

University of Mary Washington

Eagle Scholar

Student Research Submissions

Spring 5-19-2023

Beyond Romanization: An Indigenous Study of Cultural Change in Classical Britain

Brooke Prevedel

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholar.umw.edu/student_research



Part of the [Ancient History, Greek and Roman through Late Antiquity Commons](#), [Classical Archaeology and Art History Commons](#), [European History Commons](#), and the [Theory and Criticism Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Prevedel, Brooke, "Beyond Romanization: An Indigenous Study of Cultural Change in Classical Britain" (2023). *Student Research Submissions*. 553.

https://scholar.umw.edu/student_research/553

This Honors Project is brought to you for free and open access by Eagle Scholar. It has been accepted for inclusion in Student Research Submissions by an authorized administrator of Eagle Scholar. For more information, please contact archives@umw.edu.

BEYOND ROMANIZATION
AN INDIGENOUS STUDY OF CULTURAL CHANGE
IN CLASSICAL BRITAIN

A THESIS BY

BROOKE D PREVEDEL

SUBMITTED ON APRIL 19, 2023

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR DEPARTMENTAL HONORS IN CLASSICS

Liane Houghtalin

Angela Pitts

Joseph Romero

Abstract:

The Roman Empire is among the best-known empires in the world, renowned for unifying vastly different peoples and lands. The process of these unifications was, at times, something resembling peaceful, but was at other times much more violent. Regardless of the method of acquisition, peoples brought into the Roman Empire always experienced some degree of cultural change. The modern study of this cultural change has most often been examined through the lens of Romanization, a mostly one-way transfer of Roman cultural practices onto the conquered territory and culture. Romanization, however, presents too narrow and too historically imperialist an approach to the cultural changes brought about by Roman influence. Accordingly, using a research framework heavily influenced by Indigenous Studies theory, this study examines the peoples of Late Iron Age Britain prior to the beginning of Roman occupation and after. Using such a framework and a definition of culture that includes both elites and non-elites, the cultural changes catalyzed in Late Iron Age Britain by the introduction of Roman influence can be shown to go beyond the limited focus of Romanization on mere cultural transfer. These cultural changes are explored within different aspects of culture in terms of the cultural loss, resistance, adaptation, and survivance experienced by the Britons at the Roman towns of Venta Icenorum and Aquae Sulis.

I hereby declare upon my word of honor that I have neither given nor received unauthorized help on this work.

Brooke Prevedel

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	4
Review of Scholarship	5
Context.....	12
Methodology	15
Venta Icenorum	16
Iceni in the Iron Age.....	18
Iceni under Roman Influence	20
Analysis.....	26
Cultural Change at Aquae Sulis	32
Conclusion	34
Endnotes.....	36
Bibliography	42
List of Figures	45
Figures.....	47
Autobiography	59

Introduction

The Ancient Roman Empire is among the best-known empires in the world, renowned for unifying vastly different peoples and lands. Oftentimes this unification was more or less peaceful, but sometimes—as with Gaul and Judaea—that unification was markedly more forceful. Regardless of the method used, Roman power and presence inevitably had a significant cultural impact on the conquered territory, a type of cultural transfer which has come to be known as Romanization. In particular, this Romanization process has been observed following Rome’s expansion into Late Iron Age Britain. The first invasion took place under Julius Caesar during the Gallic Wars in 55 BCE, though formal occupation did not begin until 43 CE under Claudius.¹ A wealth of scholarship already exists on Roman Britain, particularly on the Romanization of the region, but this study goes beyond the cultural transfer of Romanization and expands on the variety of ways that Roman influence altered the culture of Late Iron Age Britain.

Archaeological analyses of the sites Venta Icenorum and Aquae Sulis from before and after Roman occupation reveal a wealth of cultural changes that took place within the Iron Age British populations (see Figure 1). These sites were chosen based on their use by native British populations prior to the establishment of Roman settlements at those locations. Using an indigenous-focused framework and an expanded definition of culture, and through exploring the cultural changes at these sites in terms of cultural loss, resistance, adaptation, and survivance, this study demonstrates that the cultural changes catalyzed in Late Iron Age Britain by the introduction of Roman influence go beyond the limited focus of Romanization on mere cultural transfer.²

Review of Scholarship

To discuss the nuanced cultural changes of Late Iron Age Britain beyond the usual Romanization approach, it is necessary to understand the historiography of Romanization and the connotations that are now associated with the term. Now over a century ago, in 1912, F. Haverfield published his book, *The Romanization of Roman Britain*, and altered the course of the archaeological study of Roman Britain.³ Within this book, he synthesized the work of two prominent scholars, Mommsen and Pelham, and applied their work on the theory of cultural change and exchange in the wake of Roman occupation.⁴ The end result was a text that made a lasting impact on the field of Iron Age British archaeology by introducing the concept of Romanization studies, defining Romanization as a process that eliminated the difference between Romans and non-Romans, progressively but decisively turning non-Roman “provincials” into Romans.⁵

Haverfield’s work shaped Romanization studies in Late Iron Age Britain for the better part of the 1900s, and only within approximately the last thirty years have scholars begun to critique the imperialist approach to Iron Age British archaeology inherent in framing their work as “Romanization studies.” Martin Millett proposes in his 1990 publication, *The Romanization of Britain: An essay in archaeological interpretation*, that Romanization is the result of indigenous groups making Roman ways their own, and that Romanization is, rather than the inevitable one-way progression of non-Romans into Romans resulting from Roman action, instead a two-way exchange of culture resulting from mutual cooperation between Iron Age British groups and the Romans.⁶ Supporting this, he points out that Romanization actually failed where the native population was unwilling. He highlights the inherent

colonialism of the concept of Romanization until that point and attempts to shift the focus of Romanization studies onto mutual cultural exchange.

Despite Millett's attempt at reframing Romanization studies, seven years later, scholars were still grappling with the ethical complexity of their field. D. J. Mattingly's 1997 edited collection of essays, *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism*, offers further criticism of Romanization both as a term and a field.⁷ He argues that the field needs an increased focus on "the negative impact of empire; resistance to empire; the structure, value systems and culture of indigenous society," as well as a host of other topics relating to hegemony and the power dynamic between Roman and non-Romans and elites and non-elites even within the conquered societies.⁸ Within his chapter in this collection, "Mommsen through to Haverfield: the origins of Romanization studies in late 19th-c. Britain," P. W. M. Freeman questions whether Romanization is even an appropriate concept to use today, given its historical context of completely overlooking the role of imperialism in what has been treated as a one-sided cultural exchange from Rome onto the conquered culture.⁹ J. Webster, in his own chapter, "A negotiated syncretism: readings on the development of Romano-Celtic religion," discusses the role of "resistant adaptation" and how acceptance of Roman culture by the occupied group should be potentially considered as tactical obedience rather than genuine acceptance.¹⁰

The most recent significant publication on Romanization studies, the 2001 Simon Keay and Nicola Terrenato collection titled *Italy and the West: Comparative Issues in Romanization*, features the essay "'Romanization' and the peoples of Britain" by Simon James.¹¹ In this chapter, James discusses the complicated history

of Romanization as a term and field and how the term places far too much focus on not only Roman dominance but also only on the elites of the native groups. He advocates for increased focus on the non-elites who were subjected to Roman culture but not granted citizenship like the elites were. He additionally suggests "state culture," "public culture," "elite culture," and "mass culture" as more specific cultural aspects to focus on within Romanization studies rather than grouping the occupied peoples into a single, unvaried unit.¹²

From Haverfield to James, Romanization studies of Late Iron Age Britain as a field has evolved significantly and has become keenly aware of its own complicated history and failings. The flaws of the field aside, however, its scholars still make valuable contributions. Millett offers a good model of first approaching artifacts and material culture for study, then using shifts and consistencies in town layouts to observe culture change throughout Roman occupation—a structure which will be echoed in this essay.¹³ Webster uses contrasting interpretations of the same piece of art to highlight how even pieces that seem to be thoroughly Romanized could also have been manifestations of tactical obedience to Roman customs.¹⁴ James offers categories of culture that serve as the basis for the cultural analyses later in this study.¹⁵

The increased focus of these scholars of Romanization on the non-Roman and non-elite recipients of Romanization throughout the 1990s and into the 2000s became the seed of scholars more actively moving away from the concept of Romanization altogether. Scholars like Webster, Freeman, and James could even be interpreted as being among the first to conduct studies on the aspects of native culture change that

Romanization as a term is too inherently colonial to include. Since their criticisms of the field, scholars have released publications that are similarly critical of the previous imperialist approach and instead focus on the archaeology of the individual groups of Late Iron Age Britain without associating their work with Romanization. One such scholar is William Bowden, who reinterprets the previous archaeology on the urban plan of Venta Icenorum in his 2013 publication, “The Urban Plan of *Venta Icenorum* and its Relationship with the Boudican Revolt.”¹⁶ While previous work on Venta Icenorum identified the slow shift from the original town plan to that of the standard Roman *civitas* as the result of poverty and the inability to progress following the Romans’ thorough quashing of the Boudican Revolt, Bowden posits that this shift is not markedly slower, but in fact aligns with the timeline now being seen in other Roman-occupied Late Iron Age British towns. He proposes the interpretation that rather than this slow progression being an issue of poverty and a reflection of a town struggling to recover from Roman conquest, it is instead reflective of a general cultural resistance to Roman occupation and a manifestation of the Iceni maintaining their pre-Roman lifeways.

More recently still, Natasha Harlow takes a stance staunchly against the single-tract interpretation that is so intrinsic to Romanization in her 2018 article, “Resistance is Useless! Culture, Status, and Power in the *Civitas Icenorum*.”¹⁷ She discusses instead the deeply nuanced and multi-faceted cultural exchange that happened amongst the Iceni. Harlow asserts that there was indeed some negotiation of cultural practices and evidence of the Iceni trying to decide how to incorporate Roman methods that would align with the traditional view of Romanization, but there

is also evidence of Icenian resistance to Roman ways. Some Iceni embraced becoming Roman and others did not, and aspects of local class distribution play into Harlow's interpretation of the data. Ultimately, Harlow concludes that incorporation of Roman culture occurred not because Roman culture was superior and was replacing Icenian culture, but because there was increased contact with and availability of Roman objects, so the Iceni willingly incorporated what was available to them and what served their own purposes.

Not only are archaeologists moving away from the field and ideas of Romanization, but historians in other disciplines are doing so as well. Lacey Wallace and Alex Mullen used a combination of aerial photography and LiDAR analysis to conduct a geophysical survey of East Kent during the Late Iron Age and Roman occupations, the results of which were published in their 2019 article, "Landscape, Monumentality and Expression of Group Identities in Iron Age and Roman East Kent."¹⁸ The results of this study focus on the landscape as a lens into the day-to-day lives of the average individuals living in Iron Age Kent. Wallace and Mullen use the landscape as a tool to analyze the social organization of Kent, demonstrating how there were distinct Roman and non-Roman practices and lifeways occurring there during Roman occupation.

Given the recent movement within Late Iron Age British archaeology and the study of Roman Britain to focus more on the lives of those being occupied by the Romans rather than the Roman impact upon them, the methodology of this study is heavily influenced by the theory of post-colonial studies and Indigenous Studies. Such a methodology is particularly necessary because this essay centers on the

history, archaeology, and culture of peoples who were subject to colonization, and an ethical handling of such a topic requires equal consideration not just of the facts, but of the people impacted as well. The 1995 edited collection of Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, emphasizes post-colonial work as a reconstruction of pre-colonial cultures and practices and an ongoing process of resistance against colonialism and imperialism.¹⁹ That publication's understanding of post-colonial work will serve as a guiding tenet and a reminder that this study is not being released into a void; it is becoming an active element in the movement against the Roman colonization of so long ago and is contributing to the reconstruction of Late Iron Age British cultural practices.

Aileen Moreton-Robinson's 2016 edited collection, *Critical Indigenous Studies: Engagements in First World Locations*, focuses on First World locations and places emphasis on "critical" Indigenous Studies.²⁰ By Moreton-Robinson's definition, "critical" Indigenous Studies as a field focuses on the information and contributions made by Indigenous people, rather than the contributions of non-Indigenous people, who can engage with but not produce this type of content. Work conducted within Critical Indigenous Studies is done to "challenge the power/knowledge structures and discourses through which Indigenous peoples have been framed and known" and bring about Indigenous sovereignty.²¹ Chris Andersen, who wrote the chapter in this book titled "Critical Indigenous Studies: Intellectual Predilections and Institutional Realities," argues that because Indigenous Studies is—at the time of the book's publication—only an aspect of other people's and other disciplines' research rather than its own distinct institutional department and field, its

impact on the academic world to date has been somewhat slight.²² Kim Tallbear, who contributed the chapter “Dear Indigenous Studies, It’s Not Me, It’s You: Why I Left and What Needs to Change” to Moreton-Robinson’s collection, asserts that Indigenous Studies needs to expand the types of fields it incorporates in order to grow beyond mere academia.²³ As these discussions relate to this paper, they inform the framing of this study; rather than being a Classical Study of Indigenous Britain, this is an Indigenous Study of Classical Britain. The field of Indigenous Studies has its own internal issues that are being worked through, and by Tallbear’s standard, the theory of Indigenous Studies may not be a perfect answer to the colonialism of Romanization. Nevertheless, it is an improved answer, and it is one that I, as a non-Indigenous person, will accept as is.

A final frame of reference for this study is that of Chris Andersen and Jean M. O’Brien’s 2017 edited collection, *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies*.²⁴ This collection focuses on the methodology of Indigenous Studies and emphasizes a reciprocal, ethical relationship with the community being studied, heeding their requests and needs, and not using information sourced by violating, violent, or otherwise non-consenting means. Given that this study focuses on events from 2,000 years ago, there are no longer members of the communities being studied with which to form a working relationship. Be that as it is, I will maintain a conscientious approach to the sources available for this study and assess them in terms of their biases and method of creation and procurement.

Context

In a study of cultural change, particularly one using an indigenous-focused framework, specific language is key for maintaining clarity and ethical integrity. For this reason, now that the scholarly precedent for this study has been established, it is necessary to define the main terms that will be used and discussed in this analysis. These terms are: Romanization; cultural loss, resistance, adaptation, and survivance; and, as defined by Simon James, state, public, elite, and mass culture.²⁵

As demonstrated in the review of scholarship, Romanization is a term with a complicated history, and it is one well-saturated with imperialist undertones despite recent work to reframe it. A synthesis of its use as intended by Haverfield and the criticisms and discussions that followed Romanization's entry into the scholarly world in the ensuing century lead to a cumulative definition of Romanization for the purposes of this study. Romanization is the process through which a culture, once conquered by Rome, becomes steadily more standardized with established Roman lifeways and over time relinquishes their own traditions and lifeways.²⁶ While this process is not always detrimental to the conquered society—and is even sometimes the result of that society voluntarily taking on traditionally Roman practices or goods—the scope of the term is more narrow than the study of cultural changes that I wish to conduct. As a result, this study strives to understand the effects of Roman occupation on Late Iron Age Britain not as Romanization, but as the conglomeration of multiple aspects of cultural change.

These aspects of cultural change are cultural loss, resistance, adaptation, and survivance, and they will serve as the lens through which to understand the impact of Roman occupation on the culture of Late Iron Age Britain. Cultural loss is rather

straightforward and refers to aspects of culture that disappear as a result of occupation. In the case of cultural loss, traditional practices are not being altered or remade into something more acceptable to the ruling culture. Instead, they are becoming so scarcely used as to be functionally, if not entirely, forgotten. Cultural resistance is intentional rejection of the dominating culture in favor of retaining previous lifeways. Resistance of this type may manifest as the continued use of cultural goods unaltered, or may be marked by outright and violent rebellion, an ongoing attempt to shirk the control of the occupying force.

Cultural adaptation and survivance are more complex concepts and require more in-depth explanation. Adaptation is cultural exchange by another name; aspects of the occupying culture begin to blend with the aspects of the occupied culture. Cultural adaptation can be seen in art that combines the symbology of both cultures or in the worship of a combined god within a newly introduced religious framework. This type of cultural change is an ongoing conversation between the original culture and the incoming one, as those within the conquered society find cultural elements that augment or complement their own and negotiate meaning and value with the cultural practices of the conqueror.

The final type of cultural change, cultural survivance, straddles the gap between resistance and adaptation. Cultural survivance is a term borrowed from Indigenous Studies theory and coined in 1999 by Gerald Vizenor in his book *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance*.²⁷ He defines survivance as “an active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction, or a survivable name. Native survivance stories are renunciations of dominance, tragedy

and victimry (*sic*).”²⁸ In the context of this study, survivance is not the reactive refusal to accept the conquering culture, neither is it cultural loss as the occupying culture stamps out what was there before, nor is it the product of negotiating meaning with new elements of culture now at their disposal. Survivance is the intentional act of maintaining traditional customs and identity even while surrounded by other kinds of cultural change.

Despite having now defined the four types of cultural change that feature in this study, culture itself is still too broad and nebulous a term to stand on its own without further definition. As previously mentioned, Simon James proposes four different types of culture for the purposes of specificity and comprehensiveness when discussing societies: state culture, public culture, elite culture, and mass culture.²⁹ State culture refers to high level governmental structure and imperial presence, including appointed governors and their associated workforce and material culture, not just the heads of state themselves. State culture also refers to military presence and its associated people, built environment, and tools. Public culture refers to local governmental and religious practices and institutions and their associated built environment. James highlights that those associated buildings tend to be commissioned by local elites and imperial powers to enforce hegemony. Elite culture refers to the lifestyle of the privileged members of society, their overall behavior, their prestige artifacts and commissioned buildings, and the general Greco-Roman influence woven into that lifestyle. Lastly, mass culture refers to the lifeways, traditions, and material culture of the commoner class, emphasizing rural contexts and marking a contrast with elite culture in that artifacts of mass culture are most

often void of Greco-Roman influence and are instead characterized by local meanings and values.

I have taken the care here to define key terms and establish what words will and will not be used within this study in order to establish terms of engagement with this topic. I am neither Indigenous nor descended from ethnic groups that have been traditionally oppressed in Britain, and while I am also not Roman, I am the product of a society that is heavily influenced by Roman tradition and cultural values. For this reason, creating terms of engagement with this topic allows me to actively combat my internal biases, both those I am aware of and those I have not yet discovered. By carefully defining terms and critically selecting particular ones for use over others, I am endeavoring to create a framework that allows me not only to defend this study from the imperialism-tinged interpretations that so often go hand in hand with writing history as a member of a privileged social group, but also to broaden the scope of the cultural lens with which I approach Late Iron Age Britain and more readily identify patterns that might otherwise be dismissed.

Methodology

As previously established, this study focuses on Venta Icenorum and Aquae Sulis to analyze the impacts of Roman occupation on Late Iron Age British populations. The discussion of each site begins with a brief history of the settlement. In the ensuing analysis, the site is first laid out according to what is known of its Late Iron Age use, then its use in Roman times, and is finally interpreted in terms of the four types of cultural change and James' four types of culture. The data used for these analyses and interpretations draws on works of ancient literature, excavation reports,

modern archaeological scholarship, and the material culture of Late Iron Age and Roman Britain. The material culture is not limited exclusively to small finds, though such artifacts are analytically significant, and includes discussions of inscriptions, urban plans, and modified landscapes, among others. Notably, some of the analysis includes discussions of burials and grave goods. The burials and grave goods referenced have not been claimed by any descendant community, and no photographs of human remains are featured in this study.

Venta Icenorum

Venta Icenorum, modern day Caistor-by-Norwich and the primary site for this study, is best known for its relation to the Boudican Revolt in 60-61 CE (see Figure 1).³⁰ Located today in Norfolk, England, the site was once part of the territory of the Iceni.³¹ The first probable mention of the Iceni is in Caesar's account of his 54 BCE campaign. Upon taking the Trinobantes into Roman protection, five other tribes sent embassies to Caesar.³² One of those tribes was the Cenimagni, who were most likely the Iceni.³³ After this mention, the Iceni are recorded and named as the Iceni for the first time by the historian Tacitus in his *Annales*, during an event documented as having occurred in 47 CE, almost a century after Caesar's first foray into Britain.³⁴ In this event, Publius Ostorius Scapula, responding to a disturbance in Britain, decided to disarm the entire region up to the rivers Trent and Severn regardless of the included tribes' alliance status with Rome.³⁵ The Iceni, who by that time already considered themselves allies of Rome, took exception to this action and rebelled with several other tribes, but they were quickly defeated.³⁶ Upon their defeat, the Iceni were converted to a client-kingdom and ruled by one of their own, a man named

Prasutagas.³⁷ Thinking to protect his people from any future violence with Rome, Prasutagas named Nero a co-heir of his kingdom.³⁸ This action had the opposite effect, however, and after Prasutagas' death, the kingdom of the Iceni was brutally attacked, and Prasutagas' widow, Boudica, was harmed and their two daughters violated. The events of the Boudican Revolt followed, ending in the ultimate rout of the Iceni and Boudica's suicide.³⁹

Following the destruction of the Iceni, Venta Icenorum was established. When exactly the settlement was founded, however, has been disputed within scholarship on the subject. The main street grid has previously been dated to c. 70 CE first by Francis Haverfield, then by archaeologist Donald Atkinson, much of whose excavation of Venta Icenorum was published posthumously by S. S. Frere.⁴⁰ A non-gridded concentration of streets was identified by a 1960 aerial photograph under the main street grid (see Figure 2); these roads run at diagonals, cut through the even delineations of the main grid, and are in some cases not straight and intersect at irregular angles and intervals. These underlying roads are undated, but clearly pre-date the gridded city settlement.⁴¹ Many of the details of the Venta Icenorum excavation have been lost, however, due to Atkinson's death prior to the publication of his work, something which has made confidently interpreting the site a challenge.⁴² Despite those issues, Atkinson's dating and interpretations of Venta Icenorum have been used for most of the publications on the site.⁴³ Archaeologist William Bowden is critical of Atkinson and Frere's work on the urban plan of Venta Icenorum, however, and posits a revised settlement date of no earlier than c. 90-120 CE.⁴⁴

The disparity between the founding dates can be attributed to a difference in scholarly approach to the Iceni. Atkinson viewed the Roman occupation of Icenian territory as a matter of civilizing an inferior culture, commenting on the “conservative character of the Iceni and the relatively imperfect degree of Romanisation (*sic*) to which they attained.”⁴⁵ Given his perspective on the topic, it followed that the Romans would establish Venta Icenorum shortly after the events of the Boudican Revolt. Bowden reexamines the data, however, and incorporates new information from geophysical surveys conducted by David Bescoby to produce the c. 90-120 CE date, taking a significantly less Roman-centric approach in his work and suggesting that the urban plan of Venta Icenorum developed organically over time.⁴⁶

Because Bowden’s updated dates are significantly newer than Atkinson’s, and because Atkinson’s dates and interpretations have been so foundational for scholarship on the site, the majority interpretation of Venta Icenorum is one that is inherently Roman-centric and views the changes to Iceni culture in varying degrees of Romanization. With Bowden’s recent publications on Venta Icenorum, though, interpretations of the site have begun to focus more intentionally on the Iceni and their culture, as seen in the work of Natasha Harlow.⁴⁷ An examination of the existing and newly reframed data in light of these more recent interpretations reveals that the Iceni experienced all four types of cultural change in relation to all four types of culture as the result of Roman occupation.

Iceni in the Iron Age

What is known of the Iceni prior to contact with Rome is considerably less than what is known of them after, largely due to a lack of written documentation.⁴⁸ A

difference in social organization between the Iceni and the Romans also contributes significantly to this lack of knowledge, as the Iceni were less prone to settlements and enclosed homesteads even than their immediate neighbors, and especially when compared to Roman settlements.⁴⁹ This mobile nature is seen also in their material culture, as their prestige items were largely portable. For this reason, archaeological evidence of an Iron Age Icenian built environment is scarce, though the area that would become Venta Icenorum was clearly within their territory. Established settlements or not, the Iceni had a rich material culture, including items such as gold and silver coins, horse harnesses and chariot fittings, torcs, spindle whorls, brooches, and the brooches' associated clay and metal molds and crucibles.⁵⁰

These artifacts of Icenian material culture were overwhelmingly excavated from hoards, the existence of which suggest that the Iceni had an egalitarian social structure. Compared to Aylesford-Swarling or Welwyn—regions to the southeast of the Icenian territory—that had evidence of funerary rites and grave goods associated with wealth and social stratification, the lack of markedly elite burials and instead the presence of hoards lends itself to an understanding of the Iceni as people of communal wealth and power.⁵¹ This idea is further supported by the lack of aristocratic land ownership amongst the Iceni following Roman occupation, suggesting a fundamental lack of aristocrats within their society.⁵²

In addition to being highly mobile and largely egalitarian, and likely even contributing to those qualities, the Icenian lifestyle revolved around horses and horsemanship. Horses were prominent imagery on both the gold and silver types of pre-Roman contact Icenian coinage. The gold coins featured patterns with crescent

motifs on the obverse face and pear-headed horses on the reverse face (see Figure 3).⁵³ The silver coins, referred to by D. F. Allen as the boar-horse type, have three pre-Roman occupation variations, all of which feature a horse on the reverse face (see Figure 4).⁵⁴ An additional variety of coin, the pattern-horse type, has a gold stater variety and two silver varieties (see Figure 5). These pattern-horse coins have crescent patterns on the obverse face and a horse with a monogram—representing the name Antedios, the man identified as the leader of the Iceni at the time of the 47 CE rebellion—on the reverse face.⁵⁵ Based on the mint of these gold and silver pattern-horse coins, it is clear that the cultural group referred to by Romans as the Iceni had at least three related but distinct organizations within it, perhaps distinguished by region.⁵⁶ While the presence of horses on coinage is not unique to the Iceni and is found also on the coins of other geographically and temporally related tribes, the importance of horses to the Iceni is further demonstrated by the prominence of terrets—rein rings—in the Norfolk region, both inside and outside of hoards (see Figures 6 and 7). These terrets were well-decorated, demonstrating their importance to the people to whom they belonged, given that the terrets would have been highly visible to others (see Figure 8).⁵⁷

Iceni under Roman Influence

Substantially more is known about Venta Icenorum, the Iceni, and the surrounding region following the rebellion put down by Publius Ostorius Scapula. This defeat led to the transition of the Iceni from an ally of Rome in name only to a client-kingdom with a formal, if distant, relationship with Rome. Roman occupation

of the region did not strictly begin at this point, but the move to a client-kingdom was the first time that contact with Rome had a significant impact on the Iceni.

At this point, prior to the establishment of the settlement but after Roman influence began to play a notable role in the lives of the Iceni, archaeological evidence is still restricted to material culture small finds. One such variety of small find dating to this period is that of brooches. D. Mackreth identifies a brooch type, aptly named the Rearhook brooch for the rear-facing hook used as its securing mechanism (see Figure 9), that he dated to the narrow manufacturing window of 43-60/61 CE.⁵⁸ A second type of brooch, the Harlow brooch, was evidently more effective, since it was most popular c. 40-70 CE and continued to be manufactured into the later years of the first century CE (see Figure 10). While Mackreth argues that these two brooch styles were used as tribal identity markers based on distribution maps, Harlow demonstrates using density maps that these brooches were likely not outward representations of identity.⁵⁹

Investigation of the manufacturing process for these brooches reveals further information about the Iceni and Venta Icenorum in this post-contact, pre-occupation period. Four metal brooch molds were found throughout Norfolk within Icenian territory, and a bronze-casting workshop was found at the site of Venta Icenorum itself. While this workshop contained various pieces of evidence indicating its use—such as a furnace, hearths, a kiln, and failed castings of pins, razors, and bracelets as well as brooches—the most notable finds in the workshop were clay brooch molds and crucibles of both the triangular Iron Age and hemispherical Roman variety.⁶⁰ These finds are particularly interesting in light of the recent redating of Venta

Icenorum to a c. 90-120 CE establishment, as that means that Icenian craftsmen were using Roman tools prior to formal Roman occupation. Recent work conducted by Norfolk County Council's Historic Environment Service and the English Heritage-sponsored National Mapping Programme provides evidence of a complex, non-gridded network of roads in the landscape surrounding Venta Icenorum. This network suggests a client-kingdom settlement from which Venta Icenorum developed organically and perhaps explains the unusual network of roads identified in the 1960 aerial photograph (see Figure 2).⁶¹ This bronze-casting workshop was likely associated with that client-kingdom settlement.

Also associated with the client-kingdom period is the rest of the Icenian silver coins, which were found buried in hoards dating to just before or during the Boudican Revolt.⁶² The last of the three varieties of boar-horse coins fall within this period (see Figure 4). This variety is significant in that the reverse face bears the words CANS DVRO, possibly referring to a place or a person, as DVRO occurs commonly in both place names and personal names.⁶³ The next coins in the sequence are what Allen calls the face-horse type, so-called for the face on the obverse of the coin and the horse on the reverse (see Figure 11). This type is directly inspired by the head of Juno Sospita depicted on Roman denarii from 58 CE and has four distinct varieties that come from the same mint. The designs of each variety become progressively more intricate over time.⁶⁴

The final type of silver Icenian coin found in the client-kingdom hoards—familiar from the Iron Age period—is the pattern-horse type, which represents the largest number of recovered Icenian coins and the most complex series. The main

series of pattern-horse coins was the aforementioned Antedios variety (see Figure 5). The client-kingdom series features the same style of crescent patterns on the obverse face, but instead of monograms for Antedios accompanying the horse on the reverse face, the text is instead a monogram for the name Icenii (see Figure 12).⁶⁵ Similarly to how the mints of the pre-occupation pattern-horse coins suggest the existence of at least three distinct Icenian sub-groups, so too do the client-kingdom pattern-horse coins.⁶⁶ There are a handful of other assorted silver coins from this time period, but they are not numerous enough to typify.⁶⁷

One last notable type of small find material culture falls into the client-kingdom period: yet another variety of Icenian terret. Terrets covered with polychrome enameling in geometric patterns, called platform-decorated terrets, were even more ornate than their Late Iron Age counterparts (see Figure 13). In addition to being highly visible when used, terrets of this variety were deposited in hoards, suggesting their potential use as votive objects.⁶⁸ There are even some hybrid terrets that blend elements of both Icenian and Roman decoration, such as the one found not at Venta Icenorum, but at the nearby Quidney Farm site (see Figure 14).⁶⁹

In the period of formal Roman occupation with the official establishment of Venta Icenorum, one form of small find material culture is worth discussing prior to addressing the urban plan of the city itself. Seal boxes, small containers made of copper alloy with decorative lids, were used to verify identity when sealing tablets. Individuals would have specific lid designs associated with them, similar to the modern signet ring, and by placing a knot attached to the tablet inside the seal box prior to pouring beeswax into it, the seal would be affixed to the tablet.⁷⁰ There is no

precedent for the presence of seal boxes in Britain until the second and third centuries CE, making them a new development of the material culture of the Iceni. One instance of a seal box was found at Venta Icenorum; the designed lid features both a crescent and a phallus (see Figure 15)—a clear combination of both Icenian and Roman iconography.⁷¹

Small finds aside, however, the built environment of Venta Icenorum had a rather significant irregularity compared to the standard form of a Roman *civitas*. Given that Venta Icenorum likely grew organically from the client-kingdom settlement that housed the bronze-casting workshop, and using the dates given by more recent scholarship, the urban plan of the city was standardized during the official founding of Venta Icenorum, which took place c. 90-120 CE.⁷² Even then, the city was not so standardized as a *civitas* that was built on new land would have been; despite a 1928 aerial photograph clearly showing that the roads of Venta Icenorum were not the crisp, spatially regular grid of a typical Roman settlement, the consecutive redrawn maps of the site throughout the years have made the roads progressively more neat and gridded (see Figure 16).⁷³ The context of these maps, however, has been consistently for use as a general representation of the city's layout rather than a to-scale replica, and so it should not be assumed that the gradual tidying of the grid in these maps is the result of intentional misrepresentation.⁷⁴

A full map of the site recently drawn from the original aerial photographs shows a more accurate depiction of the site and the organic arrangement of its roads than is shown in most scholarship on Venta Icenorum (see Figure 17). Figure 17 depicts the accurate 88-degree angle of the central intersection as opposed to the

representative 90-degree angle in Figure 16, and similarly shows how the roads—mostly notably the main north-south roads—are not the perfect straight lines shown in Figure 16.⁷⁵ This more recent version of the urban plan in Figure 17 makes it evident that Venta Icenorum was built on top of the pre-existing, non-Roman roads seen sprawling out just beyond the walls of the settlement, but that evidence brings the question underlying the modern redating of the site to the forefront: what about the Classical sources that claim that after the Boudican Revolt, the Romans killed native Britons indiscriminately and in great numbers and swiftly repopulated the region with Romans? This question will be addressed in the *Analysis* section.

Issues of the street layout aside, the rest of the built environment at Venta Icenorum is largely standard. Aside from the reconstruction of the forum in the third century following its burning and the subsequent temporary abandonment of the ruins—which in and of itself was not an uncommon occurrence in the ancient world—the only notable irregularities are a comparatively low number of villas and townhouses, as well as an unusual construction of the basilica (see Figure 18).⁷⁶ While many basilicas have a row of offices at the back of the building for various administrative purposes, the basilica at Venta Icenorum did not (see Figure 19).⁷⁷ Both of these irregularities have been attributed to the supposed poverty of Venta Icenorum and its people following the violent aftermath of the Boudican Revolt, but as has already been established, the legitimacy of that interpretation is up for discussion.⁷⁸ As for the rest of the settlement, a pair of interesting artifacts was excavated in and around the three temples: a miniature votive axe similar to those

found at Woodeaton in Oxfordshire and a small bronze bust thought to depict the emperor Publius Septimius Geta (see Figure 20).⁷⁹

Analysis

Based off the archaeological evidence of the Iceni and Venta Icenorum before and after meaningful interaction with the Romans and eventual occupation by them, the extent of the cultural changes experienced by the Iceni becomes clear. While the majority of scholarship on Venta Icenorum has viewed the Iceni through the lens of Romanization, analysis of the aforementioned data reveals that the cultural changes that took place within the first two centuries CE manifested as cultural loss, resistance, adaptation, and survivance within the realms of state culture, public culture, elite culture, and mass culture.

Before moving to prove such an assertion, however, the questions raised in the *Iceni under Roman Influence* section regarding the Roman treatment of the Iceni after the Boudican Revolt and the tribes' resulting poverty ought to be addressed. Classical sources such as Tacitus and Cassius Dio speak on the violence wrought upon the Iceni, how the remaining population was unable to sow crops for the following year, and how a new procurator was sent to manage the land in the wake of the war.⁸⁰ For many years, these Classical sources were taken at face value and used to craft interpretations of Venta Icenorum, leading to the idea that the settlement was established shortly after the Boudican Revolt and developed uncharacteristically slowly for the region due to general poverty amongst the Iceni.⁸¹

Recent scholarship makes this explanation unlikely. While the Romans may well have been as violent towards those involved in the Boudican Revolt as

described, Bowden's work on the site disproves the possibility of the official Roman settlement having been established in the mid-first century CE. Of the nine trenches dug during that excavation, none of them yielded stratified deposits dating any earlier than the second century CE.⁸² Excavations by Richard Brewer at Caerwent demonstrate that the settlement there—at least in terms of the street grid, which is how the development of Venta Icenorum is measured as well—was not fully established until, at the earliest, the late second century CE.⁸³ The correspondence of Bowden's and Brewer's dates demonstrates that the development of Venta Icenorum did not lag unusually behind the settlement of the surrounding region. Lastly, that the Iceni were in any way poor is unlikely, given the abundance of wealth placed in their hoards. More likely is the idea that the Iceni, a people accustomed to traveling the breadth of their lands, were quite able to afford to settle into a permanent city but were simply uninterested in the lifestyle and the more strictly hierarchical governance. With that in mind, any delay in the development of Venta Icenorum and the dearth of villas and town houses within in the town was likely the result of Icenian resistance against the implementation of Roman state culture.⁸⁴

The shift from the Iceni from a traveling people to a sedentary one, slower though that transition might otherwise have been due to cultural resistance, is also an example of cultural loss. In becoming part of Venta Icenorum proper, the Iceni experienced the loss not only of their traditional lifeways in their constant mobility, but also the loss of their cultural landscape. Granted, they evidently did adapt to the new lifestyle, given that the settlement persisted well into the fifth century CE.⁸⁵ Part of the development of Venta Icenorum, however, included centuriation and the

institution of borders, which in a very real sense revoked the Iceni's access to their cultural landscape as that land was progressively developed by the Romans. In this way, not only did the Iceni partake in cultural resistance within the realm of Roman state culture, but they also experienced cultural loss to that same force.

On a smaller scale, the types of cultural change resulting from Roman interaction with the Iceni can be seen in the differences in Icenian material culture. Though the brooches of the client-kingdom themselves have been demonstrated to be unrelated to tribal identity, the way they were produced is a clear indication of cultural adaptation within the realm of mass culture. The presence of Iron Age British crucibles alongside Roman crucibles in the same bronze-casting workshop context indicates that bronzesmiths were choosing to use both tools. The bronze-casting workshop dates to before formal Roman occupation, meaning that the Icenian smiths did not have the Roman crucibles forced upon them by an occupying army. Rather, they elected to use both their own and Roman crucibles in tandem. In other words, the use of the Roman crucibles was a voluntary choice by Icenian smiths instead of an enforced mandate by the Romans and is therefore an example of the Iceni blending lifeways with the Romans and engaging in cultural adaptation within mass culture.

Cultural adaptation can be found in the temple complex of Venta Icenorum as well, with the miniature votive ax and the statue that could be Geta located in proximity to each other. The presence of a statue that looks like Geta, who was briefly a third century CE emperor, in a temple district could be evidence of the presence of the imperial cult. While Geta himself received a *damnatio memoriae* rather than being inducted into the imperial cult, he was known for being the spitting image of his

father, Septimius Severus, who was deified after death.⁸⁶ Given the similarity between the two, the statue identified as potentially Geta could well be a statue of Septimius Severus—in which case, the bust indicates the presence of the imperial cult in the temple complex at Venta Icenorum. The additional presence of the miniature votive axe is evidence of remaining elements of Icenian traditional religion. That the two artifacts are spatially linked suggests that a negotiation between the two religious practices took place, and that some kind of agreement was reached, thus exemplifying cultural adaptation within the sphere of public culture.

If, on the other hand, this statue that could either be Geta or Septimius Severus is indeed Geta, then the associated discoveries of the statue and the votive ax lend themselves to a more politically charged interpretation of cultural resistance within both the state and public spheres. Following Geta's death at the order of his brother and co-heir, Caracalla, Geta was subjected to a thorough *damnatio memoriae*.⁸⁷ Should the statue found at Venta Icenorum truly be Geta, then its unmarred state is curious, given the *damnatio memoriae*. The fact that it was found whole and identifiable suggests that at least one person, likely more, at Venta Icenorum chose to ignore the order for the destruction of his image. This would have been an act of cultural resistance within state culture—the direct shirking of imperial command in favor of local customs and desires—regardless of whether the perpetrators identified as more Roman or more Icenian, since the culture of Venta Icenorum by the third century CE would have been a combination of both Roman and Icenian elements. Further, the spatial association with the votive ax further suggests cultural resistance and brings that resistance into the public sphere, as the undamaged statue of Geta

paired with the symbol of traditional Icenian religious practices indicates the resolute continuation of traditional religion into the third century CE in tandem with the rejection of imperial rule.

Setting cultural resistance aside, however, cultural adaptation can be seen yet again in the decorative lid of the seal box, though this aspect of change falls within the realm of elite culture rather than state, mass, or public culture. Seal boxes are innately tied with literacy, which was the purview of the privileged members of society. That the seal box in Figure 15 depicts both a crescent and a phallus is a demonstration of the ongoing cultural conversation between the Iceni and the Romans. The crescent, a traditionally Icenian symbol linked with femininity and protection, is paired with a phallus, a traditionally Roman symbol associated with masculinity and protection.⁸⁸ The two motifs together create a powerful mark of protection and marry the two cultures present within Venta Icenorum, regardless of whether the owner of the seal box identified more with Rome or the Iceni.

While the ultimate identity of the person associated with the seal box is not so significant, identity does play a critical role in the iconography of the Iceni coins, which are a prime example of cultural survivance within mass culture. The boar-horse coins first having no writing on them and then beginning to feature Latin is a stark shift and is indicative of the encroaching power of Roman state culture. That said, the change from the boar-horse CANS DVRO to the pattern-horse Antedios monogram and the Iceni monogram next is a powerful one. While the face-horse coins could be interpreted as cultural adaptation within Roman state culture—a blend of the Icenian horse and the Roman portrait—the implementation of pattern-horse coins that use

Latin to invoke Icenian identity, claiming their own leader and their identity in the language of their conquerors, is undoubtedly cultural survivance. Paired with the unerring iconography of the horse, a creature that defined Icenian culture long before the Romans arrived, these coins are active enforcement and a constant reminder of Icenian identity within Roman state culture, within an economy now heavily influenced by Rome.

Given how important horses were to the Iceni, it is no surprise that cultural resistance is found in the mostly unchanging form of mass culture's terret. Certainly, some excavated terrets are more exquisite than others, but even in that regard, with the Icenian tendency towards egalitarianism, terrets are such a common and crucial aspect of Icenian material culture that they remain within the realm of mass culture rather than elite culture. These terrets, which are exceedingly plentiful finds within the Icenian territory, retained the same Icenian styles they had before Roman contact as after it, with the exception of a rare handful of hybrid terrets in a sea of traditional decorations. The fact that these items that center on a key element of Icenian culture, horses, stay so particularly Icenian over time even throughout contact with the Romans demonstrates that the terret served as a means of cultural resistance.

With such an extensive analysis of cultural change at Venta Icenorum, the addition of another site may seem unnecessary. While Venta Icenorum does abound with evidence of clear cultural change in the state, elite, and mass culture spheres, its role as a model of cultural change within the public sphere—specifically in regards to religious practices—is somewhat lacking if left to stand on its own. For this reason, it

is necessary to focus specifically on a religious site and analyze the evidence of cultural change presented there.

Cultural Change at Aquae Sulis

Aquae Sulis, located in modern Somerset and known now as Bath, is one such religious site, having served as a sacred center in both the Iron Age and in Roman Britain (see Figure 1). As a result, Aquae Sulis is well-suited for the analysis of cultural change within public culture. Information about the original establishment of the site, be it as a settlement or purely as a sacred place, is limited due to its continued use into the sixth century CE and its reoccupation in more modern times.⁸⁹ Despite the archaeological challenges presented by Aquae Sulis, what is known about the site is that it contains three hot springs, the largest of which produces more than a quarter of a million gallons of water every day. The Temple of Sulis Minerva, dedicated to the hybrid goddess of the geographically traditional goddess Sulis and the Roman goddess Minerva, was focused at this largest spring, called the King's Bath.⁹⁰ While little is known about Sulis herself, the artifacts uncovered at Aquae Sulis serve as a clear example of native British cultural survivance within the sphere of public culture.

There is a great wealth of artifacts originating from Aquae Sulis, but the inscriptions found there are of particular interest due to the way they refer to Sulis Minerva. Of the 44 inscriptions catalogued in the Roman Inscriptions of Britain database for Aquae Sulis, 11 mention the goddess of the temple. Eight of those mentions name Sulis and Sulis only, while the remaining three refer to Sulis Minerva.⁹¹ Of the Sulis-only mentions, one dates to after 122 CE while the others date to the 43-410 CE range. Of the Sulis Minerva mentions, two also date to the 43-

410 CE range, while the other is dated simply to the later Roman period. In short, all the coins date well into the period of heavy Roman influence on Britain. All of the inscriptions are in Latin, which indicates that they are all either made by and for Romans, or by and for the indigenous people of the region—likely Dobunnic or Durotrigian Britons, based on excavated coins—who had been influenced enough by the presence of Rome to use Latin.⁹²

Given this level of Roman presence, the prominence of the use of the name Sulis or Sulis Minerva—rather than the reverse order of Minerva Sulis—suggests that even within the new framework of Roman religious practice, the Britons maintained their goddess mostly as she was before, unwavering. This persistence is an example of cultural survivance, the active maintenance of identity despite a changing cultural landscape. The numbers from Latin religious inscriptions in Britain as a whole support this idea and correspond proportionately with the inscriptions at Aquae Sulis, with 69% of 246 religious inscriptions bearing only the name of a native British god, and only 26% using a British deity's name paired with a Roman counterpart.⁹³ In fairness, it is also possible that these numbers could indicate a cultural change on the side of the Romans, with them embracing a hybrid of their own familiar Minerva and the unfamiliar Sulis, and in doing so, undergoing cultural adaptation of their own. The higher number of Sulis-only name uses at Aquae Sulis does suggest that cultural survivance on the part of the Britons is more likely, but such an explanation is also not mutually exclusive with the idea that Romans living in Britain experienced cultural adaptation as well.

Conclusion

The details of cultural change make for a complicated, oftentimes difficult discussion, particularly in the context of one group overpowering another.

Romanization and the concepts and connotations associated with it have defined the discussion of cultural change surrounding Roman conquest and expansion for much of the last century. While criticism of the imperial notes of Romanization has become more common in recent years, so too has the active effort by scholars to reframe the ideas of Romanization into something more similar to mutual cultural exchange than the original iterations of Romanization. This is a worthwhile pursuit, and the study of cultural exchange between the Romans and the peoples they encountered is a valuable one.

Despite the ongoing renegotiation of the meaning of Romanization, though, studying cultural change only through the lens of Romanization is limiting. As seen in the evidence and resulting analysis of sites like Venta Icenorum and Aquae Sulis, Roman influence brought about cultural shifts beyond that of simple cultural exchange. In-depth examination of the presented artifacts and their changes over time does demonstrate some degree of mutual cultural exchange, this is true—exemplified by the Iron Age and Roman crucibles together, the hybrid symbology of the seal box, and the Romans embracing the Sulis aspect of Minerva. Cultural loss can be seen with this in-depth analysis too, though, with nuance that identifies even quiet, non-violent loss, as well as the presence of cultural resistance and survivance, all aspects of cultural change that are not examined within the limitations of using Romanization as the sole interpretive lens.

Even those four types of cultural change alone are too narrow a lens with which to see the fullness of the change resulting from Roman influence and occupation in Britain. Culture itself has too many facets, and it is not until culture is split into state, public, elite, and mass culture that a more accurate and expansive understanding of cultural change can be attained. By examining the impact of Roman presence on Late Iron Age Britain using these four types of culture and these four types of cultural change together, a degree of nuance is introduced that brings to light not only the stories of the privileged and elite members of society, but that also lends itself to a multivocal interpretation capable of taking both the harmful and edifying aspects of cultural change in stride. A new story is revealed—not one just of cultural exchange, but one of loss and resistance and survivance, of cultural practices abandoned, treasured practices retained, and new practices forged.

Endnotes

¹ Julius Caesar, *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1874), 5.1-2; Cassius Dio, *Roman History, Volume III: Books 36-40*, Loeb Classical Library 53, trans. Earnest Carey and Herbert B. Foster (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914), 39.51-53; Cassius Dio, *Roman History, Volume VII: Books 56-60*, Loeb Classical Library 53, trans. Earnest Carey and Herbert B. Foster (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924), 60.19.5-21.2.

² Full definitions of Romanization, culture, and the varieties of cultural change will be provided following the Review of Scholarship in the Context portion of this essay.

³ F. Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), accessed February 11, 2023, <https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/14173/pg14173.html>.

⁴ P. W. M. Freeman, “Mommsen through to Haverfield: the origins of Romanization studies in late 19th-c. Britain,” in *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, no. 23 of *Journal of Roman Archaeology: Supplementary Series*, ed. by D. J. Mattingly (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1997), 27-50.

⁵ Haverfield refers to those being colonized by the Romans as “provincials” throughout the body of his work.

⁶ Martin Millett, *The Romanization of Britain: An essay in archaeological interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

⁷ D. J. Mattingly, ed., *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, no. 23 of *Journal of Roman Archaeology: Supplementary Series*, (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1997).

⁸ D. J. Mattingly, “Dialogues of power and experience in the Roman Empire,” in *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, no. 23 of *Journal of Roman Archaeology: Supplementary Series*, ed. D. J. Mattingly (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1997), 9-10.

⁹ P. W. M. Freeman, “Mommsen through to Haverfield: the origins of Romanization studies in late 19th-c. Britain,” in *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, no. 23 of *Journal of Roman Archaeology: Supplementary Series*, ed. D. J. Mattingly (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1997), 27-50.

- ¹⁰ J. Webster, “A negotiated syncretism: readings on the development of Romano-Celtic religion,” in *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, no. 23 of *Journal of Roman Archaeology: Supplementary Series*, edited by D. J. Mattingly (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1997), 165-84.
- ¹¹ Simon James, “‘Romanization’ and the peoples of Britain,” in *Italy and the West: Comparative Issues in Romanization*, ed. Simon Keay and Nicola Terrenato (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001), 187-209.
- ¹² James, “‘Romanization’ and the peoples of Britain,” 205-6.
- ¹³ Martin Millett, *The Romanization of Britain*.
- ¹⁴ Webster, “A negotiated syncretism,” 170-80.
- ¹⁵ James, “‘Romanization’ and the peoples of Britain,” 205-6.
- ¹⁶ William Bowden, “The Urban Plan of *Venta Icenorum* and its Relationship with the Boudican Revolt,” *Britannia* 44 (2013): 145-69.
- ¹⁷ Natasha Harlow, “Resistance is Useless! Culture, Status, and Power in the *Civitas Icenorum*,” *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal* 1, no. 1 (2018): 1-22.
- ¹⁸ Lacey Wallace and Alex Mullen, “Landscape, Monumentality and Expression of Group Identities in Iron Age and Roman East Kent,” *Britannia* 50 (2019): 75-108.
- ¹⁹ Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, eds., *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 1995).
- ²⁰ Aileen Moreton-Robinson, ed., *Critical Indigenous Studies: Engagements in First World Locations* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016); Aileen Moreton-Robinson, “Introduction: Locations of Engagement in the First World,” in *Critical Indigenous Studies: Engagements in First World Locations*, ed. Aileen Moreton-Robinson (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016), 4.
- ²¹ Moreton-Robinson, “Introduction,” 5.
- ²² Chris Andersen, “Critical Indigenous Studies: Intellectual Predilections and Institutional Realities,” in *Critical Indigenous Studies: Engagements in First World Locations*, ed. Aileen Moreton-Robinson (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016), 49-66.
- ²³ Kim Tallbear, “Dear Indigenous Studies, It’s Not Me, It’s You: Why I Left and What Needs to Change,” in *Critical Indigenous Studies: Engagements in First World*

Locations, ed. Aileen Moreton-Robinson (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016), 69-82.

²⁴ Chris Andersen and Jean M. O'Brien, eds., *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies*, (London: Routledge, 2017).

²⁵ James, "'Romanization' and the peoples of Britain," 205-6.

²⁶ F. Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain*.

²⁷ Gerald Vizenor, *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, vii.

²⁹ James, "'Romanization' and the peoples of Britain," 205-6.

³⁰ Modern day *Venta Icenorum* is referred to in most scholarship as Caistor-by-Norwich, but it is commonly known as Caistor St Edmund.

³¹ Harlow points out that "Iceni" is just a name that the Romans used to speak collectively about several associated sub-groups. The names of those sub-groups are not known, and they may never be known, but it is important to remember that the term "Iceni" refers to multiple groups so as to avoid painting with too broad of an interpretive brush. Harlow, "Resistance is Useless!," 2.

³² Caesar, *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*, 5.21.

³³ D. F. Allen, "The Coins of the Iceni," *Britannia* 1 (1970): 1.

³⁴ Tacitus, *Annales*, ed. Charles Dennis Fisher (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), 12.31.

³⁵ John Wachter, *The Towns of Roman Britain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 227.

³⁶ Tacitus, *Annales*, 12.31.

³⁷ Allen, "Coins of the Iceni," 2.

³⁸ Tacitus, *Annales*, 14.31.

³⁹ Dio, *Roman History*, 62; Tacitus, *Annales*, 14.29-38.

- ⁴⁰ Bowden, "Urban Plan of *Venta Icenorum*," 153; Donald Atkinson, "Caistor excavations, 1929," *Norfolk Archaeology* 24 (1931): 133.
- ⁴¹ Wachter, *Towns of Roman Britain*, 230.
- ⁴² Sheppard Frere, "The Forum and Baths at Caistor by Norwich," *Britannia* 2 (1971): 11.
- ⁴³ Bowden, "Urban Plan of *Venta Icenorum*," 153.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 164.
- ⁴⁵ Donald Atkinson, "Three Caistor Pottery Kilns," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 22, no. 1 (1932): 42.
- ⁴⁶ Bowden, "Urban Plan of *Venta Icenorum*," 153, 166.
- ⁴⁷ Harlow, "Resistance is Useless!."
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.
- ⁵⁰ Allen, "Coins of the Iceni"; Harlow, "Resistance is Useless!," 3-4; Michael Fulford, "The Countryside of Roman Britain: A Gallic Perspective," *Britannia* 51 (2020): 302.
- ⁵¹ Harlow, "Resistance is Useless!," 2, 16.
- ⁵² Fulford, "Countryside of Roman Britain," 297-298.
- ⁵³ Allen, "Coins of the Iceni," 6.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 7-8.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 10-11.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 15; Harlow, "Resistance is Useless!," 2; Wachter, *Towns of Roman Britain*, 227.
- ⁵⁷ Harlow, "Resistance is Useless!," 4-5.
- ⁵⁸ D. Mackreth, "An unusual Romano-British brooch from Norfolk, with a note upon its probable affinities," *Britannia* 40: 144.

- ⁵⁹ Harlow, “Resistance is Useless!,” 9-10.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 10.
- ⁶¹ Bowden, “Urban Plan of *Venta Icenorum*,” 153.
- ⁶² Allen, “Coins of the Iceni,” 16.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, 8.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 9-10.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 11-13.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 13-14.
- ⁶⁸ Harlow, “Resistance is Useless!,” 5.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 5; Sarah Bates et al., “Excavations at Quidney Farm, Saham Toney, Norfolk 1995,” *Britannia* 31 (2000): 226-27.
- ⁷⁰ Harlow, “Resistance is Useless!,” 14. This is the generally accepted use of seal boxes, but recent research by Colin Andrews suggests that seal boxes may have been used to seal bags—a disagreement which Harlow discusses in more depth.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷² Bowden, “Urban Plan of *Venta Icenorum*,” 153.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, 149.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁶ Fulford, “Countryside of Roman Britain,” 297-298; Frere, “Forum and Baths,” 3.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*; Fulford, “Countryside of Roman Britain,” 297-298.
- ⁷⁹ Wachter, *Towns of Roman Britain*, 233. There is no figure showing the Geta statue that was found at *Venta Icenorum*, as the museum it was held at has closed.

- ⁸⁰ Dio *Roman History*, 62; Tacitus, *Annales* 14.29-38; Sheppard Frere, “A Limitatio of Icenian Territory?,” *Britannia* 31 (2000): 350-351.
- ⁸¹ Frere “Limitation of Icenian Territory?,” 354; Fulford, “Countryside of Roman Britain,” 297-298.
- ⁸² Bowden, “Urban Plan of Venta Icenorum,” 165-166.
- ⁸³ *Ibid.*, 165.
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 167; Harlow, “Resistance is Useless!,” 3.
- ⁸⁵ Wachter, *Towns of Roman Britain*, 238.
- ⁸⁶ David Potter, *The Roman Empire at Bay, AD 180-395*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2013), 134; Aelius Spartianus, *Septimius Severus, Historia Augusta*, vol. 1, Loeb Classical Library 139, trans. David Magie, rev. David Rohrbacher (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2022), 19.
- ⁸⁷ Potter, *Roman Empire at Bay*, 138.
- ⁸⁸ Bowden, “Urban Plan of Venta Icenorum,” 14-16.
- ⁸⁹ Barry C. Burnham and John Wachter, *The Small Towns of Roman Britain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 165-175; James McBurney, “The Cult of Sulis-Minerva at Bath: The Religious Ritual of the Patron Goddess at Bath” (master’s thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2016), 88.
- ⁹⁰ Eleri H. Cousins, “Votive Objects and Ritual Practice at the King’s Spring at Bath,” in *TRAC 2013: Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, King’s College, London 2013*, ed. H. Platts, J. Pearce, C. Barron, J. Lundock, and J. Yoo, 52-64 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 52.
- ⁹¹ “Bath,” Roman Inscriptions of Britain, accessed March 25, 2023, <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/sites/bath>. The 11 inscriptions mentioned here are R.I.B. 141, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 155, and 3049.
- ⁹² Burnham and Wachter, *Small Towns of Roman Britain*, 165.
- ⁹³ McBurney, “Cult of Sulis-Minerva,” 93.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Aelius Spartianus. *Septimius Severus. Historia Augusta*, vol. 1. Loeb Classical Library 139. Translated by David Magie. Revised by David Rohrbacher. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2022.

Cassius Dio. *Roman History, Volume III: Books 36-40*. Loeb Classical Library 53. Translated by Earnest Cary and Herbert B. Foster. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914.

Cassius Dio. *Roman History, Volume VII: Books 56-60*. Loeb Classical Library 175. Translated by Earnest Cary and Herbert B. Foster. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924.

Julius Caesar. *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1874.

Tacitus. *Annales*. Edited by Charles Dennis Fisher. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906.

Secondary Sources

Allen, D. F.. "The Coins of the Iceni." *Britannia* 1 (1970): 1-33.

Andersen, Chris, and Jean M. O'Brien, eds.. *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies*. London: Routledge, 2017.

Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, eds.. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* London: Routledge, 1995.

Atkinson, Donald. "Caistor excavations, 1929." *Norfolk Archaeology* 24 (1931): 93-139.

Atkinson, Donald. "Three Caistor Pottery Kilns." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 22, no. 1 (1932): 33-46.

Bates, Sarah, Trevor Ashwin, John Davies, Rowena Gale, Alice Lyons, Sarah Percival, David Starley, Catriona Turner-Walker, Cath Mortimer and John A. Davies. "Excavations at Quidney Farm, Saham Toney, Norfolk 1995." *Britannia* 31 (2000): 201-237.

Booth, A.. "SF-C65E1A" (image). Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed April 28, 2023. <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/722206>.

Bowden, William. "The Urban Plan of "Venta Icenorum" and its Relationship with the Boudican Revolt." *Britannia* 44 (2013): 145-169.

- Burnham, Barry C., and John Wachter. *The Small Towns of Roman Britain*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Cousins, Eleri H. "Votive Objects and Ritual Practice at the King's Spring at Bath." In *TRAC 2013: Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, King's College, London 2013*, edited by H. Platts, J. Pearce, C. Barron, J. Lundock, and J. Yoo, 52-64. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014.
- Frere, Sheppard. "A Limitatio of Icenian Territory?" *Britannia* 31 (2000): 350-355.
- Frere, Sheppard. "The Forum and Baths at Caistor by Norwich." *Britannia* 2 (1971): 1-26.
- Fulford, Michael. "The Countryside of Roman Britain: A Gallic Perspective." *Britannia* 51 (2020): 295-306.
- Harlow, Natasha. "Resistance is Useless! Culture, Status, and Power in the *Civitas Icenorum*." *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal* 1, no. 1 (2018): 1-22.
- Haverfield, F.. *The Romanization of Roman Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912. Accessed February 11, 2023. <https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/14173/pg14173.html>.
- Keay, Simon, and Nicola Terrenato, eds. *Italy and the West: Comparative Issues in Romanization*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001.
- Kirk, Joan R.. "Bronzes from Woodeaton, Oxon." *Oxoniensia* 14 (1949): 1-45.
- Mackreth, D. "An unusual Romano-British brooch from Norfolk, with a note upon its probable affinities." *Britannia* 40: 137-149.
- Mattingly, D. J, ed.. *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*. No. 23 of *Journal of Roman Archaeology: Supplementary Series*. Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1997.
- McBurney, James. "The Cult of Sulis-Minerva at Bath: The Religious Ritual of the Patron Goddess at Bath." Master's thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2016.
- Millett, Martin. *The Romanization of Britain: An essay in archaeological interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Moreton-Robinson, Aileen. *Critical Indigenous Studies: Engagements in First World Locations*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016.

- Plouviez, J. "SF5751" (image). Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed April 28, 2023. <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/20474>.
- Potter, David. *The Roman Empire at Bay, AD 180-395*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2013.
- University of Cambridge. "Roman town, Caistor by Norwich" (image). "Department of Geography: Cambridge air photos." University of Cambridge. Accessed March 26, 2023. <https://www.cambridgeairphotos.com/location/abl62/>.
- Vizenor, Gerald. *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.
- Wacher, John. *The Towns of Roman Britain*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.
- Wallace, Lacey, and Alex Mullen. "Landscape, Monumentality and Expression of Group Identities in Iron Age and Roman East Kent." *Britannia* 50 (2019): 75-108.
- Whitcombe, E.. "NMS-6599B4" (image). Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed April 28, 2023. <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/461260>.

List of Figures

- Figure 1: The locations of Venta Icenorum and Aquae Sulis with London for reference. Map by author, 2023. 47
- Figure 2: *Image not included here.* 1960 aerial photograph of Venta Icenorum showing the irregular roads. University of Cambridge, “Roman town, Caistor by Norwich” (image), “Department of Geography: Cambridge air photos,” University of Cambridge, accessed March 26, 2023, <https://www.cambridgeairphotos.com/location/abl62/>. 47
- Figure 3: *Image not included here.* Gold coin designs. Designs 2 and 3 are the obverse faces of Icenian gold staters. Designs 4 and 5 are the obverse and reverse faces, respectively, of an early silver pattern-horse coin. The horse is like the one on the obverse of the Icenian gold staters. D. F. Allen, “The Coins of the Iceni,” *Britannia* 1 (1970): 6, Figure 3. 47
- Figure 4: The boar-horse coins. The top row shows the obverse face; the bottom row shows the reverse face. Coins 1-3 are from the Iron Age. Coin 4 is from the client-kingdom. 48
- Figure 5: The pattern-horse coins. The upper row is the obverse face; the lower row is the reverse face. Coin 1 is gold. Coins 2 and 3 are silver. 48
- Figure 6: *Image not included here.* “Distribution of Late Iron Age and early Roman terret rings.” Natasha Harlow, “Resistance is Useless! Culture, Status, and Power in the *Civitas Icenorum*,” *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal* 1, no. 1 (2018): 5, Figure 1. 49
- Figure 7: *Image not included here.* “Density of all terret rings.” Harlow, “Resistance is Useless!,” 5, Figure 2. 49
- Figure 8: A decorated terret, rights held by Norfolk County Council. 49
- Figure 9: A Colchester-derivative Rearhook brooch, rights held by Suffolk County Council. 50
- Figure 10: A Colchester-derivative double lug brooch, also called a Harlow brooch, rights held by The Portable Antiquities Scheme. 50
- Figure 11: *Image not included here.* The face-pattern coins. The upper row shows the obverse face. The lower row shows the reverse face. The coins are arranged chronologically. Allen, “The Coins of the Iceni,” 9, Figure 5. 51

- Figure 12: The Iceni monogram pattern-horse coins. Image 1 is the obverse face of a typical pattern-horse coin. Images 2 and 3 are the reverse and obverse face, respectively, of the same coin. Image 4 is the reverse face of another coin. 51
- Figure 13: “Matching platform-decorated terrets, Saham Toney and Carleton Rode, Norfolk (NWHCM Accessions: 1847.66.3 and 2006.349, courtesy Norfolk Museums Service).” 51
- Figure 14: An arrangement of terrets from Quidney Farm. Terret 5 is “a hybrid between an Iron Age lipped terret and the Roman protected loop form. 65 x 60 mm.” 52
- Figure 15: "Seal box lid with enamelled crescent and phallus, Venta Icenorum, Norfolk (CRT SF4483, courtesy Jenny Press, Caistor Roman Project)." 53
- Figure 16: Plan of Venta Icenorum. 54
- Figure 17: The Norfolk Archaeological Trust's plan of Venta Icenorum and the surrounding area..... 55
- Figure 18: Overlaid plans of the original forum and reconstructed forum at Venta Icenorum. 56
- Figure 19: Plan of the original forum at Venta Icenorum. 57
- Figure 20: Artifacts 3-6 are the votive axes that the miniature axe at Venta Icenorum resembles..... 58

Figures



Figure 1: The locations of Venta Icenorum and Aquae Sulis with London for reference. Map by author, 2023.

Figure 2: *Image not included here.* 1960 aerial photograph of Venta Icenorum showing the irregular roads. University of Cambridge, “Roman town, Caistor by Norwich” (image), “Department of Geography: Cambridge air photos,” University of Cambridge, accessed March 26, 2023, <https://www.cambridgeairphotos.com/location/abl62/>.

Figure 3: *Image not included here.* Gold coin designs. Designs 2 and 3 are the obverse faces of Icenian gold staters. Designs 4 and 5 are the obverse and reverse faces, respectively, of an early silver pattern-horse coin. The horse is like the one on the obverse of the Icenian gold staters. D. F. Allen, “The Coins of the Iceni,” *Britannia* 1 (1970): 6, Figure 3.

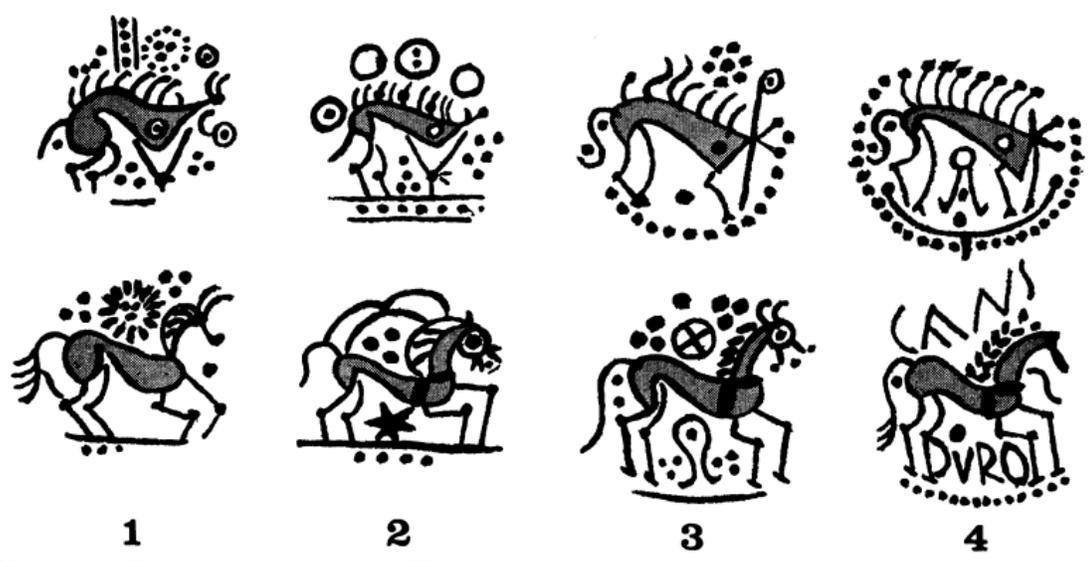


Figure 4: The boar-horse coins. The top row shows the obverse face; the bottom row shows the reverse face. Coins 1-3 are from the Iron Age. Coin 4 is from the client-kingdom.
Allen, "The Coins of the Iceni," 7, Figure 4.

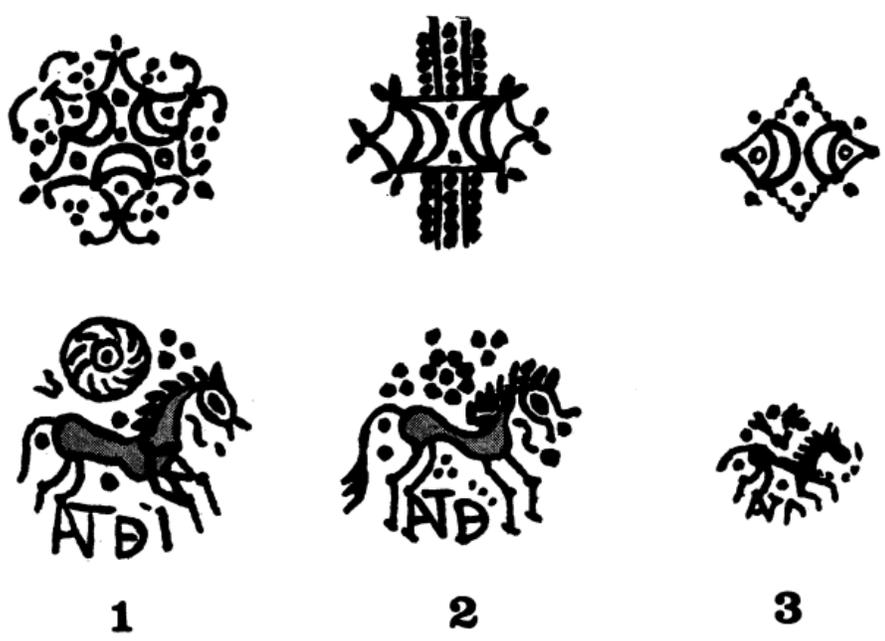


Figure 5: The pattern-horse coins. The upper row is the obverse face; the lower row is the reverse face. Coin 1 is gold. Coins 2 and 3 are silver.
Allen, "The Coins of the Iceni," 10, Figure 6.

Figure 6: *Image not included here.* “Distribution of Late Iron Age and early Roman terret rings.” Natasha Harlow, “Resistance is Useless! Culture, Status, and Power in the *Civitas Icenorum*,” *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal* 1, no. 1 (2018): 5, Figure 1.

Figure 7: *Image not included here.* “Density of all terret rings.” Harlow, “Resistance is Useless!,” 5, Figure 2.



Figure 8: A decorated terret, rights held by Norfolk County Council. E. Whitcombe, “NMS-6599B4” (image), Portable Antiquities Scheme, accessed April 28, 2023, <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/461260>. Reproduced under CC-BY-SA 4.0 license, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/legalcode>.



Figure 9: A Colchester-derivative Rearhook brooch, rights held by Suffolk County Council.

A. Booth, "SF-C65E1A" (image), Portable Antiquities Scheme, accessed April 28, 2023, <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/722206>. Reproduced under CC-BY-SA 2.0 license, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/legalcode>.



Figure 10: A Colchester-derivative double lug brooch, also called a Harlow brooch, rights held by The Portable Antiquities Scheme.

J. Plouviez, "SF5751" (image), Portable Antiquities Scheme, accessed April 28, 2023, <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/20474>. Reproduced under CC-BY-SA 4.0 license, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/legalcode>.

Figure 11: *Image not included here.* The face-pattern coins. The upper row shows the obverse face. The lower row shows the reverse face. The coins are arranged chronologically. Allen, “The Coins of the Iceni,” 9, Figure 5.

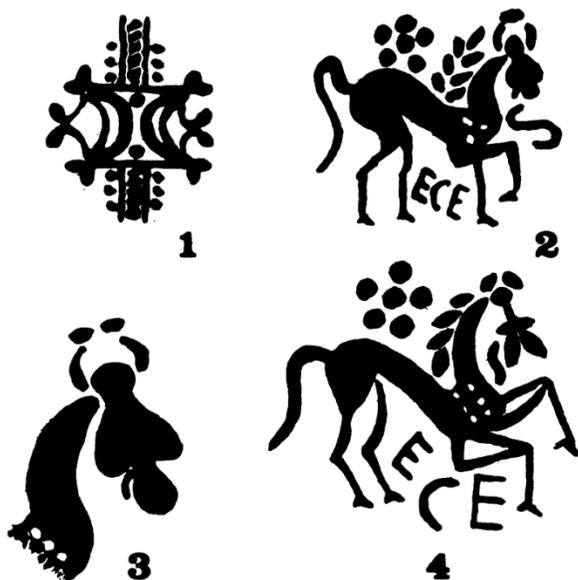


Figure 12: The Iceni monogram pattern-horse coins. Image 1 is the obverse face of a typical pattern-horse coin. Images 2 and 3 are the reverse and obverse face, respectively, of the same coin. Image 4 is the reverse face of another coin. Allen, “The Coins of the Iceni,” 13, Figure 7.



Figure 13: “Matching platform-decorated terrets, Saham Toney and Carleton Rode, Norfolk (NWHCM Accessions: 1847.66.3 and 2006.349, courtesy Norfolk Museums Service).”

Harlow, “Resistance is Useless!,” 6, Figure 4.

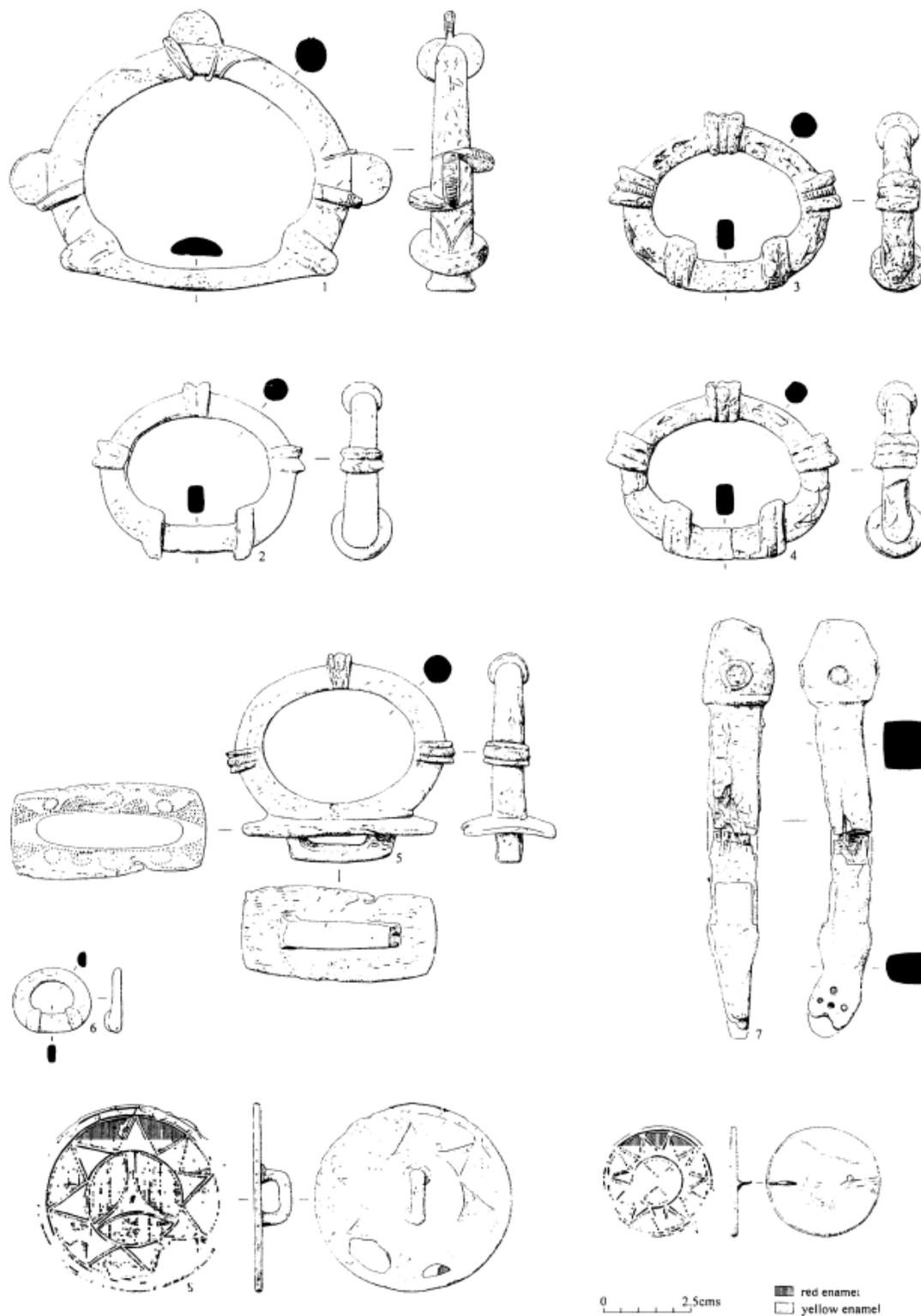


Figure 14: An arrangement of terrets from Quidney Farm. Terret 5 is “a hybrid between an Iron Age lipped terret and the Roman protected loop form. 65 x 60 mm.” Sarah Bates et al., “Excavations at Quidney Farm, Saham Toney, Norfolk 1995,” *Britannia* 31 (2000): 226-227, Figure 7.

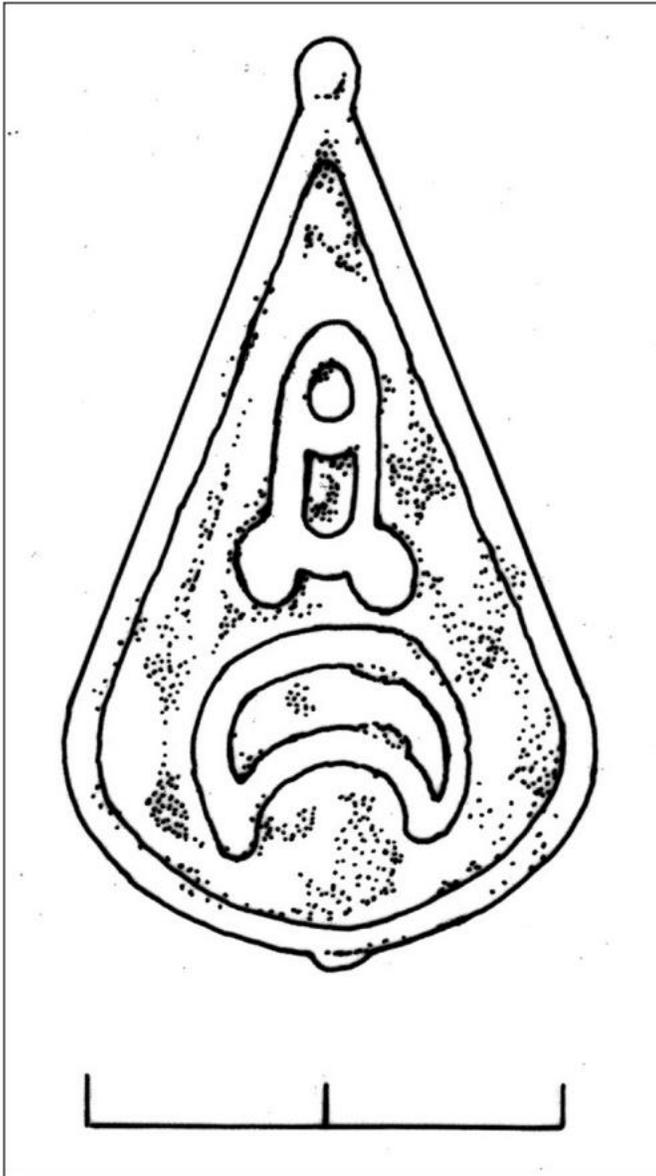


Figure 15: "Seal box lid with enamelled crescent and phallus, Venta Icenorum, Norfolk (CRT SF4483, courtesy Jenny Press, Caistor Roman Project)." Harlow, "Resistance is Useless!," 15, Figure 16.

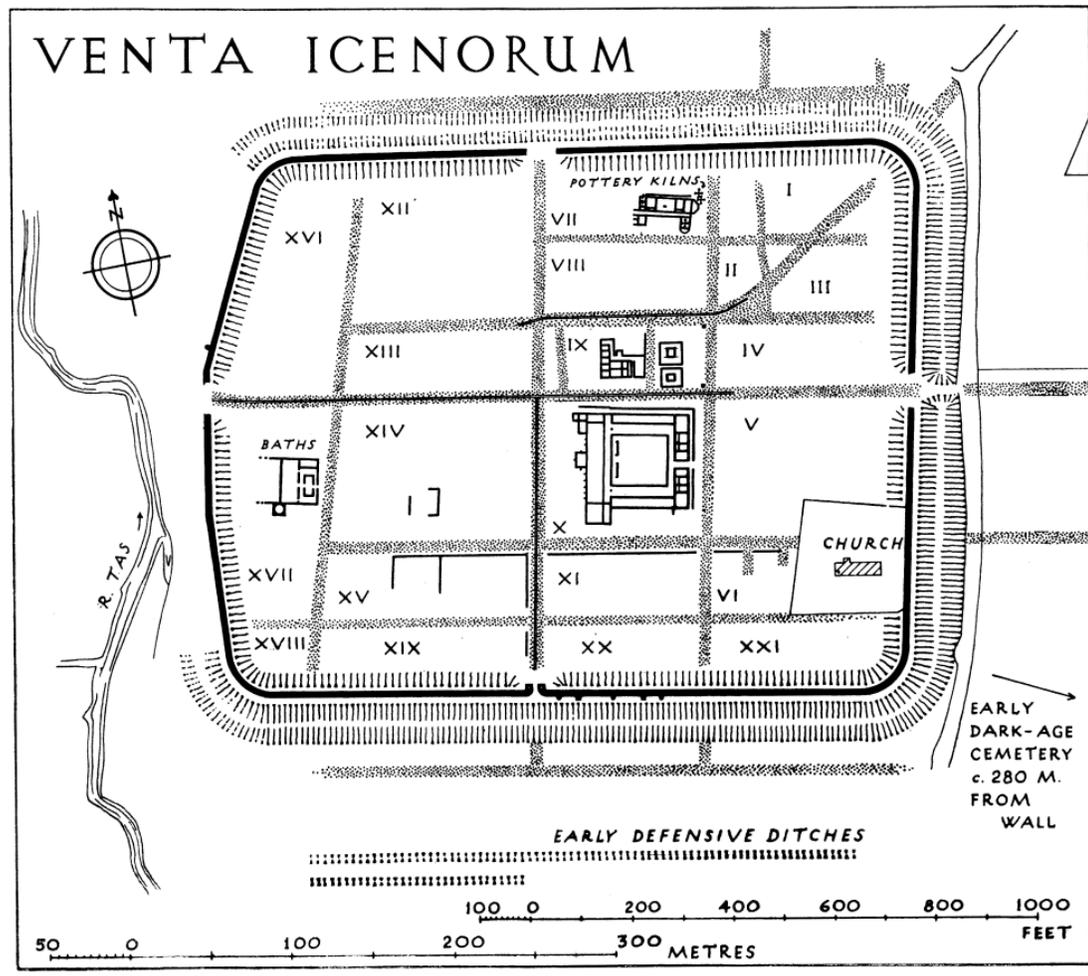


Figure 16: Plan of Venta Icenorum.
Sheppard Frere, "The Forum and Baths at Caistor by Norwich," *Britannia* 2 (1971):
2, Figure 1.

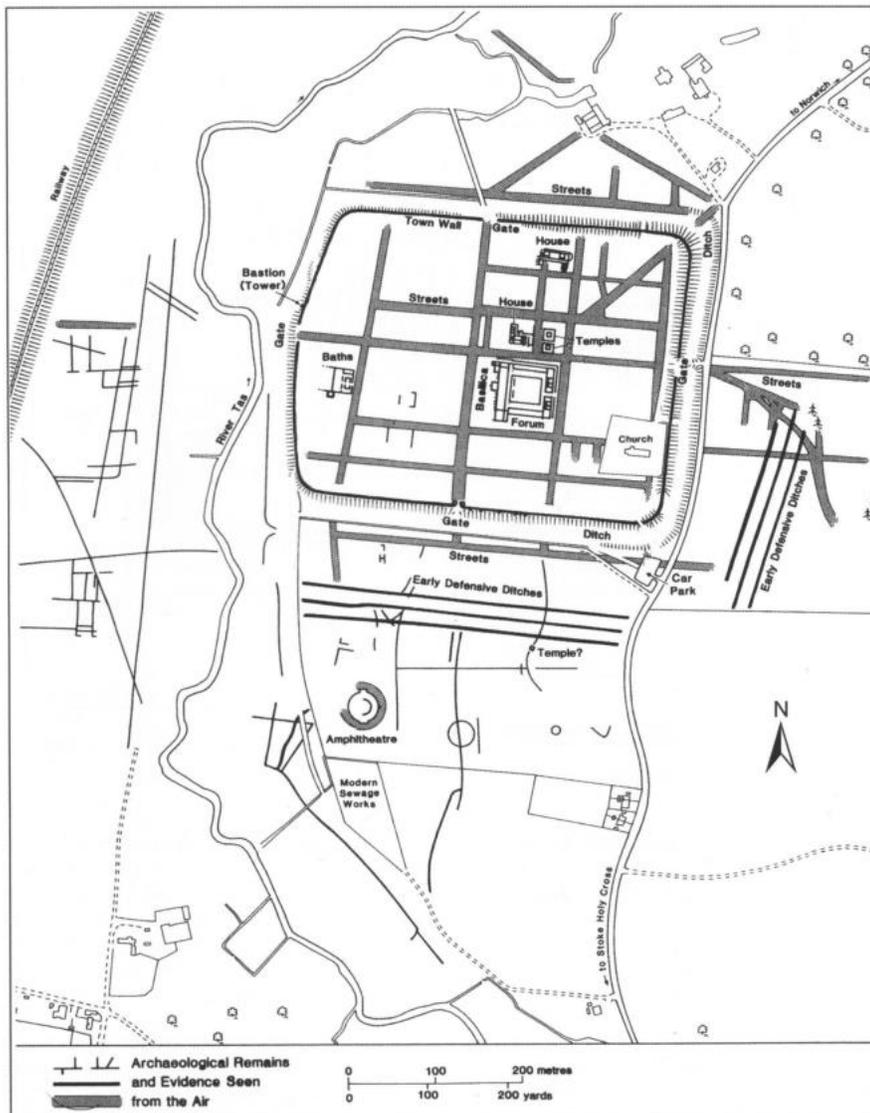


Figure 17: The Norfolk Archaeological Trust's plan of Venta Icenorum and the surrounding area.

William Bowden, "The Urban Plan of *Venta Icenorum* and its Relationship with the Boudican Revolt," *Britannia* 44 (2013): 150, Figure 5.

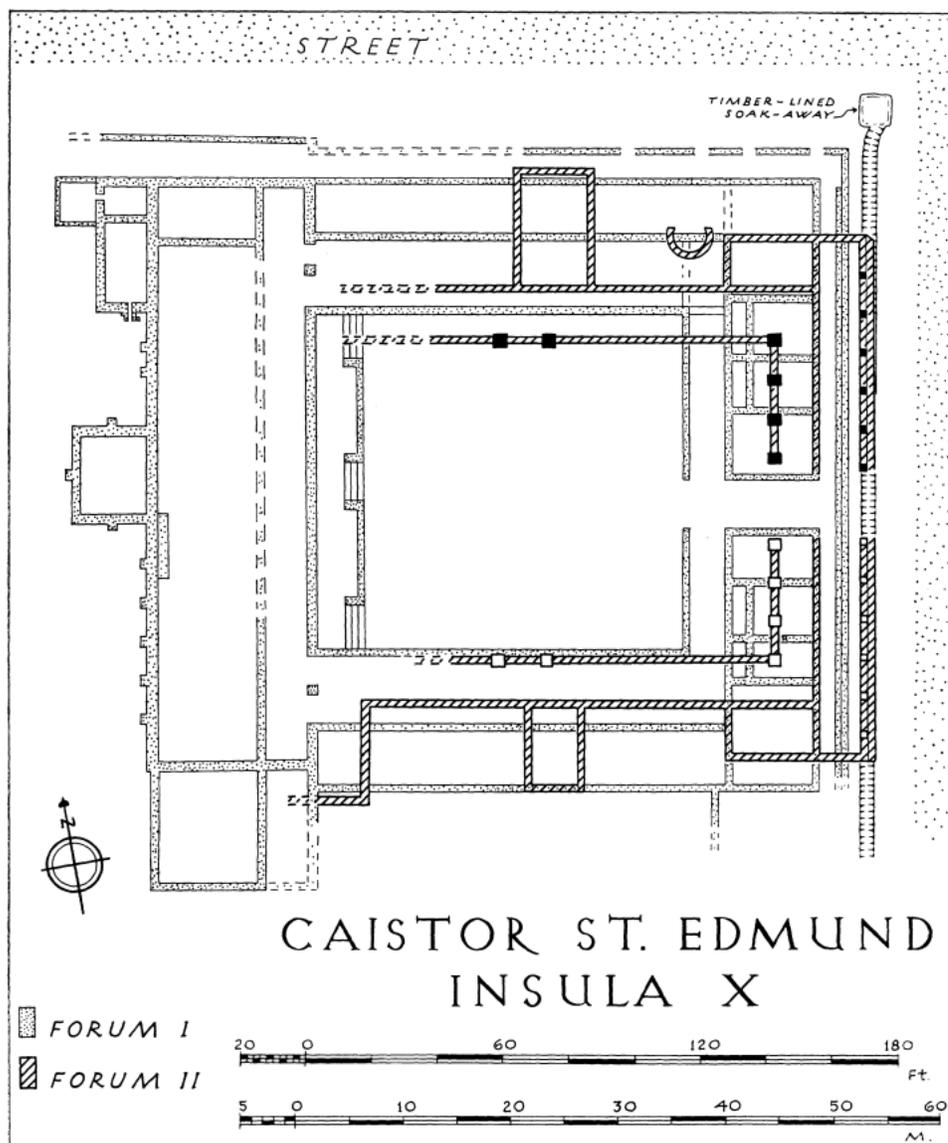


Figure 18: Overlaid plans of the original forum and reconstructed forum at Venta Icenorum.

Frere, "Forum and Baths," 4, Figure 2.

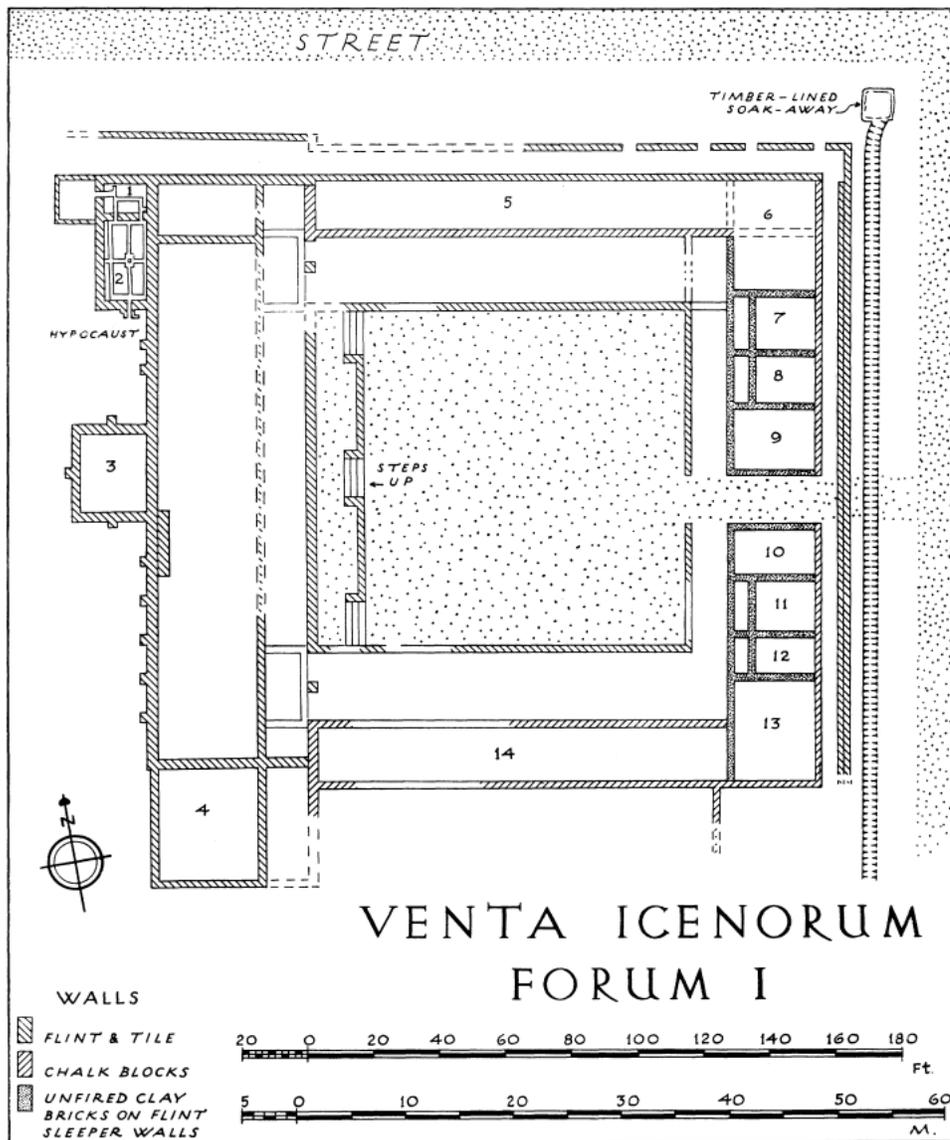


Figure 19: Plan of the original forum at Venta Icenorum.
Frere, "Forum and Baths," 6, Figure 3.

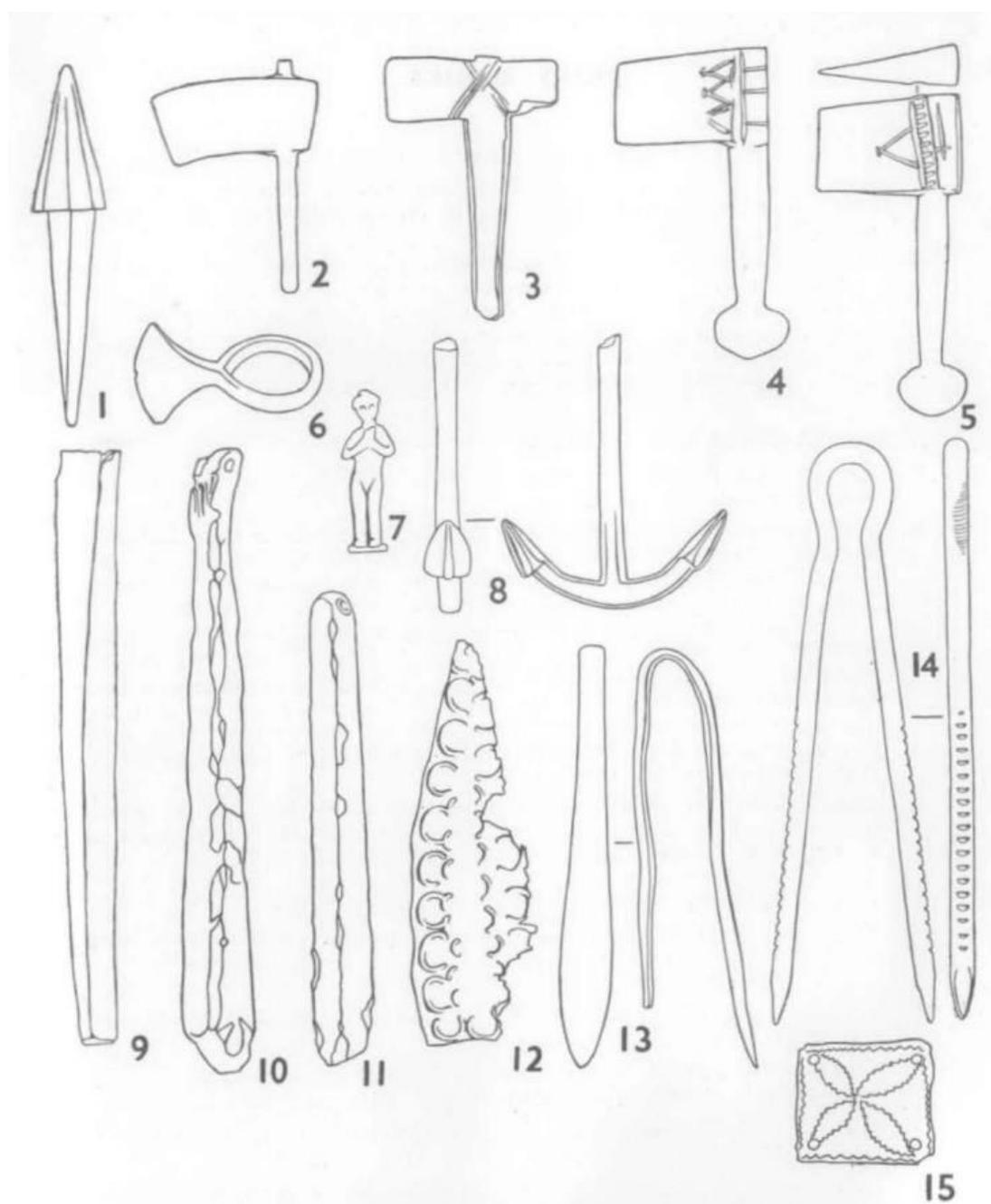


Figure 20: Artifacts 3-6 are the votive axes that the miniature axe at Venta Icenorum resembles.

Joan R. Kirk, "Bronzes from Woodeaton, Oxon," *Oxoniensia* 14 (1949): 39-40, Figure 8.

Autobiography

I, Brooke Prevedel, am a Classical Archaeology and Historic Preservation double-major hailing from northern Colorado. I first came to the University of Mary Washington in 2019 with the intention of pursuing both degrees and have since added the GIS Certificate to my programs. I am a member of both Phi Beta Kappa and Eta Sigma Phi and will graduate in May 2024. I have presented original research at several conferences, most recently sitting on a panel regarding accessibility in archaeology at the 2023 Middle Atlantic Archaeology Conference and contributing maps to the newly unveiled Fredericksburg civil rights trail, “Freedom, a Work in Progress.” My academic interests are in disability and anti-colonial narratives with emphasis on archaeological ethics and centering the community.