

# C O N T E N T S



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### **The cover picture shows the amphitheatre at Nîmes**

This beautiful amphitheatre dates from the late 1st century AD. It is considered to be one of the best preserved in France. Seating 24,000 in 34 tiers of seats, the spectators were divided according to social rank with slaves and women in the upper seats, which were the furthest from the arena. An ingenious system of corridors and stairways and *vomitaria* (sloping corridors) ensured the crowds were kept separated into their social classes and could leave the building within five minutes. Under the arena itself were two vast galleries some 68 by 37m (223 by 121 ft). These allowed the exotic beasts, which included lions, tigers, panthers, elephants, bears and bulls, to be quickly delivered to the arena by lifts. Gladiators would fight to the death in the arena, and if a gladiator could no longer fight he could ask for quarter. If the president of the Games gave the thumbs down the winning gladiator would cut the loser's throat.

*The Kent Archaeological Field School will be revisiting Nîmes and Provence next year.*

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'Practical Archaeology' is published by The Kent Archaeological Field School,  
School Farm Oast, Graveney Road, Faversham, Kent, ME13 8UP.

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# FIRST WORDS

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Our spring and summer courses this year have certainly been proving popular with all of you and we had a great start to this season's archaeological work.



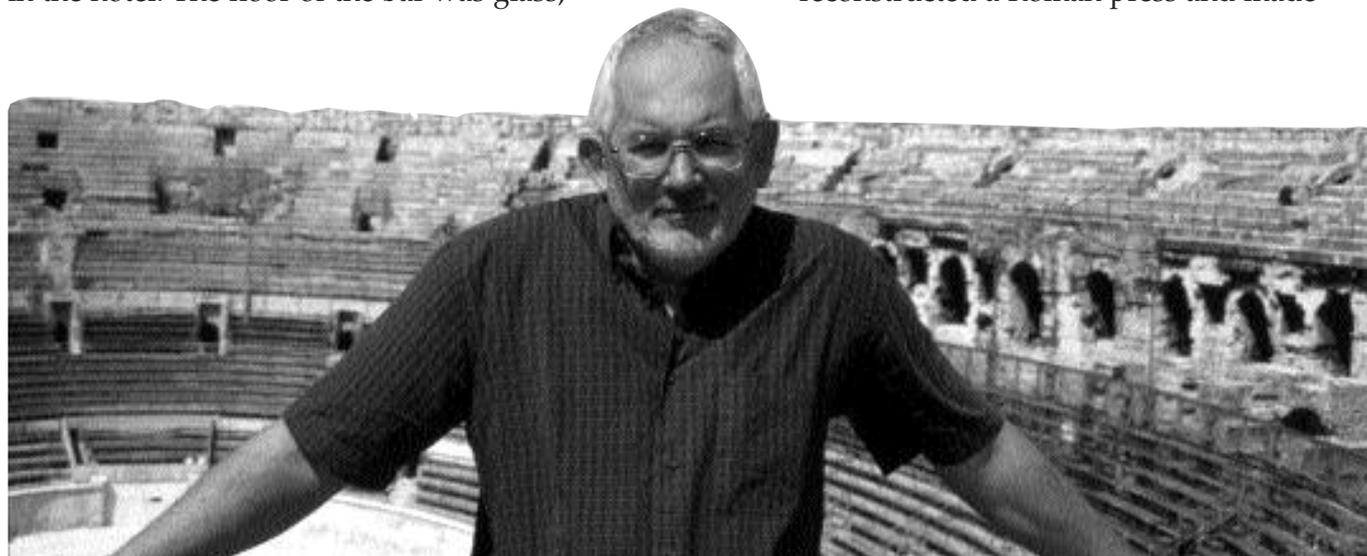
Our excavation at the mediaeval palace in Teynham has led to more exciting finds (p. 15). Other courses have revealed Roman roads (pp. 10–11) and Roman field boundaries (pp. 12–13).

As I write, a large group of students is working on the excavation at Roman Durolevum and the finds look incredible — knives, coins and pottery — and the trenches have revealed more signs of a Roman fort near the road. We will have a report on the excavation in the next issue.

The highlight of the year for many of us has been our field trip to Roman Provence. It was such a tremendous success and we have had so many kind messages of appreciation that we will be repeating the trip at the same time next year. Twenty-five of us left a cold June in England for a train ride across France, that became increasingly hot as the TGV sped south. By the time we reached Arles the temperature was touching 40 degrees. Everyone was relieved that our lovely hotel had air-conditioning and, after time to cool down in the pool, we could appreciate the sites in the hotel. The floor of the bar was glass,

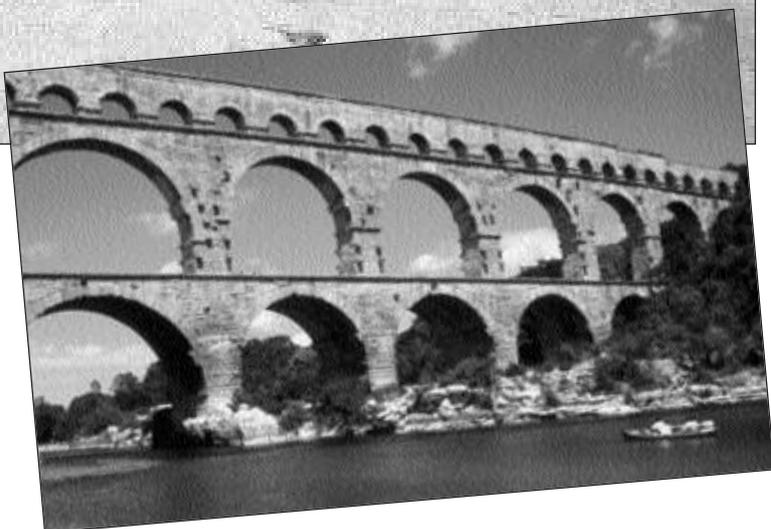
revealing some of the Roman remains of the Baths of Constantine, the hotel was actually built into and over the site, and some rooms contained Roman masonry. That night, we went to the Roman theatre (right) to see an Arlesian spectacle of traditional dance; later some of our students joined the locals as they leapt over a bonfire made to celebrate the feast of St Jean. The next day began at the museum in Arles that holds most of the finds in the area. We also saw model reconstructions of the Roman buildings we viewed later the same day — the arena, the theatre, the baths and the mysterious cryptoportiques, underground storerooms or shops running beneath the forum. As our stay was based in the town of Arles, everyone had plenty of time to explore the rich history of the town.

Subsequent days were spent on trips to sites in the region. We visited the magnificent Pont du Gard (right) picnicking and swimming beneath the great aqueduct. This was followed by a wine tasting with a difference. A local vineyard had reconstructed a Roman press and made



# FIRST WORDS

wine in the Roman manner; much has now been imported, and drunk, by KAFS members. On Tuesday we visited the amphitheatre at Nîmes, and obtained special permission to walk through the main gates and on to the sand, just as the



gladiators would have done, but we managed to leave unharmed. After seeing the Maison Carrée, an almost intact temple, we saw a rather more ruined example in the city's beautiful gardens. The most intrepid in the group disregarded the blazing heat to climb to the top of the Tour Magna, once part of the Roman ramparts, and were rewarded by fantastic views over Nîmes.

The wonderful Hellenistic and Roman site at Glanum is set in breathtaking mountain scenery.

After our tour, we enjoyed a lunch featuring ancient Roman cuisine, as we sat in the shade looking on to a romantic idyll of ruins and wild flowers. The afternoon was spent in the lovely town of St Remy-de-Provence, where we visited the Glanum site museum. Thursday began with a visit to the impressive triumphal arch and theatre at Orange, where I tested the acoustics in a small ad hoc performance from the stage. We spent the afternoon at leisure in the famous mediaeval city of Avignon.

Our last day trip was to Vaison-la-Romaine, a Roman city, high in the wooded hills of Provence. The vast site and museum are perfectly integrated into this picturesque town, which also contains one of the oldest almost intact Roman bridges.

Saturday and Sunday morning were free for everyone to enjoy Arles, especially the lively market. More Provençal festivals and parades added to the holiday atmosphere that our group had created from their shared love of archaeology and good-humoured companionship.

Why not enjoy this wonderful trip next year, from 21 to 29 June? Do contact Louise Wilkinson for details.

**N**ext year, the Field School will be visiting Roman Provence and the Bay of Naples. We will visit the Bay of Naples in September and the provisional itinerary is:

Day 1: The Roman town of Pompeii

Day 2: The National Museum, Naples, Mount Vesuvius

Day 3: Herculaneum and nearby Roman villas

Day 4: Cumae, Baia, Pozzuoli, Miseno and the volcanic Phlegraen Fields

Day 5: Villa Jovis, Capri

Day 6: Paestum and nearby sites

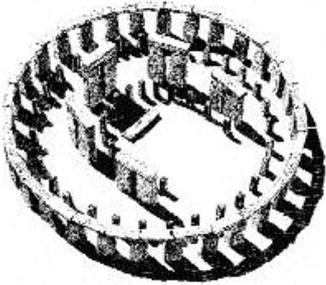
Day 7: The Roman villa at Minori

If you are interested in this trip, please contact Louise, who will send out details as soon as we have them.

# NEWS

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## Stonehenge: Update on Road Plans



Since our last article about the controversy surrounding road plans for the area near Stonehenge, the Government is now considering further plans that may help preserve this World

Heritage site. Ministers have been looking into ways to bury the present A303 underground, at the place where it passes Stonehenge, to lessen the noise and pollution from the traffic near the site. The Highways Agency had suggested a 'cut and cover' operation, but they have now acknowledged that this shallow excavation may damage nearby burial mounds and mediaeval field boundaries. An alternative method, cutting deeper into the ground, may prove safer. But the agency is refusing to consider a longer tunnel, which some archaeologists insist is necessary to minimise the damage to the archaeological environment. A public enquiry into the scheme may be held next year. We will follow the plans and report on them.

## Sutton Hoo Centre Opens



Visitors to Sutton Hoo will be able to see some of the spectacular Anglo-Saxon treasures found there at a new exhibition and visitor centre. Previously, the finds were on display only at the British Museum, which owns them. The museum has agreed to loan items to the National Trust which will display a different selection every six months.

Sutton Hoo was the burial ground of the Anglo-Saxon kings of East Anglia. The site was discovered in 1939, when many amazing finds were made, including an 89-foot (27 metres) longship containing a warrior's helmet. A half-size model of the ship is on display at the centre, along with a replica of the helmet. Seventeen burial mounds were found at Sutton Hoo, there were two ship burials and the grave of a warrior alongside that of his horse. The artefacts found across the site include Byzantine silver, weapons and gold ornaments. The burial mounds

had been made over a period of about 50 years in the 7th century.

The new centre was opened by the award-winning translator of the epic 7th-century poem *Beowulf*, Seamus Heaney. He was moved by the site and emphasised its importance,

'It's a cultural value that's been reaffirmed. I have a strange sense of what it was to be buried in a ship. There's a sense of solemnity here. Its poetry.'  
*Readers can buy Dr Paul Wilkinson's paper Beowulf in Kent by sending a cheque for £4.95 incl. p&p to KAFS.*



*The poet Seamus Heaney holds a replica Anglo-Saxon helmet outside the new exhibition and visitor centre at Sutton Hoo.*

# NEWS

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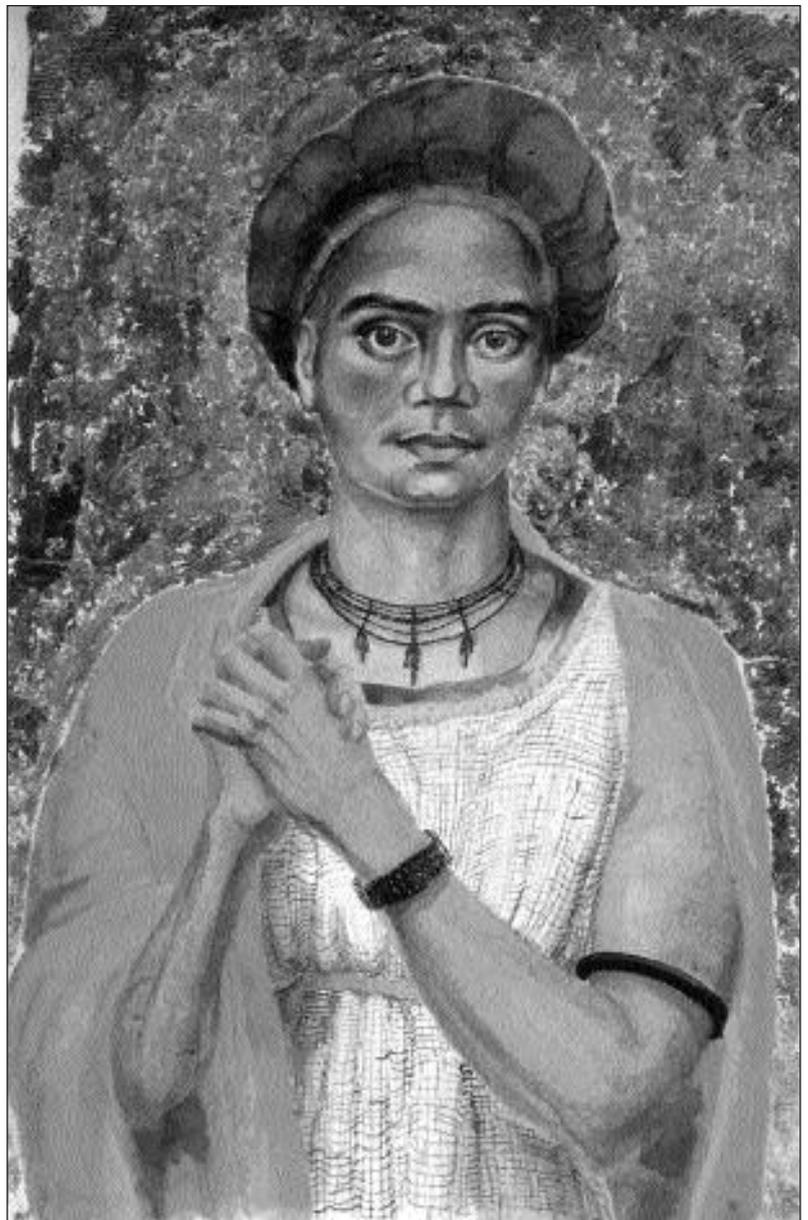
## Roman Cross-Dressing?

Followers of the mother goddess Cybele dressed as transvestites and carried out ritual self-castration. A new report reveals that these pagan priests may have had a temple in Yorkshire in the late 3rd century. During this period, a young man in his early 20s was buried near the possible temple; he was buried wearing a necklace of over 600 jet beads, a jet bracelet, a brown shale armlet and a bronze anklet. Experts think that this may have been ritual regalia, and the man may have been a Cybelean priest dressed as a transvestite. This discovery is revealed in a recently published report by the Council for British Archaeology on the site near Catterick in North Yorkshire. For over 20 years, archaeologists at English Heritage and other organisations have been investigating the site that extends for more than half a mile along Dere Street, an ancient Roman road that is now the A1 trunk road.

The bizarre practices associated with the cult of Cybele are based on the belief that her young lover, Attis, was unfaithful to her and his remorse drove him into a mad fit in which he castrated himself and died. Priests of the mother goddess similarly mutilated themselves in a state of dance-induced ecstasy at a time known in the Roman calendar as the 'day of blood'. Originating in Anatolia, present-day Turkey, this cult was officially sanctioned by the Romans and spread to parts of the Roman Empire, including Britain.

The substantial stone building that has been found, just 40 metres (130 feet) from the body of the man, may have been a temple to Cybele, because it had a subterranean chamber. Cybelean temples often had two underground rooms, one for secret rites and one in which followers who wished to attain immortality, as promised by the cult, could bathe in the blood

of ritually slaughtered sacred bulls. The underground room in Yorkshire contained the remains of feasts, and nearby was a whetstone for sharpening implements. Other religious objects were also found, including a bronze statue of a Roman god, a pair of bone dolphins, symbolising immortality, and three small altars.



*A picture showing how the Romano-British priest, whose remains have been found in Yorkshire, might have looked.*

*He was buried wearing a five-strand jet necklace and a jet bracelet, a shale armlet and a bronze anklet.*

# NEWS

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## The Last Judgement

The congregation attending St Andrew's Church, Chesterton, were welcomed by a marvellous sight at the Easter services this year. For the first time in over 150 years, they would have seen some of the beautiful mediaeval wall paintings that once covered this 13th-century Cambridgeshire church. A depiction of the Last Judgement measuring about 40 feet wide and 10 feet high (12 x 3 metres), probably survived destruction during the Reformation because it was painted 28 feet (8.5 metres) from the ground. It had been covered by limewash, and although part of the painting was

discovered in the 19th century, it has just been completely uncovered. The painting is remarkable for its size and detail. It was probably painted in the 15th century, over an earlier picture.

The Last Judgement was a favourite topic in the mediaeval period; it warned the congregation of their eternal fate. In graphic detail the painting shows that even monks and kings could be condemned to damnation. The dead are shown climbing out of their tombs under images of saints and angels. On the north side of the wall are the Blessed and on the south side are the Damned.



*Revealed for the first time since they were hidden by limewash during the Reformation, the Blessed and the Damned stare down from the walls of a church in Cambridgeshire. Artists of the highest calibre painted the detailed expressions on the faces of the dead, showing that this is an important painting of the Last Judgement.*



# NEWS

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## Mediaeval Ornamental Landscapes

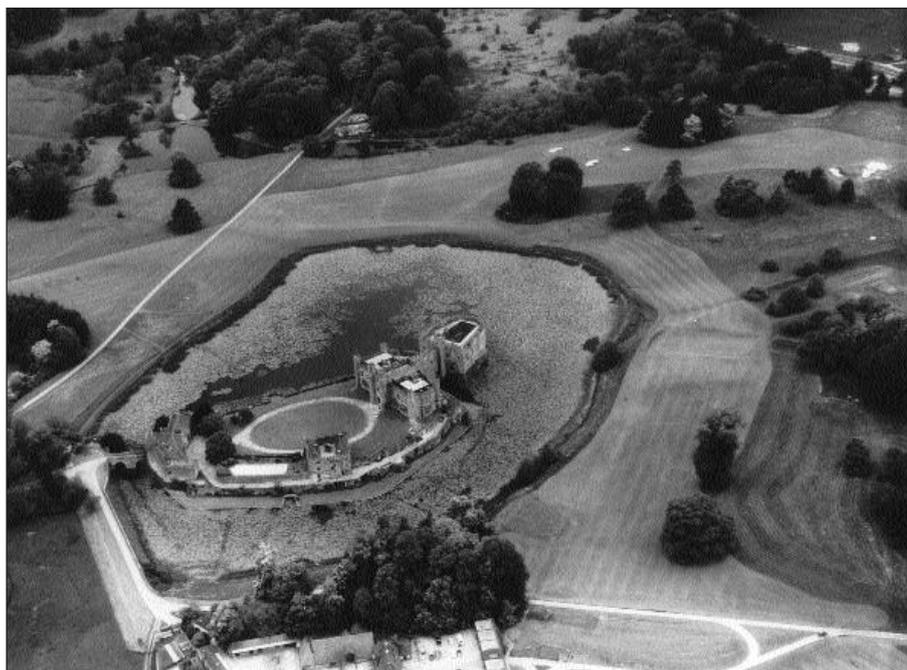
Christopher Taylor, one of our leading landscape archaeologists, asks readers for help in suggesting possible mediaeval ornamental landscapes in Kent, he writes:

'We are used to thinking that ornamental landscapes, comprising specially constructed lakes, broad areas of grassland with shelter belts, copses and individual trees, were an introduction in the 18th century, created by famous landscape gardeners such as 'Capability' Brown and Humphrey Repton. But one of the most exciting recent advances in mediaeval archaeology has

association with castles, major manor houses and even monasteries and has established that they range in date from at least the 12th century to the 15th century. These mediaeval parklands clearly were intended to enhance the settings of the buildings that lay within them and the status of their owners, and also to afford pastimes such as hunting, boating, fishing, riding and even picnicking. Re-examination of mediaeval documents has shown that descriptions of such landscapes exist but hitherto have not been recognised as such. Certainly by the 15th century

gardens were sometimes being accurately portrayed by continental artists.

'Such landscapes have been found all over England, from Sussex and Hampshire in the south, across the Midlands, East Anglia and the Marches to as far north as County Durham. Others are known from France, However, as yet only two have been recognised in Kent, those at Leeds and Scotney Castles. The landscape at Leeds seems to have been created by Edward I, probably for his wife, Eleanor of Castile, perhaps in the 1280s. It includes the gloriette or viewing tower at the north end of the castle, its surrounding lake, the archaeological remains of other ponds and water features, and the site of another



*An aerial photograph of Leeds Castle from the south-east. To the right of the castle can be seen the remains of four or five large ponds disappearing into the trees and*

*bushes. These would have formed a curved line of water which was only visible from the Gloriette in the Castle. No doubt also utilised as fish ponds.*

been the discovery of similar landscapes of mediaeval date. Of course, the trees no longer survive, but the archaeological remains of lakes and ponds are still there, as are the sites of lodges, viewing platforms and even associated gardens, all usually set within contemporary deer parks.

'An article in the new journal *Landscapes* (vol. 1, no. 1, April 2002, pp. 38-55) has described the discovery of these landscapes, noted their

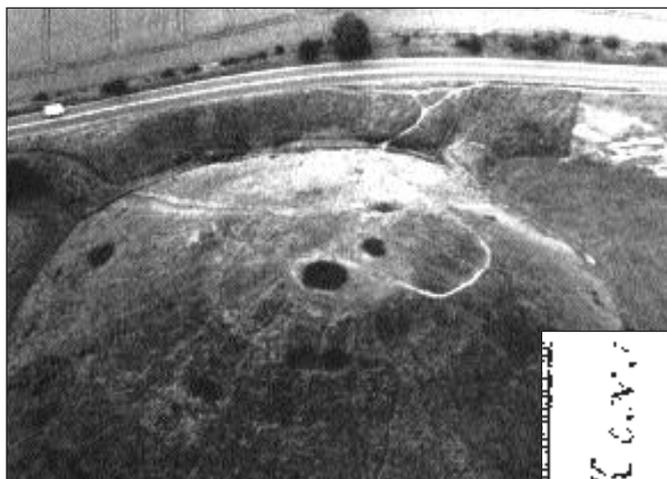
possible tower, all set within the mediaeval deer park. The landscape at Scotney, with its moats and ponds, must date from the late 14th century.

'Surely there must be other mediaeval ornamental landscapes in Kent. Just beyond its boundaries lies Bodiam Castle, also of the late 14th century. Can the readers of *Practical Archaeology* come up with any other suggestions for possible sites in Kent?'

# NEWS

## Silbury Hill: Report results

In last issue of *Practical Archaeology* we reported on the large hole that had suddenly appeared in the top of the artificial mound called Silbury Hill in May 2000. English Heritage has suggested that it may be connected with a shaft dug in 1776 for the Duke of Northumberland. Unfortunately, other shafts have also been dug; the Archaeological Institute dug a shaft in 1849 which was re-opened and extended by the BBC in 1968. Inspection by English Heritage has revealed there is now a large cavity some 13 metres (42.6 feet) in depth, which has caused concerns about the stability of the hill.



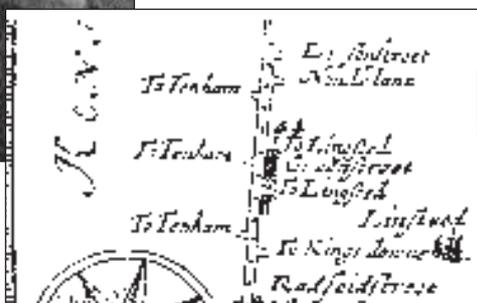
English Heritage commissioned specialist contractors to survey the hill using resistivity, radar, magnetometry and electrical surveys. On the summit this survey showed a number of anomalies, which were sampled by a small excavation. A substantial chalk wall c. 2.3 metres (7.5 feet) wide was revealed in one trench. Lying against the wall was part of a red deer antler that provided two radiocarbon dates, calibrated to Cal 2490–2340 BC. The artefacts found in the rest of the excavation came from different periods, including a Beaker sherd, a Roman coin and mediaeval pottery and metal work.

After the crater was stabilised by infilling with polystyrene blocks, a seismic survey began. It is investigating deep inside the hill and should produce results soon. We await with interest the news of the ongoing work by English Heritage.

## Roman Roads were really Green!

Brigantium Reconstruction Centre, just north of Hadrian's Wall, carries out various practical tests to help answer some of the questions archaeologists ask about Roman life in the north. In one reconstruction a section of Roman road was re-laid. The stones were taken from an excavation at Dere Street, and the dimensions of the road were copied from this site.

The finished replica road consisted of tightly packed cobbles, making a perfect surface. Over



'Green Street' is a common name found along Roman roads. The examples illustrated (left and above) are on Watling Street just west of Faversham. It was long supposed to show the state of the abandoned Roman road in the Anglo-Saxon period.

the next three years, time and the weather began to take their toll. Even though the road was continually used by visitors to the site, which was grazed by sheep, grass began to grow in the gaps between the cobbles. The road is now covered by grass and a layer of earth is also building up. It will eventually become a green lawn.

The replica road may help archaeologists to understand finds in the layer of earth above the cobbled stone surface. Until now, the hypothesis was that the many Roman coins found on the road surface could not have been dropped whilst the road was in use, as they could have been seen and picked up. Now it is clear they could have been hidden from view in the grass on the road.

# NEWS

## The Ringlemere Cup

A gold cup, dating from the time of Stonehenge, was found by a metal detectorist pillaging a ploughed-out burial mound in Kent. Cliff Bradshaw, a retired electrician from Broadstairs, dug up the cup from 18 inches (45.7 cm) beneath the surface last November whilst scanning the remains of a barrow for treasure at Ringlemere Farm in Woodnesborough, near Sandwich. The

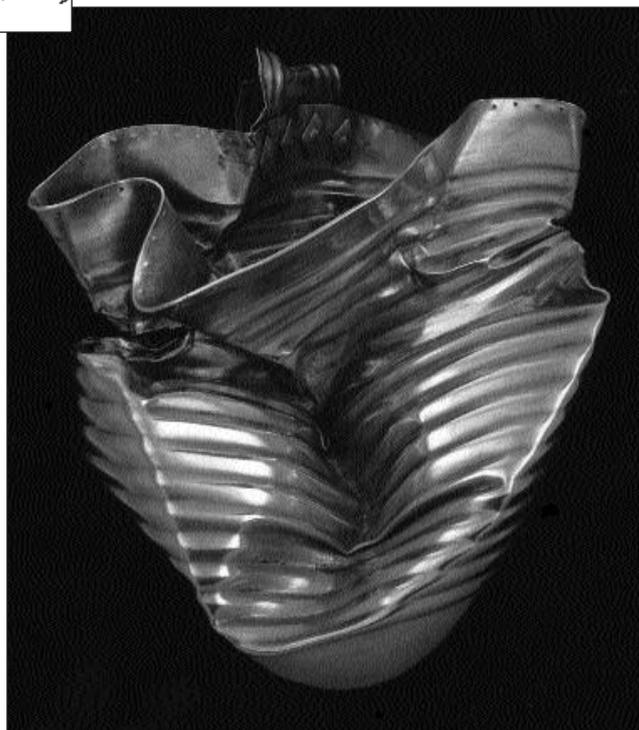


*The Bronze Age gold cup was found at Ringlemere Farm in Kent (left). The name, which dates from the 8th century, means 'rings by a pond', which describes exactly the location of the ring barrows.*

barrow, which stands on a ridge, included six grave sites in a circle 35 metres (114.75 feet) across. It is now being excavated by English Heritage contractors in a search for further discoveries.

Archaeologists have already found human bone fragments with flint tools and pottery, which indicates the site dates from about 5000 BC. The gold cup, and presumably its owner, a Bronze Age chieftain, were buried there

between 1700 BC and 1500 BC. The cup is 80 per cent gold with about 10 per cent silver and a small amount of other materials, it is 6 inches (15.2 cm) high and 4 inches (10 cm) in diameter. Beaten from a single sheet of gold, the cup is embossed with a ripple design and has broad handles attached by rivets with lozenge-shaped washers.



David Miles, Chief Archaeologist of English Heritage, said that the discovery was of international importance. 'This is a very sophisticated piece of metalwork. It is the mark of an advanced society that had developed some very precise skills. It is very nicely made, with an elaborate rippled effect from the beating process. It must have been owned by someone of the highest status: this seems to have been the place where the warrior aristocracy, the important local chieftains, were buried. This burial mound would have been quite imposing on the ridge above a village.'

David Miles went on to say: 'We have known about similar settlements in Wessex but not in Kent; that doesn't mean they're not there: you can see the burial mounds in Wessex but in Kent they

have been flattened by centuries of ploughing for agriculture. The countryside was starting to become very densely populated at this time.'

The only gold cup of similar age and design is the undamaged Rillaton cup dug from a burial mound in Cornwall in 1837. It was found alongside a human skeleton, and although on display in the British Museum, it belongs to the Crown. It is even said that King George V used to keep his shirt collar studs in it. The Ringlemere cup is similar

in design to the Rillaton cup, but the Kent cup is larger and has a curved rather than a flat base. The cup is in the British Museum until its future is decided by a coroner's court. If declared treasure under the 1996 Treasure Act it will be valued, and, if sold, the proceeds will be divided between the landowner and the finder.

# FIELD SCHOOL NEWS

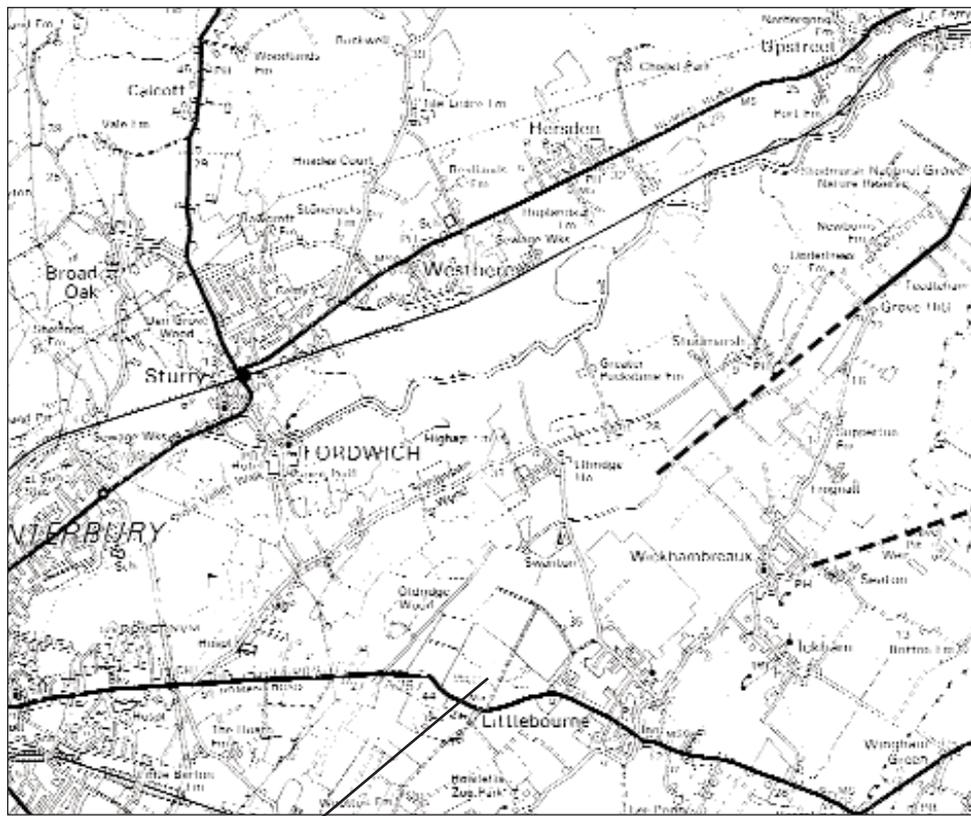
## The Roman Road to Richborough

Last year, students of the Field School spent three days in the field exploring possible routes of the lost Roman road that ran from Canterbury to Richborough. Research has continued throughout the winter months and, subject to verification by further fieldwork and excavation, not only has the route been located, but a direct link to the Roman fort at Reculver established.

It can be proved that the 'Roman Road' marked on Ordnance Survey maps alongside the A257 at Wingham is incorrect and the road there dates from the possible toll improvements of c. 1797. All the Roman roads in Kent serving Rochester, Dover, Upchurch and Lympne run in straight surveyed sections, changing alignment at high points. The Roman road to Richborough is no different; it runs straight from Canterbury through Pine Wood and Ickham to a high point just to the north of Britton Farm and crosses the Wingham river just south of Snake Island. The road continues north of Broom Hill, passing a newly discovered Roman site on a hill overlooking the road (see Issue No. 5). This section is straight from Canterbury to north of Wingham. The road then turns slightly north, picking up the road which leads into Ash. The evidence has been gathered from fieldwork, including ground-penetrating radar, and the close study of aerial photographs, which show some 15% of this section of the route.

The Roman road from Richborough connects to Reculver via Grove Road where aerial photography shows, quite dramatically, the Roman road continuing past Wickhambreaux, across the fields at Grove Ferry, then crossing the Stour river and connecting to the known Roman road north-east of Upstreet. There, a connection would be made with the Roman road leading north to Reculver.

This connection by Roman road between the Roman forts of Richborough and Reculver was an obvious development of the Roman road system that had not previously been located. Another major branch of the road, found by fieldwork, heads south of Wickhambreaux, passes the Roman water mills at Ickham, climbs Wenderton Hill by an incline and continues to Preston Court as a green road, now a public footpath. But its route from there has still to be resolved by fieldwork.



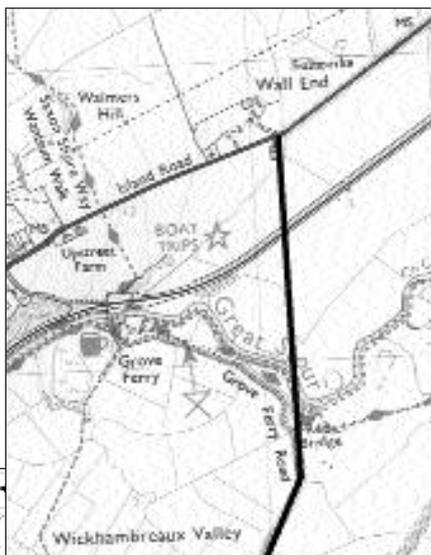
*The route of the Roman road on its eastwards journey to Richborough disappears in Pine Wood. OS surveyors reported in 1960 that the agger of the Roman road could clearly be seen in the wood, with a branch to the north-east.*

*This route has now been confirmed by the discovery of the Roman road heading to Grove Ferry and Upstreet.*

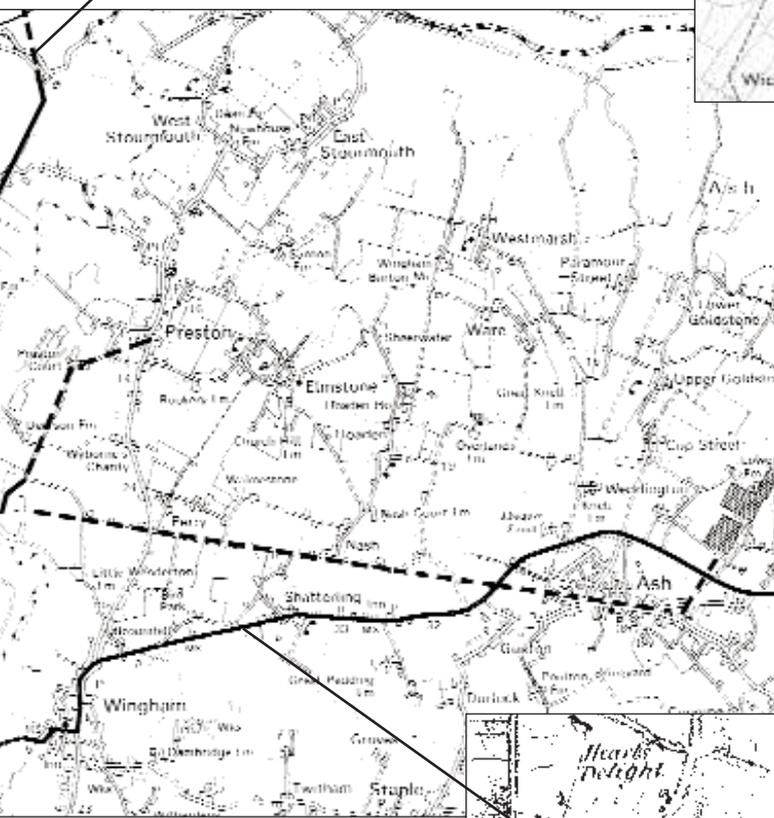


*The aerial photograph (above) shows the possible main Roman road continuing east to pass north of Wingham.*

# FIELD SCHOOL NEWS

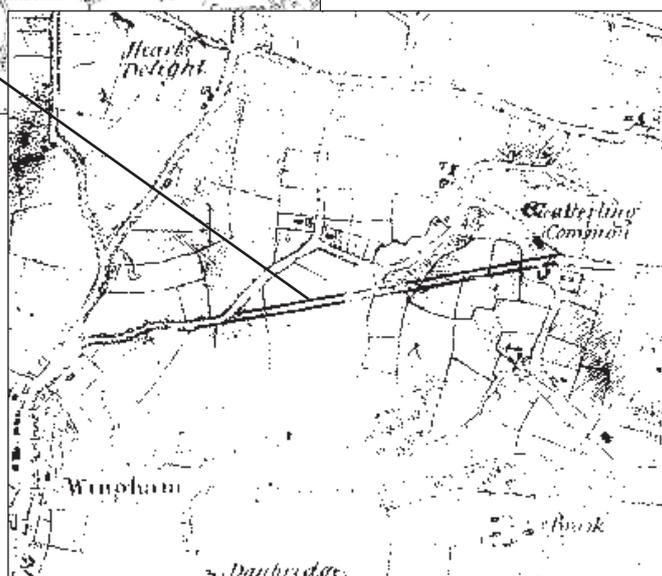


The 'missing link' of the connecting Roman road from Richborough to Reculver is shown in the aerial photograph (far left). The Roman road runs from Wall End due south and joins the Grove Ferry Road at Red Bridge. This Roman road continues to Ickham in straight alignments changing direction on high points at Parsonage Farm and Grove Hill. It sits on the south-east side of a spur of land some 20 metres (6.5 feet) above the surrounding marshes.



The road to Richborough most likely changed alignment on numerous occasions in the 400 years of Roman control. One factor which will have affected its route was the dramatic change to higher sea levels in the later Roman period. This would have affected most of the bridges, fords and river crossings. It is possible the landscape was heavily populated and farmed from villa estates. If this is the case then numerous Roman side roads would have utilised the main route to the forts and towns of Richborough and Reculver.

The Roman road passed to the north of Ickham, crossed the Wingham river by a bridge, which has been located on aerial photographs, and joined the Nash road to Ash. Three miles of this road is a parish boundary, the only such example in this part of Kent. The road then may fork to Cop Street and joins the Roman coast road to Richborough at Cooper Street.



The modern OS map clearly shows a straight section of road leading east out of Wingham and labelled 'Roman Road'. Dr J.D. Ogilvie in 1960, investigating a pipeline trench in the area, found no Roman road and remarked on the presence of mediaeval pottery below the road to the east of Wingham (the A257).

The c. 1797 OS surveyors' drawing (left) shows that what is now considered the Roman road is in fact proposed 18th-century road improvements which were then carried out.

# FIELD SCHOOL NEWS

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## Roman Fields Surveyed

One of the holy grails of Romano-British archaeology is to prove beyond reasonable doubt an example of centuriation in Britain.

This April the Field School held a course on 'Identifying Field Systems' and we spent two days with a large number of students measuring the fields in the vicinity of Deerton Street Roman villa with replica Roman survey chains (ours were in rope!). It came as no surprise that the fields did indeed measure up in the *actus*, but the greater surprise was to find that the field — now modern housing plots — to the south of the Roman villa was divided into North German perches of 15 German feet (16.5 imperial feet, 5.03 metres).

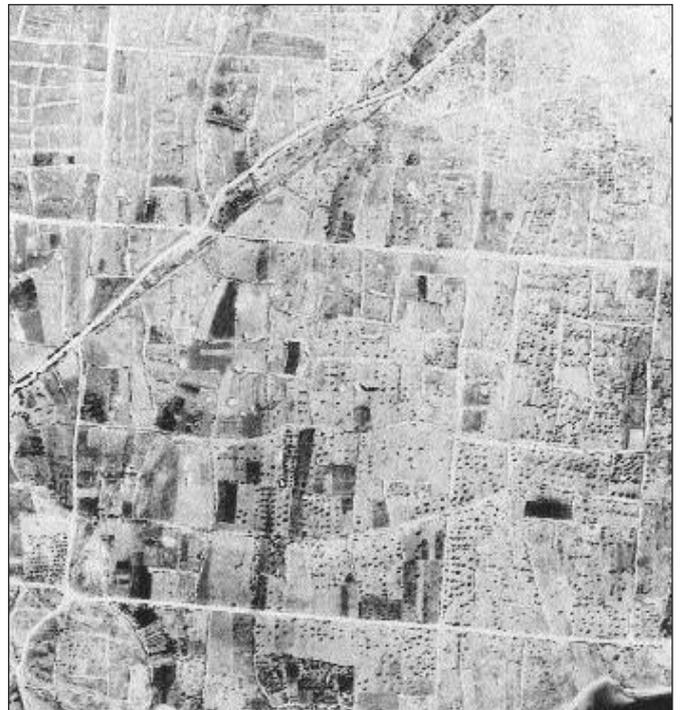
Cartographic research found that the field (incidentally its boundaries to the north and west are 7th-century parish boundaries) had been divided this way among many owners from at least the mid-17th century. This could suggest that the land around the Roman villa had been partitioned with early German measurements into home plots for incoming 5th-century Germans. Such a scenario is not unknown in France or Belgium, and 5th-century Frankish and Anglo-Saxon pottery has been excavated from Deerton Street Roman villa site.

### Roman Estates

On Roman provincial estates the fundamental superficial land measure was the *actus*. It was 120 Roman feet long and 4 Roman feet (2 furrows) wide. Various combinations of this unit were arranged either horizontally or vertically depending on the type of agricultural operations being performed, the size of the work force and the peculiarities of local topography. For instance, 30 such *acti* laid out in a horizontal pattern produced a square *actus*, or *actus quadrates*, a piece of land 120 by 120 Roman feet. The unit thus formed will consist of a square of 2,400 by 2,400 Roman feet (776 by 776 yards, 710 by 710 metres). This unit was ideally suited for small farming operations. A double *actus quadratus* made a *jugerum*, originally a day's work for a yoke of oxen. When this most commonly used land parcel was doubled in size a *bina jugera*, or *heredium*, was

produced. It was about 25% larger than the modern acre in Britain.

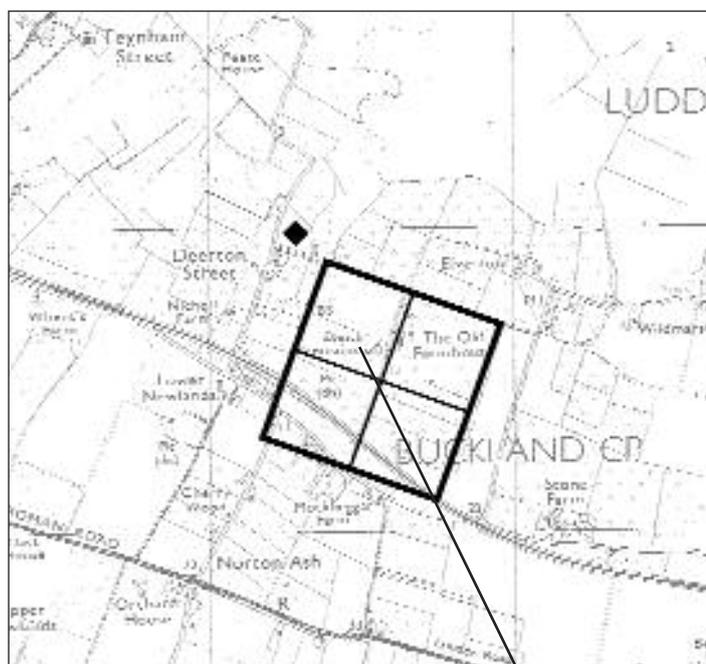
These measures were used in Britain during the Roman period and beyond. One has only to read Gildas to learn that Roman measurements were still in use in the West Country during the 6th century. However, one of the principal reasons why the Roman foot stopped being employed was that the Anglo-Saxons continued to use their traditional agricultural field divisions after their arrival in Britain. In ploughing, Saxons worked a section of land that consisted of 40 rods in length (the furlong) and 4 rods in width. This parcel of 160 square rods, or 36,000 square feet (3,348 square metres), was the acre and is exactly the same size as the modern English acre. At Deerton Street, survey has proved that there is a Roman measured field framework subdivided by pre-Norman Conquest German perches.



The aerial photograph (above) is of Zadar in Dalmatia and shows land division in units of 20 by 20 *actus* preserved in the stone wall built along the boundary tracks.

Throughout the Roman Empire, evidence is accumulating of provincial estates laid out using the 20-*actus* module. It is no longer considered just the preserve of *colonia*.

# FIELD SCHOOL NEWS



**R**oman land measurements were: Actus, a measurement of length of 120 Roman feet (1 Roman foot=11.6 inches or 29.57 cm).

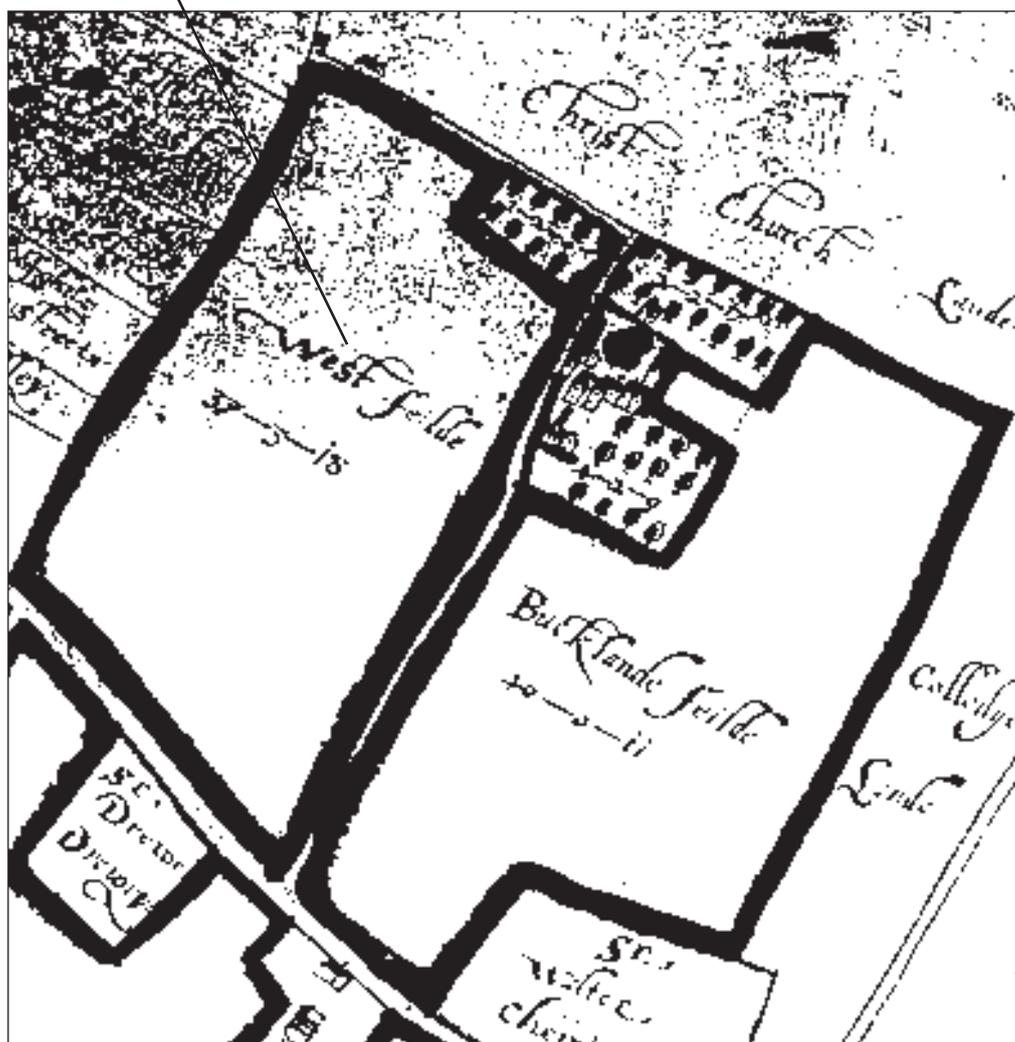
Actus quadratus, an area 120 Roman feet square (14,400 square feet; 1,339.2 square metres), or half a iugerum; also known as acua or fundus.

Centuria, a unit of land division created by the intersection at right angles of four limites, often measuring 20 actus square and containing 200 iugera (50.4 ha); named 'century' because in early Rome each traditionally contained 100 allotments of 2 iugera. An iugerum consisted of two square actus (240 x 120 feet).

The map (right) shows land holdings in 1645 at Deerton Street. Of particular interest is West field and Buckland field (outlined in a contemporary thick black line). They are about 20 actus square and preserve in the field boundaries the Roman surveyed fields of the adjacent Roman villa.

At the top left can be seen individual landowners' names. These plots are measured in German perches of 15 German (or Anglo-Saxon) feet and fit within the larger Roman fields.

The modern map (above) shows the location of the Deerton Roman villa (denoted by a diamond) in relation to the surrounding fields. Survey has indicated that some 25% of all modern field boundaries in the area are the residue of Roman surveyed fields using the 20-actus measure. This is one of the few examples in Britain of Roman field survey.



# FIELD SCHOOL NEWS

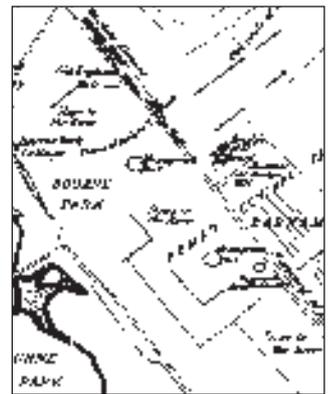
## Discovering Archaeological Sites

On May 4, 5, 6 we held a course called 'Discovering Archaeological Sites', which focused on the ways in which archaeological sites are discovered and excavated. We looked at the various techniques used to pinpoint sites, including field walking and the analysis of aerial photographs and early maps. During the three days of the course, students had an opportunity to survey and test trench an interesting hexagonal feature on Star Hill just to the north-east of Bridge in Kent. The Sites and Monuments Record suggests it is a 'probable WW2 military installation' but map research shows that it had been surveyed by F. T. Vine in 1887 for his book *Caesar in Kent*. In fact, two such hexagonal features are shown on Vine's map some 400 yards (365 metres) apart.

We returned to the site for our course on 'The Study of Roman Roads' in June and excavated a section across the Roman road which had been located by our geophysical survey running alongside the modern road just above the hexagonal feature.



*The hexagonal feature (above) is a ditched and banked enclosure measuring some 100 Roman feet across (29.4 metres). It is most likely Roman and could be associated with a cremation or burial. The ditch was cut and infilled almost immediately.*



*The Roman road surface survives in poor condition, but the Roman scooped-out ditch and layers of cambered chalk and flint/gravel are very well preserved.*

*To the south and beyond the scheduled barrows, a test trench revealed hundreds of Neolithic/Bronze Age flint tools and debitage identified by R. J. MacRae and T. Hardaker as a 'Factory Site'. This is reinforced by the numerous Bronze Age and Iron Age pottery sherds found.*

*Vine's map of 1887 (above) shows the hexagonal feature quite clearly as does the aerial photograph (left). It sits on top of a hill overlooking the Bourne Valley.*



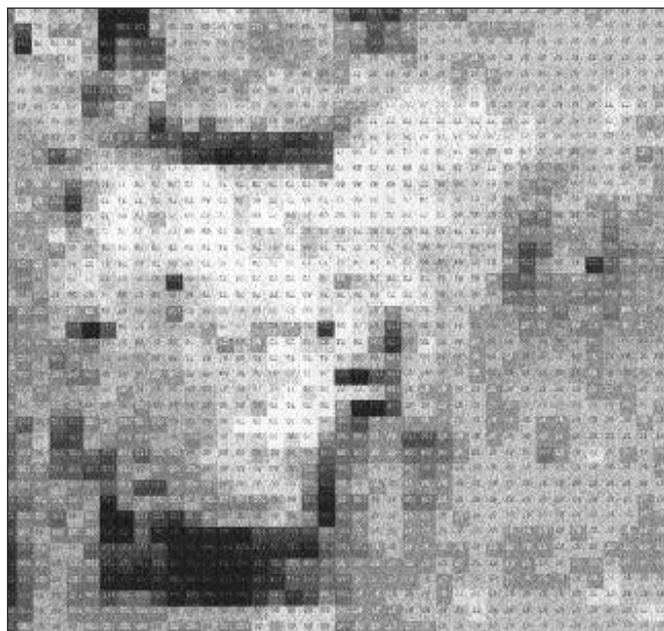
# FIELD SCHOOL NEWS

## Easter Excavation at Teynham

A large area of the archbishops of Canterbury's manor house at Teynham was excavated over the Easter holidays by numerous Field School students. Kentish ragstone walls and foundations were revealed suggesting that there was a substantial stone structure floored with 13th-century decorated tiles. The roof was covered in clay peg tiles in two colours, yellow and red, some of which were glazed. The Field School located the building three years ago with field walking and geophysical survey (right).

Documentary evidence from 1376 indicates that the building complex included two grange barns, one for corn, one for barley. A cloister, great hall, squire's chamber, vine tenderer's house, watermill, vineyard, saffron garden are all included in the itemised accounts. The earliest records are from 1185, when Archbishop Baldwin was in residence. In 1205 Archbishop Hubert Walter, who was renowned for his almost royal establishment, visited the manor house. He died at the manor house on 13 July in the presence of the Bishop of Rochester and both entourages. In 1279 Archbishop John Peckham wrote to Queen Eleanor, wife of Edward I, that he had 'built a very beautiful Chapel at Teynham which you will be pleased with when you pass this way'.

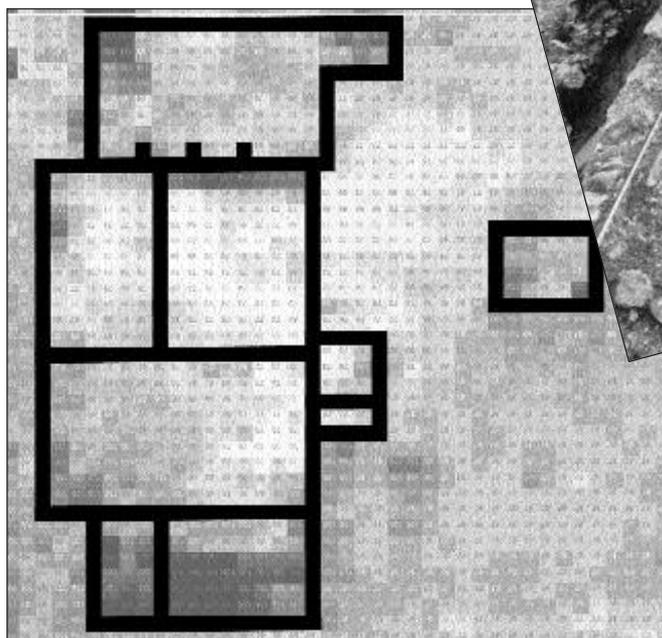
*The archbishops of Canterbury's summer residence (right) has been discovered some 200 metres (219 yards) to the north of the church at Teynham. Documentary evidence suggests the building's development started in the 12th century. Archaeological investigation shows that the manor house was built of Kentish ragstone with windows in carved Caen stone and glazed with stained glass. The floors were paved with decorated glazed tiles and the walls plastered with lime mortar, which was decorated with red and ochre pigment.*



*Geophysical survey (above) shows a buried building of some 40 by 30 metres (131 x 98 feet).*



*Excavation at Easter on the manor house site revealed substantial Kentish ragstone walls which still survived below the turf. The photograph (above) shows a section of the surviving south foundation wall with the demolished building material filling the mediaeval cellar.*



# THE ROMAN INVASION OF AD 43: THE KENT CASE

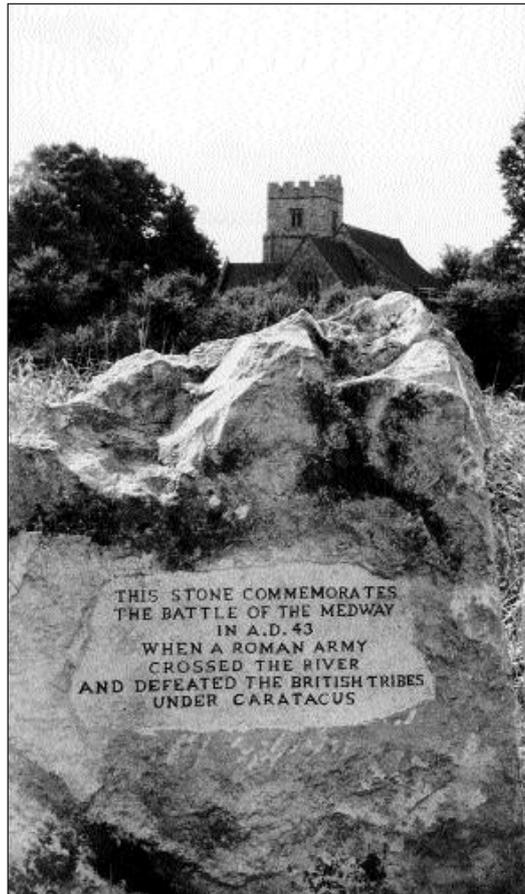
*Nigel Nicolson argues the case that the landing site of the Claudian invasion of Britain in AD 43 must have been in Kent*

During the past few years a controversy has slowly been gaining momentum concerning the site of D-Day in AD 43. Kent people assume that the Romans landed at Richborough; Sussex people say they landed near Chichester. Admittedly, a certain county bias affects this discussion. At a conference called in October 1999 by the Sussex Archaeological Society the audience voted overwhelmingly for Sussex. At the Faversham seminar convened by the Council for Kentish Archaeology in April 2001 the voting was 300 to 5 for Kent.

## The Case for Debate

In this summary of the controversy, I will endeavour to present the evidence fairly, but must first declare an interest as the organizer, with Tom La Dell, of a monument which we raised in 1998 on the east bank of the Medway opposite Snodland church. It bears this inscription:

*This stone commemorates  
the battle of the Medway  
in AD 43  
when a Roman army  
crossed the river  
and defeated the British tribes  
under Caratacus*



*The Medway monument, set up on the banks of the river Medway in 1998 to commemorate the crossing of the river by the Roman army in AD 43.*

The monument was co-sponsored by the Kent Archaeological Society and the Maidstone Museum, and the inscription was worded with the help of the county archaeologist, Dr John Williams. Alongside the stone was mounted an explanatory board which described, with maps, the course of the campaign.

The monument and board were erected in March 1998. A few months later, Professor Barry Cunliffe of Oxford, in his new history of the Fishbourne Roman Palace, wrote that there was a 'compelling case' for suggesting that the main Roman landing was not in Kent but in the Solent area, with its focus on Chichester. What better place, he asked, could there be for the invasion to begin than 'in the heart of Verica's territory, where the Romans might

expect a friendly reception?' Verica was a minor British princeling who had been exiled to Rome by his own subjects. Would the Romans receive a friendly welcome if they attempted to restore him? But Cunliffe concluded that it would make 'good strategic and political sense'.

This statement, from so formidable a scholar, caused consternation among the backers of our Medway monument. Had we put it in the wrong place? We began to examine afresh the evidence which had convinced historians from Haverfield to Peter Salway that the Romans landed in east

Kent and fought their major battle on the banks of the River Medway.

### A Battle on the Medway?

The first argument for Kent is that the Roman commander, Aulus Plautius, would have chosen the shortest possible invasion route across the Channel from Boulogne. His fleet was huge, amounting to about 1,000 ships carrying four legions with their auxiliaries, horses and impedimenta. They needed a base in Britain which would have rapid communications with France and afford a large deep-water harbour with easy access inland. Such a base was Richborough, which lay above a channel of the sea, the Wantsum. It has long been known that a double-ditch cut off the peninsula, dated by pottery and coins to the reign of Claudius, and it has been suggested by Brian Philp that it is the remaining site of a vast camp, large enough to accommodate the entire army.

Richborough is the first and most important footprint that the invasion has left us; there are others. First, at Syndale near Faversham the Kent Archaeological Field School has discovered a small Roman fort, underlying Watling Street, which is datable to the same period. Secondly, in 1957 a hoard of golden Roman coins was found at Bredgar, near Sittingbourne, the latest minted in AD 42. It is reasonable to presume that it was deposited by an officer in anticipation of a battle that he did not survive. Thirdly, at Eccles, within a quarter-mile of the Medway, the late Dr Detsicas excavated a Roman villa and found beneath it Roman military ditches of the same period. The ditches had been left open a very short time, and it is unlikely that the Romans would have sited a fort there except in connection with a crossing of the river in AD 43.

Our chief classical authority for the invasion is the Greek historian Cassius Dio, who wrote some 150 years after the event, and seems to have based his narrative on contemporary campaign reports and the lost books of Tacitus' Annals. He tells us

that Aulus Plautius, after some minor skirmishes with the natives, came to a river which ran south of the Thames across the line of the Roman advance. It was wide, rapidly flowing, perhaps tidal, and the Britons were so confident that the Romans could not cross it without a bridge, that they assembled their forces 'rather carelessly', says Dio, on the far bank. Plautius attacked in two directions. First he sent a cohort of Batavians to swim the river and cripple the British chariots. Next he ordered Vespasian, the future Emperor, to find a crossing further upstream, and lead his legion, later augmented to two legions, to attack the Britons on their other flank. It is my belief that he crossed by the Snodland ford, where we have

placed our monument. There followed a two-day battle in which the Romans were victorious. The Britons retreated across the Thames, to be pursued by the legions now under the command of the Emperor Claudius in person, who joined the army for the capture of Camulodunum (Colchester), the main tribal capital in the south-east.

The literary, archaeological and topographical evidence all point to a Kentish campaign with its decisive battle on the Medway. We must now examine the alternative theory, that the main body of Roman forces

landed in the Solent near Chichester.

### A Roman Invasion near Chichester

First, let us consider the difficulty of transporting so vast an army to the Solent. Gerald Grainge, the foremost authority on this aspect of the controversy, has estimated that the voyage would have taken between two-and-a-half and three days, given the contrary tides and prevailing wind. What Roman general would have chosen this route, which had been largely abandoned since Julius Caesar defeated the Veneti, when he had the shorter, easier and better-known route to the Kent coast?

Moreover, if Plautius had disembarked his army near Chichester, he would have put it at a



*Nigel Nicolson, standing by the Medway monument. Behind and on the eastern bank of the river can be seen the church at Snodland. There was once a ferry across the Medway at Snodland, used by Belloc, who claims also to have seen a hard-bottomed ford.*

double disadvantage. First, the fleet would have had no further role in south Sussex. As the army advanced inland, it would have been unsupported, compared to the ease of reinforcement and supply through the Thames and Medway estuaries if the campaign had been directed through Kent. No general of his experience would have been guilty of such a strategic error.

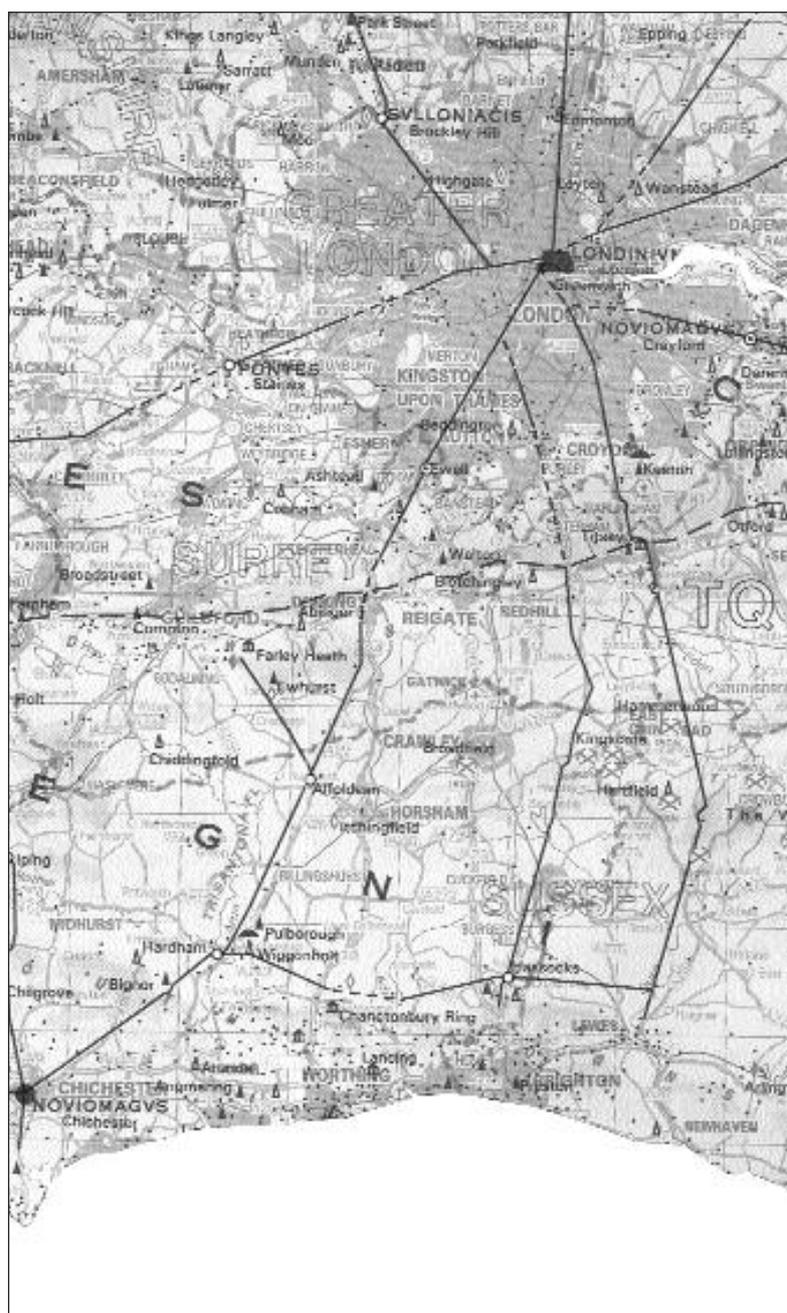
Secondly, he would not have landed his army at a point where it was separated from its ultimate objective, Camulodunum, by the impenetrable forest of the Weald.

### Combat in the Weald

J. F. Hind, who was the first to argue the case for a Sussex landing, assumed that the army would have little difficulty in marching through the Weald, and Cunliffe seems to agree. Both historians place the two-day battle on the Arun. When we examine the condition of the Weald in the 1st century, both assumptions seem untenable. According to Frank Jessup, the deep clay and tangled forest had always made the Weald an impassable barrier to movement across it. Ivan Margery, the authority on Roman roads in the south-east, supposed that there may have been a few east-west tracks along the ridges, but none south-north. Cleere and Crossley, in *The Iron Industry in the Weald*, assert that the western Weald was left untouched until Tudor times.

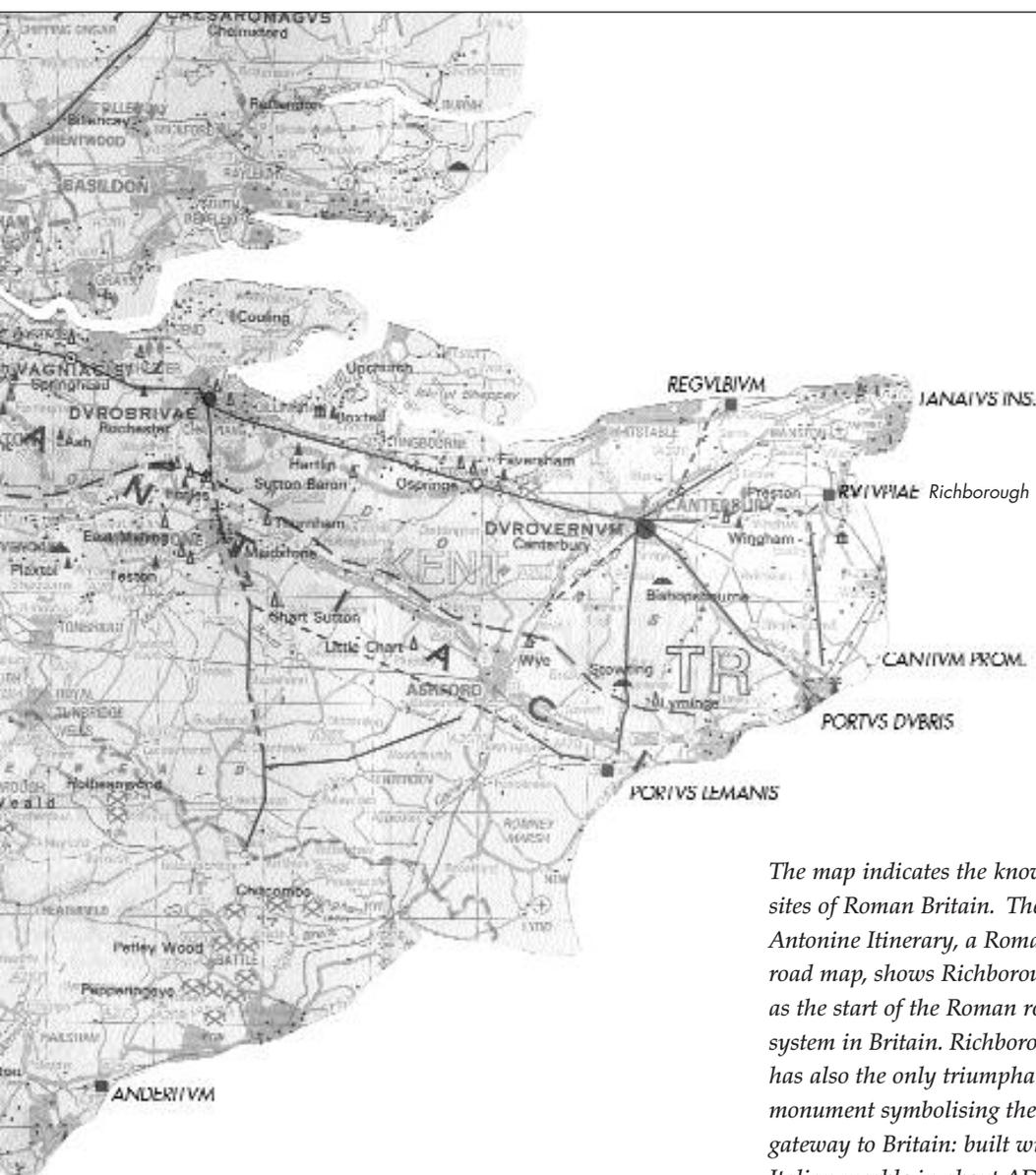
Significantly, Dr David Bird, a foremost supporter of the Sussex landing, in his article on the Claudian invasion in the *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* (19.1 2000), concludes that 'a crossing of the Weald would have been out of the question'. He suggests that the Romans skirted it to the west, and fought the two-day battle on the Wey and the Mole, a long way from the estuary of the Thames.

Senior Roman commanders would have remembered how, in AD 9, Varus lost his three legions in the Thuringian forest because there was no room for manoeuvre. How much greater the difficulties would have been in the Weald. The Arun is not the formidable river that Dio describes. It is narrow enough to be bridged by felling tall trees on both banks, but if, as proposed, the Romans crossed it near Pulborough, the battle would take place in dense forest, impossible terrain with cavalry on the Roman side and chariots on the British. After victory, the Romans



would have to force their way with wheeled vehicles across swamps and fallen thickets. The quick dash to the Thames estuary, which Dio describes, would have been impossible.

There is one argument on which the pro-Sussex school have relied. Dio tells us that in its initial advance to the river, Plautius accepted the surrender of part of the Bodunni, a tribe usually equated with the Dobunni whose territory was centred on Cirencester. As this is a long way from Chichester, Hind supposed that a flying column was detached from the main army to conquer this remote province. If so, why did only 'part of' the Dobunni surrender, as Dio says? Could he not mean a detachment which had enlisted under Caratacus in Kent?



The map indicates the known sites of Roman Britain. The Antonine Itinerary, a Roman road map, shows Richborough as the start of the Roman road system in Britain. Richborough has also the only triumphal monument symbolising the gateway to Britain: built with Italian marble in about AD 80-90. What better way to celebrate the site of the Roman Invasion?

Two possible main routes of the Roman invading armies of Claudius are usually considered: from Rutupiae (Richborough) to Camulodunum (Colchester) via the rivers' Medway and the estuary of the Thames or from the Fishbourne area to the estuary of the river Thames.

Most historians agree that the Fishbourne route would have to pass through the Weald, an area of trackless wood and bogs and avoided by travellers well into the 18th century. It seems unlikely that a Roman commander would risk an army in such a difficult area. The ambush and annihilation in the woods of Germany of the Roman legions of Varus in AD 9 made a deep impression on Roman commanders: they were unlikely to want to repeat the scenario of that disaster.

If the Roman army had landed in the Fishbourne/Chichester area where are the Roman camps? In Kent the huge Claudian bridgehead at Richborough cannot be lightly dismissed. It is the only positive Roman invasion camp, which has not been repeated anywhere in Sussex.

But say that Hind's hypothesis is correct, and that the bulk of the Roman army remained round Chichester preparing to march through the Weald. What would they have been doing? What would they have done in any case on first setting foot ashore? They would have constructed a vast stockaded camp, as they did at Richborough. No such fortifications have been found at Fishbourne. There are only minor unfortified buildings which could be associated with Vespasian's subsequent conquest of the west. In short, a survey of the area and the Weald has discovered no footprints of a Sussex invasion such as we find in Kent.

Does it really matter? Yes, I think it does. The Roman invasion of Britain was an event of supreme importance in our national history, and

the river battle, wherever it took place, was the most decisive of all battles on British soil except Hastings, since it led directly to the Roman occupation of Britain for the next 350 years. We need to know as much as possible about it, not solely as an academic exercise, but for the same reasons that we wish to know what happened at Naseby and Waterloo. If the Sussex hypothesis were to prevail, it would be necessary to rewrite the first chapter of all histories of Britain, all school text-books, all local guidebooks.

Formidable new evidence is required to overturn the consensus of every scholar until Hind that D-Day lay in Kent. I do not believe that this evidence has yet been forthcoming, or that it is likely to be found.

# THE ROMAN INVASION OF AD 43: THE SUSSEX CASE

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*David Bird discusses the historical sources and archaeological evidence for the Roman invasion of Britain by Claudius in AD 43 and proposes a case for a Sussex landing*

John Hind's 1989 *Britannia* article was a timely reminder that it is actually no more than a hypothesis that the Roman invasion of Britain was carried out by a landing in Kent. He makes a good case for a landing in the harbours behind the Isle of Wight instead. If we then consider what would have happened after such a landing, it can be seen that the western route actually makes more sense.

There is only sufficient space to develop the arguments briefly here (some of them are treated more fully in my paper for the *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 19.1, 2000), and it will be necessary to take somewhat for granted a knowledge of the standard theory of the invasion and the available evidence.

**Sources and Evidence for the Invasion of AD 43**  
Historical sources are limited to a short narrative by Cassius Dio with a few passing references by other authors; archaeological evidence is not much help because of the need for very precise dating. Using standard methods we cannot hope to be closer than five or ten years in our dating, unless we have the bonus of finding waterlogged wood able to provide secure dating by dendrochronology, as at Alchester.

These are the key points from Dio (quotations are from Hind's translation): Aulus Plautius leads an expedition to Britain. Someone called Berikos (we assume this is Verica of the Atrebates) has been expelled and has persuaded Claudius to send a force. The troops are divided into three



*A coin of Verica, which shows a mounted British warrior armed with spear, sword and shield. The ousting of Verica, the king of the Atrebates, had been one of the factors in persuading Claudius to invade Britain.*

squadrons 'to avoid having an opposed landing, which might hold up a single force'. They take heart from a shooting star travelling east-west in the direction they wish to travel. They land without opposition, as the Britons have not gathered their forces. Plautius has difficulty searching out the British forces, but when he does so he defeats 'first Caratacus and then Togodumnus'. After their flight he secures the alliance of part of the Bodunni (we assume that this is the Dobunni), leaves a garrison and moves on. He comes to a river which the Britons think

the Romans cannot cross without a bridge, but the Romans get across and win a battle. The Britons retreat to the Thames 'where it empties into the Ocean and at flood-tide forms a lake'. They know how to cross but the Romans get into difficulties. However, some get across and others cross 'some way upstream by a bridge' and the Romans win again. Togodumnus is said to have died about this time. Plautius now stops and waits for Claudius, who turns up and 'joins the troops who were awaiting him by the Thames'. He crosses, defeats the enemy and takes Camulodunum (Colchester), which is described as having been 'the capital of Cunobelinus'.

## The Roman Army

One useful starting point in considering the events of AD 43 is to remember the normal behaviour of a Roman army. There is a tendency to talk of this army as some sort of machine,

operating in the same way as a modern force, but this is misleading. For a start, a considerable part of the force, including the cavalry, would be allies, sometimes very recently recruited as a tribal group. A better analogy might be with 18th-century armies, but of course without firearms — a major difference. The usual Roman plan of action was to seek out the enemy's forces and bring them to battle, which was done by striking for the enemy's main stronghold and/or food supply. One battle was usually sufficient to bring the war — or at least that year's phase of the war — to an end. There were no 'front lines' in campaigns; the well-known system of road grids and forts was for areas accepted as longer-term frontiers. Caesar even set out for Britain, in 55 BC, from a port in the territory of a tribe he had not yet conquered. In the west, the war was between the Roman army and a tribal group and it would usually end in that group surrendering and handing over hostages and tribute. Some tribes would ally themselves with the Romans from the start — British tribes sent submissions to Caesar even before he set out in 55 BC. Divisions between tribes and within tribes were all exploited.

### Supplies and Forts

Much is made of supplies in discussions of the campaign, but we know very little about how Roman armies were supplied. Caesar relied on local supplies, delivered by his allies or taken as tribute from conquered tribes. He actually gave as a reason for abandoning a campaign in Germany his belief that the Suebi did not grow crops and so he would not have sufficient food. There is also a tendency among modern writers to expect standard 'Agricolan' type forts. But some conquest-period forts in Germany are far from the standard rectangles. In Gallia Belgica the area conquered by Caesar was held for many years

afterwards by a mixture of allied chieftains and carefully placed garrisons, sometimes within the native strongholds. It is quite clear that we should not expect standard forts as part of the initial campaign.

### Sea Crossings

Some modern writers make much of the need to use a short sea crossing, but other Roman campaigns show considerable use of the sea: examples include Caesar against the Veneti; Augustus using a fleet along the northern Spanish coast; Germanicus sailing round to northern Germany. The Seine-Solent crossing was one of four crossings in regular use, according to Strabo.



*Supplies to Britain would have been transported by river and sea, as shown in Roman campaigns on Trajan's column, (above). The coin of the British*

*King Cunobelin (right), depicts the type of vessel probably involved in cross-Channel trade prior to the Roman invasion.*



It is entirely acceptable to think in terms of the Romans aiming for three good known harbours in an area likely to provide a friendly base with a good food supply, all of which implies the Solent (the arguments are well developed by Hind).

Landings in the harbours behind the Isle of Wight also better explain what Suetonius tells us about Vespasian. He is said to have conquered the island itself and defeated two tribes and captured 20 'oppida'. Although this is usually held to have taken place after the capture of Camulodunum, Suetonius implies that Vespasian took part in

Claudius' triumph, to do which he would have needed to leave Britain with the emperor. There is good evidence for early Roman military activity both at Fishbourne and Chichester, in the centre of an important corn-producing area, among allies (the area had favoured status for many years after AD 43) and well-placed for campaigns throughout southern England. It might be noted that even if Camulodunum was seen as the ultimate objective, the distance from Chichester to Colchester is not much further than that from Richborough.

Richborough is an unlikely spot for the initial landings: it was not then a known port and appears to have been on an island of dry land divided from the mainland by marsh. A causeway was needed for the road exit. Such a landing place would be potentially dangerous and was a very unhelpful place to start any land campaign. The well-known defences have a semi-permanent gate, which indicates that it was stronger than a temporary bridgehead. Also, the defences preceded the granaries of the so-called supply base, which cannot therefore be contemporary.

#### Dio's Account

The story of the river battle usually supposed to be at the Medway relies entirely on Dio and it is therefore unfair to ignore what he says. We are specifically told that Togodumnus and Caratacus were not ready, and had to gather their forces after the Roman army arrived. It will have taken them several days to reach Kent. If the Romans landed at Richborough then Plautius' infantry should have been over the Medway before the opposing forces arrived — they had no reason to wait around. Guerrilla actions will not have delayed them any more than they did Caesar, who easily reached the Verulamium area with a smaller force. He was 12 miles inland by daybreak after landing in 54 BC. Even if Plautius was uncharacteristically slow, we are told that he had put both enemy leaders to flight in actions before the river battle — after doing this, how could he have failed to cross the Medway before they had time to regather their forces?

A landing in the Chichester area makes better sense of Dio's story. He tells us that Caratacus was beaten first before the same happened to Togodumnus. Caratacus seems to have been based at Silchester, while Togodumnus probably had to come from further east, so separate defeats would make sense. A move north from Chichester to



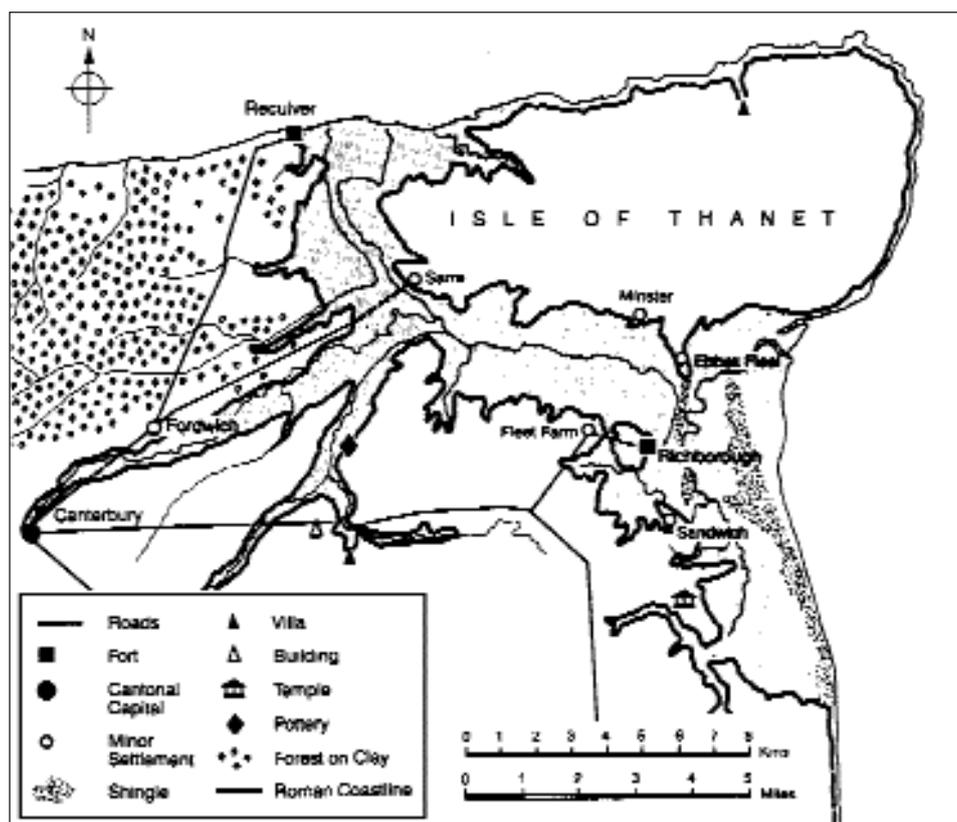
*In 1872, Dowker published a map of Richborough (above) which suggests the site of the fort and settlement at Richborough was an island. He wrote: 'the map I have drawn to represent the probable division of land and water during the Roman period, the levels being taken*

*from the actual configuration of the land at the present time.'*

*The map (right) from the Fifth Report on the Excavations at Richborough by the Society of Antiquaries shows in some detail the Roman hinterland of Richborough as it was known in 1968.*

Silchester would be natural, following well-established routes, and would avoid any problem of crossing the Weald (which would certainly have been bypassed). This scenario also better explains the absence of Caratacus from the rest of the campaign, for there is no mention of him as leading after Togodumnus dies. Tacitus tells us Caratacus was famous even at Rome, and after his capture in later campaigns gives him a speech there, directed to Claudius in person. There is no mention of Camulodunum, yet if Caratacus had been there, he would have been directly opposed to Claudius himself, giving Tacitus a fine 'angle' for the speech.

If Plautius based himself in the Silchester area he would be very well placed in a position to control the whole of southern England (it was later served by as many Roman roads as London). The surrender of the Dobunni and the placing of a garrison with them, probably somewhere near Cirencester, makes good sense in this context. It is also likely that a deal was struck with those who controlled the Verulamium area, as something of the sort is needed to explain their subsequently favoured treatment. There is good evidence for an early base at Silchester and it may be that Plautius



that they established a base there. The crossing of the Thames under Claudius when he turned up to join the army is more likely to have been further upstream, perhaps even at Staines by a newly created bridge. (The site has a Latin name, Pontibus, which might be contrasted with the British name for Rochester, Durobrivae: 'fort at the bridge'. This last name suggests a pre-Roman bridge with a controlled crossing, as might reasonably be expected in the late Iron Age — there is no need to assume that this is a reference to an early Roman fort.)

actually used it himself in AD 43. Alchester, where Eberhard Sauer has obtained a date for a fort at least as early as AD 44, is due north from Silchester and fits well in this context.

### The River Battle

Dio's story suggests that the river battle took place not long before the struggle at the crossing of the Thames near 'the tidal lake', which presumably was near the future site of London. The action cannot have been much further downstream because the bridge referred to should not be far away (the Putney area would be a reasonable location). The narrative reads as though the Roman army was in pursuit, which is why the soldiers got into difficulties. On this reading of events therefore the river battle must have been somewhere on a route between Silchester and London, and quite near the latter. A number of rivers are candidates, such as the Wey, Mole or Wandle. (It is not necessary to find a wide, swift-flowing river; Dio merely tells us that the units we assume to be Batavians were able to cross such rivers. The only requirements for this river are that the Britons should have expected the Romans to need a bridge, and that chariot warfare should be possible on the far bank.)

There is no evidence that Plautius' army remained near the tidal lake to await Claudius or

Plautius and his army were very experienced. It was a very large army, much larger than William the Conqueror's forces, whose initial campaign after a single victory we accept quite readily. The size of the Roman invasion army proved big enough in due course to control almost all the British tribes. In AD 43 it faced tribes divided from one another and divided internally by old enmities; some of the tribes will have regarded themselves as Roman allies. We must rid our minds of front lines and the gradual conquest of territory. A far better model is Caesar's actions against the Gauls, often fought by actions hundreds of miles apart in the same year. The Romans conquered tribes, or accepted their voluntary 'alliance'; they did not conquer territory as such. The tribes indeed usually then continued to have an existence, forming the administrative unit within the north-western provincial system. The Roman 'invasion' was probably more like a procession punctuated by occasional outbreaks of violence, and on present evidence that procession is more likely to have started near Chichester.

*Professors Frere and Fulford have restated the case a Kent landing (S. Frere and M. Fulford, 'The Roman invasion of AD 43', Britannia 32, 2001). Their version can be challenged at key points and I have attempted to do this in a note (D. Bird, 'The events of AD 43: further reflections' Britannia 33, 2002).*

# THE TYSILIO CHRONICLE

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*The archaeologist and historian W. M. Flinders Petrie, FRS read a paper to the British Academy in 1917, in which he discussed a neglected document that remains largely ignored today*

This is an extract from *Neglected British History*, by W. M. Flinders Petrie; the full paper may be read on-line at: [www.kafs.co.uk](http://www.kafs.co.uk). In his article, Flinders Petrie tackles the neglect by historians of an early source of British history, *Tysilio's Chronicle*, and deals with claims that it was mainly derivative. He compares *Tysilio's Chronicle* to the other sources that it is meant to be based on to prove that it is a valid source. We only have room to include the start of his article, dealing with a comparison of Tysilio's and Caesar's accounts of the invasion of Britain. We hope you may wish to read the rest of the article, and to ask why *Tysilio's Chronicle* is still a neglected historical source.

'By any one reading the best modern authorities on history, it would hardly be expected that the fullest account that we have of early British history is entirely ignored. While we may see a few, and contemptuous, references to Nennius or Gildas, the name of the so-called Tysilio's Chronicle is never given, nor is any use made of its record. Yet it is of the highest value, for, as we shall see farther on, the internal evidence shows that it is based on British documents extending back to the first century. The best MS. of it appears to be in the *Book of Basingwerk* (W. F. Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, 11, 24.); it was printed in Welsh in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, of which a second edition appeared in 1870. It was translated into English by Peter Roberts, and published in 1811, and a second edition in 1862. ....[Flinders Petrie goes on to name many historians who had



*The legend of Arthur is just one of the intriguing stories in the Tysilio Chronicle.*

neglected Tysilio's Chronicle.]

'...Such an ignoring of public documents seems impossible.... It is justifiable, then, to speak of the Neglect of British History. This general disappearance of a book of primary importance, of which two English editions were issued in the last century, shows how easily historical material may be lost to use, even while many writers are handling the subject.

'The only excuse for this neglect of Tysilio is an occasional allegation that his work is an abridgement of Geoffrey [of Monmouth]. To judge of this I have prepared a copy in parallel columns of Tysilio, Gildas, Nennius, and Geoffrey. The close connection of Tysilio and Geoffrey is obvious throughout; the test lies in the definite statements in each which are

omitted by the other. The statements peculiar to Tysilio are the lengths of reigns of four British kings and a few details; for these Geoffrey had no use in his flowery style; but if Tysilio had copied from him, why should such obscure points be introduced or invented by an abbreviator? On the other hand, two important passages occur in Geoffrey—the long account of the Diocletian persecution and the description of Maxentius, neither of which are hinted at in Tysilio, but which would have been as suitable as any others for him. One of these Geoffrey has taken from Gildas, the other I have not traced, but it might be drawn from any Roman history. Thus the test of inclusion and omission confirms the first impression, and the express statement, that Geoffrey is a flowery expansion, rather than Tysilio being an

abbreviation. In this view Stephens agrees, in his *Literature of the Kymry*, 1876.

#### Comparison of Caesar and Tysilio.

'If the history of Tysilio be regarded as a mediaeval compilation, it must have been drawn from some classic source. Taking for comparison the most detailed part, the account of Caesar's invasions, we may set aside at once Paterculus, Appian, and Plutarch, as they scarcely mention Britain. Livy, book cv, might have been a possible source if not drawn from Caesar, and if we can suppose this lost book to have been known in the west of England in the twelfth century, while no other MS. of his history is known here. Cotta mentioned the invasion in his work on Roman polity, but there is no reason to suppose that he wrote a history of the second invasion, in which he took part. In Dion Cassius there is very little that could not have been drawn from Caesar, and was probably so derived, though written without a Caesarian bias. It is, therefore, Caesar's account alone that can be used to compare with Tysilio, or could have served as material to a Welsh compiler. As during this period there is nothing in Geoffrey which is not based on Tysilio, it is sufficient to compare Tysilio with Caesar, in order to see if the British or Welsh account was based upon Caesar, or if it drew from other sources. It must be expected that accounts written by opposed races should differ, not only by making intentional omissions, and by the natural tendency to dwell on successes — modern bulletins show the same, — but also by ignorance about the personages of the enemy, and ignorance about their actions behind the fighting front, about their intentions, and their plans. It is, then, not only in correspondence as to main facts, but also in one-sided discrepancies, that we may look for evidence of the truth and originality of an account.

'In Tysilio the letters of summons by Caesar, and reply by Caswallon or Cassivellaunus, are like the speeches in Thucydides and Livy — what the compiler thought likely. But there is an idea of the age put in: "the excessive avarice of the Romans cannot suffer the inhabitants of an island, remote as this,...to live in peace." Caesar, in his recital, suppressed the plunder motive, and only lightly names tribute at the last, though he never got any. The later Romans, when there was little in the world left to plunder, impressed others by their power and tradition; but the plunder motive

was the mainspring in the earlier time, and is here put forward. It is certainly not a mediaeval view of Caesar.

'The gathering ground of the Britons is stated by Tysilio to have been at Doral, in Geoffrey Dorobellum. This Doral appears to be the British form of Durolevum; and as in Low Latin minuscule *l* might easily be mistaken for *b*, and *u* for *ll*, Durolevum could pass into Dorobellum. Durolevum was midway between Rochester and Canterbury. It would be an excellent rendezvous in the uncertainty whether Caesar was striking at the Channel coast, the Medway, or the Thames. Such a rendezvous would be unknown to Caesar, and naturally not mentioned by him. Tysilio represents that the landing had already taken place during the British gathering — that is to say, the main forces and leaders were not present at the landing, but only local levies, which he ignores. Now in Caesar is a long and very spirited account of the landing, the great difficulties, the dismay of the legionaries, their great confusion, and the very successful opposition of the Britons riding into the waves. Is it conceivable that a strongly British writer could have ignored all this if he were compiling from Caesar? And would he, in an imaginative work, have represented all the British leaders as being absent at such a landing? Caesar himself agrees that he was by no means happy in the business. He could barely repel the Britons, and could not pursue them because his cavalry had been unable to land. This prevented his usual good fortune, as he complacently writes. He lays stress on his difficulties, the wreck of ships at the high tide, the hopes of the Britons to cut short negotiation and attack him again, and his remaining in the dark about the British movements, which he could only suspect might happen; he describes the attack of the Britons upon the foragers, and gives another spirited description at length of the mode of fighting on chariots, the extraordinary ability of driving, and the dismay of the Romans at being thus attacked. Is it in the least credible that Tysilio, if he ever saw this account, should not have triumphantly copied it? Then storms set in, Caesar demands hostages, not one of whom are given, and only two states sent over hostages afterwards to Gaul, probably as spies. Lastly, Caesar hurried away without any material result.'

*For the rest of the text, please visit our website: [www.kafs.co.uk](http://www.kafs.co.uk). - Practical Archaeology Issue Six.*

# BOOK REVIEWS

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*A new series of book reviews offers our readers a selection of some of the best recently published books on archaeology. KAFS members may also enjoy a 10% discount on any of the books ordered*

*AD 43 — The Roman Invasion of Britain: a reassessment, by John Manley (£17.99)*

One of the latest archaeologists to enter the debate about the Claudian invasion of Britain is the Chief Executive of the Sussex Archaeological Society. John Manley has also excavated at Fishbourne Roman Palace and, at the start of the book, he declares his bias towards suggesting Sussex as a more likely landing place for the Roman Army. This book is more than just an argument for Sussex; he presents the evidence for Kent and for Sussex landing places clearly and discusses different viewpoints intelligently. But his aims for the book are wider, as he states: 'The focus of the book is well defined. It concerns some of the events that took place in the south-east of Britain over a few months in the summer of AD 43. It concerns the arrival of around 40,000 soldiers of the Roman army and the consequent formal introduction of Roman rule into Britain.... Inevitably the book will be seen as one that debates the merits of the various proposed landing places of the Roman army in AD 43.... However I hope to show that it is also a case-study in how archaeologists work, evaluate, conclude and defend their theories.'

His careful analysis of the evidence and the theories surrounding the debate is the essence of good history, and this analysis is often lacking in archaeological work. John Manley proves that he is master of his material and opens his book with

thought-provoking questions about why the debate is important. He suggests it is significant for a number of reasons: 'In AD 43 the historical period that we now call Roman Britain was established and lasted for about 350 years. It is one of the key dates in British history.... It marks the end of prehistory and the beginning of ancient

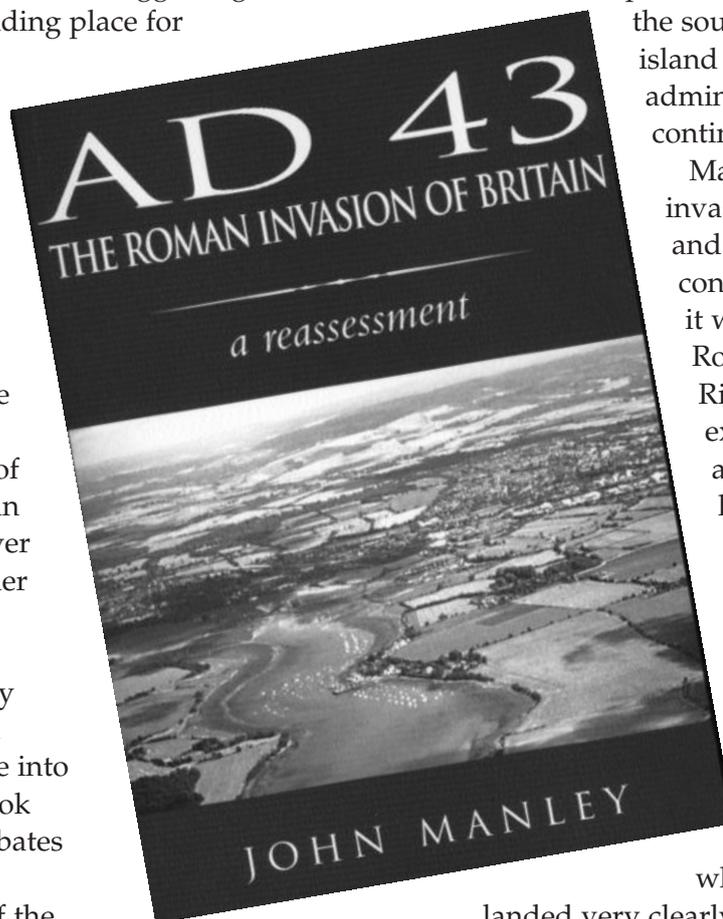
history.... It also marked probably the first time when the southern part of this island was formally linked administratively to continental Europe...'

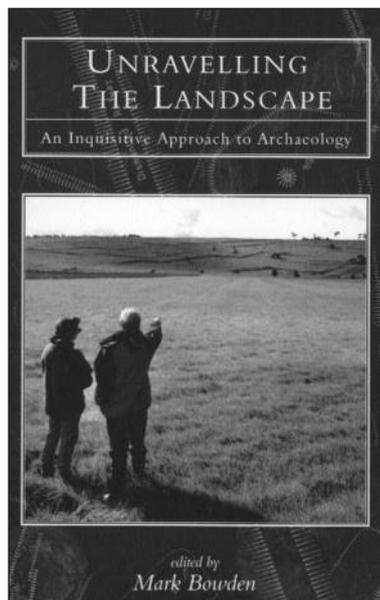
Manley then puts the invasion in its historical and environmental context and looks at why it was assumed the Romans landed at Richborough. The book examines the work of archaeologists and historians in the 19th and early 20th centuries, which tends to be overlooked or dismissed by the current generation of scholars. He sets out the early arguments about

where the Romans

landed very clearly, even presenting a summary in table form. He explains that Spurrell, Hubner and Airy suggested alternatives to Richborough, but Haverfield, in 1907, effectively ended the debate by choosing Richborough.

John Manley has now re-opened the discussion. This book is essential reading for anyone interested in the Roman invasion and the politics of AD 43. It is also an excellent example of lucid intellectual debate in the field of archaeology.





*Unravelling the Landscape: An Inquisitive Approach to Archaeology*, edited by Mark Bowden (£19.99)

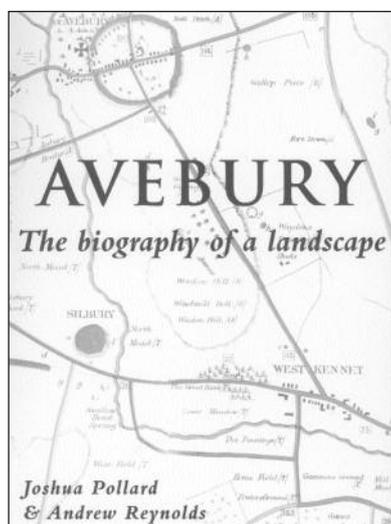
This book is by the experts at The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, the organisation set up in 1908 to record

and analyse historical sites in England. RCHME staff are some of the leading practitioners in fieldwork and survey, so this book covers the major types of survey and investigation of sites extremely thoroughly and clearly. Case studies bring theory to life and illustrate the challenges of landscape archaeology.

The editor, Mark Bowden, seeks to do more than explain archaeological survey; he encourages archaeologists to be inquisitive: 'The inquisitive approach, however, goes beyond the discovery, recording and elucidation of individual sites. Its ultimate goal is an understanding of the development of entire landscapes, or what may be termed "total landscape history".'

This spirit of enquiry makes the book vital for those who have a general interest in archaeology, as well as for those wishing to master survey.

If you enjoy the subject, why not meet Mark Bowden on 17 and 18 August at our course, 'Landscape Analysis at Syndale'?



*Avebury: The biography of a landscape*, by Joshua Pollard & Andrew Reynolds (£18.99)

The result of ten years' research, this book places Avebury in a more general geographical and historical context.

The authors examine the Neolithic monuments at Avebury, as well as the nearby sites of Silbury Hill and West Kennet long barrow. A careful look at the immediate landscape is then traced through the centuries from early prehistory, through the Roman period, to Anglo-Saxon times when a small town emerged near the site. The examination finishes in the later middle ages when there is evidence of human settlement in the Avebury circle. This detailed account of Avebury is an important work for anyone interested in the archaeological riches of this part of Britain.

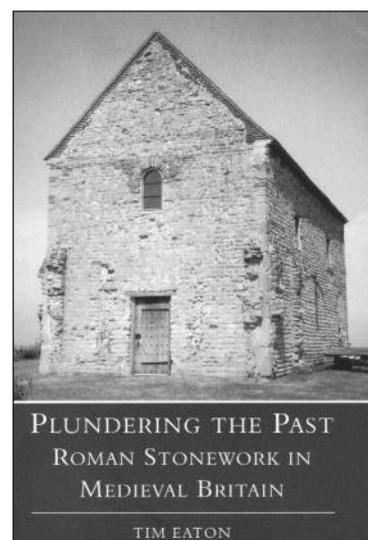
*Plundering the Past: Roman Stonework in Medieval Britain*, by Tim Eaton (£15.99)

The re-use of Roman masonry in over 200 mediaeval buildings is the starting point for this investigation.

The extensive fieldwork is the result of a PhD

thesis, which is the basis of this book. As well as being useful as a record for those who wish to investigate the buildings, it also poses some interesting questions about the motives of the mediaeval builders. For example, were ancient stones used to promote an idea of longevity and continuity in the early church as the Norman elite tried to establish their place as successors to the Roman Empire in Britain?

KAFS will be covering the topic of 'Roman Building Materials' on 24 and 25 August.



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# THE KENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELD SCHOOL COURSES

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*A full listing of archaeological courses for 2002.*

*The fee is £35 a day unless otherwise stated, and if you become a member there is a 10% discount on full prices, except field trips. To join, fill in the form on the last page of the magazine, and to book a course fill in the form on page 31. For further details of courses, access our web site at [www.kafs.co.uk](http://www.kafs.co.uk)*

## *August 17th, 18th, Landscape Analysis at Roman Durolevum and Syndale*

An essential course for all those who have taken part in the Excavation at Roman Durolevum course at Syndale in June this year, as well as for all those who wish to understand the archaeological landscape. We will display the finds revealed by the excavation and put our



work at Syndale in its geographical context. We will do this by surveying the site with one of the foremost practitioners of landscape archaeology, Mark Bowden, who has written one of the latest books on the subject (see p. 27).

The analysis of landscape by means of survey is a particularly valuable contribution to archaeology. The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England has been responsible for the recording and analysis of historical sites in England since 1908 and Mark Bowden is Head of the RCHME Field Team at English Heritage in Swindon.

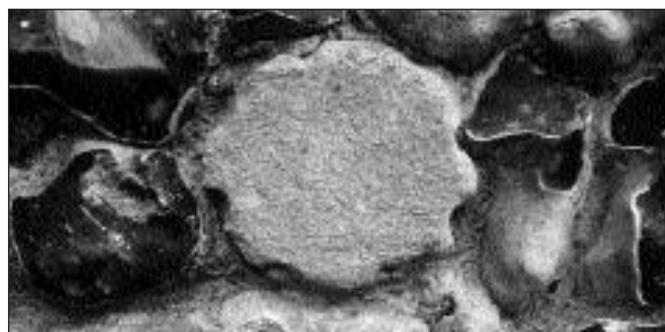
## *September 8th to 14th, An Exclusive Trip to Imperial Rome with BBC History Magazine*

Fully Booked

## *August 24th, 25th, Roman Building Materials*

This is an intensive course on Roman building materials to be found in early Christian churches. In the afternoons of both days we will visit a number of north Kent churches, including Upchurch, Lower Halstow, Newington, Milton Regis, Murston, Teynham, Buckland, Luddenham, Stone-by Faversham, Ospringe, Newnham, and St Mary's le Castro at Dover Castle.

The subject of re-use of Roman masonry has been examined in a new book by Tim Eaton, *Plundering The Past* (see p. 27) and we will use some of this new and exciting work to look at the evidence in Kentish churches. During the weekend we will review some of Eaton's theories about the significance of re-use of Roman building materials and *spolia*, and apply them to our case-studies of churches.



*Built into the Anglo-Saxon fabric of Newnham Church are 22 examples of Roman*

*classical fluted columns. The columns are of two sizes, 15 and 32 cm in diameter.*

*September 21st, 22nd, Field Trip to Hadrian's Wall with Professor David Breeze*

**A**n exciting trip to the very edge of the Roman Empire. Our guide is Professor David Breeze, the expert and author on Hadrian's Wall. Members only, £85 for the weekend course, including entrance fees and transport by coach along the Wall. For details and suggested accommodation see our website: [www.kafs.co.uk](http://www.kafs.co.uk). The provisional itinerary is:

**Saturday 21st September**

8.40am & 9am Pick-up points in Newcastle

10.30am–11.30am Visit the Turf Wall, including Birdoswald fort

12–2.30pm Vindolanda fort, civil settlement, reconstructions and museum, lunch in cafe

3pm–4.15pm Housesteads fort, civil settlement and milecastle

4.45pm – 6pm Chesters fort, bath-house and museum

6.30pm–7pm Return to Newcastle

**Sunday 22nd September**

8.40am & 9am Pick-up points in Newcastle

10am–11.30am Corbridge

12pm–1pm Corbridge town for lunch

1.30pm–3pm Segedunum fort, museum, reconstructed bath-house and Wall

4pm–5pm South Shields fort, museum, reconstructed gate

5.30 Return to Newcastle

Dr David Breeze is Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments in Historic Scotland, he is also Visiting Professor at Durham University and an honorary Professor at Edinburgh University. He has written many books about Roman frontiers and the Roman army including *Roman Scotland: Frontier Country*, the English Heritage souvenir guide to Hadrian's Wall, and is co-author of the Penguin book, *Hadrian's Wall*.



*Hadrian's Wall, built in the 2nd century is perhaps the most spectacular memorial of the Roman Empire in Britain. It ran across hill and dale from the Tyne to the Solway Firth, dividing Britain in two, separating Roman from barbarian—a magnificent feat of Roman engineering.*

*Professor David Breeze is our guide for the weekend. His Penguin book Hadrian's Wall is described by the Times Educational Supplement as a 'masterpiece of the controlled use of archaeological and epigraphical evidence in a fluent narrative that will satisfy any level of interest.'*

*September 28th, 29th, Prehistoric Kent*

An introduction to the archaeology of ancient Kent. The mornings will be spent in lectures, whilst in the afternoons we will visit many of the very special prehistoric sites and monuments in the county, including Kit's Coty, the Coldrum Stones, Bigbury, Oldbury, and Coldred Camps, the Caesar's Camp at Castle Hill, Folkestone, and Julliberries Grave.



*October 5th, 6th, An Introduction to Archaeology*

We shall look at the ways in which archaeological sites are discovered and excavated and how the different types of finds are studied to reveal the lives of former peoples. This course is especially useful for those new to archaeology, those considering studying the subject further or pursuing a career in archaeology.



*October 12th, 13th, Metal-detecting and Field walking*

Field walking and metal-detecting are some of the best methods for retrieving artefacts. But careful recording and methodology are essential for the archaeological record. On both days practical exercises will take place in the field. The course will be attended by Michael Lewis, Outreach Officer of the Portable Antiquities Scheme.

*October 19th, 20th, Anglo-Saxon Woodworking*

The utilisation of timber from the forest in Anglo-Saxon houses, boats and other artefacts will be examined during this practical, 'hands-on' course. Damian Goodburn, of 'Time-Team' fame, will demonstrate Anglo-Saxon woodworking skills with authentic replica Anglo-Saxon tools.

*October 26th, 27th, Roman Pottery*

An introduction to the theory and practice of identifying Roman pottery from field walking and excavation. The course will be led by

*November 2nd, 3rd, Field Trip to Roman Bath and the Cotswolds with Stephen Clews*

A weekend in the beautiful Cotswolds and the graceful city of Bath will reveal the Roman heritage of the area. Our tour leader will be Stephen Clews, Curator of The Roman Baths for the last 13 years, and prior to that Assistant Curator at the Corinium Museum in Cirencester. Members only, £85 for the weekend course, including entrance fees. For details, and suggested accommodation, see our website: [www.kafs.co.uk](http://www.kafs.co.uk).

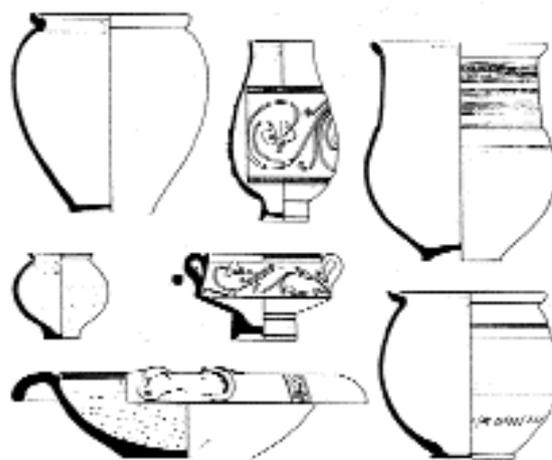
The course begins with an introductory talk followed by a gulp of spring water in the Great Pump Room at Bath. Then we visit the Roman Baths and Temple complex built around the hot springs of Bath, which became a place of pilgrimage in the Roman period. This tour will include special access to underground passages and the spa water borehole. The spa theme will continue as we trace the story of seven thousand years of human activity around the hot springs, which has created this World Heritage city. The afternoon will conclude with a walk around the Georgian upper town.

On Sunday, we will journey north into the Cotswolds and towards Corinium, the second largest city of Roman Britain, near Cirencester. We will visit Cirencester amphitheatre and Roman wall. Then we will continue to explore the rich evidence for Roman life in this beautiful area at Great Witcombe Roman Villa, where we will have special access to the bathhouse, and Chedworth Roman Villa.

Robin Symonds, the Roman pottery specialist at MoLSS. There will be practical sessions of handling and identifying Roman pottery from the Roman town of Durolevum at Syndale. There will be an afternoon visit to a local museum to view Roman pottery from burials at Syndale.

*November 9th, 10th, Archaeological Drawing*

A weekend course on how to illustrate pottery, bone, metal and other artefacts found in archaeological excavations. Course led by Jane Russell, Senior Illustrator of the UCL Field Archaeology Unit.



*November 23rd, 24th, The Romans in Kent*

An introduction to Roman Kent for all those with an interest in Roman archaeology. Mornings will be spent exploring themes from Roman life using archaeological evidence from Kent. In the afternoons we will visit the Roman sites of Canterbury, Richborough and Dover.

*November 30th, December 1st, Prehistoric Flints*

A practical course on identifying and recording Mesolithic and Neolithic flints. We will walk various prehistoric sites to familiarise ourselves with flint artefacts. On Sunday we will be introduced to the art of flint-knapping by Will Lord. Course led by Chris Butler, Chairman of the Mid-Sussex Field Archaeology Team.



The large complex of Roman buildings over the springs at Bath dating from c. AD 65-75 included the Temple of Sulis Minerva. The temple's columned facade was surmounted by the Sulis pediment with an oak-wreathed shield and a male 'Gorgon's' head (above).

The provisional itinerary for the trip is:  
**Saturday 2nd November**  
 9.30am Introductory talk  
 10.45am Visit to the Pump Room for spa water  
 11.15am The Roman Baths site, including special access to underground passages  
 2.30pm Tour of old spa buildings  
 4pm Bath's Georgian upper town  
**Sunday 3rd November**  
 10am Cirencester amphitheatre and wall  
 11.45am Great Witcombe Roman Villa  
 2.30pm Chedworth Roman Villa.

**BOOKING FORM**

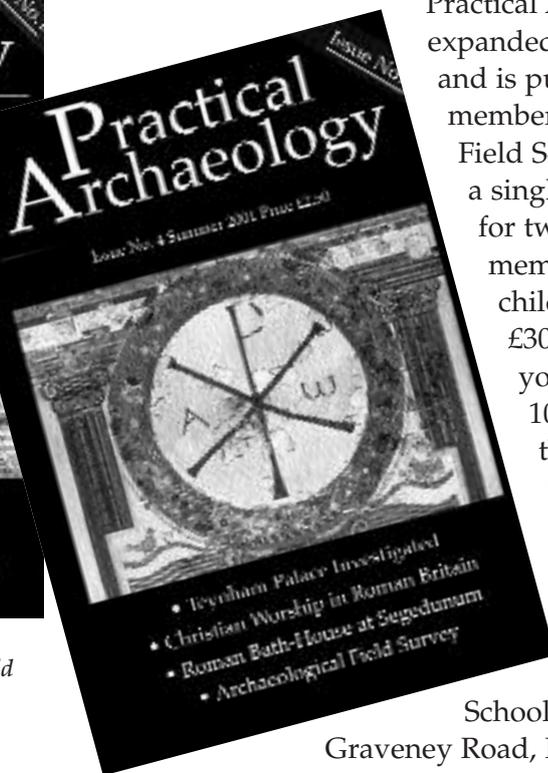
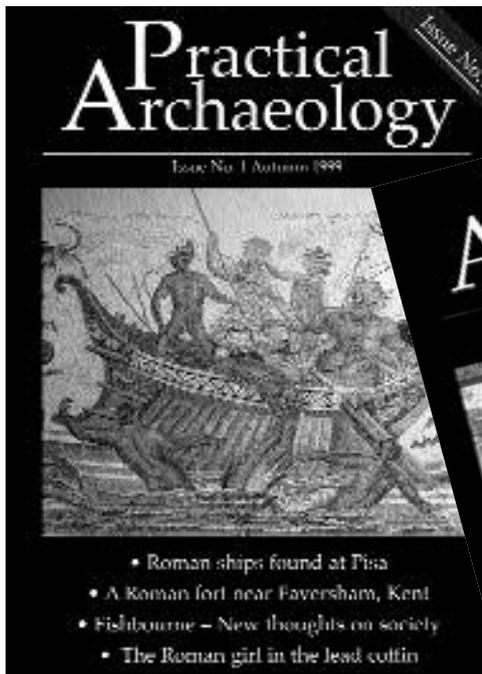
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'Practical Archaeology' has now been expanded to twice its previous length and is published quarterly for members of the Kent Archaeological Field School Club. Membership for a single person is £15. Membership for two adults is £25, and family membership (two adults and two children under 16 years old\*) is £30. Membership will entitle you to priority booking with a 10% discount on courses at the Kent Archaeological Field School, except where special members' fees apply, and special 'members only' field trips.

*\*Please note that children under 16 years old are welcome on courses, if accompanied by an adult, but under-16s are not allowed on excavations.*

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