567-568)
9 (Page 566)	Yes (Figure 169 on page 566)	No	No
10 (Page 566)	Yes (Figure 170 on page 566)	No	Yes (Photograph 311; page 572)

Figure 59: Distribution of metal representations of leaves mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

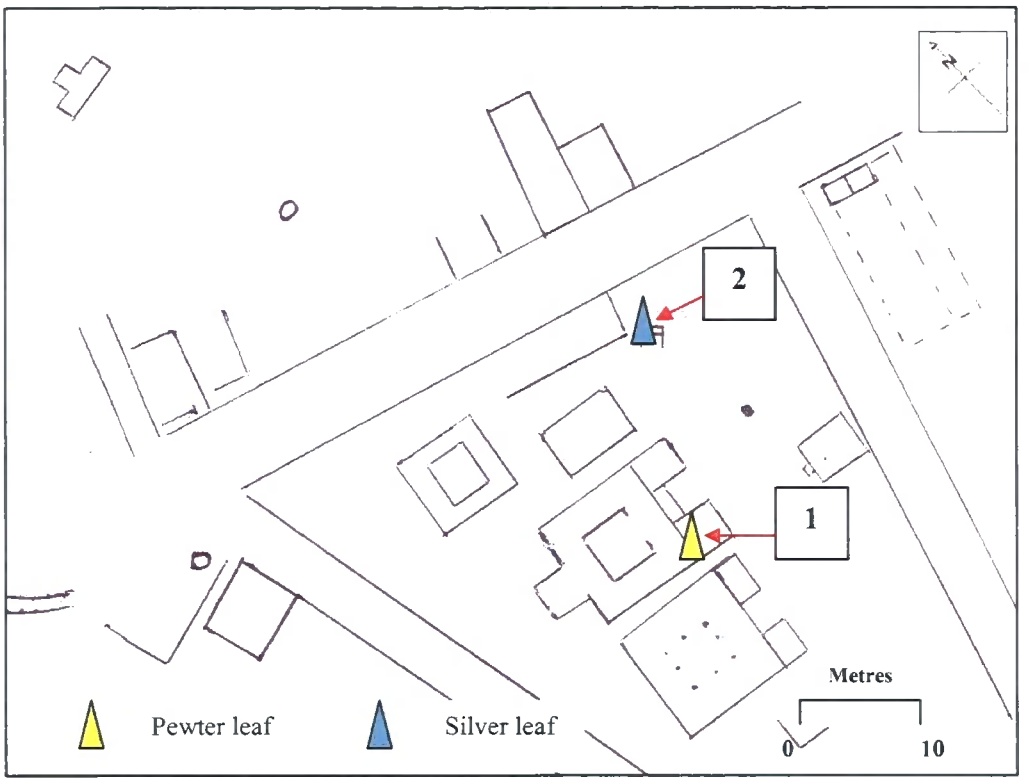
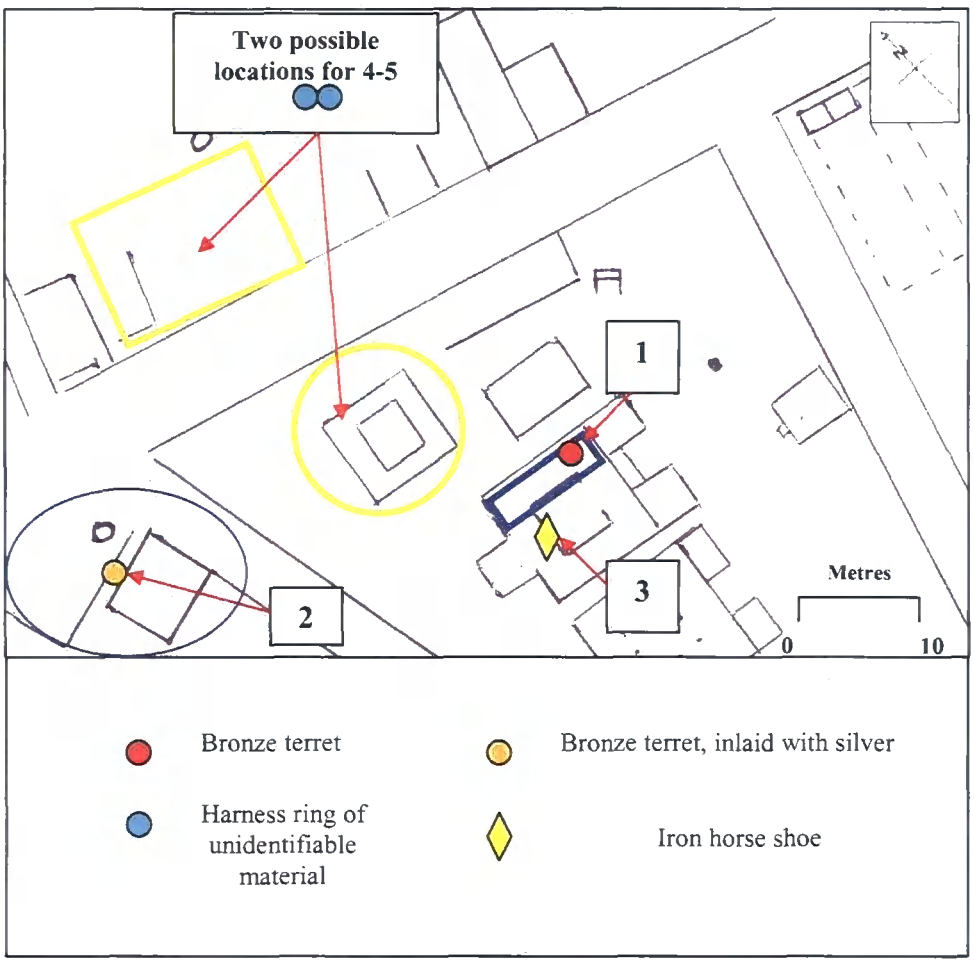


Table 55: Metal representations of leaves from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker: Information on whether objects were illustrated in published reports and whether they could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Find no (LEAF) and details on location where described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1 (Page 576)	Yes Figure 171 on page 576)	Yes (Photograph 313 on page 576)	No
2 (Page 576)	No	No	No

Figure 60: Distribution of horse equipment mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).



The blue rectangle represents the maximum extent of the excavated area from which discovery **1** was found. The blue oval represents the same for **2**, and the yellow rectangle and oval for **4-5**.

Table 56: Horse equipment from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker: information on whether objects were illustrated in published reports and whether they could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Find no (HORSE) and details on the location where described	**Illustrated**	**Single identical object identified**	**Similar objects identified**
1 (Page 579)	Yes (Figure 172 on page 579)	Yes (Photograph 314 on page 576)	No
2-5 (Page 579)	No	No	No

Figure 61: Distribution of model letters mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

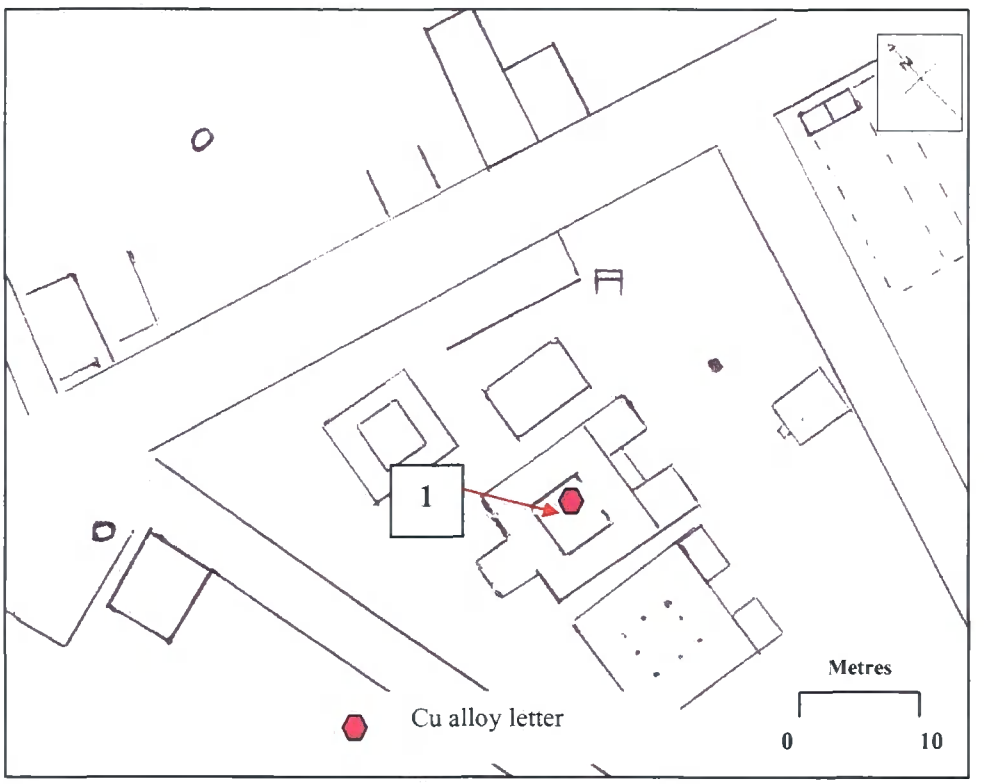


Table 57: Model letters from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker: information on whether objects were illustrated in published reports and whether they could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection

Find no (LETTER) and details on the location where described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1 (Page 582)	Yes (Figure 173 on page 582)	Yes (Photograph 316 on page 582	No

Figure 62: Distribution of lighting equipment mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

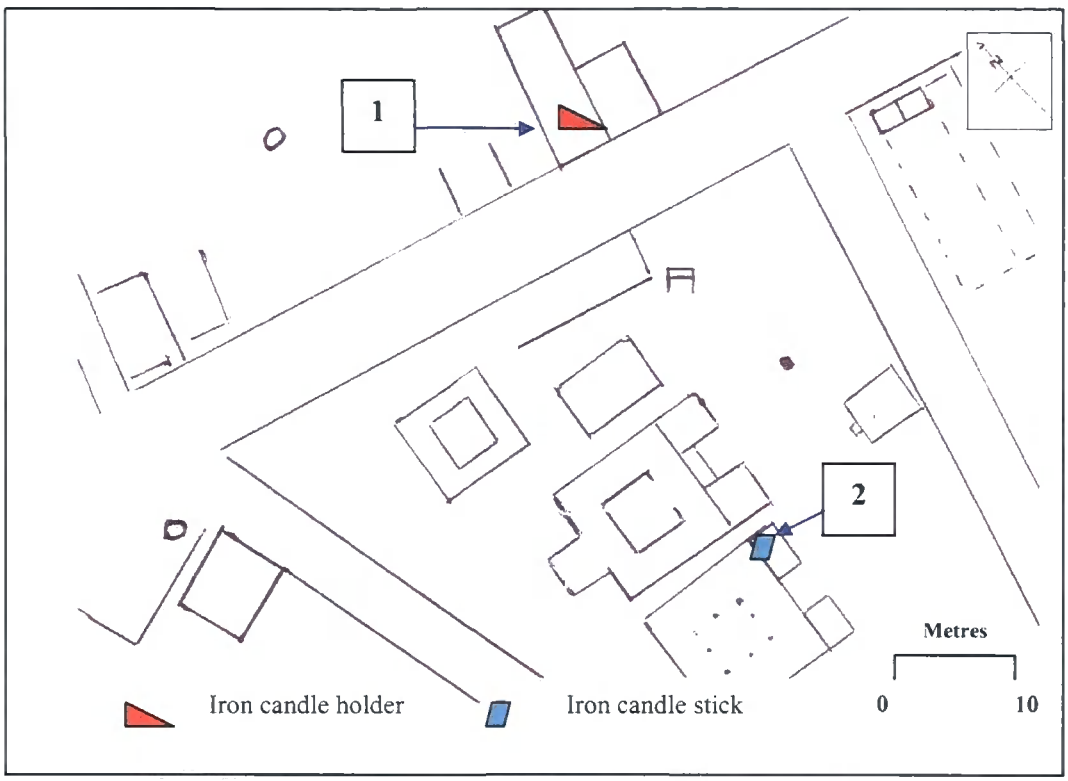


Table 58: Lighting equipment from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker: information on whether objects were illustrated in published reports and whether they could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Find no (LIGHT) and details on the location where described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1 (Page 584)	Yes (Figure 174 on page 584)	No	Yes (Photograph 317 on page 585)
2 (Page 584)	Yes (Figure 174 on page 584)	Yes (Photograph 318 on page 585)	No

Figure 63: Distribution of weapons mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

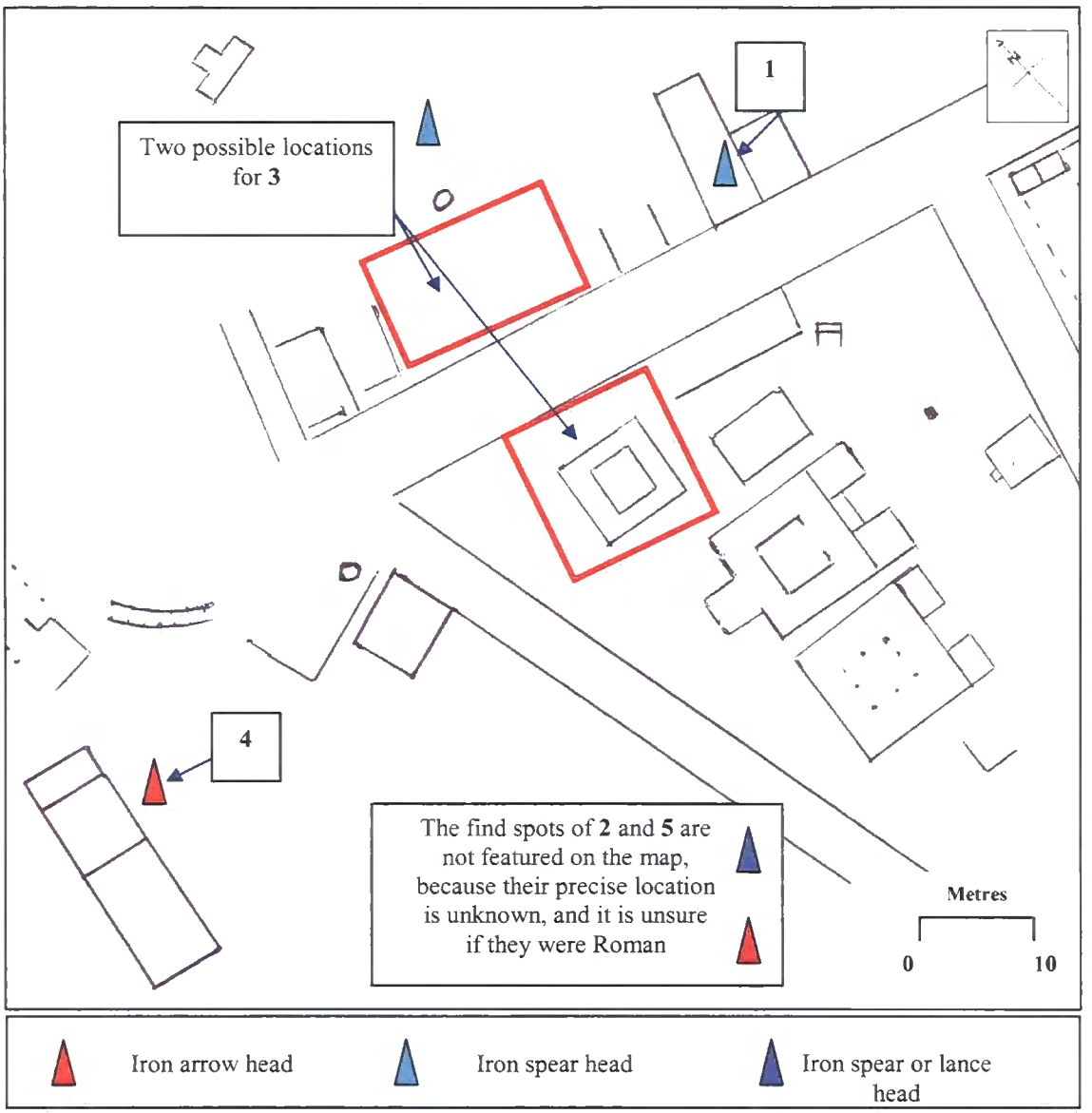
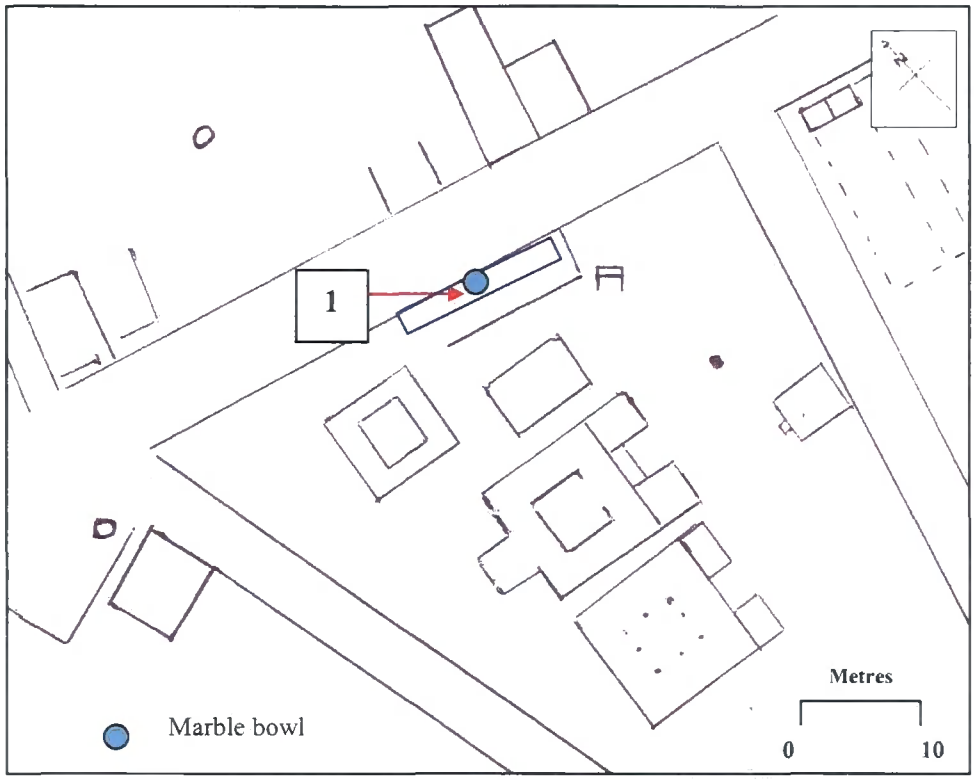


Table 59: Weapons from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker: information on whether objects were illustrated in published reports and whether they could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Find no (WEAP) and details on the location where described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1 (Page 587)	Yes (Figure 175 on page 587)	No	No
2-3 (Page 587)	No	No	No
4 (Page 587)	Yes (Figure 176 on page 587)	No	No
5 (Page 587)	Yes (Figure 176 on page 587)	No	No

Figure 64: Distribution of marble bowls mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

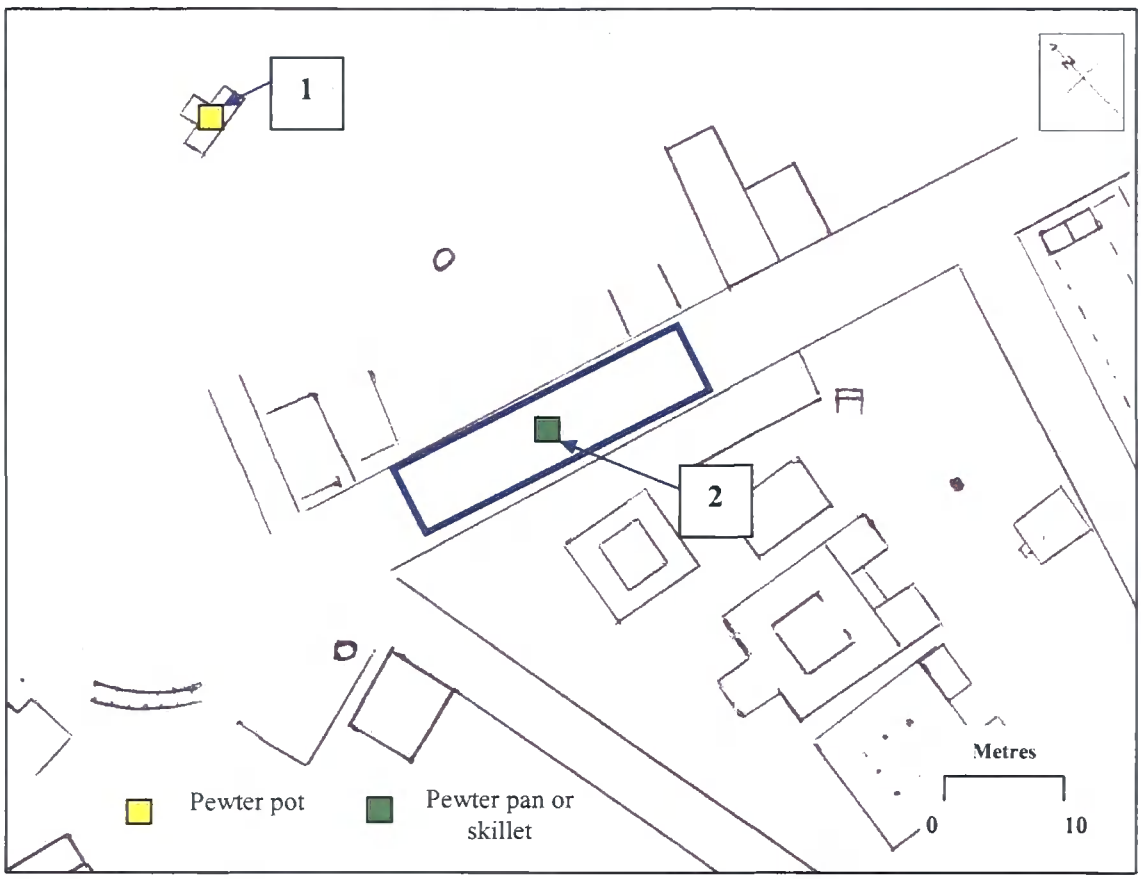


The blue rectangle represents the maximum extent of the excavated area from which discovery **1** was found.

Table 60: Details on the marble bowl from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker:

Find no (MARB) and details on the location where described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1 (Page 590)	Yes (Figure 177 on page 590)	Yes (Photograph 320 on page 590	No

Figure 65: Distribution of pewter vessels mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).



The blue rectangle represents the maximum extent of the excavated area from which discovery **2** was found.

Table 61: Pewter vessels from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker: information on whether objects were illustrated in published reports and whether they could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

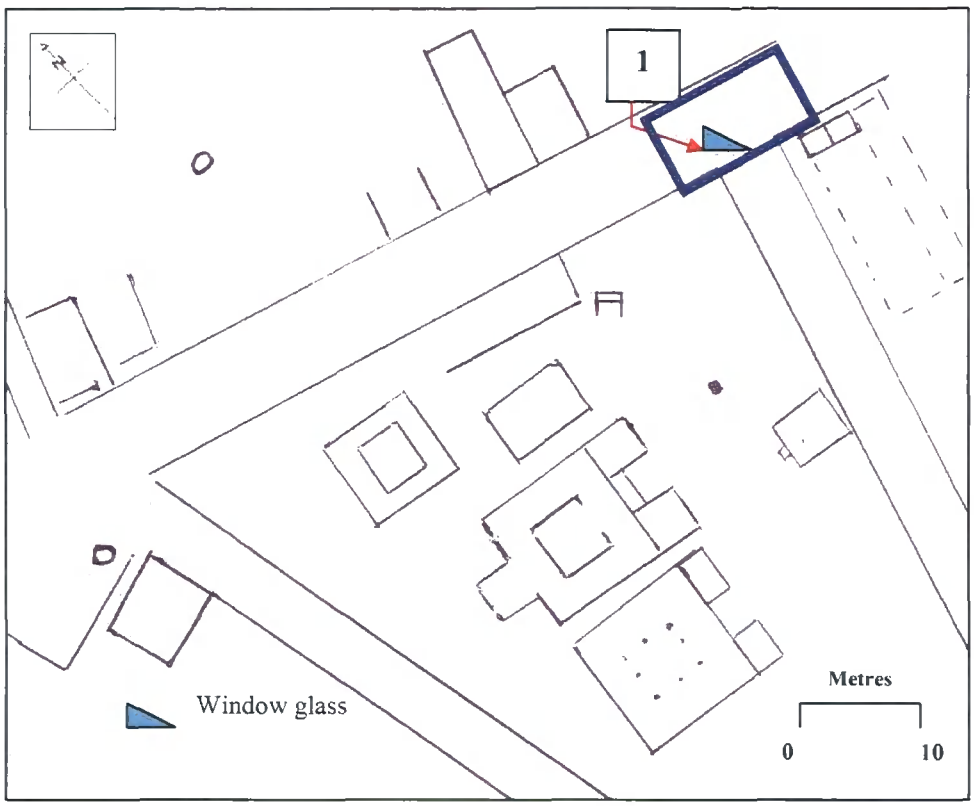
Find no (PEWT) and details on the location where described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1 (Page 592)	Yes (Figure 178 on page 592)	Yes (Photograph 321 on page 592	No
2 (Page 592)	No	No	No

Figure 66: Distribution of plough shares mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

Table 62: Details on the plough share from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker:

Find no (PLOUGH) and details on the location where described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1 (Page 594)	No	No	Yes (Photograph 322 on page 594)

Figure 67: Distribution of window glass mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

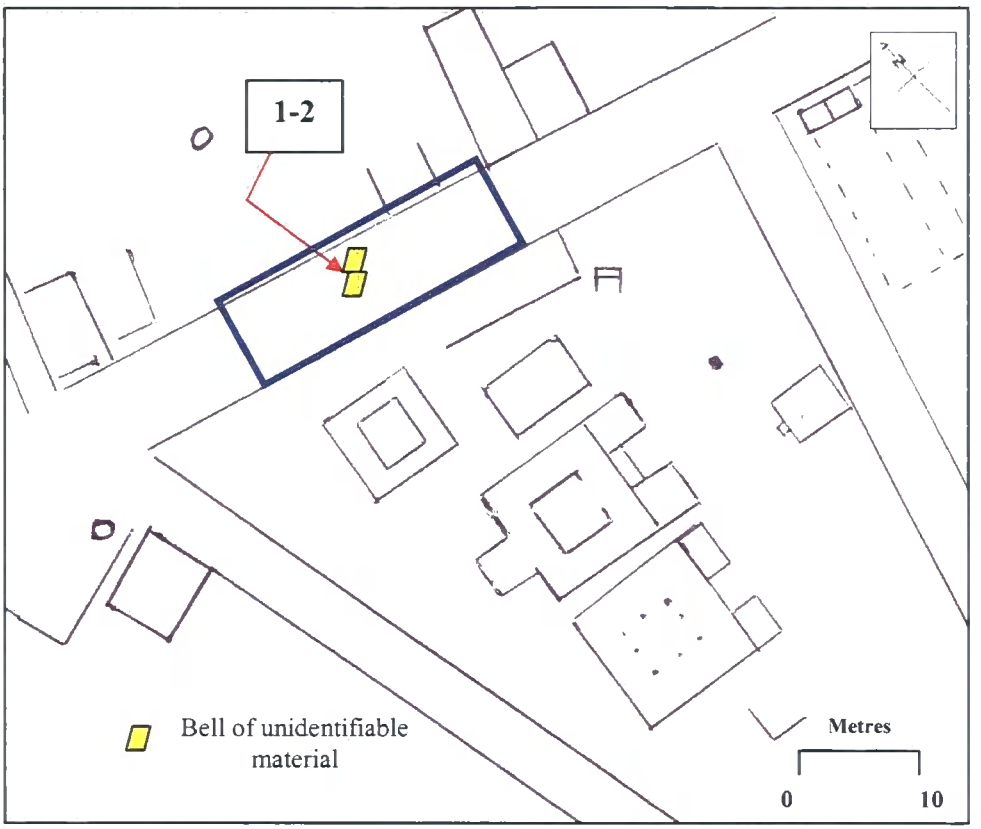


The blue rectangle represents the maximum extent of the excavated area from which discovery **1** was found.

Table 63: Details on the window glass from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker:

Find no (WGLASS) and details on the location where described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1 **(Page 596)**	No	No	Yes (Photograph 323 on page 596)

Figure 68: Distribution of bells mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

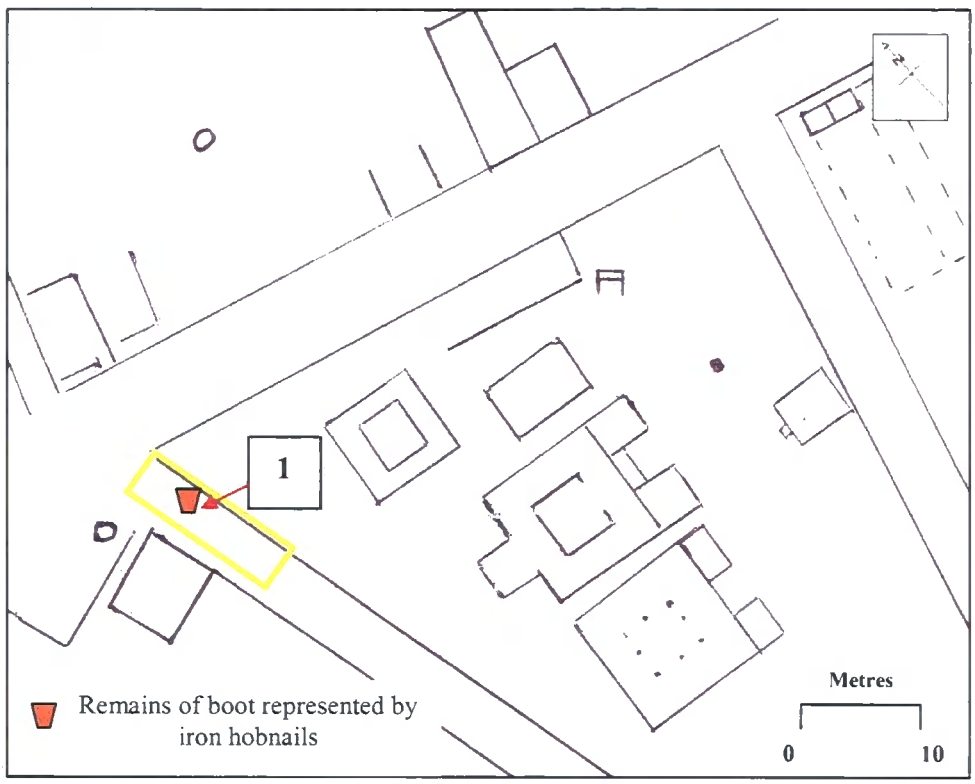


The blue rectangle represents the maximum extent of the excavated area from which discoveries **1-2** were found.

Table 64: Bells from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker: information on whether objects were illustrated in published reports and whether they could be identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection.

Find no (BELL) and details on the location where described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1-2 (Page 598)	No	No	No

Figure 69: Distribution of foot ware mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

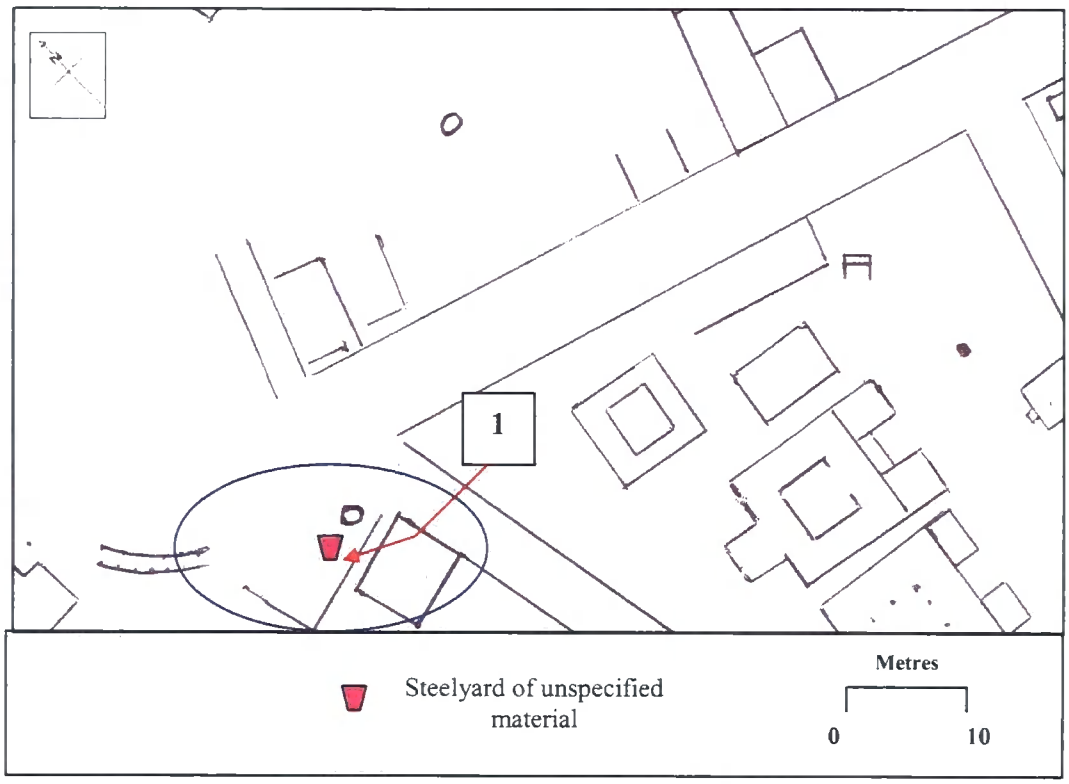


The yellow rectangle represents the maximum extent of the excavated area from which discovery **1** was found.

Table 65: Details on the boot from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker:

Find no (FOOT) and details on the location where described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1 (Page 598)	No	No	No

Figure 70: Distribution of steelyards mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).



The blue oval represents the maximum extent of the excavated area from which discovery **1** was found.

Table 66: Details on the steelyard from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker:

Find no (STEEL) and details on the location where described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1 (Page 598)	No	No	No

Figure 71: Distribution of skewers mentioned in the published accounts compiled by Penn and Harker (plan after Harker, 1980; fig 12.1).

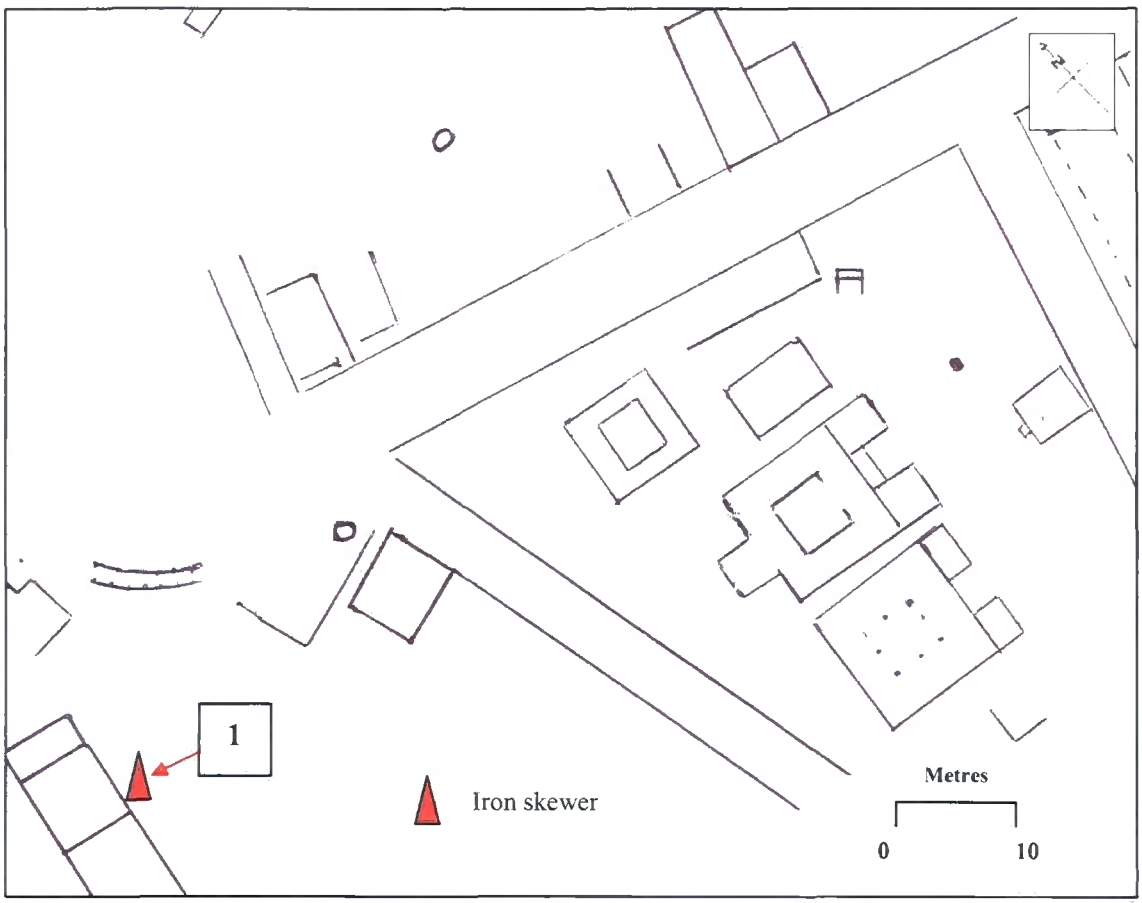


Table 67: Details on the skewer from the excavations directed by Penn and Harker:

Find no (SKEW) and details on the location where described	Illustrated	Single identical object identified	Similar objects identified
1 (Page 598)	Yes (Figure 179 on page 598)	No	No

Table 68: Occurrence of gaming counters in archaeological features and strata of different periods.

Date of contexts	Gaming counters
First century AD	0
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	4
Late second or early third century AD	1
Third century AD	2
Late third or fourth century	0
Fourth century AD	2
Unknown	1

Table 69: Occurrence of representations of metal leaves in archaeological features and strata of different periods.

Date of contexts	Metal representations of leaves
First century AD	0
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	0
Late second or early third century AD	0
Third century AD	0
Late third or fourth century	0
Fourth century AD	1
Unknown	2

Table 70: Occurrence of items of horse equipment in archaeological features and strata of different periods.

Date of contexts	Items of horse equipment
First century AD	0
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	0
Late second or early third century AD	0
Third century AD	0
Late third or fourth century	0
Fourth century AD	2
Unknown	3

Table 71: Occurrence of model letters in archaeological features and strata of different periods.

Date of contexts	Model letters
First century AD	0
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	0
Late second or early third century AD	0
Third century AD	0
Late third or fourth century	0
Fourth century AD	1
Unknown	0

Table 72: Occurrence of lighting equipment in archaeological features and strata of different periods.

Date of contexts	Lighting equipment
First century AD	0
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	0
Late second or early third century AD	0
Third century AD	0
Late third or fourth century	1
Fourth century AD	1
Unknown	0

Table 73: Occurrence of weapons in archaeological features and strata of different periods.

Date of contexts	Weapons
First century AD	0
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	0
Late second or early third century AD	0
Third century AD	0
Late third or fourth century	1
Fourth century AD	0
Post Roman	1
Unknown	3

Table 74: Occurrence of marble bowls in archaeological features and strata of different periods.

Date of contexts	Marble bowls
First century AD	0
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	0
Late second or early third century AD	0
Third century AD	0
Late third or fourth century	0
Fourth century AD	1
Post Roman	0
Unknown	0

Table 75: Occurrence of pewter vessels in archaeological features and strata of different periods.

Date of contexts	Pewter vessels
First century AD	0
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	0
Late second or early third century AD	0
Third century AD	1
Late third or fourth century	0
Fourth century AD	0
Unknown	1

Table 76: Occurrence of ploughshares in archaeological features and strata of different periods.

Date of contexts	Ploughshares
First century AD	0
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	0
Late second or early third century AD	0
Third century AD	0
Late third or fourth century	1
Fourth century AD	0
Unknown	1

Table 77: Occurrence of skewers in archaeological features and strata of different periods.

Date of contexts	Skewers
First century AD	0
Late first-early second century AD	0
Second century AD	1
Late second or early third century AD	0
Third century AD	0
Late third or fourth century	0
Fourth century AD	0
Unknown	0

Table 78: Comparison between the number of gaming counters recorded from Springhead against those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number discovered
Henley Wood (Somerset) **FP**	Watts and Leach, 1996	60
Lullingstone (Kent)	Meates, 1979	30
Maiden Castle (Dorset)	Wheeler, 1943	17
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	13
Great Chesterford (Essex)	Collins, 1978; Miller, 1995	10
Uley (Gloucestershire) **FP**	Woodward and Leach, 1993	9
Nettleton Scrubb (Wiltshire)	Wedlake, 1982	5
Colchester 5 -Grammar School- (Essex)	Hull, 1958	2
Hayling Island (Hampshire)	Downey, King and Soffe; 1979	2
Woodeaton (Oxfordshire)	Goodchild and Kirk, 1954	2
Verulamium 2 (Hertfordshire)	Wheeler and Wheeler, 1936	2
Bath (Avon)	Cunliffe and Davenport, 1985	2
Brean Down (Somerset)	Apsimon, 1965	1
Lamyatt Beacon (Somerset)	Leech, 1986	1
Lydney Park (Gloucestershire)	Wheeler and Wheeler, 1932	1

Table 79: Comparison between the number of metal representations of leaves from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number discovered
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	8
Woodeaton (Oxfordshire)	Goodchild and Kirk, 1954	4
Godmanchester (Essex)	Green, 1986	2
Uley (Gloucestershire) **FP**	Woodward and Leach, 1993	2
Caistor-by Norwich 1-2 (Norfolk)	Atkinson, 1930	2
Bozeat (Northamptonshire)	Hall and Nickerson, 1970	1
Brean Down (Somerset)	Apsimon, 1965	1
Claydon Pike (Gloucestershire)	Miles and Palmer, 1983	1
Great Chesterford (Essex)	Collins, 1978	1
Henley Wood (Somerset) **FP**	Watts and Leach, 1996	1
Lamyatt Beacon (Somerset)	Leech, 1986	1
Maiden Castle (Dorset)	Wheeler, 1943	1
Verulamium 1 (Hertfordshire)	Lowther, 1937	1

Table 80: Comparison between the number of items of horse equipment from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number of items of horse equipment discovered
Maiden Castle (Dorset)	Wheeler, 1943	14
Nettleton Scrubb (Wiltshire)	Wedlake, 1982	2
Coleford (Gloucestershire)	Walters, 1992	2
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	1

Table 81: Comparison between the number of model representations of letters from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number discovered
Lydney Park (Gloucestershire)	Wheeler and Wheeler, 1932	45
Woodeaton (Oxfordshire)	Goodchild and Kirk, 1954	7
Kelvedon (Essex)	Wilson, 1972	7
Great Chesterford (Essex)	Collins, 1978	2
Hockwold (Norfolk)	Wilson, 1963	1
Lamyatt Beacon (Somerset)	Leech, 1986	1
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	1

Table 82: Comparison between numbers of items of lighting equipment from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number of items of lighting equipment discovered
Nettleton Scrubb (Wiltshire)	Wedlake, 1982	3
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	2
Uley (Gloucestershire) **FP**	Woodward and Leach, 1993	2
Bath (Avon)	Cunliffe, 1988	1
Lamyatt Beacon (Somerset)	Leech, 1986	1
Pagans Hill (Somerset)	Rahtz and Harris, 1958	1
Woodeaton (Oxfordshire)	Goodchild and Kirk, 1954	1

Table 83: Comparison between the number of weapons from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number of weapons discovered
Uley (Gloucestershire) **FP**	Woodward and Leach, 1993	9
Great Chesterford (Essex)	Collins, 1978; Miller, 1995	4
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	4
Woodeaton (Oxfordshire)	Goodchild and Kirk, 1954	3
Henley Wood (Somerset) **FP**	Watts and Leach, 1996	2
Bancroft 2 (Buckinghamshire)	Williams and Zeepvat, 1994	1
Bath (Avon)	Cunliffe, 1988	1
Brigstock 1-2 (Northamptonshire)	Greenfield, 1963	1
Camerton (Somerset)	Wedlake, 1958	1
Colchester 3 and 4 -Sheepen- (Essex)	Crummy, 1980	1
Colchester 6 -Gosbecks- (Essex)	Hull, 1958	1
Croft Ambrey (Worcestershire)	Stanford, 1974	1
Frilford (Oxfordshire)	Bradford and Goodchild, 1939	1
Harlow (Essex) **FP**	France and Gobel, 1985	1
Lamyatt Beacon (Somerset)	Leech, 1986	1
Nettleton Scrubb (Wiltshire)	Wedlake, 1982	1
Worth (Kent)	Klein, 1928	1

Table 84: Comparison between the number of pewter vessels from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number discovered
Bath (Avon)	Cunliffe, 1988	26
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	2
Great Dunmow (Essex)	Wickenden, 1988	1

Table 85: Comparison between quantities of window glass fragments recorded from Springhead against those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number discovered
Nettleton Scrubb (Wiltshire)	Wedlake, 1982	3
Uley (Gloucestershire) **FP**	Woodward and Leach, 1993	2
Bourton Grounds (Buckinghamshire)	Green, 1966	1
Caerwent (Gwent)	Ashby, Hudd, and King, 1910;	1
Colchester 1 -Sheepen- (Essex)	Hull, 1958	1
Cosgrove (Northamptonshire)	Quinnell, 1991	1
Greenwich Park (Middlesex)	Sheldon and Yule, 1979	1
Henley Wood (Somerset) **FP**	Watts and Leach, 1996	1
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	1

Table 86: Comparison between the number of bells recorded from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number of bells discovered
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	2
Maiden Castle (Dorset)	Wheeler, 1943	2
Croft Ambrey (Worcestershire)	Stanford, 1974	1
Great Chesterford (Essex)	Collins, 1978; Miller, 1995	1
Woodeaton (Oxfordshire)	Goodchild and Kirk, 1954	1

Table 87: Comparison between quantities of foot ware from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number of shoes discovered
Uley (Gloucestershire) **FP**	Woodward and Leach, 1993	405 hobnails
Croft Ambrey (Worcestershire)	Stanford, 1974	14 hobnails
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	1 shoe

Table 88: Comparison between the number of weights from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number discovered
Great Chesterford (Essex)	Collins, 1978	1
Maiden Castle (Dorset)	Wheeler, 1943	1
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	1
Weycock Hill (Berkshire)	Cotton, 1957	1

Table 89: Comparison between the number of metal rings from Springhead with those from other temple sites in Roman Britain.

Site name	Source(s)	Number discovered
Uley (Gloucestershire) **FP**	Woodward and Leach, 1993	36
Croft Ambrey (Worcestershire)	Stanford, 1974	2
Springhead (Kent)	In this study	2

8: The fragmentation of particular 'finds types' from Penn and Harker's excavations.

8.1: Introduction.

This section examines the treatment of particular 'classes' of finds, with similarities in form and aspects of function, to see what light they might shed on past activities. Quantative data on the fragmentation of material is summarised in the relevant sections for individual finds 'types' in the appendices to this study, and a discussion of the significance of the evidence is provided in this chapter. Data in the appendices has been quantified in tabular form and, where amounts of material were particularly extensive, summary information has also been provided in an accompanying table. The details for finds classes, which consist of a small number of items, have been included with the initial description of the material within the appendix to avoid exhaustive, and unhelpful, tabulation.

Attention will also be drawn to the fragmentation of material from other temple sites, that also has the potential to shed light on activities at Springhead. It is, however, clear that, aside from a few studies, the results of which will be discussed in due course, little work has been done on the condition of finds from them, and a lengthy programme of detailed research would be needed to understand the many hundreds of objects recovered. It is, however, possible to draw parallels with some finds from temple sites, the condition of which was perceived to be of significance by the excavators, and commentary will be made throughout the course of the following text.

8.2: The condition of material from Penn and Harker's excavations and its potential significance in allowing an understanding of past activities.

The deposition of complete or seemingly still useful items at the site occurs frequently (Table 91) and this may indicate the leaving behind of such objects as intentionally sacrificed 'offerings'. Particular attention is drawn to the copper alloy necklace **(PER 52)**, found during excavations on Temple IV, which was much larger than all the other finds, and it is unlikely that such an item would be lost accidentally. Only a small proportion of finds from individual finds 'classes' appear to have been preserved in a complete state, with the majority of examples being broken. It is, however, apparent that, overall, reasonable quantities of objects were deposited in a complete condition, and much material was brought to and left at the site in this state. Much originally intact material may, however, have become broken as the result of post depositional activities, connected with the truncation and levelling of the site, so it is, obviously, impossible to ascertain what the original proportions of complete items may have been.

	Complete	Incomplete	Unknown
Cu alloy figurines	2	3	1
Cu alloy brooches	10	27	10
Cu alloy bracelets	9	14	2
Cu alloy armlets	2	0	0
Cu alloy pins	19	12	9
Bone pins	31	27	16
Cu alloy finger rings	8	4	10
Iron finger rings	1	0	2
Cu alloy tweezers	5	0	3
Cu alloy nail cleaners	2	1	2
Cu alloy necklace	1	0	0
Cu alloy miniature axe	1	1	0
Stone altar	1	2	0
Stone hone	3	11	2
Bone gaming counter	7	0	4
Stone gaming counter	1	0	0
Glass gaming counters	1	2	1
Pottery gaming counter	3	1	0
Cu alloy needle	2	2	3
Bone needle	3	3	3
Cu alloy spindle whorl	1	0	0
Chalk spindle whorl	1	0	0
Ceramic spindle whorl	3	0	0
Cu alloy styli	1	0	0
Iron candle bracket	1	0	0

Table 90: Details on finds categories featuring complete examples, from Penn and Harker's excavations. More detailed information on individual objects is provided in the appendices.

It is possible that other 'types' of finds may have been deposited in a complete state, but pieces of them had decayed as the result of poor preservation of organic remains. Such an issue is particularly important when considering the tools and weapons discovered from the site, many of which were represented by complete blades, but possessed no traces of the handles that would have been necessary for their use; three knives **(TOOL 2, 13**, and Photograph 164 on page 426), two punches or drifts (Photographs 174-175 on page 430), and a bill hook or sickle **(TOOL 17)**, were found in this condition, as was a chisel **(TOOL 14)**. A single clasp knife with a bone handle (Photograph 171 on page 429) was also found, which may have been in a complete condition, although this could not be verified as the blade had corroded inside the handle and could not be opened. It is also unclear whether a hammer **(TOOL 22)**, axe hammer **(TOOL 18)** and a draw hoe **(TOOL 7)**, which were represented by complete heads, and one spade **(TOOL 11)**, represented by its shoe, could also have been deposited with wooden handles. A complete lance or spear head (Photograph 319 on page 588), a long, thin iron blade (Photograph 170 on page 428), and an arrow head **(WEAP 5)** were also found. It was more difficult to infer whether handles had existed on the items of culinary/dining equipment as they were very robust, and may not have needed them. It is also worth mentioning that three of the miniature axes **(MINI 1, 3** and Photograph 157 on page 409), represented by complete heads, could also have been missing their shafts. The condition of all these items is of interest as, even though they might have been damaged, they could still have been re-used, following relatively minor repairs, such as the attachment of new handles, and from a modern perspective, their 'throwing away' appears illogical. It is possible that such material may have resulted from accidental loss, casual discard or a forced abandonment of the site by their occupants, but it should be considered, given the seemingly deliberate sacrifice of other forms of useful material as 'offerings', that their leaving behind could have been intended in a similar manner.

Other complete finds, such as eight jet beads **(PER 84-91)** and fourteen glass beads (Photographs 125-128 on pages 366-368 and 130-132 on pages 369-370, **PER 3, 29-34**), all the structural fittings and fastenings (Appendix 12) and ornamental studs and fastenings (Appendix 13) might represent the dispersed remnants of larger objects, such as necklaces, boxes, furniture, or pieces of clothing, perhaps originally left behind as 'offerings' and/or used as part of temple equipment, but now scattered by the truncation and levelling of the site. It was, therefore impossible to ascertain if they were originally deposited in a complete state, or whether the objects represent broken, or lost, parts of items. It is, worth noting that items such as beads may have, originally, been important as component parts of necklaces, bracelets or armlets in past activities, which could have been interchanged to form different, complete sets; the component parts being embodied in complex relationships to the 'whole' item as part of their use (*cf* Gaydarska and Chapman, 2007; 6). There is also some evidence to suggest that these items may have been deliberately deposited at the site as significant objects in their own right, and this may reflect the symbolic deposition of parts from larger items, that were, perhaps, too valuable to sacrifice. This issue is explored in more detail as part of investigation of items placed in the 'ritual hoard' from Temple II on page 216.

It was possible to compare the treatment of figurines with the work undertaken by Croxford upon these objects, and also with statuary (already outlined on page 23), which has suggested that particular pieces of the items may have been deliberately curated as symbolic fragments in their own right, the possibilities for which will now be considered. Croxford's survey stressed that figurines were, as a whole, more complete than statuary, and that there were no clear indications for a bias in surviving parts, such as heads and hands, perhaps because figurines would be much easier to conceal, and could be protected from iconoclasts (*cf* Croxford, 2003; fig 2 and page 89). These ideas are not reflected in the assemblage from Springhead and aside from two examples, both dog statuettes (**FIGUR 11** and Photograph 9 on page 275), the majority of other items, where detailed information is available, appear to have been broken and their pieces dispersed. The survival, and absence, of particular figurine parts may, however, provide some insight into past activities and will now be considered.

Although there are too few examples recovered to allow observation of widespread traits in their treatment, it is, perhaps, interesting that the missing parts of all the figurines have never been found, despite widespread excavation. An outline of the evidence will now be provided, followed by consideration of its potential significance. Torsos **(FIGUR 1, 7, 8, 12, 13),** and a bust from the Gravesend Historical Society collection (Photograph 12 on page 276), represented the most common form of surviving fragments and many appendages, such as arms, feet and heads, had been removed; **FIGUR 1** and **12** retained only their left hands, **7** and **13** had all their limbs removed, and **8** was missing its head. Although the bust was missing its head, it did not appear to possess any arms or feet. Only one figurine was represented by feet alone **(FIGUR 3)**, and only one other **(FIGUR 8)** possessed these parts of its anatomy. Three objects were represented by heads alone, **FIGUR 17**, the 'Pseudo Venus' figurine identified during the Wessex Archaeology excavations (page 279), another one of these objects from the Gravesend Historical store (Photograph 11 on page 276). There were four hands, all of which were left ones, two objects **(FIGUR 2, 4)** being represented by these parts alone, and the other two **(FIGUR 1, 12)** being connected to torsos. The widespread absence of right hands may be of interest, although other objects which may have had these **(FIGUR 8-10, 13, 14, 15)** could not be examined, because they were not present in the Gravesend Historical Society collection. It is possible that the missing pieces of figurines may still be lying in unexcavated parts of the site, but it is also clear that the excavators would have to be consistently unlucky to fail to notice, and report, such parts (*cf* Croxford, 2003; 91) and the other pieces of at least some of them would surely have been present in the Gravesend Historical Society store. The issue of 'missing' parts is not simply confined to figurines alone, but affects all the material discussed in this study, and the significance of the treatment of other 'classes' of material will be considered in more detail in due course. It may be that objects were deliberately and symbolically fragmented and dispersed as part of past activities associated with the 'religious' significance of the site. More detailed reasons for the fragmentation of material are provided when it is viewed in relation to traits in deposition at particular times and places during the site's history, which are felt to provide interesting information on past activities, in Chapter 9.

Croxford argues that appendages could have had been snapped off and taken away from sites, perhaps by devotees trying to spread their ideas, forming relationships with others by passing material around, in ways underpinned by beliefs similar to Chapman's concept of 'enchainment' (Chapman 2000a; 23) and/or to protect their 'cult' from persecution, or by those seeking to destroy sites and their beliefs, trying to dissipate the power of such objects (Croxford, 2003; 84). In such instances, features, such as heads and arms might display particularly strong characteristics representing the deity, for example, faces and/or hands holding particular objects with which they may have been associated might have been considered to be powerful symbols. Items like torsos were suggested to be unwanted remnants, left behind at sites when the desirable, and powerful, pieces had been removed; Croxford illustrating this point with the head of Mercury found at Uley, which appears to have been retained and curated until the seventh century, while other pieces of its body were buried amongst the remains of buildings (*ibid*). A statue of a dog, found in the well, close to, and aligned with the temple at Pagans Hill (*cf* Boon, 1989; fig 3a and 3b), from which the head, feet, penis, legs and tail had all been broken off. The remaining body had then been broken into three pieces, and a small central section, which would have linked these together, having been prised out before the body of the dog had been deposited, perhaps deliberately, in the fill of the well. This opening in the centre of the object does not appear to have been made as a deliberate perforation, and might have been removed as a symbolic representation of the heart. The fragments of the item have never been found, despite the full excavation of the feature, and an area of approximately seventy square metres around its mouth (*ibid*; 201), and it appears that the object may have been deliberately broken. Despite these ideas it is, however, also possible that parts, such as torso fragments, could still have been significant, requiring 'special' disposal, and those at Springhead could have been brought there because of the 'religious' significance of the site, having been buried, or placed in safekeeping there to prevent their destruction and/or to stop them being disposed of as unwanted waste, which may have been considered blasphemous.

It is, perhaps, interesting that some of these figurines from Penn and Harker's excavations appear to have been intended to specifically represent body parts; the bronze thumb **(FIGUR 6)** found beneath Temple I may, for example, have been designed as a clamp intentionally depicting an isolated part of the body. The same may also be the case for the bronze hand and arm **(FIGUR 4)** found in the filling of the 'temple ditch', the end of which was described as being smooth, perhaps indicating that it was intentionally cast to represent a piece of the body in its own right. This practice appears to be evident from other temple sites in Roman Britain, such as Uley, where three model legs were discovered (Woodward and Leach, 1993; 100), and Muntham Court, which produced a single example (Burstow and Hollyman, 1956; 198). A representation of an arm and hand were found at Lydney Park (Wheeler and Wheeler, 1932; 76) and Bath produced three breasts (Cunliffe, 1988; 6-8). It has been suggested that the objects may form *ex votoes*, representing areas of the body requiring healing (Penn, 1959; 58; 1964b; 173). Such suggestions may be borne out by a bronze model arm discovered at Lydney Park, the fingers of which appear to show signs of a disease known as koilonychiae, or spoon shaped nails (Hart, 1970; 76).

The bronze 'thunderbolt', deposited on Site B during the fourth century, **(FIGUR 16)** was missing its tip, and appeared to be in a good state of preservation. Although this part of the item would appear to be the thinnest and most vulnerable part of the find, the object was very dense and would have been very difficult to break. Although it is unclear what the item may have been used for, if it was a representation of a thunderbolt, its tip may have been viewed as significant, and might have been considered a symbolic part of the lighting, being the focus of energy in a strike. Perhaps it was removed by those who destroyed the site, to dissipate the power of the item, because they were afraid of revenge and being 'struck' themselves. Although many possibilities could lie behind the fragmentation of the object, it does, however, raise the point that the fragmentation of figurines may be more complicated than just the breakage of anatomical parts, alone, and the concept requires further, detailed research from studies of material found on other sites.

It is, perhaps, interesting that many other copper alloy and iron items were found in a damaged condition. It is possible that natural processes, such as corrosion and weathering, together with the truncation and levelling of the site, could have weakened some of this material, resulting in its breakage and dispersal. None of the finds from the Gravesend Historical Society store, however, displayed traces of corrosion, although it is possible that some of the finds mentioned in the written accounts, that could not be located, were prone to this. It is, also, as has been discussed with figurines, interesting that the missing parts of these finds have yet to be located. It seems unlikely that such widespread loss could always have been the result of coincidence and material may have been deliberately fragmented and dispersed as part of past activities. Of the items of personal adornment from Penn and Harker's excavations, twenty three brooches were missing their pins **(PER 9,10, 14, 19, 117-120, 123, 126, 127, 132, 159, 160** and Photograph 25, 28-30, 33-36, 38 between pages 323-329). These would, presumably, be the thinnest, and weakest, parts of the objects, and easier to snap off, especially as they would have been continually forced open and shut as part of daily use. It could, of course, also be suggested that the damage might show their presence at the site to be the results of accidental loss, with the items perhaps coming loose and dropping from peoples' clothing. Five bracelets (**PER 76** and Photographs 42, 44, 47 and 48 between pages 333 and 336) were missing their fixing hooks, thin and vulnerable parts of the item that could have become easily damaged and separated. Five copper alloy objects (**PER 16, 66** and Photographs 49, 51 and 52 on pages 336-338) had, however, been broken in half, and one was represented by only by a very small body fragment **(PER 35)**, representing approximately an eighth of the original item; in all cases, a form of damage that would have been quite difficult to achieve by accident. Fourteen very robust, well preserved metal pins were missing parts of their shafts and tips **(PER 15, 46, 79, 95, 97-98, 100, 122** and Photographs 106, 107, 114, 118-119, 123 on pages 359-364) would also have been difficult to break. A slightly twisted copper alloy ring (Photograph 138 on page 374), and another example, broken in half **(PER 2)**, were also found. It is possible that the metal workers, who left evidence for their activities at the site throughout its history (see Chapter 6.7, page 143) could have done this, perhaps recycling 'offerings' donated to make new objects that could be sold, providing income to maintain the upkeep of the

temples and 'temenos', providing further possibilities for discussion on potential relationships between production and its 'religious' use.

Of the other metal finds from Penn and Harker's excavations, a thick, and well preserved, copper alloy terret **(HORSE 1)**, discovered amongst the rubble overlying Temple I, had been broken in half, in a way which is unlikely to have been the result of accident. Two substantial iron candlesticks (**LIGHT 2** and Photograph 317 on page 585) were missing their legs, although the object mentioned in the literature could not be located, and the example from the Gravesend Historical Society Collection was very corroded and could have become damaged since deposition. A pewter pot **(PEWT 1)**, placed with an infant burial **(INF 18)** amongst the rubble filling the hypocaust of building B8 may well have been deliberately damaged by the perforation of its wall, before it was interred. One iron stylus **(STYL 4)**, discovered during excavations on Temple I, had been broken at both ends. It is, however, possible that the damage could have been caused by corrosion, as the item could not be identified. Examination of the condition of the other metal finds from Penn and Harker's excavations provided little detailed information about past activities. Although a single iron netting needle **(NEED 9)** was fragmented; it is possible that this may have been due to corrosion, although this could not be verified. All the metal needles from the store were in a very fragile state, although one example, made of iron (Photograph 206 on page 466), appears to have been bent, and this could have been done deliberately. One iron arrow head **(WEAP 4)** was, interestingly, broken in half, although, unfortunately, its condition could not be assessed because it could not be found in the collection, and it is possible that the find had become weakened and broken as the result of corrosion. The object, and also one of the lance/spear heads missing its tip **(WEAP 1)**, could also have become damaged through use as a projectile in combat. If such a possibility is be upheld, then the presence of the items on a 'temple site', a supposedly peaceful place, requires consideration. The objects could, perhaps, have possessed a 'religious' significance, having been left behind as 'offerings' connected with Martial ideas and beliefs, or they may have been associated with healing, possibly from wounds sustained in battle.

Of the stone items, little information could be obtained from an examination of the altars and hones. In the case of the latter, it was impossible to tell whether the items had been deliberately broken, or whether they had been originally made from fragments of stone that had been separated from larger pieces during their production. It is, however, interesting that no traces of sharpening marks could be identified on the objects from the Gravesend Historical Society collection. This raises the possibility that many of they could have been brought to the site in an unused state, perhaps being deliberately left behind as 'offerings'. It is harder to assess the condition of the hones mentioned in the published literature and, bar one example **(HONE 8)**, there are no detailed records, assessing the objects for any signs of attrition.

Out of the quern and mill stone fragments it is, perhaps, interesting that all the examples were broken and none were in a complete state, being such durable and solid objects. It is possible that such damage could have occurred through ploughing and/or the effects of frost and water over long periods of time,

causing stone to split and erode. It is also possible that the excavators might have overlooked considerable quantities of material, which could have been mistaken for building rubble if it did not possess traces of curving edges and socket holes. It is possible that stones could also have been broken as the results of past activities, perhaps being re-used as core rubble for buildings. The shape of some of the pieces may suggest, however, that some of them could have been deliberately fragmented as part of past activities. Nine, relatively small, fragments of stones were roughly symmetrical (**QUML 6-8,** Photograph 184, 186-187, 190, 192 and 196 on pages 450-456), suggesting that they could have been intentionally worked, involving considerable care and patience, into their present shapes. Given the widespread evidence for agricultural activities at Springhead (discussed in section 6.3), it is possible that grinding stone was being shared out between workers carrying these out, perhaps allowing them to carry out tasks more quickly as individuals, it not being necessary to queue to use a single object.

Some of the finds appear to have been deliberately deposited at the site, and symbolically arranged in a deliberately fragmented state. **QUML 6-8**, deposited close to **OVEN 11**, upon the floor of the 'oven building', are depicted on the plan made of the site as having been placed in a roughly semi-circular arrangement, as if to mirror the shape of the original object they were broken from. The bringing together and placement of the fragments together, on the floor of the structure, to form approximately half a stone, may show that the parts were still considered to possess a symbolic connection to the larger body of the object from which they were separated and they may, for example, have been deposited as part of a ceremony connected with the use of the building for agricultural activities. It is also interesting that three other fragments from quern stones **(QUML 9-11)**, one of which appears to have been shaped symmetrically, seem to have been deliberately gathered up and buried in a hole close to **OVEN 11**, and these may have also been symbolically deposited. It is a shame that these fragments could not be identified from the Gravesend Historical collection, as it would have been interesting to see if they joined with the three other fragments **(QUML 6-8)**.

Other, very robust, items, such as pieces of carved ornamental stone work appeared to show no signs of deliberate treatment, and may represent the truncated remains of buildings from when the site was pulled down and/or collapsed, following its abandonment. More information was, however, available when the context of the fragments was examined, which may suggest that some of the material to have been symbolically buried, and its significance is considered in relation to activities associated with the final occupation and abandonment of the site in section 9.4. Of the other stone finds, a piece from a marble bowl **(MARB 1)**, deposited amongst the fourth century filling of the 'temple ditch', is also of interest, as the item is represented by only one small piece, representing just under one quarter of its rim. Such a find would be extremely difficult to break, and this damage would appear to have occurred before the site was ploughed, the object becoming buried in the deep fill of the feature, and it is possible that the item may have been deliberately fragmented during its use at the site.

Particular forms of tools may have been subject to different forms of attrition as part of their use and such factors will have an important effect upon the ways they could have become broken or damaged.

It was disappointing that examination of these objects produced few traces that might shed light into their use. No traces of wear could be identified on any items, although this is not without significance, and might suggest that they had been deliberately brought to, and left at the site, in an unused state and could have been deposited there as 'offerings'. The iron knives did, however, present some interesting possibilities for discussion. Many from the Gravesend Historical Society store were in a delicate state, being very friable, with flaking surfaces and would have been particularly prone to post depositional breakage. Damage to many of the knives was, as expected, confined to the thinner, and more vulnerable, regions of the objects, and tips appeared to be the most common area missing from the items **(TOOL 1, 5, 16, 20, 21)**. There does, however, appear to be few traces of damage to the equally vulnerable edges of the objects which would, perhaps, have been expected to occur more frequently, and it is possible that many objects may have served a specific purpose related to activities, such as stabbing. The possibility of the richly decorated knife, deposited in a seemingly deliberate manner with a collection of altars and dedicated objects, upon the floor of the octagonal temple at Nettleton Scrubb, being a sacrificial object, used for such a purpose, has already been discussed in section 6.1. The flint knife blade **(TOOL 28)** found from the 'hoard' deposited amongst the northern 'antae' of Temple II, is of particular interest in respect of such an interpretation. Such an object would have been very robust, and the way it must have been used to stab would have involved considerable force, to cause such damage, and it is possible that it may have been used to kill.

The treatment of some of the bone pins discovered at the site presented some interesting traits, which may have been significant to their use as part of past activities, and it is possible that such objects could also have been used as tools. Damage was very more common at the end leading towards the tip (**PER 36, 77, 94, 147** and Photographs 59, 62, 65, 73, 78-79, 85, 88, 91-99 on pages 343-356). Although this is where the items would have been thinnest, and quite vulnerable to post depositional breakage, it is possible that they could have possessed more versatile uses, being more than just items of personal display. The objects could have been used as implements of some form, maybe for scratching or opening objects, such as shellfish, many of which have been found at the site (section 6.7).

Of the other finds, the treatment of the glass vessels raises a few issues for consideration. It is, obviously, difficult to assess whether vessels were deliberately used in a fragmentary condition, as they are very easy to damage, although this possibility should not be ruled out simply because of the difficulties of identifying such activities. It is, therefore, interesting when material appears to have been deliberately buried in particular parts of the site, that some pieces of glass vessels appear to have been deliberately selected and buried as fragments in their own right. If material was deposited because it was considered to be 'useless', then it might be expected that such remains would be found in a complete state. Unless damage was relatively minor, and resulted in only a slight chipping, sharp fragments could make vessels dangerous to use, and there would always be a risk of small pieces breaking off and entering material held within them, which could then eaten or drunk with the contents. The significance of the burial of fragmentary vessel glass is considered in greater detail when the significance of the contexts in which it was deposited is assessed in sections 9.2-9.4.

9. Analysis of relationships between finds deposited within archaeological contexts through the history of the site, together with examination of their fragmentation.

9.1: Introduction.

The composition of individual stratigraphic contexts, and the condition of material from them, was investigated to examine relationships between material deposited at particular times and locations, to see what light this might shed on past activities. Investigation raised many possibilities for discussion about the significance of the use and disposal of objects, indicating the presence of diverse and complex aspects to behaviour that were not visible through the analysis of particular 'classes' of finds and their treatment, undertaken in Chapters 5-8. Material can be broadly defined as having been deposited at particular times during the use of the site, which has influenced the order of its presentation in the following section. The first part of the analysis discusses the distribution and treatment of material deposited either during or after the first century occupation, associated with the temples built initially at the site, but prior to the construction of the large second century 'temple complex' in the southern part of the settlement, although the evidence, generally, yielded little information about past activities, as evidence was very limited. The section after this discusses second and third century deposits made during the main period of use of the southern 'temenos area'; and the final section discusses archaeological contexts associated with the final period of activity at the site, from the late third century onwards which, as will be seen, are very different in form and content to those from the earlier periods. Quantative data on the distribution of finds from features and strata, together with information on their condition, has been included in Appendix 28, and can be pursued in greater detail by following the references provided on page 627.

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9.2: Relationships between finds from first and early second century contexts.

When compared with the assemblages from later periods, associated with the main period of construction of temples in the southern part of the site, it appears that very few 'small finds' were associated with stratum and features dated to these periods (Figure 72 and Figure 73 on page 206). Given the intensive occupation of the site until the fourth century AD, it is possible that any material from the earlier periods was dispersed by later building. Other reasons why so few finds appear to have been recorded may be due to a lack of detailed records surviving from the excavations on the main areas producing first century evidence, particularly Temple VII and the 'agricultural building'. It is, however, expected that the amount of information from contexts dated to this period will increase substantially when the results of the Wessex Archaeology excavations are published.

The 'small finds' deposited within first century contexts were largely items of personal adornment, eight of which were found. Unsurprisingly, given the early date of the context, seven of these were brooches **(PER 9, 13, 117-119, 142-143)** with a single pin **(PER 70)** being discovered. The other finds were a small number of structural fittings and fastenings **(STRUCT 6, 51, 61)**, which may have formed part of the early buildings at the site, and a pair of shears **(TOOL 24)**. With the exception of the pin **(PER 70)**, discovered beneath Temple VI, and an iron latch lifter **(STRUCT 51)**, found beneath the granary on Site A, no other items were complete. Given the damage to many metal items observed at the site, discussed in Chapter 8, it is, perhaps, interesting that durable copper alloy and iron objects, such as the brooches **(PER 9 13, 117-119)**, structural fittings and fastenings **(STRUCT 61)**, and the shears **(TOOL 24)** had been damaged, although the finds were widely dispersed amongst strata and features and little further information could be obtained from examination of their context. Four of the seven brooches **(PER 9, 117-119)** were missing their pins, a fragile part of the objects that could be more easily broken, and it is possible that the items could be the result of accidental loss. One of these **(PER 117)** had, however, been placed amongst hundreds of oyster shells **(SHELL 1)** in the filling of a pit, predating the granary on Site A. It has already been discussed that large concentrations of shellfish remains, deposited in a seemingly deliberate manner, are particularly notable from the early site, and may represent traces of feasting, potentially connected with 'religious' activities associated with Temple VII, and the temples discovered by Wessex Archaeology (page 141). It is, therefore, possible that the broken object could have been deliberately deposited with symbolic intent.

Finds from features and strata which were thought to date to either the late first or early second centuries were encountered in only a few parts of the site, from deposits underlying Temple I, the 'shop', and those sealing the 'kiln' (feature F.26) **(OVEN 28)** in the far north east of the settlement. As with first century deposits, the most common finds recorded appear to be items of personal adornment **(PER 6-8, 11, 19, 154-156)** and, out of these, brooches were, once again, frequently encountered **(PER 7, 8, 11, 19)**. Finds appeared concentrated from stratum A, a layer sealing a feature (F.26), interpreted as being a possible kiln **(OVEN 28)**, including a pair of tweezers **(PER 154)**, a nail cleaner **(PER 155)** a pin **(PER 156)**, a gaming counter **(GAM 5)**, and a blade **(TOOL 20)**. It is possible that the finds

could have been associated with a cremation burial placed within the feature when it was filled (Penn, 1968a; 179), although no further information was provided on the find spots from where the individual objects were discovered. The other items discovered; a glass flagon **(VGLASS 19)**, a nail **(STRUCT 5)**, and two unidentifiable objects **(UNID 8, 33)** appeared to be dispersed finds. The condition of the items, as a whole, provided little information on past activities, a glass bead **(PER 6)** and part of a flagon handle **(VGLASS 19)** could have been broken by accident, or through the levelling of the site. The iron blade **(TOOL 20)** was missing its tip, and this could have occurred through use. Two brooches **(PER 7. 19)** were missing their pins, the possibilities for which have already been considered above. A small amount of finds were complete, such as brooches **(PER 8, 11)**, a gaming counter **(GAM 5)** and a pin **(PER 156)** and it is possible that such finds may have been left behind at the site with symbolic intent, perhaps as 'offerings', although some might be the result of accidental loss. No information was available on the other items discovered.

Figure 72: 'Small finds' from contexts excavated under the direction of Penn and Harker that were dated to the first century AD.

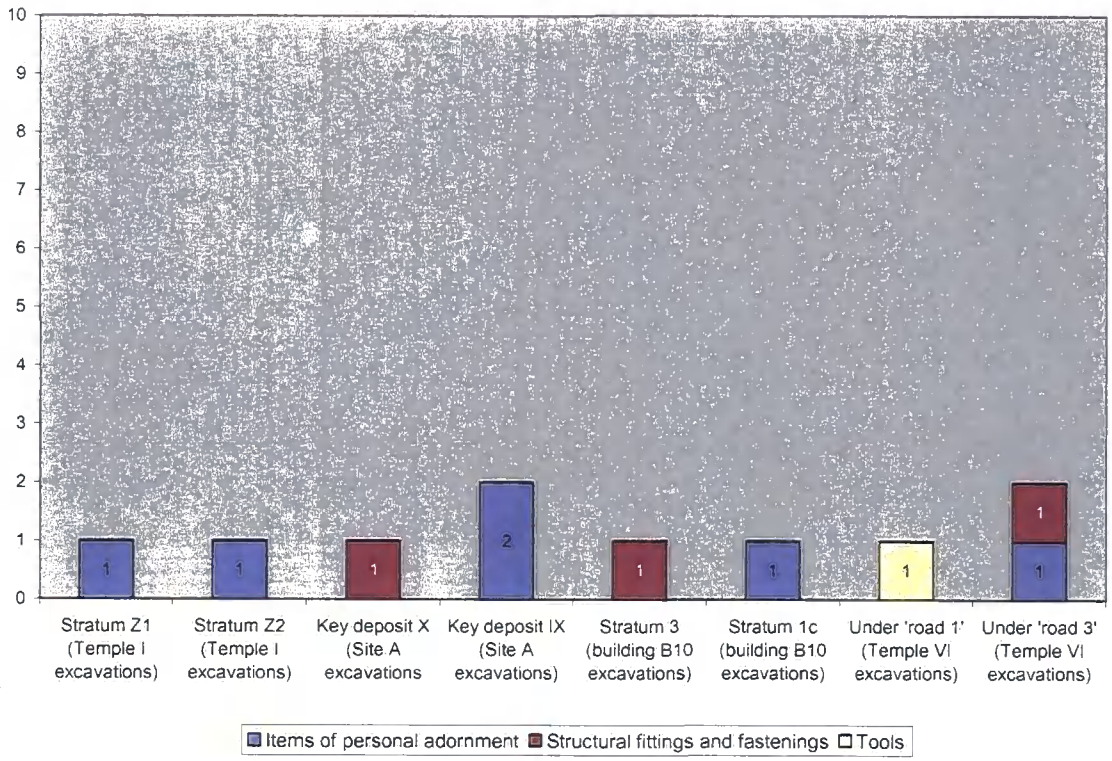
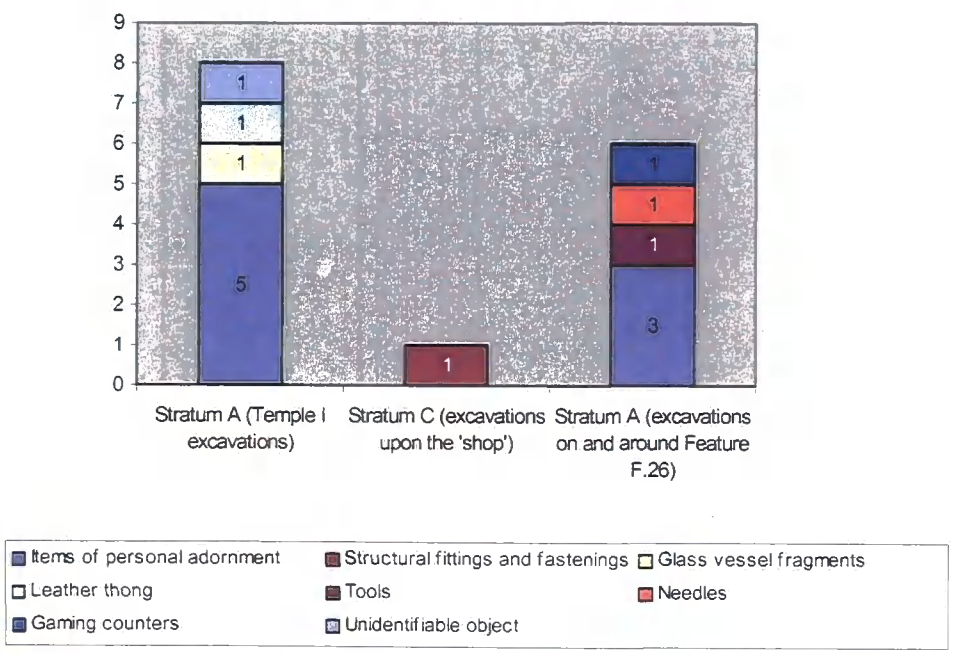


Figure 73: 'Small finds' from contexts excavated under the direction of Penn and Harker that were dated to the late first or early second century AD.



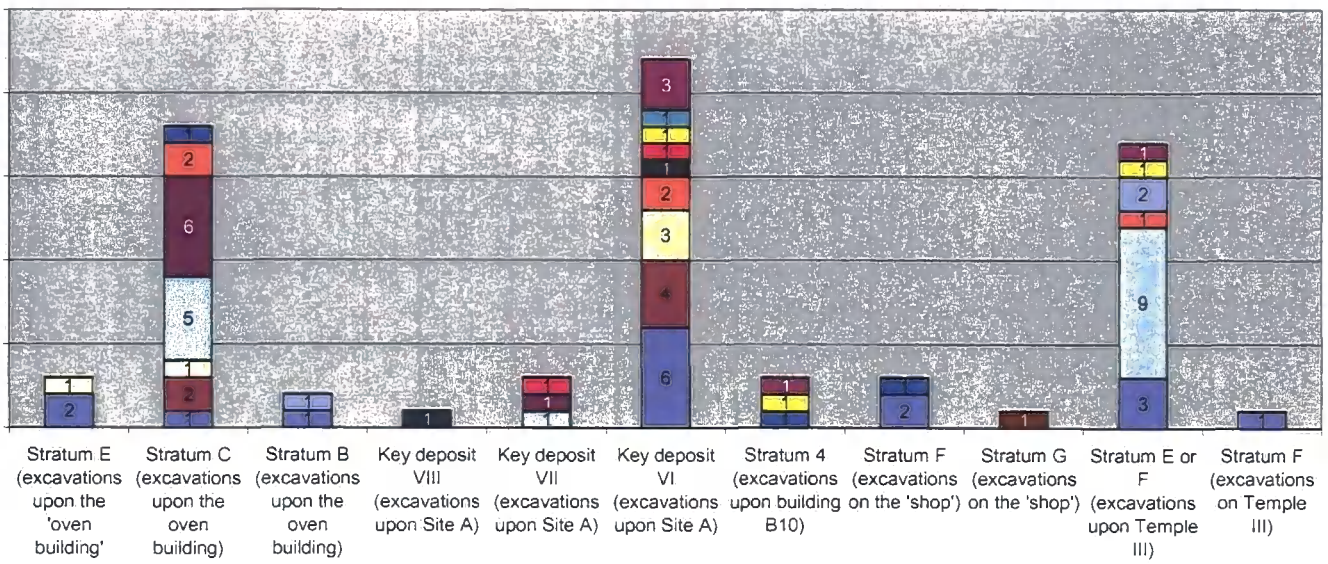
9.3: Relationships between finds from second and third century contexts.

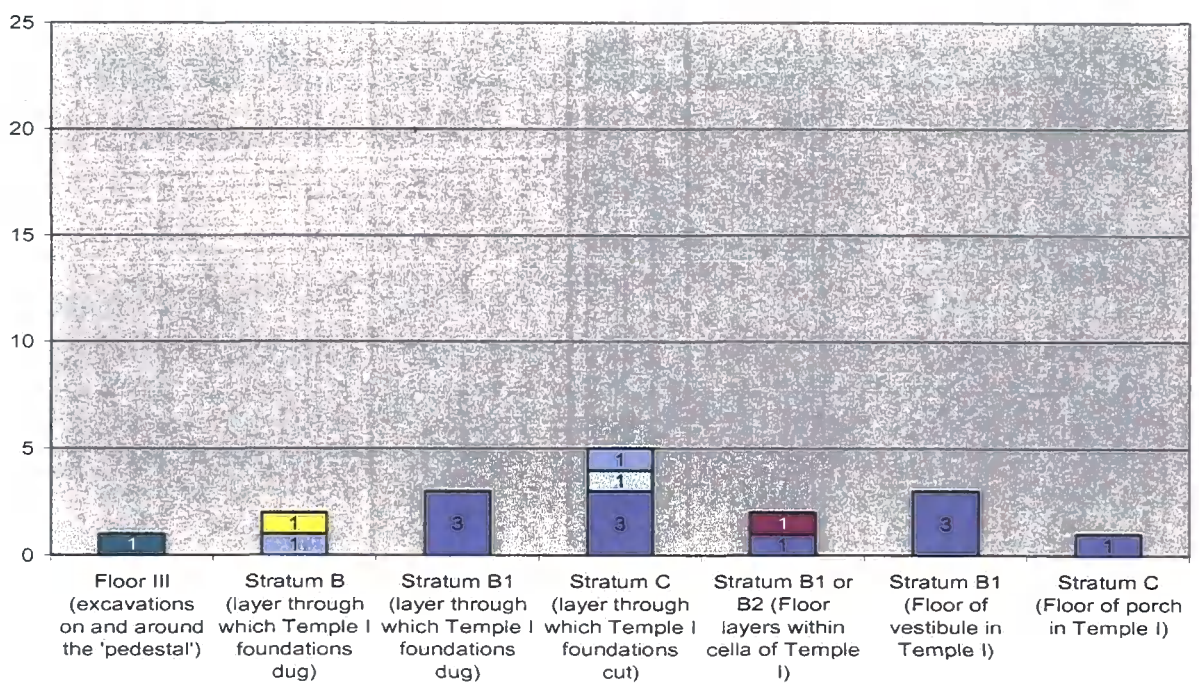
Details on the distribution of finds from strata and features dated to these times can be seen in Figure 74 - Figure 76 (overleaf), and the items appear to be associated with the period of occupation associated with the use of Temples I to VI in the southern part of the site. Many objects deposited during these times appear to have been preserved because they were deliberately discarded and buried, in particular areas. The potentially symbolic incorporation of items of personal adornment and styli into floors associated with Temple I and the 'pedestal' during the second century, perhaps as part of events associated with their reconstruction and repair, has already been discussed in the specialist sections examining the distribution of these objects (6.2 and 7.6, respectively). Other finds, normally ascribed a 'profane' (non 'religious') function appear to have been symbolically buried around the 'temenos', and raise many issues for discussion about interpreting the use of objects there, and their relationship to 'religious' activities. The deposition of material, which appears to have been thrown away during this time, also presents interesting possibilities for discussion about the significance of 'rubbish' disposal, and its relationship to 'religious' activities. The material and its treatment will now be explored, followed by discussion of its potential significance.

Large quantities of finds were associated with stratum C, a layer of light, gravely soil forming a floor surface within the 'oven building'. Sixteen of the eighteen items deposited were particularly concentrated in two specific regions of the structure and objects, possessing similar forms and aspects of function, appear to have been intentionally buried together and may have been symbolically deposited. Three quern stone fragments **(QUML 6-8)** were found on the floor, just to the north east of **OVEN 12**. Another three pieces from such objects **(QUML 9-11)** had been buried in a shallow, circular hole close to the oven, and two hones **(HONE 4-5)** had also been buried in its fill. It has already been noted in Chapter 8 that **QUML 6-8** may have been intentionally broken and placed in a semi-circular position, resembling half a stone, on the floor next to the feature (page 201), all the other finds had also been broken before they were buried and, being such substantial objects, it is also possible that this was done intentionally.

Another concentration of items was discovered towards the centre of the structure, beneath the site of a later oven **(OVEN 11)**. This consisted mainly of vessel glass; including five fragments from four different vessels **(VGLASS 12-15)**, a bronze bracelet **(PER 76)** and three iron structural fittings, consisting of a staple **(STRUCT 65)** and two nails **(STRUCT 66-67)**, a knife **(TOOL 21)** and a spoon **(CU 1)**. The glass vessels were pieces from the sides and handles of vessels, and may have been intentionally deposited with the concentration of objects as fragments in their own right. Given the potential use of the building for production, it is possible that the fragments could have been collected as cullet, intended for recycling, although it is difficult to see why the material was not taken away for this purpose, unless the occupants of the site lost interest in the activity, were killed or driven away.

Figure 74: 'Small finds' from contexts excavated under the direction of Penn and Harker that were dated to the second century AD.





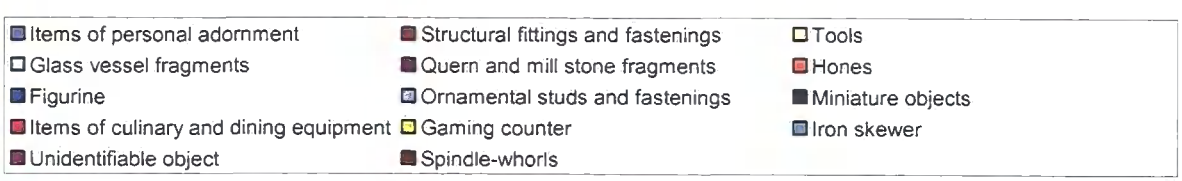


Figure 75: 'Small finds' from contexts excavated under the direction of Penn and Harker that were dated to the late second and early third centuries AD.

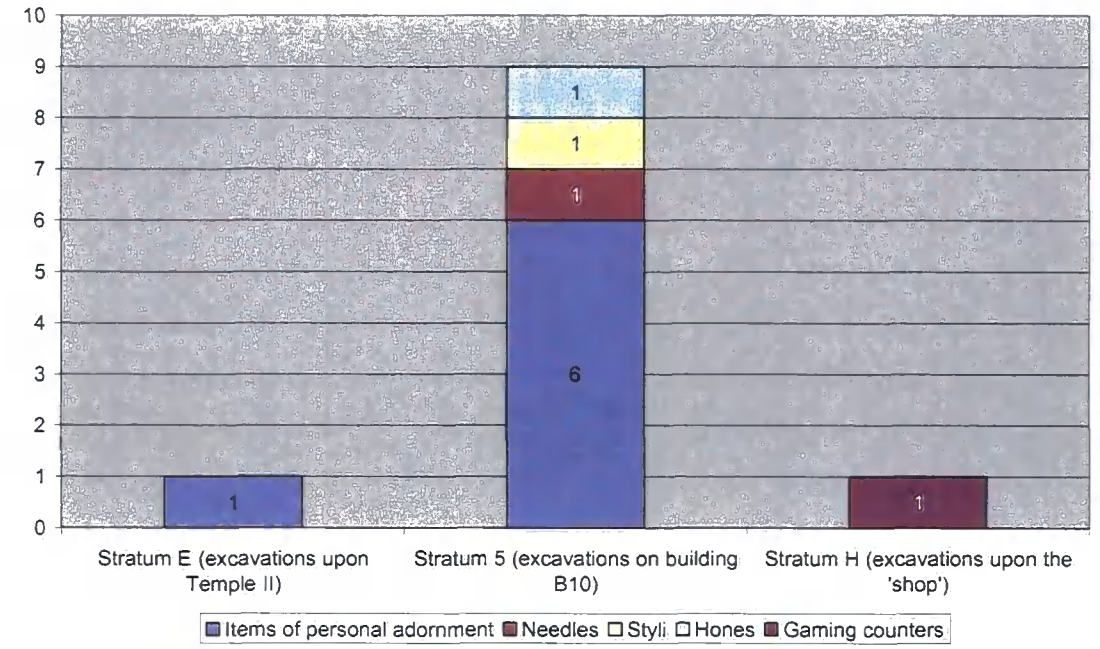
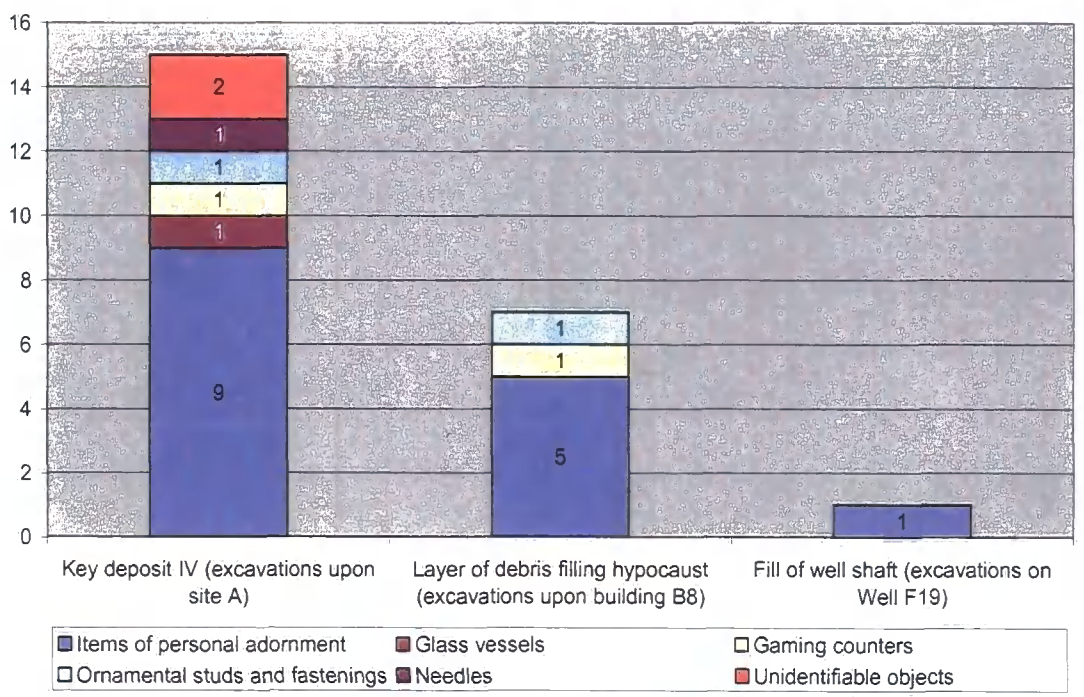


Figure 76: 'Small finds' from contexts excavated under the direction of Penn and Harker that were dated to the third century AD.



A complete bronze bracelet **(PER 76)** appears to have been deposited with the fragments, an object that would normally have been interpreted as representing an 'offering' (see section 5.2 for a wider discussion on interpretations made about items of personal adornment from temple sites), although its significance does not appear to have been noticed. The knife **(TOOL 21)** was represented by a complete blade which, although missing its handle, could have been repaired and re-used. It may, therefore, also have been deliberately sacrificed. The spoon **(CU 1)** was represented only by its head, and, like the glass fragments, it appears to have been deliberately buried with the concentration of finds as a broken object. It is possible that the knife and spoon, like the querns and hones deposited in a potentially symbolic manner around **OVEN 12**, may have been deposited as part of rites connected associated with production in the building. The condition of the structural fittings and fastenings is, unfortunately unknown, and no further information is available about these finds.

Other finds also appear to have been placed within concentrated deposits in the southern 'temenos' during the second century. Unlike the oven building, details on their exact find spots are less precise. It is, however, still possible to observe that material appears to have intentionally discarded within particular parts of the site. A concentration of material, including a hone **(HONE 6)**, a pottery gaming counter, **GAM 10**, two bronze studs **(ORN 7-8)**, two bracelets **(PER 43-44)**, a pin, **PER 46**, a finger ring **(PER 45)** and a bronze disc with a central hole **(UNID 32)**, were deposited within two layers of soil (stratum E and F) used to infill the remains of Temple III. The majority of 'small finds' from the deposit were, however, fragments from glass vessels; including pieces of three square bottles **(VGLASS 4-6)**, two flagons **(VGLASS 7, 9)**, together with fragments from a bowl **(VGLASS 8)**, a jug **(VGLASS 10)** and two pieces of a flask **(VGLASS 11)**. The finds appear to have been intentionally packed in amongst thousands of broken pottery sherds, which had been deposited in large quantities at the corners of the structure, and two complete vessels had been placed upon their sides in the south eastern corner (Penn, 1960; 116). Despite the excavation of wide areas around the building, on all sides, no other material was discovered, and it appears that these objects built up, or were deliberately buried in this part of the site.

It is difficult to comment upon the condition of the finds, due to a lack of detailed recording. The gaming counter **(GAM 10)** was deposited in a complete state, as were the two studs **(ORN 7-8)**, although these latter objects could have been broken from larger items; no information was available on the hone **(HONE 6)**, bracelet **(PER 44)**, ring **(PER 45)**, or disc **(UNID 32)** and this seriously restricted the amount of information that could be obtained. The metal pin **(PER 46)** and one of the bracelets **(PER 43)** were recorded as having been fragmented, although the extent of the damage is unknown. Of the glass, the majority of fragments appear to come from the upper parts from vessels; including the neck and part of the upper body from a bottle **(VGLASS 6)**, a flagon handle **(VGLASS 7)**, a shoulder fragment of a flagon **(VGLASS 9)**, and rim fragment from a jug **(VGLASS 10)**, the only other object possessing detailed information being a base from a bowl **(VGLASS 8)**, although not enough information exists to allow the identification of any specific traits in their treatment. The strata from which the finds were discovered were interpreted as being layers of silt that had accumulated

within a 'sacred pool' thought to have been contained within Temple III (Penn, 1960; 116-117), although a lack of lining inside, sealed by the deposit, which would be necessary to support such an interpretation, means that it would be impossible to contain water within. It is, therefore, more probable that the deposits were used to fill the remains of the structure when it was abandoned.

Penn also considered that the material from Temple III might form the remains of a 'rubbish dump', although he was confused as to why such 'unsightly' activities should have occurred within an area as special as the 'temenos' (*ibid*; 117). This view is important when attempting to consider the significance of the deposition of damaged or unwanted material from the structure, and also the 'oven building'. It would appear that Penn's view rests on the assumption that discarded and broken material could not possess a 'religious' significance once it had been thrown away. It might not, for example, have been allowed to take such material away from the site, perhaps because it was thought blasphemous to re-use items dedicated to deities, which might have been considered to belong to them. It is possible that the filling of Temple III with this 'rubbish' could also have been a symbolic act to remove material from circulation, and the deliberate deposition of assemblages within the structure would have played an active part in ending its original use, whatever this may have been, being part of a symbolic event, giving it a new purpose (*cf* Chapman, 2000b; 347-349). The largely fragmented material could also have been intended as 'offerings', involving the deposition of token representations of parts of objects, that could not be donated in a complete state; perhaps for purposes of practicality, as they were too valuable to their owners. Examples of such practices have been attested from finds thrown into the sacred spring at Bath, where a catapult washer was thought to represent a gift from soldiers to the goddess Sulis-Minerva (Cunliffe, 1985; 5) It is also possible that items could have been 'ritually killed' to disperse their powers, or send them into an 'otherworld', where the deities worshipped at the site dwelled, evidence for such behaviour can also be seen by the twisted metal spears deposited at Uley (Woodward and Leach, 1993; fig 111), and at least three examples from Woodeaton (Bagnall-Smith, 1995; 185). The deposition of large quantities of pottery sherds at the corners of Temple III may further support the organised nature of its filling as part of a symbolic act, and the complete pottery vessels should also not be ignored, they might, for instance, have been deliberately sacrificed.

The importance of temple sites as being liminal areas where 'sacred' and 'profane' activities may have blended together at particular times and locations, has already been considered in some detail in the theoretical discussion beginning on page 25, and the deposits from the 'oven building' and Temple III raise many issues for discussion when attempting to interpret such activities. It is interesting that objects that have normally be ascribed a 'profane' function, such as quern and hone stones (*cf* Penn, 1964b; 174), and also the other finds discussed in this section, such as studs, vessel glass, structural fittings and fastenings, gaming counters, and also the unidentifiable objects, may have been related to 'religious' activities through their symbolic burial within the 'temple complex'. The importance of this issue is further highlighted when material deposited outside of the 'temenos' is considered. Strata and features excavated in the parts of the site outside of this area also contained many finds interpreted as

having been brought to and deposited at the site as the results of 'religious' activities. A large accumulation of such material was found in a layer of soil, dated to the second century, classified as key deposit' VI, which had been deposited, or had accumulated with the remains of the granary on Site A, and also the areas adjacent to it. Items of personal adornment **(PER 120-125, 201-202)**, and a miniature axe head **(MINI 3)** were found, an earlier layer associated with the granary, 'key deposit' VIII, also contained a miniature axe **(MINI 2)**. A later deposit, classified as 'key deposit IV', also built up in the same area during the third century and contained similar objects **(PER 126-130)**. Items of personal adornment **(PER 133-137)** had also been incorporated into the third century debris filling the hypocaust of building B8, to the north of the 'temenos area'.

The deposition of such items outside the 'temple complex' might also represent traces of the disposal of material, once left there as 'offerings', that became damaged, or had to be removed from circulation when spaces became too cluttered. Some of the objects, from 'key deposit' VI **(PER 124-125)**, 'key deposit' IV **(PER 128)** and the hypocaust of building B8 **(PER 135)** were complete, and it is possible that they may represent deliberately sacrificed items. Unfortunately, few details were available on the others, and no more can be said from analysis of their fragmentation. Some substantial items of personal adornment were broken; the brooches from 'key deposit' VI **(PER 120, 123)** and 'key deposit IV' **(PER 126-127)** were missing their pins. It is, however, difficult to ascertain whether such damage might have been deliberately intended; perhaps to disperse the 'religious' significance of such finds, by 'ritually killing' them (discussed above) before they were disposed of. The head of one copper alloy pin **(PER 122)** had been entirely removed from a substantial shaft. The object appeared to be in a good condition, and it is possible that this may have been deliberately fragmented. The distribution of pins, which appear to be strongly associated with deposits formed in the areas peripheral to the 'temple complex', with relatively few, in contrast, being encountered from deposits within it, has already been argued to, perhaps, indicate the dispersed traces of aspects to activities involving the use of particular items of personal adornment in the landscape surrounding the 'temenos'. The natural springs to the north, and the natural arena formed around them, may have been regarded as being of symbolic importance, shown by the deposition of hundreds of coins and brooches within them (see page 99), and the deposition of pins in specific areas may also be connected to practices associated with the wider 'religious' landscape in which the temples were set. It should not, therefore, be automatically assumed that all items of personal adornment and miniature objects were used solely within the 'temenos area'. Finds might, for example, have been taken and deposited during processions undertaken around the site, perhaps between the 'temple complex' and natural springs, or along the roads into and out of it. Objects could, for example, have been left as 'offerings' to deities to mark stages on such journeys, perhaps made at symbolic viewpoints, where places of particular significance could be seen together.

It is also perhaps of interest that many other items, were also 'thrown away' with the 'religious' material from Site A **(TOOL 1-3; CU 2; HONE 1-2)** which, again, raises many questions about interpreting the significance of 'sacred' and 'profane' activities. An iron knife **(TOOL 2)**, a copper alloy spoon **(CU 2)** two iron keys **(STRUCT 56-57)**, an iron latch lifter **(STRUCT 59)** and skewer

(SKEW 1) found in 'key deposit' VI, a bronze needle found in 'key deposit' IV **(NEED 2)**; and also a complete bone needle **(NEED 1)** from building B10, were all complete. Unless they were accidentally lost, or were simply tossed away as unwanted material, it is, perhaps, interesting that they were deposited with the 'religious' items while still in a useable condition. Attention has already been drawn, in the specialist analysis of the fragmentation of particular 'finds types' (page 206), to the presence of a considerable amount of complete or re-usable 'profane' items at the site which, from a modern view, might be considered illogical and un-necessary to discard. The 'throwing away' of these items with the other 'sacred' finds on Site A, raises the possibility that some of these items could also have been deliberately sacrificed, or given special disposal to remove them from circulation, because they were used as part of 'religious' activities.

There are a number of other instances where 'religious' finds such as items of personal adornment appear to have been deliberately buried on parts of the site outside of the 'temenos area'; further emphasising that aspects of the surrounding landscape were considered appropriate for symbolic practices related to the use and deposition of these objects. The northern room of building B10 appears to have been used as a place for the burial of infants **(INF 13-16)** during the late second and early third centuries, and six bone pins **(PER 144-149)** were placed on the floor around these; three of which were recorded as complete, and thought to be 'offerings' **(PER 145-146, 149)** although two were also broken **(PER 147, 148)**, perhaps indicating the deliberate deposition of damaged objects. The condition of **PER 144** was not documented. A piece from a large hone **(HONE 3)** had been used to cover two complete pots, which had been placed just to the south of the 'mausoleum' containing the infant burial **INF 11**, and appears to have been intentional used in a fragmented state and, in all, four small, complete pottery vessels were also placed on the floors of the structure. Symbolic connections between agriculture and the 'religious' use of the site have already been considered in Chapter 6.3, showing the complexity of past activities. Other interesting associations are evident from building B10 which may have been utilised for agricultural purposes, indicated by the presence of a corn dryer and possibly, two ovens **(OVEN 20-22)** found just to the south of the 'mausoleum', and the structure appears to be a more complex focus for activities throughout its history of use than just the processing of foodstuffs alone. Immediately outside of the building, a bronze brooch **(PER 150)**, interestingly deposited as a broken object, possessing only half a pin, had been placed in the filling of the shaft of Well F19, eight feet and four inches from the top, during the third century, with a complete jar; and another one of these vessels, also fully intact, had been buried above this, six feet and eight inches down the shaft, further indicating the symbolic burial of items in this area.

9.4: Relationships between finds from late third and fourth century contexts.

Considerable quantities of items were recovered from strata and features thought to have been deposited during these times (Figure 77 and 81 overleaf). Most of these were dated to the fourth century, although some material may be slightly earlier. Regardless of their dates, it is clear from examination of the stratigraphic sequence that all deposits discussed in this section relate to the final period of occupation at the site, and are of particular interest when viewed in relation to interpretations made about activities thought to have occurred during this time. The tendency has been to argue that civil disturbance in the fourth century, the threat of Saxon raids and the appearance of Christianity, caused the abandonment of the site (Penn, 1967b; 116; V. Smith, 2004; 19) and the presence of an extensive layer of charcoal, iron slag **(MET 11)** and droplets of molten iron **(MET 12)** deposited on the floors of Temple I, and the building of ovens **(OVEN 25-26)** within the structure were drawn upon to argue that iron workers were using the site because it was no longer regarded as possessing a 'religious' significance, with many of its buildings in ruins, and the 'ancient opulence' of the temples having ceased (Penn, 1959; 11; 1967b; 116).

Reassessment of the finds evidence may, however, indicate that elsewhere within the 'temenos', material, which may have possessed a 'religious' significance, appears to have been deposited in and around the remains of the temple buildings. Although it is possible that these items could be residual material from earlier periods, it is interesting that nearly all the finds were deposited within the 'temenos area' and there appeared to be little evidence for their deposition in other parts of the site, aside from a comb **(PER 131)** and at least two pins, which cannot be ascribed numbers (see page 306) from Site A. This may suggest that objects were being deliberately left at the 'temple complex' during the late third and fourth centuries, with the evidence for such practices being preserved from later dispersal, perhaps by the remains of the substantial buildings within it, and the deep layers of rubble sealing the site. Figurines; including a bronze arm and hand **(FIGUR 4)**, at least two pipe clay 'Pseudo-Venus' figurines **(FIGUR 1, 3)**, and possibly one other (Green, 1976; 228) and a pipe clay foreleg from a horse **(FIGUR 5)** were found, as were a miniature lead axe head **(MINI 1)** and an altar and base **(ALTR 1-2)**. Many items of personal adornment were also identified; including eleven pins **(PER 12, 25, 92-100)**, eight beads **(PER 84-91)** which may have come from a single necklace or bracelet, two brooches **(PER 1, 81)**, an armlet **(PER 24)**, a paste bead **(PER 82)**, a necklace **(PER 52)**, three finger rings **(PER 38, 53. 80)**, three bracelets **(PER 16, 37, 83)** and a pair of tweezers **(PER 39)**. Some of these items were complete, and may represent intentional sacrificed 'offerings', including a ring **(PER 80)** and four pins **(PER 92-93, 96, 99)** found in the filling of the 'temple ditch', a brooch, still retaining its glass stone **(PER 1)**, found outside the south eastern corner of Temple I, and a bronze armlet **(PER 24)** discovered just outside the southern wall of this building. A bronze necklace **(PER 52)**, a large object that would be difficult to lose by accident, was also found in the rubble sealing the northern room of Temple IV.

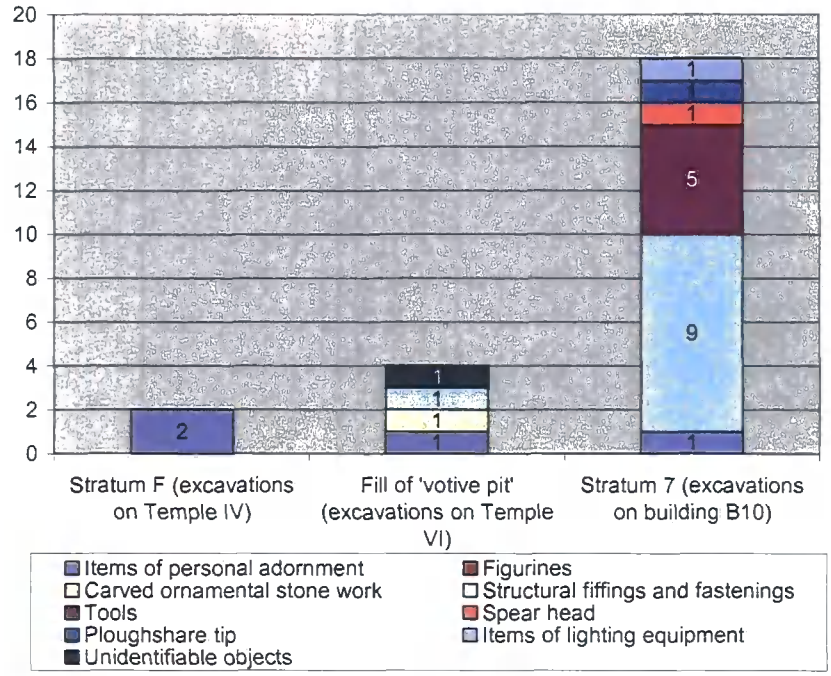


Figure 77: 'Small finds' from contexts excavated under the direction of Penn and Harker that were dated to the late third or fourth century AD.

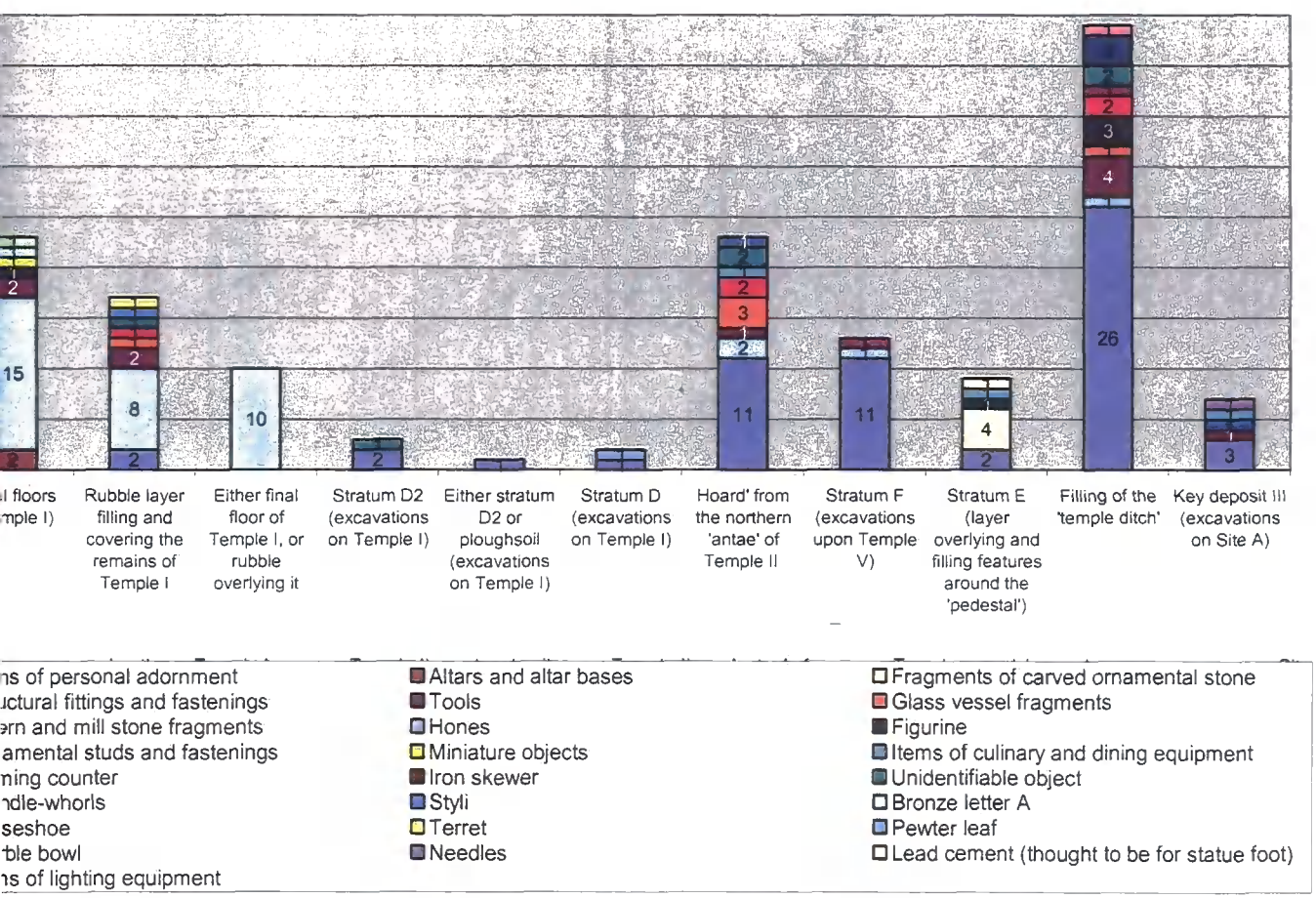


Figure 78: 'Small finds' from contexts excavated under the direction of Penn and Harker, that were dated to the fourth century AD.

Some items appear to have been deliberately buried amongst the rubble sealing parts of the site. Six complete bronze bracelets **(PER 54-59)** were placed beside the western wall of Temple V, under and in a layer of plaster and rubble that had accumulated inside the structure. Many coins also appear to have been intentionally deposited on the floor and amongst the plaster in this location, in groups; four together being discovered and, nine inches away from these, a cluster of the same number (Penn, 1962; 119; table 4.1-4.30). Two more groups of four coins, and then two groups of three, were then found and, with the bracelets, all items from this area had been deposited together within a space of four feet (*ibid*). It was suggested that the objects might have once been attached to the wall of the structure in small bags, which had then decomposed, allowing their contents to fall to the ground (*ibid*; 119, 121). A 'hoard' of eight coins was discovered on top of a layer of fallen plaster beside the wall, adding further to the concentration of seemingly deliberately deposited finds (*ibid*; 119). Other objects were also discovered over the floors and amongst the plaster; including a silver ear ring **(PER 60)**, four glass beads **(PER 61-64)** and three fragments of face pottery, one of these possibly forming part of a free standing figurine **(FIGUR 17)**, and may also have been related to the concentration of material, although precise details on their find spots were not provided.

The placement of the finds in and amongst the rubble would appear to indicate that this part of the site could have been in a state of at least partial structural collapse, and/or with building material being dumped upon, or collapsing over, it. This may also be indicated by a row of tegulae and imbrices which had been cemented together and appeared to be part of a collapsed roof which had fallen *in situ*, either from the temple, or perhaps from a nearby building (*ibid*; 116-117). Other evidence for the seemingly deliberate burial of finds, potentially as the result of 'religious' activities during the period of structural decay and/or collapse can be seen by the twenty three coins (Penn, 1962; 113, 116, table 3.12-3.34), three bronze rings **(PER 26-28)**, a bronze bracelet **(PER 35)**, a bone pin **(PER 36)** and six glass beads **(PER 29-34)** which may have formed parts of a necklace or bracelet, which appear to have been deliberately gathered together, and buried, within a crevice between a group of tiles in the final rubble layer filling the northern 'antae' of Temple II. The items were found with other objects, including tools **(TOOL 25)**, spoons **(CU 6)** structural fittings and fastenings **(STRUCT 41, 58)**, lighting equipment **(LIGHT 2)**, studs and fastenings **(ORN 5-6)**, vessel glass **(VGLASS 20-21)** and two copper alloy plates perforated with holes **(UNID 13-14)** and the concentration of material was interpreted as being a 'ritual hoard' (*ibid*; 116).

In the discussion of material from second and third century deposits associated with the use of Temples I to VI (section 9.3), it was argued that the intentional burial of particular pieces of items in specific parts of the site, may suggest that the discard of broken objects should not be seen as meaningless activities, and the destruction and disposal of material may have possessed a symbolic significance. It is possible that similar practices were occurring in the fourth century, although the reasons influencing them may have been very different, as will be seen after the evidence for such acts has been outlined. The majority of items in the 'hoard', from the northern 'antae' of Temple II appear to have been deliberately deposited in a broken state. A flint blade **(TOOL 26)**, which was missing its

tip, was found, as was an iron candlestick **(LIGHT 2)** missing one of its legs. A bone pin was also discovered **(PER 36)**, which was missing its tip. Small component parts of much larger items also appear to have been gathered, and deposited in the hoard, perhaps as token representations of larger objects that it was not practical to donate, the parts standing for the larger 'whole' and included a very small piece of a bronze bracelet **(PER 35)** approximately twenty millimetres in length and height, with jagged edges on all sides, appears to have been split from a complete item with some force, in a manner which appears to have been deliberate. It is possible that the object may have been chosen because of the symbol upon it, which appears to be a circle between two 'I' shaped symbols. A complete bronze lion's head stud **(ORN 5)**, which could have been included in the concentration because of the image represented upon it, was also found, with a bronze stud **(ORN 6)** and three fragments, representing the remains of two glass bowls **(VGLASS 20-21)**, one of these **(VGLASS 20)**, perhaps, having been intentionally selected for deposition because it was marked with the letter 'C'. A number of items, including three needles **(NEED 7-9)**, a pair of tweezers **(PER 39)** a bracelet **(PER 37)** and a ring with a snake's head **(PER 38)** were discovered in the top soil around the 'antae' and it is possible that they could have been dispersed from the 'hoard' by ploughing. Little can, however, be said about the condition of the objects, as details were only available for the iron needle, **NEED 9**. Interestingly, this had been fragmented, although nothing further is known about it.

A number of items from other parts of the site were also found, that do not appear to have been deliberately buried, but would still have been difficult to break accidentally, and their damage may have been intentionally carried out. Three bronze pins **(PER 95, 97-98)** from the 'temple ditch' were all missing the lower parts of their shafts and tips. A silver pin was also discovered **(PER 100)** that was described as being a 'fragment', although further details were not provided on where the find was broken. The damage to it is, however, likely to have occurred towards the tip of the object, as the head and shank were both recorded as having been found. It is also interesting to note that a fragment of a marble bowl **(MARB 1)**, representing just under a quarter of the vessel rim, was discovered in the ditch filling. The fracture where the fragment would have joined the vessel body was jagged and may have been broken off with some force although, interestingly, the edges on either side of the rim were both straight, perhaps indicating that the item had been carefully cut through before it was wrenched away. A bronze terret **(HORSE 1)** was recorded, generally, as having been discovered from the layer of rubble overlying Temple I, which had been broken in half, something which is very unlikely to have occurred by accident as the item was extremely substantial and in good condition. Just under half of a snake's head bracelet **(PER 16)** was found in the rubble overlying the cella, and an iron stylus **(STYL 4)** was discovered in the rubble overlying the southern corridor of the building, which was missing part of its tip and its spatulate head. A bronze ring with a bezel **(PER 2)** was also found just outside the temple, in Stratum D2, a layer of dark soil deposited close to the southern 'antae'; and the back half of this object had been broken off. A fragment of a bronze bracelet **(PER 73)** appears to have been deliberately buried, together with a number of objects, amongst the filling of the pit adjacent to the 'pedestal' (see below) in a potentially symbolic manner.

The context of the burial of material, and the character of objects in the deposits was often very different from earlier periods; and may suggest that, in many cases, the fragmentation of much material took place in other circumstances, motivated and driven by different activities. The frequent, and seemingly intentional, deposition of pieces of architectural stone and large iron fittings and fastenings, which could have formed fragments of superstructures and furnishings, together with other objects in the fills of features, is a notable difference. A fragment from a pilaster capital of Corinthian style **(CARVST 7)** appears to have been broken off, on three sides, from a much larger piece of architectural stonework, and buried in the fill of the 'votive pit' towards the centre of Temple VI, during either the late third or fourth century. The item had been buried with twenty one coins (Penn, 1967c; 112), and a complete finger ring **(PER 67)** had been placed with a mussel shell near the base of the fill on the northern side of the feature, and a bird burial and large bronze ring **(UNID 10)**, the condition of which is unknown, had been placed opposite to them (Penn, 1967c; 112). During the fourth century, four pieces of carved ornamental stone **(CARVST 1-4)**, thought to be from a single Corinthian capital, had been buried in a pit next to the nearby 'pedestal', together with other items, including a fragment from a bronze bracelet **(PER 73)**, a bone ligula **(CU 7)**, missing part of the end of its shaft, and also a lead object **(UNID 4)** interpreted as being a cement to hold the iron foot of a statue on top of the 'pedestal'[7]. A bone pin **(PER 74)** had been placed on the top of the filling to the pit, and may also have been deliberately deposited with the concentration of objects evident in this part of the 'temenos'. A T-shaped iron slide key **(STRUCT 41)** and an iron door hinge **(STRUCT 58)** had been buried in the 'hoard' from Temple II. The inclusion of these objects is particularly interesting, given their symbolic deposition beside the entrance, and it is possible that they could reflect traces of an event associated with this part of the structure.

It is possible that, if the items discussed in this section were parts of the superstructure or furnishings from the temples, then it may have been considered blasphemous by some to casually dispose of their remains, particularly if they were the dwelling places of deities. Pieces of such buildings might, therefore, have been sacrificed and buried with 'offerings', returning them to their owners and removing them from circulation. Reasons for such acts might include an inability to maintain the upkeep of the site, and the aggressive efforts of others, trying to destroy it, possibilities which are considered in more detail below. The deliberate deposition of a large concentration of iron structural fittings **(STRUCT 42-50)** within the remains of building B10 during this time, and in an unprovenanced concentration of material from the Gravesend Historical Society collection, may further indicate that such objects were intentionally buried because they could not be re-used (see section beginning page 147). The potentially symbolic burial of pieces of structures can also be seen on other temple sites, such as Cosgrove, where a large amount of structural fittings were buried in a pit just outside the temple, together with a copper alloy and a shale bracelet, a jet bead, a bone peg, coloured

[7] It was suggested that the depression in the centre of the item was similar in shape to an axe, and the object looked like a mould for an iron object. It was, however, considered that such an activity would be illogical, as the lead would melt when exposed to the hot metal. It still possible that the item could have been intended as an 'offering', the lead representing the traces of an object that was, perhaps, considered too valuable to be sacrificed, with the metal being poured round a cold item, such as an axe, which might then have been separated from the material, leaving behind an impression symbolically representing the object.

vessel glass, and thirty nine coins. Window glass was also found, and this may also represent parts of buildings (Quinnell, 1991; 21). Another example of the intentional burial and removal from circulation of structural material can also be seen following the abandonment of the temple site at Icklingham, when a lead tank, decorated with a Chi-Rho symbol, was found to the north east of a church and baptistery; containing iron hinge pins, hinges, nails, together with saw blades (Woodward, 1992; 99). The Christian decoration to the tank, together with its deposition close to a Church, might suggest that the potentially symbolic burial of pieces of furniture or buildings, thought to have possessed a 'religious' significance, may also have continued as part of later practices.

The 'offerings' made amongst the remains of Temples II and V, might also have been intended to accompany the demolition of the buildings, to appease the deities with which they were associated. Evidence of deliberate deposition of material at 'religious' sites, which may be influenced by similar activities is evident at Brigstock, where eighty four coins placed on top of the rubble overlying the temple buildings in the fourth century, may represent continued practice at the site, despite its collapse. It is also possible that three nails, a hook, two 'pole tips' with holes in their bases, suggested as representing rattles to provide sound accompaniment in 'cult ritual', left in the centre of one of the structures may have been deliberately placed and buried there as part of abandonment rites, together with a miniature bronze table and axe, a brooch and fifty six coins (Greenfield, 1963; 232-233; figs 2, 12).

The form and composition of the deposits made amongst rubble, and including pieces of buildings, would appear to suggest that activities, potentially 'religious' in nature, were still taking place at a time when parts of the site were being destroyed, perhaps as part of conflict between worshippers and non-believers, and/or were in state of structural collapse. This possibility is also suggested by the distinct character of the final deposits associated with the remains of Temple I, which contained considerable quantities of iron structural fittings and fastenings; thirty three of these being recorded in total, thirteen from the final floors **(STRUCT 8-17, 37-40)**, and seven from the layer of rubble filling and sealing its remains **(STRUCT 30-36)**. Eleven items **(STRUCT 18-20 22-28, 37)** are mentioned as having been discovered from either of these contexts, and details on their provenance are less clear. Examination of the distribution of material may suggest that some of it represents decayed remains from fallen buildings. It was suggested that four T-shaped staples **(STRUCT 14-17)** found in a line, parallel to the north wall of the cella; and three large iron nails **(STRUCT 38-40)** discovered alongside its southern wall, may have formed parts of beams which once formed the superstructure of Temple I (Penn, 1959; 17-18). More arrangements of such items in geometric forms might be expected if this was the case; although it is possible that other material that had been dispersed, following the levelling of the building, or by the metal workers at the site, who appear to have used its western corridor for the deposition of residues from their activities. No detail was provided on the condition of the majority of finds, and it would have been useful to assess the proportions of complete and broken fastenings, which might have provided some indication of whether the iron was being broken and manipulated, perhaps for re-smelting. Other changes made to the structure and layout of Temple I may also suggest the

dismantlement of the building. Destruction to the floor of the 'vestibule' is indicated on the plan made of the structure (see below), showing a missing mosaic panel which may once have held a design. Edges of a rectangular panel that had not quite been destroyed are indicated and parts of a double line of white tesserae appear to form the edges of the rectangle.

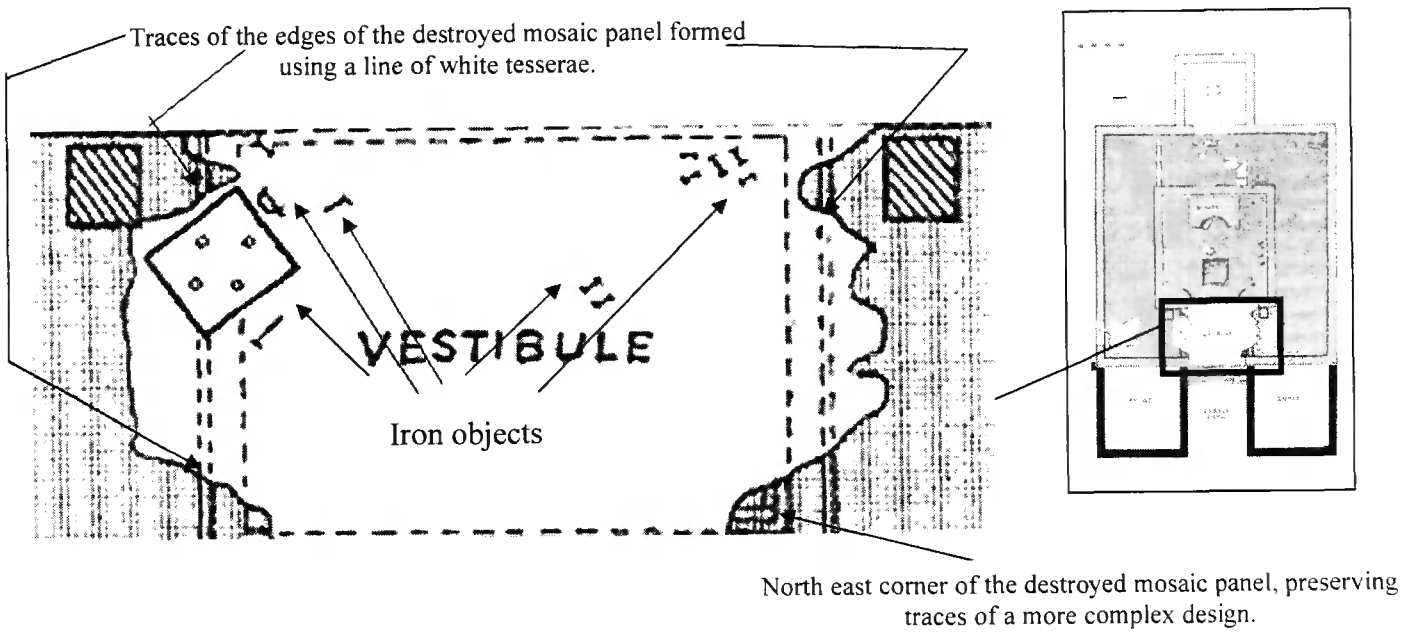


Figure 79: Close up of the vestibule floor and surrounding area depicted on the plan of Temple I. (after Penn, 1959; fig 1). The location of this magnified area within the building is highlighted by a rectangle in the adjacent plan (after *ibid*).

It was suggested that the floor might have been removed as the result of iconoclasm, designed to remove pagan motifs portrayed upon the mosaic (Penn, 1959; 17). This could be the case, although such an object could also have been taken away from the site, for safekeeping, by devotees wishing to protect against such activities, and to salvage parts of the temple building prior to its destruction. Part of the floor from the eastern corridor had also been removed (see figure overleaf), as had part of the southern exterior wall facing this (*ibid*; 18). The plan shows a gap in the wall and the damage to the floor at this point, and the details expressed on the illustration are also confirmed by photographs of the area (overleaf). A gap in the north western corner of the exterior walls is illustrated upon the plan and shown on one of the photographs (overleaf), possibly suggesting further deliberate damage.

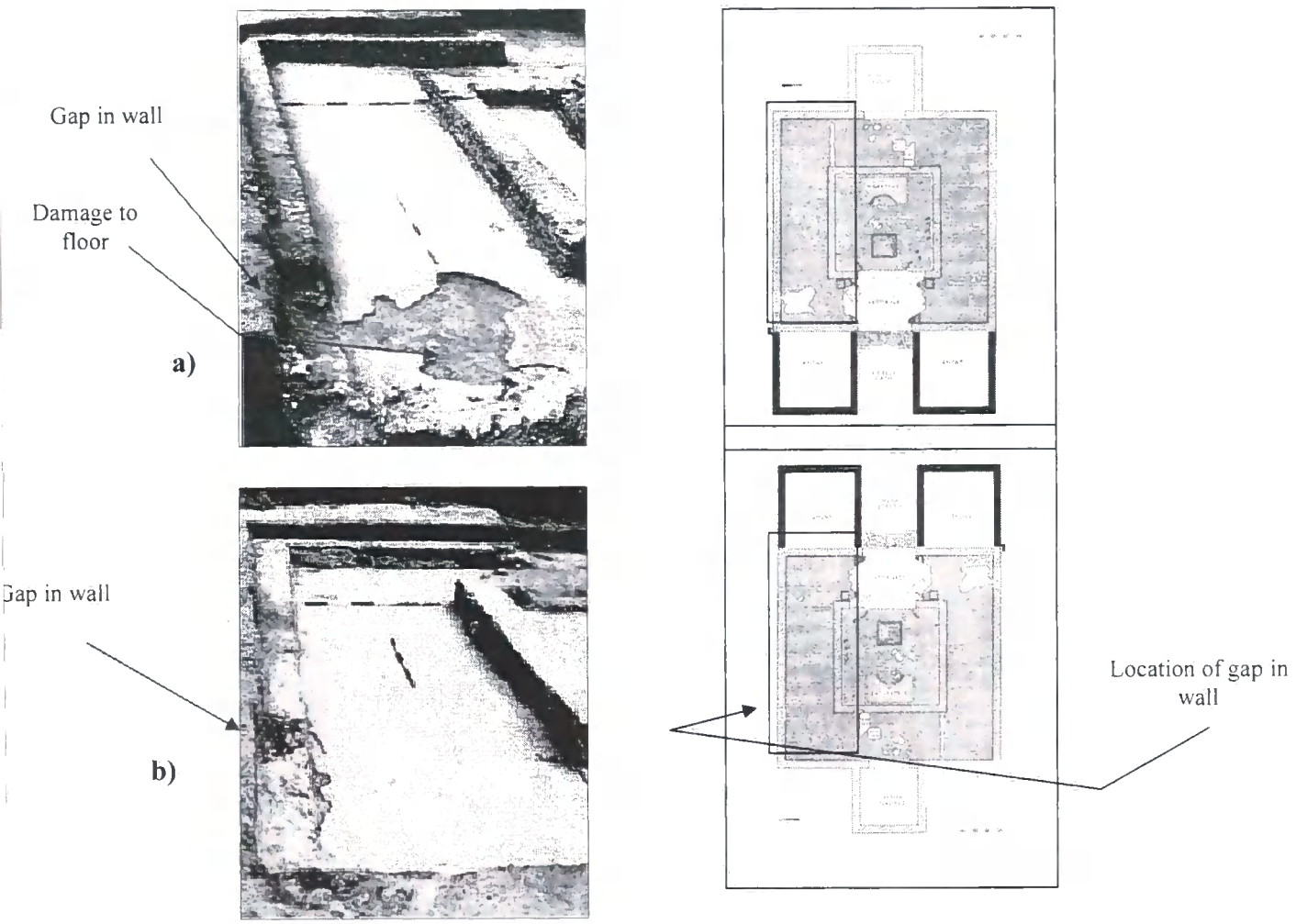


Figure 80: **a)** Photograph showing the gap in the exterior wall in the southern corridor of Temple I and the damage to the floor close to this point (after Penn, 1959; pl IV C). Scale is in feet. The location of the area photographed is highlighted by a rectangle on the plan of the building (after *ibid*; fig 1). **b):** Photograph of the gap in the exterior wall of the northern corridor of Temple I (after *ibid*; IV D) Scale is in feet. The area photographed on the right is highlighted with a rectangle and the location of the gap on the plan of the building is also shown (after *ibid*; fig 1). The original images are grainy when viewed close up.

Claims for a destroyed mosaic in the western 'store room' of Temple I are far more ambiguous. The white colour coding depicted on the plan (overleaf) indicates that the floor is missing from this part of the building. A more distant photograph taken of the western corridor shows a break between the area and the rest of the temple floor. There is, however, no decorative evidence to indicate the presence of any mosaic at this location. The presence of a mosaic in the western 'store room' was inferred from the discovery of 'one or two tesserae' in the rubble layer overlying this area (*ibid*; 32) and it is clear that this material could have come from anywhere on the site.

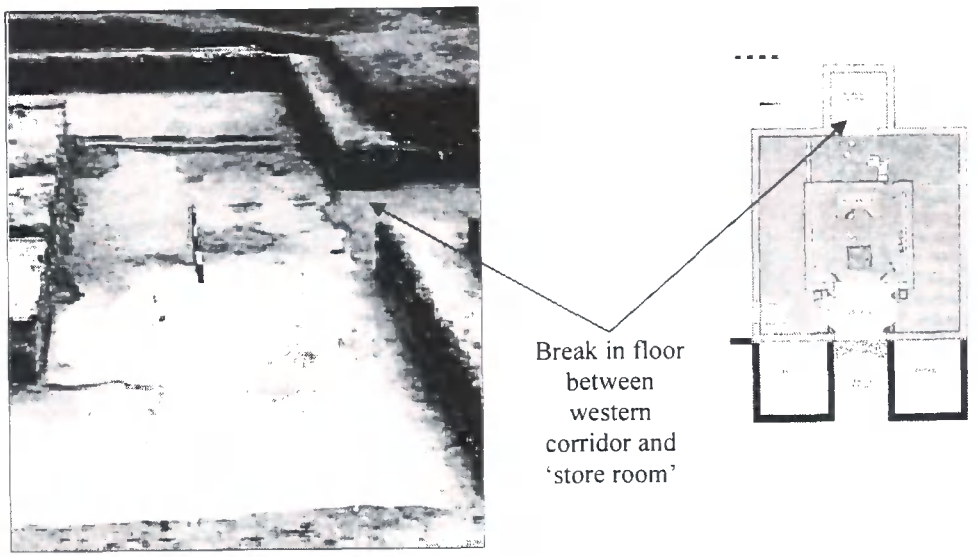


Fig 74: Photograph of the western corridor of Temple I, showing the break between this area and the western 'store room' where the floor had been removed (after Penn, 1959; pl IV B). The original image is grainy when viewed close up. The plan of the building is after *ibid*; fig 1.

The damage to Temple I might suggest production within it to be an act showing a disregard for the original use of the building, and also, perhaps, deliberately intended to convey an impression of this to others. The creation of iron, and the dumping of debris from this activity within the remains of the structure, the burning and salvaging of wooden objects from the temples for fuel, and other activities, together with the smoke, light, and heat such acts would have generated may have been powerfully symbolic, showing a desire to end activity at the site, and to destroy the material representing its ideas and beliefs. Such acts may also have been associated with the temple at Brean Down, where iron working, and also the dismantling of parts of the structure to form an attendant building, may have been conducted in a highly visible, and potentially provocative manner, on a prominent hill top, which could have been seen from the temples that were still in use at Pagans Hill and Lydney Park (Apsimon, 1965; 222-224). It has, however, also been suggested that such acts might have been intended in a more positive manner, the production of metals perhaps being deliberately orchestrated to re-stimulate activity at once prominent sites, such as forum-basilica complexes and public baths, within the later Roman period; as interest in these institutions, and the inability to maintain their upkeep declined (Rogers, 2005), perhaps due to social upheaval resulting in the breakdown of traditional structures and institutions (*cf* Esmonde-Cleary, 1989, Faulkner, 1994, 1996, 2000). Metal working may, therefore, have had a more positive role to play in relation to the 'religious' use of the site, perhaps being encouraged by the temple authorities, trying to reverse the damage caused by the decline in visitors and supplies of funding. It must also be considered that some, or all, of the many iron structural fittings and fastenings **STRUCT 2, 8-12-40)** concentrated amongst the remains of Temple I may have been left behind as the result of symbolic activities, given the evidence for the symbolic deposition of structural

material discussed in this section, perhaps being removed from circulation as part of an abandonment ceremony, explaining why they were not taken away and/or re-smelted.

The role played by the many objects, discussed in this section, which may have been deliberately fragmented, or selected for deposition in a broken state, requires more detailed consideration with regard to such activities. It is possible that they could have been destroyed as part of aggressive acts. Those hostile to the ideas and beliefs associated with the site could have deliberately broken up, buried and dispersed items as part of attempts to remove them from circulation; symbolically reflecting the dissipating of their power, and that of the site overall. Such acts could, however, also have been carried out by those who continued to worship at Springhead. It is also possible that pieces of fragmented items that were missing could have been intentionally dispersed by worshippers to other places, symbolically spreading the power of the site amongst as many devotees as possible, and keeping ideas and beliefs associated with it alive. As has already been discussed in Chapter 8, it is interesting that the missing parts of objects have never been recovered, despite extensive excavation, and their widespread absence from the site may be more than coincidental. The association between the buried fragment(s) and the pieces dispersed outside the site could have formed a symbolic link between worshippers and place, which may have been of significance to them, particularly if they were denied access to it thereafter. The act of fragmenting the many items of metal and stone discussed in this section might also have been highly symbolic, through the difficulty of such acts, showing the devotion of those involved.

It is also possible there may have been a fear or reluctance, particularly amongst some non-believers, to re-use or re-smelt the material lying around on the site, following its destruction, such as the many items of personal adornment discussed at the beginning of this section, because they were afraid of revenge from deities worshipped, and from the spirits of those who made 'offerings' over its centuries of use. The entire site, even when abandoned and in ruins, may also have possessed a symbolic significance to those inhabiting and passing through the landscape. The written accounts of authors, such as Gildas, might reflect similar views to those who might have sought to suppress worship, mentioning such sites as being 'monstrosities', associated with a decadent past; being able to physically destroy them, but not managing to quell the fascination and interest which they generated (Blagg, 1986; 22-23). Other sources, such as the poem thought to have been written by an anonymous Anglo Saxon in the eighth century about an abandoned Roman city, entitled 'The Ruin' marvel at the remains, and speculate on the momentous events which caused their decline (*ibid*; 23). While the road networks which coalesced at the site may have remained open, it is possible that travellers still passed through the ruins of Springhead, which would have acted as a powerful symbolic reminder of the past. The site could have been a source of nostalgia, anger, or even fear, the superstitious perhaps avoiding it, associating its decline with bad luck, and believing it to be haunted or inhabited by the presence of vengeful deities.

10: Conclusions.

10.1: The results of this study.

This study has revealed many problems and possibilities for the archaeology of Springhead. There are many limitations with the data from Penn and Harker's excavations that, until now, have not been recognised. It has been found that no detailed statistical information exists for any of the interim reports published in the *Transactions of the Gravesend Historical Society* and descriptions of finds from these excavations were very vague. The study has revealed that a considerable number of the items mentioned in the more detailed reports from *Archaeologia Cantiana* appear to have been lost and, in all but one publication, it was only possible to account for, at most, 20% of objects discussed. The exception to this trend was material published in 1964 and, even then, finds that could be identified formed only 40% of the original total recorded. The results of this study also suggest that many finds were not illustrated in articles published in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, with only 61% possessing accompanying drawings in the two most detailed reports, from 1957 and 1964. In all other publications, the total rises no higher than 56% and the inability to be able to identify this material in the collection limits identification of how many finds recorded in the literature have been lost.

It is, however, felt that these limitations should not be perceived too negatively. By identifying problems with the assemblage, this research has provided an awareness of the reliability of the material that, hitherto, did not exist and which will, hopefully, assist future research upon the site. The study has also provided an overview of the nature and extent of the finds evidence from the published literature compiled by Penn and Harker, and also that held in the Gravesend Historical Society store which, hitherto, did not exist, and a searchable database has been created that can be interrogated to provide information on material and its significance. This research has also tried to encourage a more positive approach to Penn and Harker's work. Considering that their excavations were undertaken at a time when intensive approaches to the recording of material and its context were in an early stage of development, the level of detail, where comprehensive accounts have survived, shows that a considerable amount of information was full and accurate. The quality of this data was strong enough to enable detailed work to be undertaken on the remains from Springhead, allowing their comparison with finds from other temple sites in Roman Britain and the use of modern archaeological techniques of distribution and fragmentation analysis upon the material, the results of which are felt to have produced detailed and useful information, which will now be summarised. Wessex Archaeology are awaiting the submission of this study to set their work in its wider context (J. Schuster, *pers. comm.*) and it is hoped that this analysis will be useful to their research.

I: Attempting to understand 'religious' activities at Springhead through analysis of the distribution of specific finds 'types'.

Examination was undertaken, firstly, of the distribution of finds sharing similar forms and potential functions, to ascertain whether traits could be identified in their use, treatment and deposition that might have been significant as part of past activities. It was also possible to reappraise interpretations made about activities at the site in the light of the information obtained, and to assess the importance of the finds for understanding activities associated with other 'temple sites' in Roman Britain.

Finds thought to have been related to 'religious' activities.

Analysis was conducted upon the distribution of finds thought to have been associated with 'religious' activities; which included figurines, thought to be models of deities worshipped at the site; and items of personal adornment, the presence of which, in considerable quantities, was drawn upon to suggest that they were deliberately brought to and deposited at Springhead as 'offerings'. The other finds 'classes', thought to have been related to 'religious' activities included a small number of altars, thought to have been used for sacrifice and the burning of 'offerings', and miniature objects, perhaps used as token 'offerings', representing larger items that it was not practical to donate. Interpretations, made by Penn, Harker and other researchers, have suggested that the 'temenos area', and the temple buildings within it, may have formed a specialised place for the use of such items, forming a boundary between the physical world and a 'sacred' existence, beyond this, where contact could be made with deities, through 'religious' activities. The assemblage from Springhead shares many similarities with those from other temple sites, although unlike some, such as Uley, Lydney Park, Nettleton Scrubb and Bath, it has not produced items such as curse tablets, votive plaques, or inscriptions that might indicate the names of the deities worshipped there. The distribution of remains, interpreted as having related to 'religious' behaviour, would appear to indicate that there does appear to be a strong spatial association between such material, and the 'temenos', items of personal adornment being particularly significant as they appear to have been deliberately buried within pits, and/or amongst the remains of temple buildings, II V and VI, from the enclosure.

The seven 'Pseudo-Venus' figurines and three *Dea Nutrix* statuettes, while only a small proportion of material, may be significant in that they form the largest quantities of such items known from a 'temple site' in Roman Britain and, in the case of the latter, after the assemblage from Nornour, the largest concentration of such finds from a 'religious' context. If the frequent presence of images, provided by various objects (including figurines and statuary) found at sites are to be ascribed to 'cults' involved with the worship of particular deities at these locations, as suggested by Woodward and Leach's study of these finds, then it is possible that the bringing to, use and deposition of such items at Springhead might also be related to ideas and beliefs connected with the 'religious' significance of the site. At least two, and possibly three, 'Pseudo-Venus' figurines may have been curated for one hundred, and possibly two hundred, years before they were deposited, suggesting that they may have been

considered to form objects of particular importance. The symbolism provided by such objects may also be of interest, given aspects of the site's character, and the imagery of a bathing woman may possess some relation to the watery focus of the site upon the natural springs.

The majority of other figurines were ambiguous and could not be used to identify Classical and Indigenous deities known to have been worshipped in Roman Britain. Two model body parts, a bronze thumb, and an arm with a hand were, however, found, and it is possible that these may reflect intentional depictions of limbs, perhaps deposited as 'offerings' representing parts of the body requiring healing, forming examples of a small number of such objects recorded from sites, including Uley, Bath, Muntham Court and Lydney Park. One, or possibly two, statuettes may indicate the role of dogs in 'religious' practices, when viewed in relation to discoveries of animal bone mentioned by Penn, Harker and Wessex Archaeology, providing further indications of the involvement of these animals in symbolic activities, perhaps associated with the 'religious' significance of the site, adding to other evidence from Lydney Park, Pagans Hill, Nettleton Scrubb and Farley Heath which, particularly the former, have produced statuary and inscribed material depicting such creatures.

The items of personal adornment from Penn and Harker's excavations share parallels with the general character of assemblages from other temple sites in Roman Britain, such as Lydney Park, Woodeaton, Harlow and Nettleton Scrubb which were found, by Woodward and Leach, to have produced large quantities of specific 'types' of these finds, perhaps indicating that particular 'forms' of such objects were being used and deposited upon them as the result of specific 'religious' ideas and beliefs. Quantities of pins from Springhead were much higher, when compared to other 'types' of objects brought to the site, such as bracelets and finger rings, and the assemblage may indicate trends involving the deposition of particular 'forms' of items. Objects, such as brooches, were also well represented. The distribution of pins, which appear to be strongly associated with deposits formed in the areas peripheral to the 'temple complex', with relatively few, in contrast, being encountered from deposits within the enclosure, may indicate traces of aspects to activities involving the use of particular items of personal adornment in the landscape surrounding the 'temenos'. The natural springs to the north, and the natural arena formed around them, may have been regarded as being of symbolic importance, shown by the deposition of hundreds of coins and brooches within them, and the deposition of pins in specific areas may also be connected to practices associated with the wider 'religious' landscape in which the temples were set.

The items of personal adornment from Penn and Harker's excavations may also be important because many of the objects appear to have been buried in and around parts of the site with deliberate and potentially symbolic intent; such as the deposits associated with Temple V, the 'votive' pit in Temple VI, and from the 'hoard' of objects placed in the northern 'antae' of Temple II. This material may form an important source for the deliberate burial of such objects upon a specific 'temple site', as surprisingly few examples have been recorded from others in Roman Britain, aside from Henley Wood and Bath, and Woodward and Leach's study, mentioned above, did not focus in detail on the

significance of their use and deposition at sites. Springhead also suggests that the contexts in which single finds were deposited may also be important when attempting to understand 'religious' activities/ Individual items were built into the fabric of Temple I, in obvious places, suggesting that they were unlikely to have been lost by accident and may have been deliberately buried, amongst the floors of the structure while they were being lain, and it is possible that the finds may reflect traces of ceremonies associated with construction, alteration or repairs to it.

The distribution of other 'types' of finds thought to have been related to 'religious' activities, miniature objects and altars, unfortunately, provided little information about past activities as individual items in their own right. Although miniature weapons have played a role in the identification of 'warrior cults' at sites such as Lamyatt Beacon and Uley, the finds from Penn and Harker's excavations produced little significant information on past activities as, with the exception of two axe heads and a wheel, the latter of which may be significant to the worship of Jupiter and/or Taranis, the rest could not be proven, with conviction, to represent replicas of larger items. The distribution of altars provided equally little information, although examples from temple sites, such as Uley and Nettleton Scrubb, suggest that the deposition and treatment of such objects, may show that they were considered to be of great significance, perhaps being defaced and placed in humiliating positions as the results of aggressive acts by those seeking to end practices associated with these sites. It is, however, possible that such material was being symbolically incorporated into the remains of new 'religious' buildings, hidden by the remaining believers, perhaps to keep such important objects safe from persecution.

The thirty eight infant burials discovered from Springhead, form a particularly distinct characteristic of the assemblage, and appear very different from other 'temple sites', where few examples have been noticed. Potential associations between the burials and 'religious' activities are evident from examination of the distribution of remains, notably the inclusion of inhumations into the fabric of Temple IV which, although not resembling a traditional form of 'Romano-Celtic' or 'Classical' temple, its presence within the 'temenos' raises the possibility that it may have been linked to 'religious' activities associated with this area. Scott suggested that the re-occurring decapitation of a single infant from the two deposited with each re-flooring of the building, may represent aspects of long standing 'rituals' carried out as the result of the beliefs of indigenous peoples, as such beliefs did not accord with Classical 'religious' ideas concerning sacrifice. The idea that the burial of infants might have been related to older traditions associated with the site, prior to the Roman occupation, is particularly interesting, as a group of Iron Age infant inhumations were found within the 'religious' enclosure constructed around the natural springs, on the area of terracing directly overlooking the features. It is, perhaps, interesting that parts of the 'temenos', associated with aspects of 'religious' behaviour that are commonly interpreted as being associated with Classical worship, such as the use of temples with concentric ambulatories, are spatially distinct from areas containing infant burials, such as the 'oven building' and Temple IV, and may have been intentionally kept this way in the past. The potential association between infant burial and 'religious' activities in the Iron Age, and the incorporation of this practice into activities associated with the second century 'temenos' might, therefore, indicate the

acceptance of older ideas and beliefs associated with the site into this area but, at the same time, a reluctance to assimilate them altogether, confining them to the peripheries of the 'temple complex'.

It is also clear that a number of parts of the settlement, outside, the southern 'temple complex', and particularly to the north, were also repeatedly used for infant burial in the Roman period, with concentrations of burials being found amongst the remains of building B8, building B10 and the 'agricultural building'. It has been argued, by Merrifield and Harker, that the strict laws requiring burial outside of towns do not seem to have applied to infants and their deposition amongst the remains of buildings may simply reflect a convenient way of disposing them. There does, however, appear to be indications that the northern part of the site, around the edges of the 'temenos', was considered appropriate for such activities, and various locations within this area, as has been demonstrated above, appear to have possess a 'sense of place' for the occasion of burial, with the repeated bringing to and internment of the remains of children in such locations. Although it may be overtly simplistic to interpret all infant burials as representing a single, unified 'religious' practice, it is possible that the landscape at Springhead around the natural springs, and in the northern part of the 'temenos', was considered to be symbolic place for such behaviour, perhaps influenced by long standing traditions of indigenous peoples, evident from the burial of babies in the Iron Age enclosure around the natural springs. Although its reasons are unclear, the distribution of burials at Springhead may have been far more complex than simply the casual interment of babies, simply because there was nowhere else available to place them.

Finds thought to have been related to 'productive' activities.

Analysis was also conducted on the distribution of finds interpreted by Penn, Harker and various researchers as having been related to production, agriculture, the cookery and consumption of foodstuffs. The assemblage from Springhead appears to forms one of the largest, and most varied, from a temple site in Roman Britain. The extensive quantities of tools, items of culinary and dining equipment, quern and mill stones, spindlewhorls, needles, loom weights and hones discovered appear to indicate that that activities may have been particularly concentrated at the site. Knives were particularly common finds, as with many other 'temple sites' from Roman Britain, and the frequent presence of such items suggests that they could have been linked to specific practices associated with sites, perhaps 'religious' in nature, such as part of sacrificial rites. Examination of the condition of the objects from Springhead indicated that many of them had suffered damage to their tips, possibly through being frequently used to stab, and the attrition may be linked with such practices. The assemblage of items of culinary and/or dining equipment appears to be relatively small, when compared to those from sites such as Lydney Park and Nettleton Scrubb, where the items were frequently found, suggesting that they may have been widely used, perhaps as part of feasts connected with their 'religious' significance. The possibility also exists that such items could have also possessed a cosmetic purpose, being used to decorate the body with pastes and powders as part of ceremonies. Evidence for the preparation of food on a large scale may also be indicated by the many quern and mill

stones discovered at Springhead, and the agricultural nature of the assemblage, also including ploughshare tips, bill hooks and sickles, many corn-dryers and a large granary, appears to be particularly distinct when compared with other temple sites from Roman Britain, which have produced relatively little evidence for such practices. Buildings containing corn-dryers were built next to the temple beside the springs, indicating that agriculture may have closely linked to the use of the 'religious' area with the 'temenos' enclosure surrounding the features. The terracing around the springs is also of interest and, although this has been interpreted by Wessex Archaeology as representing a seating or standing space for those using the site as a meeting place, they could also have been used for growing crops. The springs could have formed an ideal source of water, and it is possible that such practices could have symbolically linked to 'religious' aspects of the site. The large and conspicuous granary on Site A, of a similar size to the temple buildings within the southern 'temenos', would have been a prominent and noticeable feature within the landscape, perhaps constructed on such a large scale to emphasise the importance of agricultural connections, and could have been used to store wheat for large amounts of people; perhaps as part of festivals, sacrifices, and to cater for the needs of visiting pilgrims.

Springhead, together with Great Chesterford and Nettleton Scrubb, also appears to have produced considerable quantities of needles, together with other finds thought to have been related to the working of textiles such as spindle-whorls and loom weights. The assemblages from these sites appear to be particularly distinct, perhaps indicating the creation of such material, or the donations of 'offerings' connected with this. The distribution of tools, items of culinary and/or dining equipment, together with quern and millstone fragments and hones can, in many cases, be linked with the remains of buildings and working areas at the site where ovens appear to have been in use, particularly the re-used granary on Site A, building B10, the 'oven building' and the final floors of Temple I, and the remnants of activities associated with particular areas have been protected by later dispersal by activities such as ploughing by the walls of the buildings amongst which they were deposited.

Although much evidence for technological, agricultural and culinary practices is observable amongst the archaeological remains from Springhead, the reasons for the undertaking of such activities has yet to be seriously considered in research upon the site. The majority of finds associated with 'productive' behaviour were only considered in terms of their technological function. There may, however, be more potential for exploration of relationships between production and 'religious' activities. Some finds from sites, such as Holbrooks (near the Harlow temple) and Uley, for example, may indicate that metal working could have been undertaken to produce objects used as part of the 'religious cults', and unfinished and abandoned items are claimed to have been discovered, resulting from this production. Other evidence, from the temple at the Grammar School site in Colchester, and also at Bath, suggest the symbolic donation of raw materials, moulds, and dedications by metal workers as part of 'religious' activities. Metal working appears to have been identified from many other 'temple sites' in Roman Britain, although details on material are scattered widely throughout reports in descriptions of contexts, and an intensive study would be needed to bring the information together, and to assess its significance.

The amounts of material discovered are frequently unclear, and it is uncertain they relate to the 'religious' use of sites. The evidence for metal production from Penn and Harker's excavations is, therefore, particularly important as, unlike the material from other 'temple sites', it now represents a relatively well recorded source of information for a large amount of activity. Much of the evidence appears to have been associated with the use of the temples and 'temenos areas', raising many possibilities for discussions about the significance of relationships between it and 'religious' activities.

Apart from a single, partially finished brooch deposited on Site A during the second century, there appears to be no further evidence that might suggest that production there could have been intended to produce objects linked with the 'religious' use of the site. It is also possible that objects produced were exported outside the site, and are not archaeologically visible, and this might suggest that production bore no direct relation to material used for 'religious' activities, although there could, however, still have been close links between production and the use of the site for worship. Those engaged in it may have taken advantage, together with others involved with agricultural and culinary practices, of the site's long standing tradition of being a prominent meeting point within the landscape, close to tribal boundaries and major roads. A good trade could, therefore, have been conducted with the many visitors, who may have passed through the site, on their way to and from the Continent and the rest of the province, and particularly at times when it would have been used intensively for 'religious' activities, such as fairs and festivals. Production could have been organised and administered by the temple authorities, perhaps to boost trade, providing income for the upkeep and maintenance of the buildings and 'temenos'. A relationship between those engaged in 'religious' activities and workers undertaking production may have been particularly important as, if the temples, and areas around the natural springs, were considered to be a place where deities dwelt, then such beings might be perceived to be sensitive to, and antagonised by, changes in the environments they presided over (*cf* Ghey, 2005; 116) particularly if smoke and fire were generated, and waste products were deposited, within their realms. It could, therefore, have been necessary for close engagement, and those undertaking production would have been intensely aware of their relationship to the sacred landscape, which would have permeated their everyday lives. The springs could also have been particularly important as a source of water for those using heat to produce material at the site, who would, perhaps, need it to quench their fires, as the next nearest source of water, the Thames, was a considerable distance (approximately two miles) away, and aspects of production and 'religious' life could also have been closely linked by this.

Some aspects of 'productive' activities may have been directly associated with the 'religious' use of the site at Springhead. Fifteen ovens were identified from Penn and Harker's excavations, and five by Wessex Archaeology within the 'temenos areas', all of which appear to be contemporary with their use for such practices. The construction of a hearth within the pit beneath the apsidal *suggestus* in the cella of Temple I, and another in the north west corner of Temple IV, while both these structures were in use, indicates the possibility that they were created as the result of 'religious' activities associated with the buildings. Many hearths have been discovered in associations with temples in Roman Britain and,

although their purpose is unclear, it is possible that they were used for sacrifices to deities, or perhaps for preparing foodstuffs eaten as part of particular ceremonies associated with the buildings. A considerable number of other ovens were also identified within both the northern and southern 'temenos areas', the form of many of the features strongly suggesting that they may have been used for the production of foodstuffs. It is interesting that so many ovens were constructed within the 'religious' enclosures, in close proximity to the temples and although, unlike the examples found within such structures, it is possible that they may not have been directly associated with 'religious' activities, they could still have been used to produce material to be used as part of ceremonies or sacrifices, or to feed pilgrims visiting the site.

Another feature of interest, given the associations between the site and the production of foodstuffs, are extensive deposits of marine remains, the majority of them shellfish, evident in the early stratigraphic sequence from many parts of the settlement; the concentrated nature of which might suggest they had been gathered together and buried deliberately, perhaps after consumption of their contents. The seemingly intentional deposition of extensive amounts of marine remains within the southern 'temenos' at Springhead, in association with the foundations of Temple VII, raises the possibility that they could have been connected to activities associated with the 'religious' significance of this area, maybe being symbolically buried as sacrifices, or resulting from feasting, perhaps carried out as part of construction ceremonies associated with the building. It is, however, also possible that the deposits of shellfish may have built up before this structure was built, and could have been connected with the occupation identified by Wessex Archaeology around the natural springs. Other concentrated deposits of shellfish remains have also been found from areas beyond the southern 'temple complex' in levels relating to the early occupation of the site, underlying building B10, Well F19, and the granary on Site A, and may share similar origins. Consumption of shellfish appears to have been common at some temple sites, such as at Hayling Island, Lancing Down and Great Chesterford, where large quantities of remains have been recorded. At the former the evidence was deposited in organised dumps of different shell types within the 'temenos' and, in the case of the latter two, intentionally deposited at the edges and boundaries of the 'temenos areas', perhaps suggesting the organisation of consumption and deposition of remains as part of activities associated with the temples and their enclosures. Shellfish at Springhead appear to be less numerous in deposits dating from the second century onwards, with activities involving their deposition at the site appearing to be far more private, and not occurring on the same scale as in earlier periods. Links with 'religious' activities may, however, be evident by the deposition of remains in the hearths constructed within Temples I and IV, and such direct associations appear to be fairly rare, the only other examples known being Woodeaton, where shells were found in association with one of the hearths constructed within the temple. Remains also appear to have been buried in a symbolic manner as part of smaller acts at Springhead, particularly with the infant burials from the 'mausoleum area' in building B10, and with many finds and an animal burial, amongst the filling of the 'votive pit' at the centre of Temple VI; and the examples form an important source of evidence for the placement of such remains with other finds, as part of symbolic acts of burial made on temple sites.

II: Analysis of the fragmentation of finds deposited within archaeological contexts throughout the history of the site.

The fragmentation of particular 'finds types' sharing similar forms and aspects of function, was examined in deposits throughout the history of the site, in an attempt to ascertain whether they had been treated in particular ways as part of past activities. The deposition of complete or useful items occurs frequently and this may indicate the leaving behind of such objects as intentionally sacrificed 'offerings'. It is, however, clear that only a small proportion of finds from individual finds 'classes' appear to have been preserved in this form, with the majority of examples being broken although, overall, reasonable quantities of objects were deposited in a complete state, and may have been deliberately left at the site. Much fully intact material may, however, have become broken as the result of post depositional activities, connected with its truncation and levelling, so it is, obviously, impossible to ascertain what the original proportions of complete material may have been.

It is possible that other 'types' of finds may have been deposited in a complete state, but pieces of them had decayed as the result of poor preservation of organic remains. Such an issue is particularly important when considering the tools and weapons, many of which were represented by complete blades, but possessed no traces of the handles that would have been necessary for their use. The condition of the items is, however, not without interest as, even though they might have been damaged, they could still have been re-used, following relatively minor repairs, and from a modern perspective, their discard appears illogical. It is possible that such material may have resulted from accidental loss, casual discard or a forced abandonment of the site by their occupants, but, given the seemingly deliberate sacrifice of other forms of useful material as 'offerings', their leaving behind there could have been intended in a similar manner.

It is, perhaps, interesting that the missing parts of all finds discovered at the site have never been found, despite widespread excavation. It is possible that other fragments of the objects may still be lying in unexcavated areas, but it is also clear that the excavators would have to be consistently unlucky to fail to notice and report them. Although finds from some areas dug were not fully recorded, no missing parts could be identified in the Gravesend Historical Society store, despite extensive examination of the contents. It may be, therefore, that many objects were deliberately fragmented, with their parts dispersed, as part of past activities. Considerable amounts of very robust metal and stone items were found in a damaged condition, which would have been very difficult to break accidentally. Five bracelets had been broken in half, and one into an eighth of the original item. Thirteen substantial metal pins were missing parts of their shafts and tips. A twisted copper alloy ring, and another example, broken in half, were also found. A thick, and well preserved, copper alloy terret, discovered amongst the rubble overlying Temple I, had been broken in half. A pewter pot, placed with an infant burial amongst the rubble filling the hypocaust of building B8, also appears to have been deliberately damaged by the perforation of its wall, before it was interred. Of the stone finds, a piece from a marble

bowl deposited amongst the fourth century filling of the 'temple ditch', is also of interest, as the item is represented by only one small fragment, just under one quarter of its rim. It is possible that natural processes, such as corrosion and weathering caused to material, together with the truncation and levelling of the site could have weakened some items, resulting in their breakage and dispersal. Given the widespread absence of missing parts of all objects, which is unlikely to be the result of site formation processes, and may well be the result of deliberate intent in the past, it is also necessary to consider that some of the damage may have been caused intentionally as part of activities that once took place at Springhead. Items used as part of 'religious' activities may have required special treatment when they were discarded, and it may have been considered blasphemous to use them for any other purposes, or throw them away as common waste. Such items may have required deliberate breakage to 'ritually kill' them, dispersing their powers and meaning that they could not be used again. The many, very robust, yet seemingly intentionally damaged items deposited during the final occupation, discussed in section 9.4, could have been broken and dispersed by those seeking to break up the site and the beliefs associated with it, dissipating its power through the symbolic destruction of material, perhaps in front of opponents and remaining believers. In such an instance, material could, however, also have been broken up by devotees trying to protect their 'cult' from persecution at the time, dispersing material and allowing worship to continue elsewhere.

It was possible to examine the fragmentation of figurines at Springhead with the work undertaken by Croxford on such objects, and also on statuary, which has suggested that particular pieces of such items may have been deliberately curated as symbolic objects in their own right. Too few examples of figurines from Penn and Harker's excavations were recorded in detail to allow the identification widespread traits in their treatment that may have been significant to past activities. The absence of many hands and arms from all torsos, and the failure to identify these pieces despite widespread excavation and intensive examination of the collection, might support Croxford's assertion that such appendages may have been considered important as they might display particularly strong characteristics representing the deity, such as facial features and/or hands holding particular objects with which they were associated. Such pieces might, therefore, have been considered to be powerful symbols. It is, however, also possible that torso fragments, which were frequently found at Springhead, although considered to be 'less significant' by Croxford because their identifying appendages had been removed, could still have been important as fragments in their own right. The deposition of such objects at the temple site may have been deliberately intended because of its 'religious' significance, with items being 'specially' buried, or placed in safekeeping there to stop them being casually, and blasphemously, discarded. It is also interesting that some of these figurines from Penn and Harker's excavations appear to have been intended to specifically represent fragments of the body in their own right. A bronze thumb found beneath Temple I may have been designed as a clamp intentionally depicting an isolated part of the body. The same may also be the case for the bronze hand and arm found in the filling of the 'temple ditch', the end of which was described as being smooth, perhaps indicating that it was intentionally cast to represent a stand alone representation of a body part. The find can be added to similar evidence for such practices on other temple sites in Roman Britain, where

other model limbs have been found; such as Uley, Muntham Court, Lydney Park and Bath, and it is possible they form *ex votoes*, representing parts of the anatomy requiring healing.

Particular forms of tools may have been subject to different forms of attrition as part of their use and such factors will have an important effect upon the ways they could have become broken or damaged. No traces of wear could be identified on any items, although this is not without significance, and might suggest that they had been deliberately brought to, and left at the site, in an unused state and could have been deposited there as 'offerings'. The iron knives did, however, present some interesting possibilities for discussion. Damage to many of the objects was, as expected, confined to the thinner, and more vulnerable, regions of the objects, and tips appeared to be the most common area missing from the items and there appears to be few traces of damage to the equally vulnerable edges. It is possible that the damage caused to the tips of many knives may have been caused by particular types of activities involving their use, such as stabbing, possibly for use in activities such as sacrifices. The flint knife blade, missing its tip, deposited amongst the concentration of coins, items of personal adornment, and various other finds, within the northern 'antae' of Temple II, would have been very robust, and the way it must have been used to stab would have involved considerable force, to cause such damage, and it is possible that it may have been used to kill. The treatment of some of the bone pins discovered at the site also presented some interesting traits, which may have been significant to their use as part of past activities, and it is possible that such objects could also have been used as tools. Damage was very more common, amongst such objects, at the end leading towards the tip. Although this is where the items would have been thinnest, and quite vulnerable to post depositional breakage, it is possible that they could have possessed more versatile uses, being more than just items of personal display. The objects may have been used as implements of some form, maybe for scratching or opening objects, such as shellfish, many of which have been found at the site. The shape of some of the quern and mill stone fragments may suggest that some of them may have been deliberately broken as part of past activities. Fourteen, relatively small, pieces of stones were roughly symmetrical, suggesting that they had been deliberately worked, involving considerable care and patience, into their present shapes. Given the evidence for agricultural activities at Springhead, it is possible that grinding stones were being shared out, allowing workers to carry out tasks more quickly as individuals, using separate items, it not being necessary to queue to use a single quern or mill stone.

III: Analysis of relationships between finds deposited within archaeological contexts through the history of the site, together with examination of their fragmentation.

The contents of individual strata and features, and the condition of objects from them, was investigated to examine relationships between material deposited at particular times and locations during the history of the site, to see what light this might shed on past activities. Investigation raised many possibilities for discussion about the use, burial and discard of objects, indicating the presence of diverse and complex aspects to activities that were not visible through the analysis of of particular 'classes' of finds and their treatment, undertaken in Chapters 5-8.

Examination of material deposited either during or after the first century occupation associated with Temple VII, the 'agricultural building', and the temples identified in the northern part of the site by Wessex Archaeology, indicates that very few 'small finds' were associated with stratum and features dating to this time. Given the intensive occupation of the site until the fourth century AD, it is possible that any material from the earlier periods was dispersed by later building. Other reasons why so few finds appear to have been recorded may be due to a lack of detailed records surviving from the excavations on the main areas producing first century evidence, particularly Temple VII and the 'agricultural building'. It is, however, expected that the amount of information from contexts dated to this period will increase substantially when the results of the Wessex Archaeology excavations are published.

The next section examined second and third century deposits made during the main period of use of the southern 'temenos area', associated with Temples I-VI. It is interesting that many objects normally ascribed a 'profane' function, and considered by Penn and Harker to be unrelated to 'religious' activities, such as quern and hone stones, studs, structural fittings and fastenings, vessel glass and gaming counters were intentionally discarded, and sometimes carefully buried, within the 'temenos area'. Deposits from the 'oven building' and Temple III raise many issues for discussion about the use and discard of items in the 'temple complex'. Quern and hone stones appear to have been deliberately buried in particular parts of the 'oven building', all of them being broken and then deposited as fragments; three pieces of querns appearing to have been intentionally placed together in a semi-circular position, resembling half a stone, on the floor by an oven. Pieces of vessel glass also appear to be intentionally deposited as fragments in their own right, with a concentration of material, including a complete bracelet, a complete knife blade, the head of a spoon, and three iron structural fittings, towards the centre of the structure. Given the potential use of the building for production, it is possible that the vessel fragments could have been collected as cullet, intended for recycling, although it is difficult to see why the material was not taken away for this purpose, unless the occupants of the site lost interest in the activity, were killed or driven away. The presence of a complete bracelet with the objects might suggest that it was deliberately sacrificed and buried, perhaps as an 'offering'. It is possible that the knife, which could easily have been repaired and re-used, may also have been intentionally left behind, together with the spoon, and also the querns and hones deposited in a

potentially symbolic manner at the other end of the structure, and may have been interred as part of rites associated with production, connected with the ovens built within it.

The presence of an 'unsightly rubbish dump' within the 'temenos' area, comprising a large deposit including a hone, gaming counters, studs, bracelets, a pin, a finger ring, pieces of nine glass vessels and a bronze disc with a central hole, thousands of pottery sherds and two complete vessels, in a deposit used to fill the remains of Temple III, was considered unusual by the excavators, as this area was supposed to be 'sacred' and special, not intended for the disposal of refuse. Such a view appears to rest on the assumption that discarded material could not possess a 'religious' significance and items used as part of such activities would have to be disposed of at times, if they became damaged. It might not, for example, have been allowed to take them away from the site, perhaps because it was considered blasphemous to re-use items dedicated to, or used as part of practices associated with the worship of deities, which might have been thought to be their personal possessions. The largely fragmented material could also have been intended as 'offerings', involving the deposition of token representations of parts of objects, that could not be donated in a complete state; perhaps for purposes of practicality, as they were too valuable to their owners. The focus of deposition of pottery sherds at the corners of Temple III may further support the organised nature of its filling as part of a symbolic act, and the complete pottery vessels should also not be ignored, they might, for instance, have been deliberately sacrificed.

Strata and features excavated in the parts of the site outside of the 'temenos' also contained many finds that were interpreted as having been brought to and deposited at the site as the results of 'religious' activities, such as items of personal adornment and miniature tools, particularly in deposits associated with the remains of the granary on Site A. Such finds may have been taken to, and disposed of, in the areas outside the 'temenos' if they became damaged and could not fulfil their original purposes, and/or if spaces became too cluttered to store them. It is, however, possible that such items might represent 'offerings' made as the result of activities associated with places of significance within the 'religious landscape' in which the temples were set. The distribution of pins, which appear to be strongly associated with deposits formed in the areas peripheral to the 'temple complex', with relatively few, in contrast, being encountered from deposits within it, has already been argued to, perhaps, indicate traces of aspects to activities involving the use of particular items of personal adornment in the landscape surrounding the 'temenos'. The natural springs to the north, and the natural arena formed around them, may have been regarded as being of symbolic importance, shown by the deposition of hundreds of coins and brooches within them, and the deposition of pins in specific areas may also be connected to practices associated with the wider 'religious' landscape in which the temples were set. It should not be automatically assumed that all items of personal adornment were used solely within the 'temenos area'; objects may have been deposited during processions undertaken around the site, perhaps between the 'temple complex' and natural springs, or along the roads into and out of it, perhaps left as 'offerings' to mark stages on journeys, maybe at viewpoints thought to have been symbolic, where places of particular significance could be seen together.

There are a number of other instances where 'religious' finds, such as items of personal adornment, appear to have been deliberately buried on parts of the site outside of the 'temenos area', further emphasising that aspects of the surrounding landscape were considered appropriate for symbolic practices related to the use and deposition of these objects. The northern room of building B10 appears to have been used as a place for the burial of infants during the late second and early third centuries, and six bone pins were placed on the floor around these, and four small, complete pottery vessels were also placed on the floors of the structure. Symbolic connections between agriculture and the 'religious' use of the site have already been considered in Chapter 6.3, showing the complexity of past activities. Other interesting associations are evident from building B10 which may have been utilised for agricultural purposes, indicated by the presence of a corn dryer and possibly, two ovens found just to the south of the 'mausoleum', and the structure appears to be a more complex focus for activities throughout its history of use than just the processing of foodstuffs alone. Immediately outside of the building, a bronze brooch, interestingly, was deposited as a broken object, possessing only half a pin, in the filling of the shaft of Well F19 during the third century with a complete jar; and another one of these vessels, also fully intact, had been buried above this, further indicating the symbolic burial of items in this area.

The final section examined archaeological contexts associated with the final occupation at the site, from the late third century onwards, which are very different in composition and content to those from the earlier periods. The tendency has been to argue that civil disturbance in the fourth century, the threat of Saxon raids and the appearance of Christianity, caused the abandonment of the site. The presence of an extensive layer of charcoal, iron slag and droplets of molten iron deposited on the floors of Temple I, was drawn upon to argue that iron workers were using the site because it no longer possessed a 'religious' significance, with many of its buildings in ruins, and the grandeur of the temples having ceased. Reassessment of the finds evidence may, however, indicate that elsewhere within the 'temenos', material, which may have possessed a 'religious' significance, including figurines, altars, miniature objects, and many items of personal adornment, appear to have been deposited in and around the remains of the temple buildings. Although it is possible that these items could be residual material from earlier periods, it is interesting that nearly all the finds were deposited within the 'temenos area' and there appeared to be little evidence for their deposition in other parts of the site. This may suggest that objects were being deliberately left at the 'temple complex' during the late third and fourth centuries, with the evidence for such practices being preserved from later dispersal, perhaps by the remains of the substantial buildings within it, and the deep layers of rubble sealing the site. Many items appear to have been deliberately buried within Temples II and V, and may also present evidence for the intentional deposition of objects as part of ideas and beliefs associated with these structures.

The form and composition of the deposits made amongst rubble, and including pieces of buildings, would appear to suggest that activities, potentially 'religious' in nature, were taking place at a time when parts of the site were being destroyed, perhaps as part of conflict between worshippers and non-

believers, and/or were in state of structural collapse. The deliberate burial of finds in and amongst the rubble associated with Temples II and V would appear to indicate that these parts of the site could have been in a state of at least partial structural collapse, with building material being dumped upon, or collapsing over, them. The frequent deposition of pieces of architectural stone and large iron fittings and fastenings, which could have formed fragments of superstructures and furnishings, forms a notable difference from earlier deposits, and may further support such an assertion. This possibility is also suggested by the distinct character of the final deposits associated with the remains of Temple I, which contained considerable quantities of iron structural fittings and fastenings, and some of them may represent decayed remains from fallen buildings, with two linear arrangements of objects were suggested to be fallen beams. More patterning involving structural fittings placed in geometric forms might be expected if this was the case; although it is possible that other material that had been dispersed, following the levelling of the structure, or by the metal workers at the site, who appear to have used its western corridor for the deposition of residues from their activities. Changes made to the structure and layout of Temple I may also suggest that the dismantlement of the building, indicating that it may no longer have been respected. Destruction to the floor of the 'vestibule' is indicated on the plan of the building, showing a missing mosaic panel which may once have held a design. Part of the floor from the eastern corridor of the building had also been removed, as had part of the southern exterior wall facing this, and a gap was made in the north western corner of the exterior wall.

The context of the burial of material, and the character of objects in the deposits was, therefore, often very different from earlier periods. The frequent, and seemingly intentional, burial of pieces of architectural stone, and iron structural fittings and fastenings, together with other objects in the fills of features. A fragment of a pilaster capital appears to have been broken off, on three sides, from a much larger piece of architectural stonework, and buried in the fill of the 'votive pit' towards the centre of Temple VI, with twenty one coins, and a complete finger ring had been placed with a mussel shell near the base of the fill on the northern side of the feature, and a bird burial and large bronze ring had been placed opposite to them. Four pieces of carved ornamental stone, thought to be from a single Corinthian capital, had been buried in a pit next to the nearby 'pedestal', together with other items, including a fragment from a bronze bracelet, a bone ligula missing part of the end of its shaft, a lead object interpreted as being a cement to hold the iron foot of a statue on top of the 'pedestal' and a bone pin which had been placed on the top of the filling to the pit. A T-shaped iron slide key and an iron door hinge had been buried in the 'hoard' of objects from Temple II. The inclusion of these items is particularly interesting, given their symbolic deposition beside the entranceway and steps leading up to the building, and it is possible that they could reflect traces of an event associated with this part of the structure. It is possible that, if these items were parts of the superstructure or furnishings from the temples, then it may have been considered blasphemous by some to casually dispose of their remains, particularly if they formed the dwelling places of deities. Pieces of such buildings might, therefore, have been sacrificed and buried with 'offerings', returning them to their owners and removing them from circulation. Reasons for such acts might include an inability to maintain the upkeep of the site, and the aggressive efforts of others, trying to destroy it. The deliberate deposition of a large

concentration of iron structural fittings within the remains of building B10 during this time, and in an unprovenanced concentration of material from the Gravesend Historical Society collection, may further indicate that such objects were intentionally buried because they could not be re-used. The deposits of 'offerings' made amongst the remains of Temples II and V, might also have been intended to accompany the demolition of the buildings, to appease the deities with which they were associated.

The damage to Temple I might suggest production within it to be an act showing a disregard for the original use of the building, and also, perhaps, deliberately intended to convey an impression of this to others. The creation of iron, and the dumping of debris from this activity within the remains of the structure, the burning and salvaging of wooden objects from the temples for fuel, and other activities, together with the smoke, light, and heat such acts would have generated may have been powerfully symbolic, showing a desire to end activity at the site, and to destroy the material representing its ideas and beliefs. Such acts may also have been associated with the temple at Brean Down, where iron working, and also the dismantling of parts of the structure to form an attendant building, may have been conducted in a highly visible, and potentially provocative manner, on a prominent hill top, which could have been seen from the temples that were still in use at Pagans Hill and Lydney Park. It has, however, also been suggested that such acts might have been intended in a more positive manner, the production of metals perhaps being deliberately orchestrated to re-stimulate activity at once prominent sites, such as forum-basilica complexes and public baths, within the later Roman period; as interest in these institutions, and the inability to maintain their upkeep declined perhaps due to social upheaval resulting in the breakdown of traditional structures and metal working may, therefore, have had a more positive role to play in relation to the 'religious' use of the site, perhaps being encouraged by the temple authorities, trying to reverse the damage caused by the decline in visitors and supplies of funding. It must also be considered that some, or all, of the many iron structural fittings and fastenings concentrated amongst the remains of Temple I may have been left behind as the result of symbolic activities, given the evidence for the symbolic deposition of structural material discussed in this section, perhaps being removed from circulation as part of an abandonment ceremony, explaining why they were not taken away and/or re-smelted.

Many objects deposited during the final occupation of the site appear to have been deliberately fragmented, or selected for deposition in a broken state. The 'hoard' buried in the northern 'antae' of Temple II contained a broken flint blade, candlestick and pin. Small component parts of much larger items also appear to have been gathered, and deposited in the 'antae', perhaps as token representations of larger objects that it was not practical to donate, including part of a bronze bracelet with jagged edges, which appears to have been split from a complete item with some force, ornamental studs and fastenings, and three fragments, representing the remains of two glass bowls. A fragment of a bronze bracelet also appeared to have been deliberately buried, in the filling of the pit adjacent to the 'pedestal', discussed above.

A number of items from other parts of the site were also found, that do not appear to have been deliberately buried, but would still have been difficult to break accidentally, and their damage may have been intentionally carried out, including four substantial metal pins, missing the lower parts of their shafts and tips. A piece from a marble bowl was also discovered, representing just under a quarter of the vessel rim, with a jagged fracture where the fragment would have joined its body, indicating that it and may have been broken off with some force. Interestingly, the edges on either side of the rim were both straight, perhaps indicating that the item had been carefully cut through before it was wrenched away. A bronze terret had also been broken in half, something which is very unlikely to have occurred by accident as the item was extremely substantial and in good condition when identified from the Gravesend Historical Society collection. It is possible that such items could have been destroyed and buried, being removed from circulation, as part of aggressive acts. Those hostile to the ideas and beliefs associated with the site could have deliberately broken up, buried and dispersed items as part of attempts to remove them from circulation; symbolically reflecting the dissipating of their power, and that of the site overall. Such acts could, however, also have been carried out by those who continued to worship at Springhead. It is also possible that pieces of fragmented items that were missing could have been intentionally dispersed by worshippers to other places, symbolically spreading the power of the site amongst as many devotees as possible, and keeping ideas and beliefs associated with it alive. It is interesting that the missing parts of all objects from the site have never been recovered, despite extensive excavation. Their widespread absence may be more than coincidental, and may have been directly associated with past activities. The association between the buried fragment(s) and the pieces dispersed outside the site could have formed a symbolic link between worshippers and place, which may have been of significance to them, particularly if they were denied access to it thereafter. The act of fragmenting the many items of metal and stone discussed in this section might also have been highly symbolic, through the difficulty of such acts, showing the devotion of those involved.

It is also possible there may have been a fear or reluctance, particularly amongst some non-believers, to re-use or re-smelt the material lying around on the site, following its destruction, such as the many items of personal adornment discussed at the beginning of this section, because they were afraid of revenge from deities worshipped, and from the spirits of those who made 'offerings' over its centuries of use. The entire site, even when abandoned and in ruins, may also have possessed a symbolic significance to those inhabiting and passing through the landscape. While the road networks which coalesced at the site may have remained open, it is possible that travellers still passed through the ruins of Springhead, which would have acted as a powerful symbolic reminder of the past. The site could have been a source of nostalgia, anger, or even fear, the superstitious perhaps avoiding it, associating its decline with bad luck, and believing it to be haunted or inhabited by the presence of vengeful deities.

10.2: The potential of this study for allowing future work on the archaeological remains from Springhead.

This study has provided the basis for making the material held in the Gravesend Historical Society collection more accessible. It is clear that the finds presented in the journal articles and interim reports by Penn and Harker form only part of the assemblage recovered from their excavations. Five hundred and eighty one finds are mentioned in the accounts, but the results of this study suggest that another three hundred and forty five require detailed publication. This thesis has, therefore, drawn attention to material that could be developed as part of the presentation of the site in future publications and exhibitions. This may be particularly important in relation to the research framework compiled for the archaeology of the Greater Thames Estuary (Williams and Brown, 1999; 36) which requested a number of developments for the archaeological heritage of the region. These included the production of more interpretative publications and displays to increase use and appreciation of archaeological resources, and the establishment of closer links with education; tying archaeology to National Curriculum subjects and creating 'education packs'. There were also calls to increase the use of Sites and Monuments Records and the role played by museums to allow an understanding of heritage in the area. This work is still ongoing, stimulated by the increase in knowledge caused by the construction of the Channel Tunnel Rail link through Kent (Williams, 2003). The material also possesses potential for exploitation as part of academic research, and could also be used for teaching on 'religion' in Roman Britain, or for developing specialist skills in finds analysis.

It is important that the material from Springhead should be brought to an organised state and made more accessible to increase knowledge and awareness of Romano-British North Kent. The archaeology of the region has proved difficult to study. Much of the evidence was unearthed by antiquarians who conducted excavations upon the Shorne, Higham, Cliffe, Strood and Cooling marshes, usually in places where clay was being dug up for cement, and these people often published short accounts of what was found (Cobb, 1933; Page, 1932; 115, 130; 169-170; Payne, 1898, 1902, 1909, 1911; Roach Smith, 1877, Spurrell, 1885; *cf* Penn, 1966b) but not detailed information on the extent, nature and significance of material discovered and associated stratigraphy. Much archaeological material in the region has been excavated hastily due to unsympathetic companies conducting developments, leading to haphazard rescue excavations, such as at Chalk (Allen, 1954a, 1954b, 1959) and Cliffe (Chaplin, 1961), which could not record features and strata quickly enough before they were destroyed. Other material from research projects has not been published in full and has lain dormant awaiting further investigation, including material from Hoo and Cliffe (Hutchings, 1966; 1987) and from more wide scale surveys of the entire marshland (Thornhill and Payne, 1980). The progress of archaeological research has, therefore, been slow and the only published sites excavated or re-evaluated to modern standards are part of a villa out building excavated at Chalk (Johnson, 1972), the remains of four pottery kilns at Oakleigh Farm (Catherall, 1983) and the small collection of buildings connected with salt panning, excavated at Bromhey Farm, Cooling (Miles, 1975; 2004). The picture of life that has emerged of the region in the Roman period is, therefore, often fragmentary and difficult to interpret.

This has resulted in modern academic work on the region being constrained to general discussions based upon specialist types of material, particularly pottery (Monaghan, 1987; Pollard, 1988), accounts which are unable to discuss their finds within the context of the sites or landscapes from which they were derived. The material from Springhead investigated in this thesis enhances the knowledge about this rather neglected and poorly understood site and region and could act as the basis for a new comprehension of the Roman archaeology in North Kent.

If the data from Springhead was developed into an easily accessible, published state, it could be placed online to allow much wider access. There is, however, no organised database or record for any of the material held in Gravesend that will allow the material to be searched and it is still inaccessible to researchers. Future work should be undertaken to organise the collection and bring its material into the public domain and could use this study as its basis, although it is important to emphasise that old accession numbers should be retained, in case any of the lost finds catalogues from Penn and Harker's excavations are rediscovered. The 'bulk finds' from the collection, which have yet to be examined in require separation from the 'small finds' investigated in this thesis and, therefore, subjected to intensive specialist attention. The iron work, which is decaying rapidly, should be sent to a controlled storage environment. The creation of a database of material from Springhead is essential, given that Wessex and Oxford Archaeology are returning the finds from their excavations to Gravesham Borough Council, and all the material will need organising as part of a plan for its transfer to secure storage for a project at the University of Kent. It is significant that the Borough Council are having financial difficulties meeting this directive (A. Ridgers, *pers. comm.*) and it is necessary to highlight that future work on the material from Penn and Harker's excavations, and also the ones conducted by Oxford and Wessex Archaeology, may require extra support.

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