IRON AGE AND ROMAN-ERA VEHICLE TERRETS FROM WESTERN AND CENTRAL BRITAIN: AN INTERPRETIVE STUDY

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By

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**Iron Age and Roman-era Vehicle Terrets from Western and Central Britain:
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This thesis presents an interpretive study into the development, distribution, use and deposition of Iron Age and Roman-era terrets, or rein-guides, from western and central Britain. It is the first in-depth study of terrets as an artefact class and, unlike previous catalogues of Iron Age or "Celtic" metalwork, includes terrets of Continental or Roman stylistic origin as well as the "D-shaped" British series. The accompanying database records 596 terrets from within the study area.

The "D-shaped" series first emerged around the third century BC, and appears to have taken a stylistic leap in the early first century AD, when terret design became increasingly varied and frequently involved the inclusion of colourful enamels. From the mid-first century AD, Continental-influenced forms became widespread in Britain. The D-shaped series continued to evolve, whilst adhering to basic conventions and constraints, until chariotry fell into decline around the end of the first century AD.

The thesis re-assesses dating evidence for the development of the artefact class, and proposes a new typology organised into three main typo-chronological groups. The inter-relation of D-shaped and Continental varieties is investigated, the distribution across the study area of different forms compared, and depositional contexts reviewed. The social significances of D-shaped terrets in particular are also considered, as communicated both through their artistic development and through the behaviours evident in their deposition. Moving from the Late Iron Age into the Early Roman era, the thesis makes use of object theory and post-colonial theory to interpret the changing social roles of terrets in the context of Roman invasion and occupation.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines Iron Age and Roman-era vehicle terrets, or rein-guides, from central and western Britain, with particular emphasis on the "D-shaped" series. A uniquely British phenomenon, the series first emerged around the third century BC, and developed throughout the Mid-Late Iron Age and into the Roman period. Most D-shaped terrets are made of copper alloy, some with iron components; previously, plain round rings made of iron may have been used as terrets, as in the Middle Iron Age chariot burial recovered from Newbridge, Edinburgh (Carter *et al* 2010).

During and after the period of Roman invasion, Continental-influenced terret forms became widespread in Britain. The D-shaped series continued to evolve and diversify, incorporating elements of Continental and Roman design and technology whilst remaining recognisably insular in character. Often decorated with moulded projections around the ring and embellished with colourful enamel, the D-shaped series grew in elegance and sophistication through the second half of the first century AD, but eventually fell out of favour. Terrets of all kinds from secure depositional contexts are comparatively rare in the second century AD, and only a handful of terrets are known from later Roman contexts, none of which are secure.

Terrets are of interest partly because of the frequency with which they occur in the archaeological record: typically used in sets of five, they are among the most common kinds of copper-alloy artefact known from Iron Age Britain, and are artefacts which would have been widely encountered by Iron Age peoples. They relate to diverse aspects of life in Iron Age Britain: the development of art and technology, the use of horse-drawn chariots and other vehicles, and social and economic interaction at differing scales. Several previous studies of terrets have been undertaken, although none has focussed on terrets exclusively. Most have been part of broader catalogues of Iron Age art: Leeds (1933) published the first terret typology, which was modified by Spratling (1972) in his corpus of bronzes from southern Britain, and by MacGregor (1976) in a study of metalwork from northern Britain. Palk's (1992) catalogue of Iron Age harness-gear covered the whole of Britain and Ireland. The present project is the first in-depth study centred on terrets as an artefact class. The accompanying database

records all currently-known Iron Age and Roman-era terrets from the study area, while a revised typo-chronology of terrets – informed by the new corpus – is presented in the thesis.

The study is focused on western and central Britain, excluding the areas south-east of the Wash–Solent axis and north of the Tees and Morecambe Bay. This allows for a new regional perspective, with recognition given to areas such as Wales and the English Midlands which have received comparatively little attention in previous work. The database reflects the huge increase in the number of known terrets since Palk compiled her corpus over 20 years ago, thanks largely to the quantity of finds now recorded through the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS). The PAS is a government-funded project administered by the British Museum, designed to encourage the recording of archaeological small finds made by members of the public. It was piloted in 1997 and expanded in 2003 to cover the whole of England and Wales. Finds are brought to local Finds Liaison Officers, who identify the artefacts and record them on a publicly-accessible database (www.finds.org.uk), which has been a major resource for this study. The scheme has brought about considerable re-appreciation of the volume and distribution of Iron Age metalwork: Palk included about 300 terrets in her corpus, from the whole of Britain, while the present catalogue lists 596 terrets from the study area alone, of which nearly half have been reported through the PAS in the past 15 years.

The chronological scope of the present project is from roughly 400 BC to AD 200. Both the catalogue and typology include the later, Continental-influenced terrets that became widespread during and after Roman invasion. These forms are commonly described as "Roman" or "Romano-British", and apart from odd examples are not included in any of the typologies referred to above. The ambiguity with which these artefacts are treated continues today: the Technologies of Enchantment project, based at the University of Oxford and supported by the British Museum, includes on its database of Celtic art a handful of these terret forms, but excludes the vast majority. One of the key arguments of this thesis is that the D-shaped series should not be viewed in isolation, but as part of a long and evolving tradition of terret manufacture and use in Britain.

The present study has empirical data at its core, but also contains a major interpretive element. Although many terrets are stray finds, the contexts from which others are recovered – such as chariot burials, metalwork hoards and votive deposits – indicate that they are artefacts which not only had a practical function, but could be of ceremonial and ritual importance. Their long lifespan and stylistic diversity has caused terrets often to be treated as tools for the dating of sites and assemblages, but the juxtaposition in the archaeological record of widespread and localised varieties also suggests a balance negotiated between innovation and conservatism, as well as the expression of social identities at different scales. The interpretive chapters of this thesis draw upon aspects of object theory and post-colonial theory in order to consider the different significances which may have been attached to terrets in Late Iron Age British society, and to contextualise the changes to design and distribution which occurred during the period of Roman invasion and occupation.

Chapter One introduces terrets as artefacts and gives an overview of their practical function, before positioning the present study in the context of existing references to terrets in archaeological literature. Previous major typologies of terrets are compared and contrasted, and a review is carried out of the publications of certain well-known assemblages in which terrets are found, in order to demonstrate different approaches to their analysis and interpretation. Chapter Two develops the project's theoretical framework. Chapter Three sets out the methodology behind the construction of the database and typology, and presents some basic statistical observations from the corpus. Chapter Four presents the new typo-chronology, along with a discussion of the evolution of the D-shaped series, and its relation to Continental types. Chapter Five explores how terrets were made, then turns to an assessment of their artistic character.

Chapter Six presents a series of maps showing the distribution of terrets of different type and phase across the study area, as well as comparative distribution maps for south-eastern and northern Britain. Chapter Seven assesses the distribution of early-form terrets – those in use until around the end of the first century BC – and considers the evidence terrets provide for the expression of social identities at different scales. Chapter Eight concentrates on those terrets made and used from around the beginning of the first century AD. The distribution patterns and depositional contexts of D-shaped and Continental forms are compared, and the relationship between both Continental-

influenced terrets and later D-shaped terrets and the Roman army is investigated. Drawing on – and challenging – aspects of post-colonial theory, changes to terret design, manufacture and distribution are discussed in the context of Roman invasion and occupation. Chapter Nine situates terrets within the wider landscape, looking at their association with roads and different kinds of terrain, and at certain kinds of depositional context in which they can be found: wetland and dryland hoards or votive assemblages, pit deposits, and burials. Finally, the Conclusion draws the different strands of the thesis together, and identifies key areas for future investigation.

CHAPTER ONE
Terrets in existing archaeological literature

This chapter begins by explaining exactly what terrets were and how they were used, then introduces existing references to terrets in archaeological literature. The major terret typologies are summarised and synthesised, and certain limitations are identified. The publications of various well-known terret assemblages are reviewed. Finally, there is a brief comparison of several recent artefact-based studies; building on the preceding section, this allows a range of approaches to artefact study and interpretation to be considered.

A glossary of the terms used to describe terrets throughout this thesis and the database can be found in Appendix 3, together with images.

1.1   What is a terret?

Figure 1.1: Simple D-shaped terret (Somerset Heritage Centre, E8. Photograph by A. Lewis, courtesy of South West Heritage Trust (Museums Service))

Iron Age British chariots were usually drawn by a pair of yoked ponies. Terrets, or rein-guides, are small rings which were set in line along the yoke; the rings range

typically from around 30 to 50 millimetres in height, and 35 to 60 millimetres in width, but some can be considerably larger. Five terrets were usually used per chariot, although in the Middle Iron Age example from Newbridge (Carter *et al* 2010) only four were used. Each terret was fixed in an upright position, the attachment bar at its base parallel to the yoke. Although some early terrets – such as those from Newbridge – take the form of plain, round rings, and could potentially have served various functions within a harness, the great majority of Late Iron Age terrets are recognisable as a distinct class of artefact, with a characteristic "D-shape" defined by the curving ring and by the straight attachment bar set between two terminals (see figure 1.1).

Terrets are likely also to have been used with four-wheeled vehicles such as wagons and carts, although in both the archaeological and historical records they are more often associated with two-wheeled chariots (see **1.1.2**, below). In all cases, the practical function of terrets seems to have been to prevent the reins of the vehicle becoming tangled. Each pony would have a pair of reins attached to its bridle bit, and each of these four separate reins would pass to the driver (in the vehicle) through a terret. The function of the fifth and central terret, usually the largest of the set, was probably to hold the straps that secured the yoke to the pole (Macdonald 2007, 8), although it has been suggested by Tony Smart, a horse-trainer involved in the BBC-commissioned reconstruction of the Wetwang (East Yorkshire) chariot, that an additional function may have been to receive a bearing rein which would have kept the heads of the two ponies lifted and their bearing in line (Loades 2001, 25).

Good evidence for the positioning of terrets is provided by chariot burials such as those from Garton Station and Kirkburn in East Yorkshire (Stead 1991, fig.42, 50), where terrets have survived *in situ*. The arrangement of terrets along the yoke can be seen in figures 1.2 and 1.3 below, taken from the Wetwang chariot reconstruction.

Figure 1.2: Reconstruction of the Wetwang chariot (Loades 2001, 1)

1.1.1 *D-shaped terrets: practical use*

Much has been written about how D-shaped terrets worked on a practical level, and evidence comes from two main sources: the position of terrets found within chariot burials, and analysis of wear patterns on the artefacts. All nine of the most recent chariot burials discovered in Britain have been found to contain a row of terrets *in situ* along the line of the decayed yoke (in no known British chariot burial has the actual yoke survived). While the yoke is sometimes at the head of the grave, representing the position it would have occupied in use – as at Ferry Fryston (Boyle *et al* 2007) and Newbridge (Carter *et al* 2010) – in the East Yorkshire burials it is more usually dismantled and laid alongside the body (e.g. Dent 1985).

Each case allows us to see where the terrets were fixed along the yoke. Stead (1991, fig.42) compares the positions of the terrets from Garton Station, Kirkburn, Garton Slack and Wetwang 1, 2 and 3, and illustrates the uniformity with which they were spaced. Each of these burials contained five terrets (apart from Wetwang 3, the north end of which was lost before excavation) which, allowing for some displacement after burial, were placed at regular intervals of 0/300/500/700/1000 millimetres, along a yoke

likely to have been a little over a metre in length (*ibid.*, 50, fig.42; figure 1.3 below). The central terret is usually the largest. In some cases, as at Ferry Fryston, the outermost two terrets are smaller still than the inner two, suggesting that all five terrets comprise a set with "a deliberate grading of sizes" (Boyle *et al* 2007, 138); alternatively, at Kirkburn the four smaller terrets are all slightly different in size, although of the same basic design (Stead 1991, 47). At Newbridge only four terrets were present; the burial's comparatively early date and northern location suggest that it is in a different tradition from that of the East and North Yorkshire chariot burials. Terret 4 of the Newbridge burial – one of the outermost terrets – is slightly larger than the others, and its attachment strap is also different: it may be a replacement (Carter *et al* 2010, 37). As Leeds (1933, 121-122) points out, sets of four stylistically alike terrets with a fifth similar but larger terret can be distinguished or inferred in the Stanwick/Melsonby, Westhall and Polden Hills hoards, although not all of the apparent sets are complete.

Figure 1.3: Typical position of terrets along a yoke (BBC 2014). Not to scale

Terrets tend to show wear on their internal edges caused by the friction of the reins, and the smaller (or non-central) examples often demonstrate greater wear inside one edge than the other, due to the angle at which the reins passed through the ring (Spratling 1972, 42). Wear also occurs, on terrets of all sizes, on the tops of the terminals and inside the lower portions of the ring, which indicates that they were strapped to the yoke by the bar (Spratling 1972, 50). Wear is sometimes found on the underside of the terminals and attachment bar – e.g. SOMR36 (Polden Hills hoard) – presumably caused by friction between the base of the terret and the yoke.

The plain terret rings recovered from the Newbridge chariot burial all contained traces of organic remains in their corrosion products, which could in each case be identified as

the remains of a leather strap around 35-40 millimetres wide (Carter *et al* 2010, 37). On one terret (no.1) traces of the strap extend beneath the ring, indicating that its strap was passed through a vertical hole in the yoke as well as around the ring itself, whilst leather traces on another terret (no.4) suggest that the strap was extended around the yoke instead of being passed through the slot (*ibid.*, 37-38). Traces on terret 4 have allowed a reconstruction to be attempted of the knot and arrangements of straps which bound the ring to the front of the yoke (*ibid.*, 37-38, fig.6B). Remains of organic material were also found on the terrets from Ferry Fryston, possibly from binding, reins or both (Boyle *et al* 2007, 139-140).

The variety in shape and design of attachment bars and terminals reflects the variety of methods by which D-shaped terrets could be set onto the yoke. Terrets with bell-form terminals and saddle bars or horizontal bars could have sat directly gripping the yoke, and been lashed into place. A terret of this kind from the Polden Hills hoard, SOMR21, demonstrates heavy wear on the inside of its terminals and on top of the upwards-curving ends of its attachment bar, which would correspond to this method of attachment; but the terret would seem likely to have wobbled and shaken as the vehicle moved, as it is difficult to see how the terminals could sit flat against the yoke. MacGregor (1976, 39-40, fig.3 no.3) suggests that saddle-form terrets could have gripped a raised, rounded protrusion from the yoke, which appears plausible where the terminals are slanted, but is less easy to imagine where terminals are parallel to the yoke itself, as in the case of SOMR21.

Tangs could easily have been inserted into slots in the yoke, and the attachment bar secured against the surface of the yoke by a strap. Wear is visible on the undersides of the collar-form terminals of CHES04 (Tattenhall), a tanged terret, which would support the possibility that the terret was fixed in this way. MacGregor (1976, 39-40, fig.3 no.1) suggests that terrets without tangs, but with horizontal bars between collar-form terminals, could in some instances have been attached to protrusions from the yoke – the terminals could clamp the protrusion at either side, and the bar pass internally through the middle – but could more simply have been bound to the yoke's surface. For terrets with vertical bars between collar-form terminals, Spratling (1972, 50) suggests that the bars may have fitted into special slots on the yoke, formed by two parallel raised ridges; the terminals would have closed the ends of the slot, preventing

the terret from sliding out of position. Traces of organic material on the vertical bars of the terrets from Wetwang Slack indicate that in this case a leather strap was passed over the bar and pulled down through a slot in the yoke (Loades 2001, 25-27), as shown in figure 1.3.

All of these reconstructions are plausible, but speculative, as no Iron Age yokes have yet been found in Britain. The methods used to affix terrets of Continental forms to the yoke are not applicable to the D-shaped series. Continental yokes such as those from La Tène (Vouga 1923, 95-6, pl.XXXV) – which Spratling (1972, 46-47) argues may, in fact, have been used with ploughs rather than chariots – are not necessarily close parallels. Methods of attachment of imported-form terrets are considered in **5.1.2**.

1.1.2   *Terminology*

When describing terrets, different authors have used different terms for the constituent parts (**1.2.5**). It is worth drawing attention here to a few key terms which are used frequently in this thesis to describe certain *classes* of terret:

D-shaped	Terrets with a roughly sub-circular ring and straight attachment bar (see figure 1.1). Plain round rings of the sort found at Newbridge (Carter *et al* 2010) and Ferry Fryston (Boyle *et al* 2007) are "early-form", but *not* "D-shaped".
Early-form	Iron Age terrets in use until around the end of the first century BC, mostly D-shaped.
Later-form	Iron Age and Roman-era terrets in use from around the early first century AD, D-shaped.
Simple terrets	The basic variety of D-shaped terret, a form in use from the third century BC until at least the late first century AD, which consequently falls into both "early-" and "later-form" categories.

Imported-	Non-D-shaped Roman-era terrets in use in Britain from around
form	the mid-first century AD, influenced by Continental Roman and
	La Tène types.

The term "chariot" should also be clarified here. Much discussion has taken place about how the two-wheeled vehicles known from Iron Age burials in East and North Yorkshire – and occasionally elsewhere in Britain – should be described: whether as "chariot", "cart", "carriage", and so on (see Giles 2012, 192 for a summary of the debate). The word "chariot" has been chosen here, partly because – if Caesar's description of Britons fighting in horse-drawn chariots (*The Gallic War* 4:33) is to be accepted – there seems no reason to distinguish between war-chariots and the kinds of vehicle so far encountered in the archaeological record, even if we acknowledge that they may also or primarily have had other, less thrilling every-day uses. Giles (2012) has highlighted the performative aspect of the vehicle-burial rite; although probably not an occasion for which they were put to use regularly, it is in this context that we encounter the vehicles, and the term "chariot" seems best to accommodate this element of drama. However, it is suggested at some points in the thesis (**5.1.2**, **8.3.4**, **9.1.3**) that terrets – or certain forms of terret – may also have been used with more sedate goods or agricultural vehicles, perhaps four-wheeled. These are distinguished as "carts" or "wagons".

1.2   Existing terret typologies

Along with five terrets, a set of chariot equipment might include two bridle bits, two linchpins, and an assortment of strap unions, sliders, toggles and mounts. Any of this equipment might be decorated to a greater or lesser extent. The variety in the design of Iron Age horse-gear, and of terrets in particular, prompted Leeds (1933, 113) to write that terrets are "of first-class importance as material for dating". Horse-trappings "keep such close step with the changes in decorative style observable on other classes of objects, that they can be employed as criteria for relative chronology with almost the same confidence as other things upon which reliance is more normally placed" (*ibid.*).

This approach to the study of terrets has been influential, and arguably prompted the development of increasingly complex and specific typo-chronologies.

1.2.1 *Summary of terret typologies*

The first thorough typology of British terrets was drawn up by E.T. Leeds (1933, 118-124) in his book *Celtic Ornament in the British Isles down to A.D. 700*. Leeds identifies eight main types of terret:

1	Sub-oval ring of stout bronze, which may be totally plain, or with a line of ornamentation round the outer edge. Alternatively ring may be decorated with bosses, beads or lips
2	Broad, enamelled terrets
3	"Lipped" terrets, in which lips set transverse to the ring
4	Modification of "lipped" terrets in which lips set in same plane as the ring
5	Terrets with round or flat-topped knobs decorated with a quatrefoil in enamel
6	Variety of type 5, with rectangular or oval knobs usually enamelled
7	Decorated with plain round knobs
8	Heavy base containing a concealed iron bar

Table 1.1: Leeds's (1933) typology

In his PhD thesis, Mansel Spratling (1972, 25-40) proposed a new classification system which goes into greater detail than that devised by Leeds. Spratling's corpus, limited to southern Britain, includes around 100 terrets. The typology identifies nine classes of terret:

I	Simple forms with little or no ornament. Some variation in thickness and shape of ring
II	Thick-ringed terrets. Sub-group exists with "curved-side triangular panels enclosing ornamental motifs in low relief" (Spratling 1972, 26-27)
III	Ribbed terrets. Ring ribbed "like a caterpillar" (*ibid.*, 27)
IV	Multi-knobbed terrets. Series of projecting knobs evenly spaced around the outer edge
V	Lipped terrets. Ring decorated by a series of bivalvular mouldings
VI	Winged terrets, in which wings set transversely across the ring
VII	Winged terrets, in which wings set in the same plane as the ring
VIII	Flat-ringed terrets. Flat ring with champlevé enamel ornament. Five sub-groups identified, based on the width and features of the ring
IX	Knobbed terrets, sometimes enamelled. One sub-group has domed knobs, while another has flat knobs

Table 1.2: Spratling's (1972) typology

Spratling also notes five "miscellaneous" examples and six "mini terrets", although he does not include these as formal categories in his typology.

In her book *Early Celtic Art in North Britain*, Morna MacGregor (1976, 38-48) reviewed terrets from northern Britain. Although she does not attempt a new system of classification, she modifies Leeds's categories slightly, and gives them descriptive titles for ease of identification:

Simple loops and terrets	Leeds Group 1 (majority of)
Ribbed terrets	Leeds Group 1 (remainder of)
Crescent terrets	Leeds Group 2
Lipped terrets (can be "fat" or "thin")	Leeds Group 3
Winged terrets (variation on "fat" lipped terrets)	Leeds Group 4
Knobbed terrets	Leeds Groups 5 and 7
Platform terrets	Leeds Group 6
Massive terrets	Leeds Group 8

Table 1.3: MacGregor's (1976) typology

In her PhD thesis, Natalie Palk (1992) revised the existing terret typologies as part of a wider study on Iron Age horse harness. Her classification system can be summarised as follows:

Plain rings and simple terrets
Ribbed terrets
Lipped terrets
Multi-lobed terrets
Winged terrets (Sub-divided into "transverse-winged" and "parallel-winged". Transverse-winged terrets further divided into "fat" and "thin" types)
Crescentic-flanged terrets (Divided into four sub-groups, based on the form of the terminals)
Terrets with decorated projections (Divided into "knobbed", "indeterminate" and "platform-decorated". The first two of these sub-groups further divided into six and three sub-sub-groups respectively, based on the style of the knobs and projections)
Massive terrets (Divided into five sub-groups according to the character of the "boss" or interior projection)
Miscellaneous or hybrid terrets (Six varieties identified)

Table 1.4: Palk's (1992) typology

1.2.2 *Chronology and distribution*

Leeds (1933) gives an overview of the distribution of the different types of terrets, but makes few comments on their dates or origins. His classification appears to be broadly chronological, but he makes few attempts to tie down any of the types or examples to particular dates or periods. Spratling (1972), MacGregor (1976) and Palk (1992) all propose a chronological development from simple, ribbed and lipped terrets through terrets with wings, knobs and platforms to massive terrets, based for the most part upon terrets and mould fragments recovered from securely-dated contexts.

The detail of these chronologies can now be revised to an extent in light of the large number of new terret finds over the past 15 years, fresh work on some of the major assemblages e.g. Stanwick/Melsonby (Fitts *et al* 1999), and major radiocarbon dating projects (such as, for the East Yorkshire chariot burials, Jay *et al* 2012). In addition,

Philip Macdonald (2007, 12-25) has carried out an extensive review of simple terrets from across Britain, in the context of his assessment of the material from Llyn Cerrig Bach which includes three terrets of simple form. Dating evidence for the different terret forms is given substantial consideration in Chapter Four. Whilst new information allows us to refine some of the dates during which certain types were current, it also confirms that the rough chronology put forward by Spratling, MacGregor and Palk remains broadly accurate.

Leeds, Spratling, MacGregor and Palk all recorded terret distribution patterns, but these will not be summarised here, as understanding of the distribution of different types has in some cases changed considerably as a result of information generated by the PAS and by excavations over the last decade and a half. Terret distribution patterns identified during the present study are set out in Chapter Six, and discussed in detail in Chapters Seven and Eight.

1.2.3   *Synthesis of existing typologies*

Table 1.5 presents an approximate synthesis of the classifications put forward by Leeds, MacGregor, Spratling and Palk, together with equivalent terminology in the typology proposed in the present study. As will be seen in Chapter Four, the proposed new typology contains various additional categories and descriptions *not* included in the table below. Illustrations of the various terret types can also be found in Chapter Four, figure 4.1.

Leeds	Spratling	MacGregor	Palk	Present study
1	I	Simple	Plain rings and simple terrets	Simple
1	II	Simple	Plain rings and simple terrets	Simple
1	III	Ribbed	Ribbed	Ribbed
1	V	Ribbed	Lipped	Lipped
1	IV	Ribbed	Multi-lobed	Lobed
2	VIII	Crescent	Crescentic-flanged	Crescentic
3	VI	Lipped	Winged: transverse-winged	Triple projections: transverse wings
4	VII	Winged	Winged: parallel-winged	Triple projections: parallel wings
5	IX(A)	Knobbed	Decorated projections: knobbed	Triple projections: knobs
6	IX(B)	Platform	Decorated projections: platform-decorated	Triple projections: platforms
7	IX(A)	Knobbed	Decorated projections: knobbed	Triple projections: knobs
8		Massive	Massive	Massive

Table 1.5: Synthesis of terret typologies

1.2.4 *Debates around the typologies: "massive" and "mini" terrets*

A number of archaeologists have contributed to the discussion around terret typologies, and attempted to refine the classifications set out above. One of the terret types to have received particular attention is the "massive terret", sometimes known as the "Don" type (figure 1.4), the genesis of which has been the subject of debate for around 80 years.

Figure 1.4: Massive terret (National Museum Cardiff, 37.319. Photograph by A. Lewis, by permission of the National Museum of Wales)

Shortly after the publication of Leeds's classification, H.E. Kilbride-Jones (1935) proposed a new assessment of Leeds's Type 8 terret. Kilbride-Jones argued that the stylistic evolution of the type placed its origin and early development in the Donside area of north-eastern Scotland: so evidently, he claimed, that it should be named the "Don" type. The abundance of second-century Roman ware at Traprain Law – located in the supposed heartlands of the massive terret – together with the absence of massive terrets so far known there, suggested to Kilbride-Jones that the massive type had an earlier origin than that put forward by Leeds: perhaps as early as the first century BC in the Donside region. Examples might yet be found in later contexts, but their absence would be unsurprising.

Livens (1976) agreed with Kilbride-Jones that the "Don terret" developed in north-east Scotland, but as no pre-Roman or Early Roman examples are known in Britain, he argued that the type must have a later origin. The Don terret, he claimed, could be divided into two sub-types: those with a "lipped" decorative style on the central protrusion, and those with a "palmette". Livens also noted that, due to the central protrusion, there is very little space within the ring through which a rein strap could pass, and noted the absence of wear on the protrusions of any of the then-known examples (wear on the inner side of the bottom of the ring, caused by the friction of the rein, is commonly seen in D-shaped terrets). Rather, Livens argued, on Don terrets the wear is at the inner side of the *top* of the ring, which suggests that they were used

"upside-down". This caused Livens to question the function of the Don terrets and whether they were, indeed, terrets at all.

MacGregor (1976, 39-40) suggested that "massive" terrets may have been slotted directly on to a projection from the yoke, which could have fitted inside the hollow protrusion within the terret ring. She described the type as "devised by British craftsmen, working under Continental influence some time between the late first and the mid-third centuries AD" (*ibid.*, 48). Laing and Laing (1986) suggested that the type was inspired by Roman "concealed bar" terrets, and was probably introduced into Britain during a Roman campaign. They stated that there is no evidence that massive terrets were in existence in Britain before the late second or even early third century AD, and that certain contexts in which they have been found – such as in an Anglo Saxon grave at Linton, Cambridgeshire, where the terret appears to have been worn as a personal ornament and may have been an heirloom, and at Dinas Emrys in Gwynedd, where Laing and Laing argue that the terrets relate to the Roman rather than Iron Age occupation of the site – indicate that the type remained in use into the fourth or fifth centuries AD.

Palk (1992, 51-59) agreed that the lack of any British massive terrets before the Late Iron Age suggests that the type was indeed introduced into Britain during the Roman period. By the time of Palk's study, new finds had moved the area of emphasis away from north-east Scotland, and Palk found it unnecessary to believe that the type originated there. She pointed to examples in Austria, Hungary, Italy and the Netherlands, and argued that on the Continent "massive" terrets have frequently been found attached to the yoke: mounted on yoke saddles and attached by means of a strap or rod which passes through the strap bar on the terret's base. Wear on the Continental examples generally occurs on the upper portion of the ring but, she noted, there is wear on the lower inner surface of British examples from Crichie and Moorgate Street. Palk concluded that the "massive" type *is* a terret, but one which often seems to have been used differently from other British terrets, perhaps due to different Roman harnessing methods.

The likely origin and development of the massive terret is discussed further in **4.7**, where it is taken as a case study to illustrate the relationship between La Tène and so-

called "Roman" terret forms. There, it is argued that the type may well have been introduced into Britain during the Roman conquest, but that it evolved on the Continent from a pre-Roman origin. Kilbride-Jones's belief in a Scottish birthplace for the type no longer holds sway. The "Don" terret now seems an inappropriate name for this particular artefact, but it remains in general use.

The artefacts commonly referred to as "mini terrets" are items of horse-gear like terrets in appearance, but smaller, none more than 33mm in width, and usually flat or slightly concave on one face (Macdonald 2007, 45). Macdonald (*ibid.*, 47; and see MacGregor 1976, 39) has argued that these are vehicle fittings of a sort but are not terrets: they are too small to have functioned as rein-guides and, unlike "true" terrets, they show evidence of wear on their attachment bars rather than collars. Spratling (1972, 51) also states that they are too small to have been terrets, and points out that at Arras, Hunmanby and La Courte (Belgium), mini terrets were found alongside true terrets, providing further evidence that they had a different function. Palk (1992, 71-72) agrees that the items are too small to have functioned as terrets, and suggests that they may have been strap unions or strap junctions.

Mini terrets have not been included in the scope of this study. The reasons for this are discussed in depth in **3.1.3**.

1.2.5   *Limitations to the existing typologies*

The original typology proposed by Leeds was developed in the context of a wider discussion on Celtic art, and was not intended to provide a comprehensive review of terrets in Britain. The studies carried out by Spratling, MacGregor and Palk were, however, comprehensive within their particular geographical and chronological frameworks (barring some ambiguity over the distinction of "Celtic" and "Roman" material). They contain detailed discussion of their material to supplement their catalogues, and all remain highly useful resources. Nonetheless, all four of the existing typologies are affected by a number of limitations or problems, the most obvious being that the most recent typology is over 20 years old and the least recent is over 80 years old. As we saw above, finds of terrets have increased hugely over the last couple of

decades, spurred on in part by the development of the PAS; many new examples and new types of terrets are now known that are not reflected in any of the existing typologies.

A second limitation is that both Spratling and MacGregor focus on particular areas of Britain. Spratling (1972, 1) covers Wales, and England south of Yorkshire and Lancashire, while MacGregor (1976, 7) focuses on "north Britain": areas north of the Mersey and the North York Moors. While it may seem that, between them, these studies have covered every part of mainland Britain, neither study necessarily represents its material in Britain's wider setting. For example, MacGregor finds that almost all of her platform-decorated terrets have enamelling, but none of the knobbed ones do, while Spratling finds enamelling in both groups so makes no such distinction (Palk 1992, 41). Some of the trends that they observe, then, exist in a regional rather than national context, and can lead to different perspectives and organisation of the material.

With regard to the age and geographical restrictions of the previous typologies, the present study has benefited greatly from information made available through the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS). Just under half of all the terrets in the database are PAS finds, and they make up the majority of the artefacts not included in the earlier studies. The database lists 596 terrets from the study area alone, compared to the 300 or so terrets that Palk's study included from the whole of Britain.

Only terrets from within the study area are listed in the present database and included specifically in the typology. However, the typology is structured in such a way that, it is hoped, terret forms from outside the study area can quite easily be categorised in line with its principles. In particular, the typology can easily be expanded to incorporate terrets embellished with different kinds of "triple projections", such as the "curled platforms" found in parts of south-east England (e.g. Hutcheson 2004 no.127). Basic distribution maps have been drawn up of terrets in south-eastern and northern Britain for the purposes of comparison (**6.2**) based on information gained from the Celtic Art Database, excavation reports, online museum collections and, for England, the PAS. Although not as comprehensive as those for the study area, these maps are intended to

indicate patterns and trends in terret distribution for the whole of Britain, and to help guard against regional trends being misconstrued as nation-wide.

A further limitation of the existing typologies is that they do not cover those terret forms considered to be "Roman", with the exception of the massive type, which arguably was Roman-introduced. The new typology includes later, Continental-influenced or "Roman" terret types, the development of which is discussed in detail in **4.6** and **4.7**.

Macdonald (2007, 18) has criticised the usefulness of the existing typologies, with particular emphasis on Spratling's Groups I and II. Macdonald points out that there are significant variations within the two groups: in some cases, specific terrets from one group appear to be more closely related to examples from the other group than to examples within their own. Macdonald identifies a common problem with typological schemes: that simple forms of artefact types – such as Spratling's Group I and II terrets – may be difficult to sub-divide meaningfully, whilst having longer vogues than other more complex forms. A further problem is that of endless variation: in theory types can be divided into ever-smaller sub-types as new examples are discovered (*ibid.*, 20), until the typologies become increasingly complicated and unwieldy.

Palk also criticises Spratling's division of the "simple terret" type, stating that his separation of Groups I and II is based upon "loose morphological similarity and is easily debased if other variables are taken into consideration" (1992, 18). There are, she says, insufficient related numbers in the group to warrant further sub-groupings (*ibid.*). Where other terret types are concerned, however, she does separate them into sub-groups and even sub-sub-groups, sometimes comprising only one example. These separations may be based on morphological distinctions rather than similarities, but it is questionable whether such precise division really highlights "types", or simply unique artefacts.

Spratling (1972, 280) has himself criticised the "spurious worth" of the procedure of devising typologies, which are based upon an assumption "that change is gradual and regular... and that a prime cause of variation of design is difference in date of manufacture". He argues that the question of the significance of variation in artefact

design should be of primary importance, but instead tends to be assumed at the outset through the adoption of typo-chronologies. He admits that "the typological model is always likely to present a gross over-simplification of the situation", and that he has only used typological arguments "with the greatest of reluctance" (*ibid.*, 281). To create a typology that accurately reflects the spontaneous development of a particular artefact class involves many difficulties, especially when the typology is drawn up two thousand years after the artefacts were made and used. It is important also to remember that the typology is not an end in itself, but a means of organising data: following Spratling (*ibid.*), the organisation needs to allow questions about variation in artefact design to be answered as effectively as possible. These concerns are discussed in greater depth in **2.4**.

The final major problem with existing studies of terrets is that of terminology. It will be clear from comparison of the four typologies summarised above that names and categories are used differently by different authors: the term "lipped", for instance, is used by Spratling and Palk to refer to terrets with a series of bivalvular mouldings around the ring, while it is used by Leeds and MacGregor to refer to terrets decorated with three sets of transverse wings. Davies's (1996, 71-72, fig.6) review of terrets in Norfolk, following Wainwright (1993[1]) – also refers to terrets with transverse wings as "lipped", and uses the term "ribbed" to describe a kind of terret with three band-like mouldings set around the ring, entirely different from Spratling's (1972, 27) "caterpillar". Dungworth (1997, 'Details of types: TRT'), in his programme of XRF-analysis of Iron Age and Romano-British metalwork, again follows Leeds and MacGregor in his use of the term "lipped"; he also uses the term "looped" to describe those terrets more usually described as "dropped-bar", and in addition uses the term "pole-mounted" to describe those terrets with a projecting shank beneath the skirt: particularly problematic as there is no reason to suppose that these examples were inserted into the pole rather than the yoke.

The new typology attempts to clarify the use of these various terms. It follows existing terminology as far as possible, to avoid causing further confusion, and sets out

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[1] This is an unpublished BA dissertation which it has not proved possible to access

specifically its reasons for choosing one meaning over another when, as in the case of "lips", certain words are interpreted differently in different places. It is hoped that the terms proposed in this new typology are logical and clear.

1.3   Terrets in other archaeological literature

Despite the difficulties discussed above, much use has been made of terret typology in existing archaeological literature. Terrets have traditionally been viewed as artefacts that can help to determine the age and provenance of an assemblage, or the date of a context; it was partly with this supposition in mind that the above typologies were designed. From a brief review of the publications of some of the most famous assemblages to contain terrets, it is interesting to note how the assemblages have been interpreted, and how the terrets in particular have been used in those interpretations.

Westhall (Suffolk)

The Westhall hoard of bronze harness equipment was discovered in 1855 on a site of Roman occupation, and includes eight enamelled terrets and one plain bronze terret. Writing up the hoard in 1939, Clarke identified the enamelled terrets as "Leeds 2" types and, noting the technique of enamel embellishment and parallels with other items from Suffolk, Essex and Kent, stated that the hoard represented "the spread in East Anglia of Belgic craftsmanship after the adoption of polychromy in the phase of Claudian Romanisation" (Clarke 1939, 69).

The hoard was surrounded by blackened earth and charcoal; this, Clarke suggests, could have been the result of the destruction "at the hands of the over-zealous Roman troops" of the "isolated establishment" where the hoard was concealed (*ibid.*, 69). He suggests that the hoard was buried in AD 61, the year of the unsuccessful Icenian revolt under Boudicca, and describes the circumstances in which he believes it was buried:

> This wastage of the Iceni by fire, sword and famine... this harrying of fugitives and burning of isolated farmsteads and clusters of huts is surely the context for the concealment of the Santon and Westhall hoards... and of the abandonment of many Iron Age settlements which lay desolate throughout the Roman period.

> (*ibid.*, 87-88)

Clarke analyses the Westhall terrets carefully, paying attention to the technique of their decoration, and attempting to identify them typologically. However, he also indulges in dramatic interpretations of the circumstances of deposition. At his time of writing, he was unable to use any more precise method than typology to date the hoard, yet he goes so far as to suggest the very year in which it was buried. At this point he moves away from focusing on the terrets and other items in the hoard, and falls into quite specific assumptions about dates and circumstances of deposition based on his knowledge of the general political climate in Suffolk during the first century AD.

Stanwick/Melsonby (North Yorkshire)

The "Stanwick" hoard – which actually came from a site in the next-door parish of Melsonby – was discovered around 1843, but not published until 1962 by Morna MacGregor. At MacGregor's time of writing the hoard was believed to contain 19 terrets or terret fragments, but it is now thought that two fragments recorded separately by MacGregor are in fact pieces of the same item (Fitts *et al* 1999). More recently, in 2011, around 60 pieces of Iron Age – or, in a few cases, possibly Romano-British – metalwork, including fragments of seven terrets and three possible terrets, were recovered from two discrete locations in the likely vicinity of the findspot of the original hoard. These finds and the original hoard are likely to be connected. Between 2013 and 2014 a further 183 pieces were found, which are at the time of writing under consideration as Treasure; the 2011 finds were declared Treasure (Treasure case no.: 2011 T382), and have since been acquired by the British Museum. The 2011 finds are here referred to collectively as the "Aldbrough St. John" assemblage, in order to distinguish them from the 1843 Stanwick/Melsonby hoard, while accepting that some or

all of the new finds may be from the original group but missed by the nineteenth-century investigators.

The original Stanwick/Melsonby hoard appears to comprise at least four sets of horse equipment. Based on stylistic observation, MacGregor (1962) dates set 'A' to the mid-first century AD, set 'B' slightly later, set 'C' – which contains some Roman influence – to approximately AD 60-70, and set 'D' on the basis of the lip mouldings and enamel styles to AD 50. MacGregor variously assigns the Stanwick terrets to Leeds Types 3 and 5, noting that Type 3 terrets are usually found in the south-west and north-east of the country and are thought mainly to date from the second half of the first century AD. She claims that the hoard's strap junctions and four of its terrets can "confidently" be attributed to "local craftsmen... in view of very similar objects from Fremington Hagg, Swaledale (North Riding)" (*ibid.*, 33).

After some discussion of the evolution of the artistic designs and styles represented in the hoard, and of styles that could be attributed to particular British tribes, MacGregor goes on to state that during the mid-first century AD south-western metalwork types began to appear in the north-east of the country. She attributes this to a movement either of goods or people, possibly due to fear of Roman invasion. She notes that the Dobunni tribe inhabited the south-west of England but were patronised by Belgic tribes from the south-east; although in the mid-first century AD the Dobunni were unlikely to have felt at risk of invasion, they or their wares may have accompanied Belgic peoples fleeing north.

In MacGregor's discussion of the Stanwick/Melsonby hoard, we again see careful stylistic analysis of the terrets and other items set alongside imaginative interpretations of the political climate at the time of its deposition. Unlike Clarke (1939) in his discussion of Westhall, MacGregor does not attempt to identify the specific date of or reasons for the hoard's interment; rather, she gives an account of the political and social background against which the hoard was deposited, without linking the hoard explicitly to particular events. On a broader scale, she observes changes in the distribution of certain artefact styles throughout the country as the first century AD progressed, and suggests an explanation based on known historical occurrences.

Llyn Cerrig Bach (Anglesey)

The Llyn Cerrig Bach hoard was recovered from a peat bog in 1942, and included three simple terrets: one with an iron bar and two all-bronze, the smaller of which has a moulded band of pseudo-stitching along its spine. In the first major write-up of the hoard, Fox (1946) drew parallels between the iron-bar terret and examples from Hunmanby, Stanwick/Melsonby and Middlebie, and between the larger all-bronze terret and examples from Glastonbury and Cadbury Castle. He attributed them both to the first half of the first century AD (*ibid.*, 35-36). Viewing the assemblage as a whole, and finding that it lacked any Roman influence, Fox posited that the deposit had been made before the Roman conquest. He suggested places of origin for almost every item, concluding that the assemblage represented the acquisition of items of diverse provenance, rather than local craft (*ibid.*, 61, 66, 70).

Fox interpreted the find as a votive hoard, based on descriptions from Caesar (*The Gallic War* 6:17) and Strabo (*Geography* 4:1:13) of Gauls piling up booty from successful battles in hallowed places, and placing treasure in sacred pools. Tacitus (*Annals* 14:30) describes a Roman victory over the druids of Anglesey in AD 61. From this, Fox (1946, 68-72) inferred that Llyn Cerrig Bach was likely to have been a religious centre at which druids controlled the making of offerings into the bog, and that if Anglesey was indeed a druidic stronghold, this would account for its apparent richness and for the ability of its inhabitants to import valuable metalwork from all over Britain, in the absence of any other evidence for the local economy.

Revisiting the hoard, Macdonald (2007, 9) described the three terrets as all being of Leeds Type 1, and of Spratling Groups I and II. In a lengthy discussion of terret types and typologies, he concluded that no existing typology is sufficiently specific to be able to date the Llyn Cerrig Bach terrets reliably (*ibid.*, 10-20). He found that the terrets form part of a stylistic group which dates from the fourth or third centuries BC into the mid-first century AD, and that there is no evidence to suggest they are late examples (*ibid.*, 161). Macdonald argued that deposition at Llyn Cerrig Bach took place over a prolonged period. Radiocarbon dating of the small sample of animal bone remaining from the bog suggested that deposition of animal bone began there in the fourth century BC and continued at least until the second century BC (*ibid.*, 168). Most of the artefact

types were current from the fourth or third centuries BC until the mid-first century AD, while a smaller group range in date from the mid-first century AD to the second century AD. This group was distinguished partly on stylistic grounds, and also by the identification of a zinc-rich alloy used in the manufacture of a riveted sheet fragment. Macdonald, who accepted that the site was votive (*ibid.*, 171), also pointed out that depositional practices could have continued in Britain much later than has generally been accepted, as there is no reason why Roman conquest should necessarily have affected metalwork circulation.

Fox (1946), through a close concentration on stylistic detail, was perhaps too keen to identify regional schools or cultures of metalwork and art, and may have unnecessarily dismissed the possibility of North Wales as a region in which metalwork production took place. However, his interpretation – based on historical sources – of the site as an arena for votive deposition was insightful and innovative, and looks unlikely to be contradicted. Macdonald (2007) has highlighted the limited usefulness of typo-chronology; his interpretations have benefited from scientific analysis of both bone and metal from the site, as well as from cautious appraisal of the historical sources. It is interesting to note that Macdonald's discussion of the terrets, whilst far more detailed and technical than Fox's, led to the conclusion that there was very little about the artefacts themselves that could be said with certainty.

Seven Sisters (Neath Port Talbot)

The Seven Sisters hoard was presented to the National Museum of Wales in the early twentieth century. It contains only three terrets – two D-shaped with enamelled knobs, and one skirted – although, as it was recovered from a stream swollen by flooding in the nineteenth century, it is possible that other items were swept away. Davies and Spratling (1976) note that the two knobbed terrets are almost identical, but of fractionally different sizes, indicating that they could not have been cast from the same mould. They record that each bears three knobs with insets for white and red champlevé enamel, and that the terrets closely match three from the Saham Toney hoard.

The hoard also contains ingots, jets, billets and lumps of bronze. The artefacts included are both old and new, leading Davies and Spratling to conclude that it was likely to have been the hoard of a smith's workshop. It is, they claim, unlikely to have been a votive deposit: such deposits are usually made in wet, marshy locations, and the stream at Seven Sisters was "normally only a few centimetres deep, nowhere more than a metre wide, and runs down a slope hardly likely to produce more than a tiny pool of slack water at any point or any depth or any breadth of marshy ground suitable for such an offering" (*ibid.*, 139). It is "improbable that the conditions have much changed since the deposition of the hoard nineteen centuries ago", and "far more appropriate" conditions for a votive deposit occur nearby (*ibid.*). This reasoning is, however, questionable, as it relies upon rather a sweeping assumption about suitable locations for votive deposition during the Iron Age, as well as about the constancy of local environmental and climate conditions.

Davies and Spratling suggest that the hoard belonged to the Silures, who obtained the Roman material either through a successful engagement, or as a diplomatic gift, from Romans or other Britons. They suggest that it was deposited between AD 49 and 78, when there was a prolonged struggle between Romans and native peoples in the area. This dating has been supported in a more recent review of the hoard by Davis and Gwilt (2008, 163-164), who compare the native-style horse-gear to examples from other assemblages including those from Stanwick/Melsonby and Saham Toney. Comparable early appearances of polychrome enamel on items of La Tène metalwork are highlighted as particularly relevant. Davis's assessment of the material also involves the metallurgical analysis of 16 of the pieces from the hoard. Davis finds that the high zinc component of the Seven Sisters enamel "could suggest native manufacture of the material used", as reasonably abundant sources of zinc occur within relatively close reach of the hoard's location (*ibid.*, 151-152, 156-158, 161).

Metallurgical analysis carried out by Davis (*ibid.*, 150) reveals all of the native-style horse-gear in the Seven Sisters hoard – including the two knobbed terrets – to be brass, with a zinc content of around 17%. Brass began to be used for minting coins in eastern England from around 20 BC (Clogg and Haselgrove 1995, 55), and in the south-east was also used for the production of certain brooch types of Continental origin from the early to mid-first century BC (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 209). The prevalence of brass

increased throughout the rest of Britain during and after the Roman invasion (Dungworth 1997, ch.5.7). Davis and Gwilt (2008, 176) find that the Seven Sisters hoard is evidence of the "selective native uptake of Roman technologies", such as the working of brass and enamel, probably during the third quarter of the first century AD. This was a period of "campaigning and guerrilla warfare between the Roman Army and the largely resistant tribes in Wales", a context which "arguably created the conditions for martial identities to flourish and for rapid technological change to occur" (*ibid.*, 165).

In Davies and Spratling's (1976) account of the Seven Sisters hoard we see painstaking examination of the style and manufacture of the terrets. Where interpretation moves away from direct analysis of the material, we also see generalisations about Iron Age ritual practice, and quite specific assumptions about the hoard's origin and deposition based on historical background detail. In Davis and Gwilt's (2008) account we see, again, specific and close stylistic analysis of the material, which benefits from juxtaposition with metallurgical analysis. We again see the hoard interpreted vividly within its proposed historical context, although Davis and Gwilt point out the danger of tying the material to known historical events, preferring to see it in terms of a "general 'tide-mark' of visible metalwork use and deposition at this time" (*ibid.*, 165). In a crucial difference, Davis and Gwilt do not attempt to uncover the specific history of this particular assemblage, but rather try to cast light on the social and cultural conditions that enabled material *such as this* to be manufactured.

The Arras graves (East Yorkshire)

Ian Stead's (1979, 50-52) publication on the Arras graves of East Yorkshire includes a section on terrets, and lists those from the chariot burials of Hunmanby, the King's Barrow, the Lady's Barrow and Garton Slack. He also lists harness rings and harness loops from a number of other chariot burials in the area. The list consists of measurements and a simple description for each artefact, and is followed by a discussion of terrets in general. Here, Stead draws comparisons between the Arras terrets and examples from elsewhere in Britain, and goes on to consider briefly the evidence for terrets and harness rings in Continental chariot burials. Stead's emphasis

is mainly on the history and origin of the artefact class, and on the evidence the artefact's history may provide for a relationship between chariotry in Britain and on mainland Europe: the bronze-covered iron rings from Danes Graves, he suggests, were "probably used as terrets" and "could have formed an intermediate stage between the bronze rings on the continent and the D-terrets used in Britain" (*ibid.*, 52).

Revisiting the Arras chariot burials in her recent study of the Iron Age in East Yorkshire, Melanie Giles (2012, 195-197) takes each chariot component in turn, and includes a discursive section on the terrets and yoke. Giles describes and compares the various designs of terret encountered within different chariot burials, and notes evidence for wear and repair. She contrasts this evidence with the "sham" terrets from Ferry Fryston, West Yorkshire, which consist of copper-alloy sheaths around a clay/silt core, and which would have quickly shattered had the apparently ceremonial vehicle done more than "trundle to the graveside" (*ibid.*, 197). While Giles does not describe the terrets in great technical detail – she does not record their measurements, or make reference to typology – she goes on to consider the character of the Iron Age chariot itself, and the ways in which chariots would have been experienced both by those who drove them and those who witnessed their use. She suggests that the chariot would have "enhanced all kinds of processions and ceremonies... [made] an excellent platform for oration and debate, as well as providing a stage for feats of dexterity and prowess" (*ibid.*, 204). Giles interprets the chariot burial itself as a kind of performance, related to the theatrical role played by the chariot above ground.

This is a highly interpretive approach, which can be compared to that of Davis and Gwilt (2008) in that it aims to develop understanding of the social context in which chariots and their equipment were used. However, whereas Davis and Gwilt seek to draw out the background detail to the Seven Sisters hoard, through reference to Roman campaigns and local warfare, Giles's focus is on the foreground: she is concerned with how terrets and chariots were experienced by people, and with the cultural meanings that these artefacts may have held. While Giles's discussion of the terrets is less technical than some of the other publications reviewed here, it animates not only the world in which the artefacts were used, but the vitality of the artefacts within it.

<u>Bury Hill (Hampshire)</u>

The six terrets found at Bury Hill during excavations in 1990 were recovered along with other items of copper-alloy horse-gear from a single deposit of soil thrown into the tops of two adjacent pits, at the same time, on the settlement. The terrets are described in detail in the report (Cunliffe and Poole 2000), with parallels drawn with known terrets elsewhere. They are divided into three distinct groups: "rosette- and tendril-decorated", "crested" and "lipped" (*ibid.*, 47-50). Cunliffe and Poole note the periodic filling and silting in the pits, and the emphasis on horse-trappings, suggesting that this "gives some hint of a periodicity within the belief system and underlines the significance attached at this time to the chariot" (*ibid.*, 80). An exceptionally high proportion of animal bone at the site was horse (48.2%), which the authors take to suggest that the horse and chariot played significant roles in both the social system and belief system of the occupants (*ibid.*, 24, 81). Recent remodelling of existing and additional radiocarbon dates for the two pits containing harness-gear, as part of a new dating project for Bury Hill, has shown that the phase of activity which included deposition in the pits began in *230-160 cal BC (95% probability)*, and probably in *210-175 cal BC (68%)*. It ended in *185-70 cal BC (95%)*, and probably in *170-110 cal BC (68%)* (Colin Haselgrove pers. comm., e-mail 1st July 214). This indicates that deposition of the harness-gear is likely to have taken place at some point in the second century BC.

Although Cunliffe and Poole do not focus particularly on the terrets, the apparently ritualistic context in which the terrets were found undoubtedly contributed to their interpretation of the social and cosmological significance attached to the horse and chariot at Bury Hill. The fact that the terrets were discovered during the large-scale excavation of a settlement meant that considerable interpretive opportunities were open to the authors: using evidence from bone, wood, floral and faunal assemblages and pottery stratification as well as stylistic analysis of the metalwork, they were able to date the site to the late second and early first centuries BC (*ibid.*, 24). They were also able to draw upon the large quantities of horse-bone found at the site when constructing their interpretation of the social and belief systems of its inhabitants. Such a wide scope is only rarely possible in the study of terrets, since many reach archaeologists as single finds or as items from isolated hoards or votive deposits, but this example demonstrates the benefits of a contextual approach to artefact interpretation.

<u>Weelsby Avenue (Lincolnshire)</u>

Although containing no actual terrets, the mould assemblage from Weelsby Avenue is significant not only for the volume of material it provides relating to terret manufacture, but for the fact that many of the mould fragments found at the site are for terret forms unparalleled in any known surviving artefacts (Foster 1995). In her report on the assemblage, Jennifer Foster (*ibid.*) describes the various styles of terret ring and bar implied by the mould fragments, and assesses the evidence for techniques of casting and decoration. She considers evidence from the site for the manufacture of other kinds of item, looks at the crucibles and furnace debris, and assesses the craftsmanship displayed by the metal-working remains. Drawing all this information together, Foster goes on to discuss the social context of metal production at the site: the report considers the permanent nature of the settlement, the question of whether the metal-workers lived at the site or were itinerant, and the social status of the metal-workers. Foster (*ibid.*, 57) also points out that the appearance at Weelsby Avenue of moulds for previously known artefact types highlights "the impoverished nature of the archaeological record".

Foster's report expands outwards from technical analysis of metal-working technique to a broader consideration of the social and economic world in which the work itself took place, and through which the products of that work were distributed. Her analysis adopts a perspective different from that of most of the case studies here: rather than concentrate on the individuals and communities who were acquiring, using and disposing of terrets, she focuses on those individuals and communities who made them. Her approach to the Weelsby Avenue assemblage alerts us to the danger of *creating* gaps in the archaeological interpretation of material culture by overlooking aspects of its social context, just as it reminds us how much material might have already disappeared from the archaeological record.

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From this review of a small but significant sample of British terret finds, we can draw some conclusions about the ways in which terrets have been interpreted and used by

archaeologists. They have generally been painstakingly examined, described in close technical detail, and attempts have been made to locate their date and provenance through analysis of their typologies and manufacture. Terrets, usually in conjunction with other objects, have often been used to date assemblages on stylistic grounds. However, as though to counteract the vagaries of dating on typological grounds, there has been in some cases an over-reliance on known historical events to suggest more precisely the dates of the terrets and their associated material. Sometimes (e.g. Clarke 1939; Fox 1946; Davies and Spratling 1976) this has led to quite specific assumptions being made about the dates and circumstances of the depositions on the basis of general historical information. The meticulous recording and analysis of the terrets is in marked contrast with sometimes speculative interpretations of the circumstances of their arrival in the ground. The more recent publications discussed here (Foster 1995; Cunliffe and Poole 2000; Macdonald 2007; David and Gwilt 2008; Giles 2012) suggest a trend towards a general contextual emphasis: in these publications, certain conclusions are drawn about the society in which the artefacts originate, but the authors stop short of attempting to recreate histories unique to the artefacts in question.

1.4   Other artefact studies

A range of strategies for artefact study can be seen in recent publications, including Joy's *Iron Age Mirrors: a biographical approach* (2010), Eckardt and Crummy's *Styling the Body in Late Iron Age and Roman Britain: a contextual approach to toilet instruments* (2008) and Stead's *British Iron Age Swords and Scabbards* (2006). Joy's (2010) catalogue of Iron Age British mirrors analyses their manufacture, their decoration, physical evidence for their use, wear and repair, and discusses their social and cultural properties. Overall, he seeks to utilise this information to construct "biographies" for mirrors, basing his research on a theoretical framework that draws on object biography as a means "to uncover the layers of meaning built up during the life history of individual mirrors" (*ibid.*, 7). While this approach is centred more closely on the "lives" of the artefacts themselves than of the people who used them, it allows human interaction to be explored through the "social relationships" in which mirrors are involved.

Joy's study differs from the approach taken by Eckardt and Crummy (2008), who analyse the changing spatial distribution of different toilet implements (such as tweezers, nail cleaners and razors) over time in order to consider how personal grooming practices changed during the Late Iron Age and Roman periods in Britain. Eckardt and Crummy point out that most of the artefacts were items for private use and would not themselves have been on display; rather than the artefacts being status items, they suggest that the artefacts were used to display a groomed body (*ibid.*, 91). Whilst their study is based on material culture, its interpretive emphasis is on the status and identity that may have been expressed through the visible effects of using the material. Where artefacts are associated with human remains, they argue that archaeologists should address different aspects of the individual's identity – such as age, gender and class – in order to establish how the artefacts were used by different groups of people.

Stead's (2006) work on Iron Age swords and scabbards has the heaviest empirical emphasis of the three studies discussed here. Stead divides the swords and scabbards by type and, for each type, includes stylistic and typological discussions. His interpretation is limited, but consists of a short section in which he considers theories around the deposition of swords and scabbards in water, discusses how styles varied over time and region, and questions how the items may have been used in battle. As in Joy's (2010) work, people stand back behind the objects, but unlike in Joy's work, focus is on the broad body or class of artefacts, not on the artefact as an individual entity. Joy's individual artefacts exist, moreover, as mobile agents within a social network, whereas Stead's artefacts are passive and inanimate, existing principally as the material resolution of technological or aesthetic ideals.

It is evident from these brief reviews that artefact studies can be approached in a variety of ways. However, most of the existing work on Iron Age terrets has tended to be empirical in nature: little interpretive work has been carried out along the lines of, for example, Eckardt and Crummy's (2008) investigation into identity, status and social responses to Roman conquest. The present study aims to combine an empirical core – the database – with an interpretive outlook. Chapter Two introduces the theoretical framework within which this interpretive work will be developed.

CHAPTER TWO
Theoretical framework

This chapter sets out a theoretical framework for the study of terrets in the Late Iron Age and Early Roman period. The first section presents an introduction to object theory and an investigation into theoretical approaches to the study of artefacts. The second section moves on to consider how past social identities can be understood, and the extent to which they can be identified in the material record of Iron Age Britain. The third section considers how post-colonial theory can challenge the concept of "Romanisation". The final section presents a discussion of the theoretical considerations taken into account during the construction of the proposed new terret typology.

2.1   Object theory and artefact study

A particular class of object or artefact – the terret – is at the centre of this project, and the project involves careful scrutiny of the stylistic properties of hundreds of individual terrets. As Julian Thomas (1996, 78-82) has pointed out, there is a danger in looking too closely at the materiality and technology of an object: we can risk losing sight of the object itself, and of the position it occupied in the society in which it originated. With this in mind, it is important to address exactly what we mean by objects, or artefacts, and to consider the relationship between objects and people.

2.1.1   *Objects, people and conspicuous consumption*

At the most basic level, an object can be understood as an inanimate material entity. Those of most interest to archaeology are those made, modified or otherwise used by a person. Although generally understood to be non-living, there are occasions when objects take on the characteristics of people, and vice versa. An association between kinds of object and kinds of person has been explored through the notion of "biographical objects", a term used by Violette Morin (1969) to describe objects that, in

the materialistic society of 1960s France, had become so closely associated with certain social groups or classes that they had come to represent and, indeed, to define those groups. It was not always the case, she argued, that intellectuals wore glasses, and that the bourgeoisie bought fridges: rather, it was the case that glasses signified the intellectual, and fridges signified the bourgeoisie. These objects had gained human characteristics, to such an extent that the objects were able to impart their characteristics onto people.

In the situation described by Morin, a person's possessions can be considered to indicate (or even to determine) that person's position in society. If this is possible, then it is not surprising that in some circumstances a person may deliberately obtain and use a certain object in order to convey their status, or wealth, or some aspect of their character. This practice of "conspicuous consumption" was described in the context of the late nineteenth-century USA by Thorstein Veblen (1899, 2007, 53), who argued that people who are highest on the social scale will seek out the highest quality and most expensive goods primarily for personal comfort, but also for "honorific" purposes, because "the failure to consume in due quantity and quality becomes a mark of inferiority and demerit".

Although both Morin's and Veblen's discussions are concerned with modern western society, the idea that status and wealth are expressed through material consumption often arises in Iron Age archaeology. Iron Age artefacts that appear to have been expensive in terms of material or labour are frequently described as "status", "élite" or "prestige" goods. Where they are found in association with human remains, the artefacts are typically used as the basis for an interpretation of the person as someone of high status. For instance, Mike Parker Pearson (1999, 56-57) considers that the "rare and elaborate" artefacts contained in certain East Yorkshire chariot burials indicate "royal status". The concept that social status, personal wealth and conspicuous consumption go hand-in-hand in Iron Age Britain appears especially viable where we find marked differences in the quantity and apparent value of artefacts associated with individuals. At the Kirkburn cemetery in Yorkshire, for example, grave K5 contained a chariot and a set of associated horse-trappings, plus an extremely rare iron mail coat, while in comparison grave K6 contained a stud, a hollow ring, a jet bead and an amber bead (Stead 1991).

J.D. Hill (2006; 2011) has countered that, in a world of limited resources managed by changeable extended networks of kinship, fosterage and clientship, Iron Age societies may have been structurally volatile. Land, wealth and status might not have been easily maintained or bequeathed, and extravagant displays of prosperity – such as rich burials – might have been "[binges]" (Hill 2006, 177), reflecting short-term success rather than long-term patterns of social organisation and hierarchy. Moreover, it needs to be noted that the concept of conspicuous consumption is not universal. Alfred Gell (1986) has written about the modern-day Muria people of central India, some of whom have found themselves suddenly wealthy as a result of advances in agricultural technology. Rather than display their wealth, which would risk alienating them from their peers, the newly rich among the Muria maintain the appearance of living in poverty, while accumulating valuable savings. Gell's example of the Muria also illustrates the gap that can exist between the impression people wish to convey through their choices of consumption, and the reality of their lives.

Consumption of particular objects need not only indicate wealth or status, but can relate – implicitly or explicitly – to aspects of identity such as age, gender, family, ethnicity, or regional or political affiliation. Chapters Seven and Eight consider how aspects of social identity in Late Iron Age and Early Roman Britain might have been expressed through the use of terrets. Meanwhile, the idea that terrets necessarily reflect the expression of *personal* or *individual* identity is challenged in **9.3.1**.

2.1.2   *"General" and "special" artefacts and spheres*

In the context of the European Iron Age, the exchange of "prestige" goods between peoples in different regions has often been explained in terms of "reciprocal gift-giving", a system in which occasional high-value goods are exchanged between élite groups to cement their relationship, and to facilitate the exchange of more utilitarian goods of use to the wider populations (e.g. Dalton 1977; Cunliffe 2008, 27). As we have seen, the concept of an Iron Age structured economy driven by élites has been contested (Hill 2006; 2011; **2.1.1**). Nonetheless, the exchange of artefacts – both high-

value and prosaic – between regions can reasonably be taken as evidence of an underlying social relationship, however formal or established the arrangement.

Related to the concept of "prestige gifts" is the possibility that particular items were restricted to particular kinds of exchange, or for use in particular spheres. It would be simplistic to suggest that the kinds of items possibly exchanged as prestige gifts in Iron Age Europe were the same kinds of items offered to deities, although apparently high-quality items do often appear in apparently votive contexts, and in some cases appear to have been manufactured specially for ceremonial purposes: the Battersea Shield, for instance, was too short and flimsy to have functioned as effective armour (British Museum undated (a)). The deposition of "lavish" artefacts was not as common during the Iron Age as it had been during the Bronze Age, however, and tended to be focused around special ritual sites such as La Tène itself (Bradley 1998, 181); as the La Tène era progressed, more "standardised" items such as coins and ingots became increasingly prominent in votive deposits (*ibid.*).

It may have been that perfectly ordinary objects, once entered into the "special" sphere, were no longer ordinary, and could no longer be used in every-day transaction or exchange. Many coins have been found at votive sites across Europe in both Roman and "native" contexts, and are frequently crossed out, bent, or damaged in some other way. Aarts (2005) suggests that the coins were damaged before being offered to the gods so that they could be taken out of circulation, and no longer be used in every-day transaction or exchange. A comparable practice is seen in the Middle Ages, when visitors seeking miracles at Christian shrines made vows "accompanied by the old custom of selecting a coin to offer to the saint and 'bending' it to mark it for that purpose and no other" (Webb 2000, 176). In the Iron Age, we may infer that at the point of damage and deposition the coins made the transition from a "general" to a "special" sphere. The same theory could be applied to votive deposition in general: the deliberate damage or "ritual killing" (Macdonald 2007, 172) of metalwork before deposition in a votive context is a frequently-observed phenomenon across Iron Age Europe.

Although we can recognise certain artefacts as "terrets" by their physical form, their significance will vary from context to context. **5.2.2** explores whether certain kinds of

terret were used primarily for "special" purposes, while the deposition of terrets in "special" contexts is considered at greater length in Chapter Nine.

2.1.3   *Things-in-motion, society in flux: a theoretical approach to artefact study*

In his seminal paper 'Commodities and the Politics of Value', Arjun Appadurai (1986, 5) argues: "We have to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories... it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context". The uses and significances of an object can change over time, and although the object may remain unchanged, its changing use can indicate cultural shifts in the society in which it is "in motion" (Gosden and Marshall 1999).

Around 600 Iron Age terrets or fragments are known from within the area under study here, made and used from around the third century BC until the second and perhaps third or fourth centuries AD. All of these artefacts have to a certain extent undergone physical change: all have aged, many show signs of wear, some are broken, and others have been damaged but show evidence of repair. If we move back from the individual terrets to look at terrets as a class of item, we can see change on a larger scale: the use and development of different materials, different stylistic and functional features, and different forms of decoration. Any study of terrets will need, then, to take an approach that is both specific and broad. It will be necessary to look closely at individual artefacts in order to build up a wider picture of the changing artefact class as a whole. But how is it possible to move from the study of a particular artefact class to the study of the society in which that artefact originated, and to the *people* of whom that society was composed?

Part of the appeal of archaeological artefacts is the immediacy with which they convey a sense of their history. While the remains of buildings and structures suggest the lives of communities, artefacts suggest the lives of the individuals who made and handled them. However, this immediacy can be false: when we touch an Iron Age artefact we know that it was once touched by an Iron Age individual, but we have no idea who that individual was. The connection that we feel to the long-gone person with whom we share the feel of a particular object in our hands is an amalgamation of impressions that

we have gathered of Iron Age society in general. With this in mind, it is in most cases unrealistic to seek out the people, as individuals, behind the terrets; more easily visible is the web of relationships and connections between individuals.

As we saw above, Appadurai (1986) claimed that the human and social contexts of objects are made visible by "things-in-motion". In other words, by studying the uses and trajectories of objects as they move through time and place, we can learn about the society that moves them: much as, were we to plot the course of a piece of seaweed carried into a beach on the tide, we would learn about the currents, wave patterns and tidal range of that particular part of the ocean. By studying the trajectories not only of individual terrets, but of terrets as a class of object, it may be possible to work out the underlying social currents. For example, where a new stylistic feature appears on terrets in one part of the country and spreads, we may be able to infer direct or indirect relationships between the people in those different regions. Where the contexts in which terrets are deposited change, we may be able to infer changing societal pressures and responses. Just as terrets can be studied as "things-in-motion", we can view evidence of past social relationships and societal developments as evidence of "people-in-motion". The remains of individual humans are motionless in the ground, but where we see evidence in the material record for interaction, creativity and change, we are faced with the traces of people and society in flux.

2.2   Identifying "social groups" and "social identities" in Iron Age Britain

If we are to attempt to identify past society and social change in the archaeological record, we need first to be clear about how we understand the concept of "society" in Late Iron Age Britain. How, at this time, did people live and engage with one another? How formal was this engagement?

Any attempt to identify social groups and identities in Iron Age Britain inevitably involves a consideration of the notion of "tribes". After conquest, Rome divided Britain into *civitates* or administrative units, thought to have been based on Roman understanding of existing tribal territories (Millett 1995), although it has long been acknowledged that these divisions may not be an accurate reflection of how native

peoples viewed themselves. Moore (2011) has criticised further the tribal model of Iron Age social organisation, arguing that the word "tribe" lacks proper theoretical definition within the archaeology of the British Iron Age, and that "concepts of Late Iron Age 'tribes' emerged in a colonial and cultural-historical context... [which in] the early twentieth century... broadly reflected contemporary anthropological perceptions of pre-industrial societies" (*ibid.*, 344). The concept of "tribe" implies a named, bounded, hierarchical ethnic group with a well-defined territory, which may be inappropriate in the context of pre-Roman Britain. Social identities may well have been changeable and fluid during the complex period of the Iron Age/Roman transition; it is dangerous, Moore argues, to assume long-term continuity, and to project the names and territories identified by Rome further back in time.

Roman historical sources not only give us tribal names, but tell us that different peoples in different parts of Britain responded in different ways to Roman invasion. Caratacus fought the Romans in the south-east and, when resistance there collapsed, led the Silures and later the Ordovices against invasion. It is inferred from these sources that other leaders, such as Cartimandua of the Brigantes, made diplomatic treaties with the Romans. The Iceni, initially considered a "friendly" tribe under Prasutagus, rose up and rebelled under his wife Boudicca (Creighton 2006, 52, 159). Following Moore (2011), we need to be aware that the references within these narratives to specific tribes or peoples are made from a Roman perspective. Nonetheless, these differing responses do appear to indicate the presence of leaders who had autonomy from one another, and who were able to guide their groups in quite different political directions; it is interesting to note that some leaders chose from early on in the Roman campaign to negotiate with Rome rather than support other British groups in resistance. This implies the existence of a quasi-political social organisation in Britain before, or at least by the time of, the Roman invasion, in which groups of people were differentiated to a certain extent by leaders and by territories, although we cannot be sure how formal this organisation was, or how for how long the "inner integrity" (Bromley 1980, 153) of these groups was maintained.

Nor is it straight-forward to find evidence in the archaeological record either for the existence of these social groups, or for ways in which individuals may have expressed identification with them through material culture. Many attempts were made by

archaeologists in the twentieth century to link specific British "tribes" with certain material cultures, from Fox's (1946) effort to attribute almost every item in the Llyn Cerrig Bach assemblage to some particular region of Britain (or to further afield), to MacGregor's (1962) suggestion that the appearance during the mid-first century AD of apparently south-western metalwork types in the north-east of the country could be due to the migration of the Dobunni and Belgae in anticipation of Roman invasion (**1.3**). This was basically a culture-historic approach, in keeping with Childe's (1956) influential concept of cultures – the notion that a past society could be identified and defined by unique elements in its material record – and one that was generally accepted until the 1960s and 1970s, when the culture-historic argument began to be subjected to criticism.

Stephen Shennan (1989, 7) has described the idea that particular peoples can be identified in particular territories through their material culture as a product of "nineteenth century romantic nationalism" and the modern preoccupation with the nation state. In recent decades, the study of past societies has shifted from an emphasis on clearly-defined "cultures" to an emphasis on the more fluid "ethnic identity", described as "self-conscious identification with a particular social group" (*ibid.*, 6). However, the concept of "society" or the "social group" is not in itself simple. Michael Mann (1986, 1) has argued that societies should not be seen as totalities, but that they constitute "multiple layers of overlapping and intersecting sociospatial networks of power". Likewise, Thomas (1996, 178) has suggested that societies are not self-contained or "sutured" entities, but "overlapping spheres of activity". From this perspective, we can see that although societies and social groups may be structured to a greater or lesser extent, they exist as the expression of numerous constantly changing activities and relationships. These activities and relationships also underlie the notion of "social identity", which can be understood as the conceptualisation of those aspects of personhood relevant especially to social interaction: how one perceives oneself in relation to others.

If we accept that societies are overlapping and multi-faceted, then we can understand that the ways in which people identify with society – their "social identities" – will also operate on different levels and in different spheres. Writing about social identities in Iron Age Scotland, Fraser Hunter (2006, 286-287) states that we need to be aware of

"the existence of different identities at different scales". Taking the example of pottery, Hunter notes that while certain styles are localised to the level of site-specific variation, other artefacts – such as glass bangles, found across southern Scotland and northern England – have broader distributions, indicating social interaction over broader distances. Still other artefacts found in Scotland, decorative metalwork in particular, whether imported from the Continent or made locally but with Continental stylistic affinities, have their origins far from northern Britain. These foreign goods "mark affiliation to a wider world" (*ibid.*, 288).

It may be unproductive, then, to search for distinct social groups or identities in the material record: with the arguable exception of tribally-inscribed coins, it is unlikely that we will ever be able to say with certainty that particular tribes or peoples manufactured particular artefacts, or developed particular artefact styles. Macdonald (2007) argues that it is, at present, impossible to identify particular regional metal-working schools in Britain, as the only detailed evidence for metal-working comes from Iron Age foundries at Gussage All Saints in Dorset (Spratling 1979) and Weelsby Avenue in Lincolnshire (Sills and Kingsley 1990; Foster 1995). At Weelsby Avenue around 80% of the 3000 mould fragments found on the site were for the production of terrets, but most of the moulds demonstrate styles of ring and bar that are unparalleled in any known surviving artefacts (Foster 1995): we do not know where these terrets were used. Neither does the distribution of artefacts in the material record necessarily mark place of manufacture: Thomas (1996, 159-162) has pointed out that in the "distribution map" approach to studying artefacts, the map is simply "the fossilised imprint of processes of exchange, each artefact coming to rest and registering archaeologically at the point at which it ceased to circulate".

Nevertheless, whether distribution patterns reflect manufacture, use or deposition, we may still draw inferences about underlying social relationships if we are able to identify stylistic, technological or behavioural influences moving between parts of Britain. In some cases, we might be able to identify distinct trends in the use or curation of material culture, even if the material culture itself cannot be linked exclusively to particular peoples. The chariot burial rite of East and North Yorkshire is an example of this: although there are known instances of chariot burial elsewhere in Britain, there is a distinct focus of the practice in East and North Yorkshire in a limited period in the third

or second centuries BC. This is evidence of a localised trend in the deposition of chariot equipment, and also raises the question of a social connection between those communities practising the rite around the Humber Estuary and further afield, whether directly or through a common influence.

If, as suggested above, it is possible to understand societies as manifestations of human interaction, then it may be more helpful to seek out patterns of influence and contact in the material record than it is to seek out evidence for specific social groups. When trying to recognise social identity in the Iron Age archaeological record, it is not necessarily important to establish that the people who lived in a particular place were, for instance, members of the Iceni: this, even if it could be ascertained as a fact, tells the archaeologist very little. More important is the archaeological evidence that shows us to what extent these people were *like* one another, who else they were *like* and how, and who they were *not like*. This approach, drawing on Hunter's (2006, 287) notion of "different identities at different scales", allows us to view social identity as something fluid and adaptable: a point especially important to bear in mind in the context of Roman invasion.

2.3   Post-colonial theory in archaeology, and challenging "Romanisation"

The present project focuses on the period c.400 BC – AD 200, a time in which increasing contact between Britain and Rome eventually culminated in the incorporation of large parts of Britain into the Roman empire. Many of the social and cultural changes that took place in Britain during this period can be viewed in the context of Roman colonialism, so it is important to consider the visibility of colonialism within the archaeological record. There has been some reluctance in archaeology to apply the word "colonialism" to prehistory, as it is feared that the modern implications may distort our understanding of events that occurred in the distant past. However, if we understand it to mean a situation in which people from one society travel and settle away from their home area in order to assert control forcibly over the populations and resources of other societies, for the benefit of the home society, then we can see "colonialism" as an appropriate term for the activities of the Roman empire (Rowlands 1998).

It is important here also to clarify what is meant by the term "Roman", and by the concept of the "Roman conquest". The Claudian invasion of south-eastern Britain in AD 43 was not necessarily intended to initiate conquest, but may have been planned as an exercise through which client kings could be reinstated (Jones and Mattingly 1990, 65). Following the success of this initial campaign, Claudius instructed the governor Plautius to complete the conquest of the island (*ibid.*, 66). This is commonly taken as the beginning of the "Roman period" in Britain, although in reality Roman cultural and material influence was already felt to differing degrees. We have seen that Roman techniques of metal-working, involving the use of zinc as a copper alloy, had already been in use in eastern England for around 60 years, and certain aspects of Roman taste were well-established in parts of the south-east. For example, finds of amphorae dating to the first century BC and early first century AD, clustered largely around the areas of Hengistbury Head, Colchester and St. Albans, attest to Late Iron Age consumption of Italian wines (*ibid.*, 57, map 3.17).

The invasion itself was a lengthy and jagged process. Although conquest of southern England and the Midlands occurred relatively quickly, Roman rule was in the south-east interrupted by the Icenian revolt of AD 60-61; the violent siege evident at Cadbury Castle could have occurred as late as the 60s (although dating evidence is inconclusive), raising the possibility of instability in the south-west (*ibid.*, 71; Woodward 2000). It was not until around AD 77 that the revolting Brigantes in northern England were subdued, and not until the following year that the conquest of Wales was finally achieved, and the first invasion of lowland Scotland attempted (Jones and Mattingly 1990, table 4.1). Roman forts and garrisons were rebuilt repeatedly through the centuries of occupation; once established, rule had constantly to be maintained and consolidated.

Roman invasion and conquest needs therefore to be understood not as a single horizon but as a gradual process, the effects of which were experienced in different ways and at different times by peoples across the study area. Even in relatively stable regions, Roman influence on the daily life of local peoples is likely to have been more keenly felt by those living in urban areas founded or settled by the Roman army than by those in more remote, rural locations. "Roman" – whether as a term used to describe people

or material culture – is used in this thesis to emphasise an origin in or close association with the Roman army, itself conceptualised as an embodiment of the Roman empire and as an actor of its ideals. Difficulties with the definition of "Roman" individuals, communities and material culture are discussed further in **8.5**.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

At the centre of post-colonial theory in archaeology is the idea that colonialism is a relationship between coloniser and colonised. Subjects of empire do not merely *receive* the experience of colonialism, but contribute to it; although the balance of power lies firmly in favour of the coloniser, one cannot exist without the other, as both "native" and "coloniser" are created through the relations of colonialism (Gosden 2001). Both parties are in constant interaction and, through their interaction, both parties are influenced and changed, or "hybridised" (after Bhabha 1994). Whilst colonial society contains elements of both the native and colonising cultures, the relationships between the two parties cannot be undone, and the society cannot be separated into its constituent parts.

Another significant point of post-colonial theory is a repudiation of the idea that, even at the initial moment of contact, either party is "pristine" (Hodder 2001, 257). In the case of the British empire, efforts to colonise particular regions often followed a lengthy period of contact and exchange. Kelly (2002) gives the example of the state of Hueda and its successor, Dahomey, in the Bight of Benin. Before the "scramble for Africa", the people of Hueda and Dahomey traded with several European partners at any one time, a strategy that enabled them to minimise the threat to their autonomy. Dahomey was eventually conquered by France at the end of the nineteenth century, but for almost 250 years previously had been successfully negotiating relationships with various European powers. In the context of centuries of on-going international trade, it could be argued that elements of both Dahomey and French society were already "hybridised" – and not only through contact with each other – by the time of colonialism.

Traditional approaches to colonialism in archaeology can be seen in the standard narrative of the Roman conquest of Britain: the Romans invaded, faced some initial resistance but were eventually successful. Then began the process of Romanisation, by which British people gradually adopted elements of Roman life such as architecture, religion and urbanisation. "Romanisation" has not, however, traditionally been seen as the development of hybrid societies in Iron Age Britain. Rather, it has been seen either as the adoption of new values (Millett 1995, 53), through which the British became more Roman, or it has been regarded as a process of assimilation, which in itself is understood as "a creative strategy by which native peoples incorporated selected ideas and objects into existing categories of meaning, while maintaining their traditional beliefs and customs" (Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002, 7). Romanisation in this way is understood as a pick-and-mix affair, in which a distinction is maintained between Roman and native ways of life and thought.

A post-colonial approach to the Iron Age/Roman transition in Britain can challenge this interpretation. We can begin by questioning the idea that, at the point of the Roman invasion, British and Roman identities were entirely distinct. The relationship between the Dahomey and French nations was discussed above (Kelly 2002); similarly, by the time Claudius invaded Britain in AD 43, Rome had already been trading and making diplomatic contact with societies in southern and eastern Britain for around 100 years (Millett 1995). Rome and certain parts of Britain were already in a situation of mutual influence. We can also question the idea that Rome itself possessed a distinct cultural identity: by AD 43, the Roman empire encompassed most of mainland Europe, and included provinces in north Africa and the Middle East. Soldiers serving in the army were recruited from all areas (Millett 1995, 53), so it is possible that many of the soldiers who were stationed in Britain throughout Rome's occupation had never been to Rome, and may not have seen themselves as Roman. What is more, there was no singular or bounded British identity at the point of the Roman invasion. Millett (*ibid.*, 56) has argued that, by bringing together the diverse British tribes and organising them into a single Roman province, Rome in fact "created Britain".

The idea of colonialism as a "dialectical power struggle between self and other" (Bhabha 1994, 111) can be challenged further if we recognise that the various peoples living in Britain shared elements of their culture with other peoples in central and

western Europe, such as Gaul – and that by the time of the invasion of Britain, Gaul had been under Roman control for around a century. If the Roman Empire on mainland Europe was already hybridised, then the Roman invasion of Britain carried with it hybridised elements of Iron Age culture that were related to existing elements in British society. It seems strange to say that Britain was colonised by aspects of itself, but we cannot say that it was colonised by a culture that was entirely "other".

Cultural hybridity creates a difficulty for archaeology, described by Bhabha (*ibid.*): hybridity "disturbs the visibility of the colonial presence and makes the recognition of its authority problematic". If aspects of material culture are shared between the colonised and colonising peoples, how do we know who was using them, and under what circumstances? In the case of terrets, D-shaped varieties continued to be made after the Roman conquest; in addition, Continental-influenced massive, dropped-bar, plain shanked and skirted terrets were probably introduced into Britain during or after the Roman invasion. D-shaped terrets sometimes appear in apparently Roman contexts, as at the Roman frontier post at Newstead (Curle 1911), while other D-shaped examples demonstrate Roman stylistic influences, as in the two knobbed terrets from the Seven Sisters hoard, which provide evidence of "the selective uptake of Roman materials and technologies" (Davis and Gwilt 2008, 161).

Previous work on terrets – whether in the context of Iron Age harness-gear (Spratling 1972; Palk 1992) or Celtic art (Leeds 1933; MacGregor 1976; Garrow and Gosden 2012) – has by and large excluded the Continental-influenced forms. However, native and Continental-influenced terret varieties can occur together in the material record – as at Seven Sisters – and can influence each other's design: a skirted terret found in a Roman context at Melandra Castle, Derbyshire (DERB05) is embellished around the ring with three pairs of transverse wings, a relatively common feature of D-shaped terrets. The material culture of the colonisers and the colonised is no more cleanly separated in Early Roman Britain than in any other colonial society; an interpretive approach that acknowledges and makes use of post-colonial theory is important in order to identify the development and expression of social identities in Britain as Rome consolidated its hold. Post-colonial theory is not, however, without its own limitations, discussed in **8.5**.

2.4   Towards a new typology of terrets: theoretical concerns and approaches

One of the central objectives of the present project is to construct a new typo-chronology of Late Iron Age and Early Roman terrets from Britain. The proposed new typology is set out in detail in Chapter Four, but an overview is given here of the theoretical approach taken towards its construction. The methodological aspects of its construction are discussed in **3.5**.

Some of the specific difficulties with existing terret typologies are outlined in **1.2.5**, but there are also a number of general theoretical problems involved in the construction of any artefact typology. The main objections to a typological approach to artefact interpretation are that typologies remove artefacts from context; that they tend to focus on the average rather than on particularity (Shanks and Hodder 1995, 9); and that they are an attempt to impose an order on the archaeological record where none may have existed in the society under study. Of these, the latter seems the most difficult to overcome. An archaeologist constructs a typology in order to organise his or her material, in the hope that the material will provide the answer to a question that is being asked about the society in which that material was produced. But if the material is arranged in accordance with the archaeologist's question, how can it speak for the society that produced it? There is a risk that its answer will be distorted.

Following Adams and Adams (1991, 282-284) it is therefore important, when drawing up the categories of a typology, to bear in mind which of the variables are "emic" or "natural" – in that they *do* reflect some intention on the part of the maker – and which are "etic", or "artificial", in that they reflect only the purposes of the archaeologist. In the case of terrets, the intentions of the maker can be seen most clearly in the artefact's functional elements. The purpose of a terret is to separate chariot reins; in order to achieve its purpose, a terret needs both to be securely fixed to the chariot yoke, and to allow passage of the rein. Passage is provided by the central space in the ring, and fixture is provided by the contact between the yoke and the terret's base. These two elements allow individual artefacts to be recognised as members of the overall artefact class. But where variations occur within the design of the ring, or within the means by which the ring is attached to the yoke, it becomes more difficult to ascertain the maker's

intent. We see that, for example, certain terrets are made with solid, tapering, unadorned rings, and others are made with broad, flat, crescent-shaped rings embellished with enamelled scrolls – but to what extent was this distinction recognised within Iron Age society, and to what extent was it significant?

Adams and Adams (*ibid.*, 53-54) refer to "intuitive gestalts": sensory images so clear and distinctive that they seem to leap out at the viewer, and to announce their own form. To the present-day observer there are certain varieties of terret to which this concept might seem to apply, those with crescent-shaped, enamelled rings among them. The shape of the ring and the colouring and style of the enamel application seem, to the modern, western eye, to set these artefacts apart from other terrets, and to place them together as a coherent group. But this is, of course, subjective: the similarity between two "crescentic" terrets and the difference between a "crescentic" and a "simple" terret might have appeared far less dramatic in the society in which the terrets were made.

Nonetheless, there are certain patterns or repeated motifs noticeable within the overall terret artefact class, which hint at a deliberate adherence to form. Firstly: the entire D-shaped series is itself formally constrained. Between the third century BC and the mid-first century AD, the vast majority of terrets in Britain have a straight attachment bar, well-defined terminals (often grooved around the circumference), and a curved ring. This basic form is reproduced faithfully across the country, and continues to be reproduced into the Roman era, despite the introduction of entirely different terret forms, such as the skirted variety. That the D-shaped series retains its integrity so closely and for so long indicates that a distinction between members of the series and other terret forms was recognised and deliberately maintained.

There are variations within the D-shaped series, but these variations are also formally constrained. Much of the variety relates to the embellishment of the terret ring. An early embellishment occurs in the emergence of those bivalvular mouldings around the outside of the ring described here as "lips"; as many as 11 pairs of lips may be set around the outside of an Iron Age terret ring, but never fewer than four. On the other hand, there are a great many examples of terrets with three decorative mouldings (but never lips) set around the ring. There is enormous diversity within the kind of moulding that might appear in three places around a terret ring – some of the most

common kinds include knobs, platforms, transverse wing-pairs and parallel wing-pairs – but, for every individual terret, the three mouldings are of the same type. A terret will not, for example, have a knob at the top and a platform at the side. Like lipped terrets, lobed terrets – another early form – always have at least four mouldings per terret. The coral and bone studs found on some early terrets from the East Yorkshire chariot burials range in number from one to seven per terret, but in the case of those later terrets embellished with wings, knobs, platforms and so on, the number of mouldings is almost always restricted to three per artefact: one at the top, and one at each side.

Further variety and further constraint is found in the shape of the attachment bar and the terminals. Some attachment bars are flat and horizontal, others vertical and occasionally tanged, others are of square or round section, and a few are of saddle form. Terminals are generally circular in shape, and are usually of "collar form" (following Palk 1992), either upright or inclining towards the centre of the ring, but are sometimes of "bell form" (*ibid.*): splayed and hollowed underneath. Correspondence of certain features can be observed: analysis of the terrets in the present project's database reveals that over half of saddle-form attachment bars occur on terrets with wings (mostly with parallel wings).

These observations demonstrate a number of restrictions in terret form and, it can be argued, an adherence to convention on the part of the maker. This implies that the makers of terrets in Iron Age Britain were, indeed, aware of distinctions within the artefact class, of particular features that were more or less appropriate to use in conjunction with other features: of artefacts that could, through the stylistic codes that they obeyed, be recognised as being of one form or another. Following this argument, a typology that divides terrets on stylistic grounds can, in fact, be broadly emic in nature, and reflect human intention behind the material. This principle has, as far as possible, been followed when drawing up the new typology. The typology is organised largely on stylistic grounds, and is designed to reflect apparent conventions or constraints within the manufacture of terrets, of the sort discussed above.

There are questions to which typology can provide only a limited answer. As Macdonald (2007, 10-20) argued with reference to the terrets from Llyn Cerrig Bach, typological or stylistic analysis alone is of very little use in establishing the date or

provenance of an artefact. The more interpretive of this project's research questions – those that relate to expression of social identity, the impact of Roman colonialism, and human interaction with the landscape – are concerned with trends in material culture which can be identified through distribution analysis, and therefore at a base level through typology, but answering these questions also requires the use of contextual information and theoretical argument. Typology is arguably of most use in the identification of formalised behaviour, and its absence. As we saw above, the stylistic constraints upon and within the D-shaped terret series can be expressed helpfully through a typological model. There are, of course, examples of individual terrets which do not fit easily within a typological model – particularly among those terrets that are later in date – an observation which is itself of interest, as it can be taken to imply a rejection of traditionally accepted standards of terret manufacture and use.

Formalised behaviour expressed through material culture can be understood as a means of communication. One of the greatest benefits of typology is, in fact, to provide a standardised code of communication which allows archaeologists to understand each other when discussing their material, to express ideas and share information. Typology alone cannot help the material record to speak, but it is hoped that the typology proposed here will at least help to clarify conversation around terrets in the present day.

CHAPTER THREE
Methodology

The development of a new typo-chronology for terrets is an essential research objective of the project, as is the construction of the terret database. This chapter describes the methodological approach taken to meet these two objectives.

3.1   The project parameters

3.1.1 *Geographical research area*

The geographical research area can be described as "western and central Britain, excluding the areas south-east of the Wash–Solent axis and north of the Tees/Morecambe Bay". At the outset it was decided to define this area following county boundaries rather than natural features, as some of the most important archaeological resources drawn upon in the project – such as the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) and Historical Environment Records (HERs) – organise their material by county. Specifically, the research area includes the whole of Wales, and England *excluding* the counties and unitary authorities listed in Appendix 4.

The study area has been divided into regions which are referred to throughout the thesis, especially in Chapters Seven and Eight. These are:

1. North-west England
2. North-east England
3. West Midlands
4. East Midlands
5. South-west England
6. North Wales
7. South Wales

The counties included within each region are listed in Appendix 5. The regions are shown in figures 3.1 and 3.2, below.

All references to these regions within the thesis relate only to the study area, not to wider Britain. For example, references to "north-east England" are, specifically, references to the north-east part of England *within the study area*; not to Northumberland, County Durham or Tyneside, which are beyond the project's geographical boundary.

Figure 3.1: The project's study area and regional divisions (England). The study area is shown within the two red lines; English regional divisions are shown by blue lines. (Adapted from Mills 2003, xxxv)
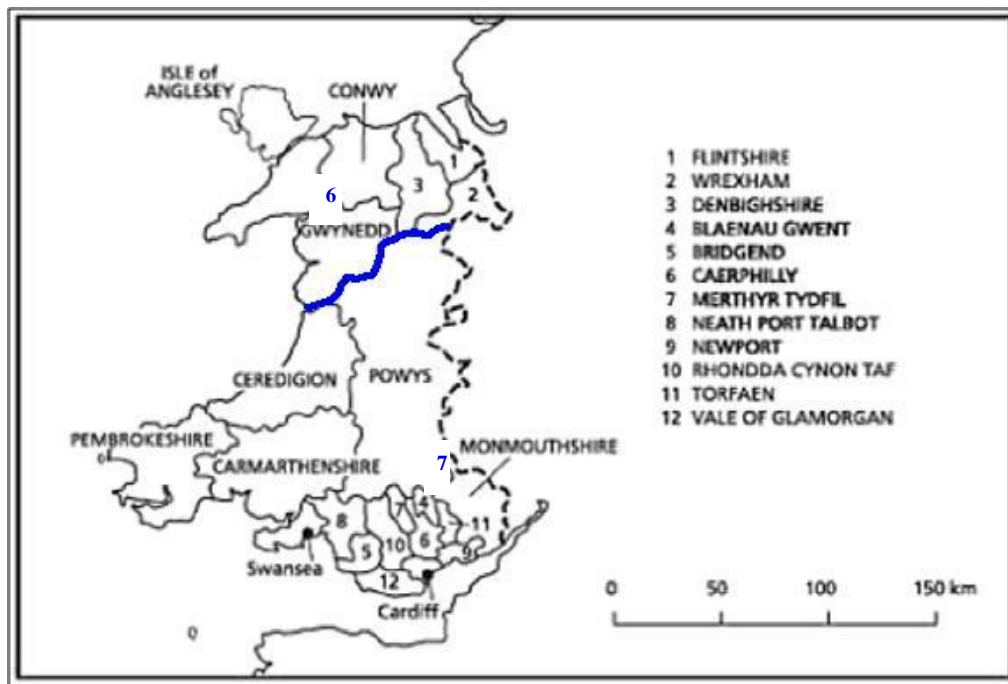
Figure 3.2: Regional divisions of the study area (Wales). (Adapted from Mills 2003, xxxvii)

3.1.2 *Chronological scope of the project*

The project's chronological scope ranges approximately from 400 BC to AD 200. This covers the period in which the D-shaped terret series emerged and declined; in addition, most Roman-era terrets from securely dated depositional contexts fall within the latter 150 years of the range. The scope is flexible, however: a handful of outlying terrets are known. The typology begins with plain, round terret rings; these occur in third- or second-century BC contexts within the study area, but outside the study area appear in the fifth-century BC chariot burial from Newbridge. Within the study area, occasional terrets are known from secure or moderately secure depositional contexts later than around AD 200, and are included in the database where they are of a type that also appears in earlier contexts. It would seem restrictive to exclude artefacts on the basis of an arbitrary cut-off date of deposition, when the artefacts may well have been in circulation throughout the main study period.

Several terrets recovered from Saxon cemeteries have also been included on the database. These have been included because they appear to be of Iron Age or Romano-British form, and to have been adopted as curios or relics by later peoples. In these cases the terrets are of stylistic interest, but their depositional contexts are not of use to the present study. Terrets from Saxon contexts have been excluded from the database where they do not appear to be of forms current during the Iron Age or Roman era, and were probably made and used entirely within the Saxon period.

3.1.3 *Excluded artefact types*

A word should be said here about so-called "mini terrets": items of horse-gear that are like terrets in form, but smaller, none more than 33mm in width (Macdonald 2007, 45; figure 3.3 below). They generally echo the forms of D-shaped terrets, although a 'skirted' mini terret is recorded on the PAS database from North Thoresby, Lincolnshire (LIN-FFF1B4).

Figure 3.3 (L): Mini terret, front view (c) Portable Antiquities Scheme/Trustees of the British Museum, NARC-817F35
Figure 3.3 (R): Mini terret, reverse view (c) Portable Antiquities Scheme/Trustees of the British Museum, NARC-817F35

Macdonald (2007, 47), Spratling (1972, 51), MacGregor (1976, 39) and Palk (1992, 71-72) all agree that mini terrets are too small to have functioned as rein-guides. They show evidence of wear on their attachment bars rather than on their collars, and their backs tend to be flat or slightly concave. This may indicate that they lay flat against a surface, unlike full-size terrets which stood up from the yoke (Palk 1992, 72). They

sometimes occur alongside true terrets, as at Arras and Hunmanby, so must have had a different purpose in those contexts (Spratling 1972, 51).

The function of mini terrets has not been established with certainty, but an association with vase-headed linchpins has been noted on a number of sites (Macdonald 2007, 47), including Collfryn in Powys (Britnell 1989, 126) and Trevelgue in Cornwall (Ward 1941), and it has been suggested that mini-terrets may have been mounts used to hold linchpins in place. Stead (1991, 47, fig.38.4) has posited that a thong could have been passed through a linchpin's upper terminal, lashed to a mini terret and then tied to the linchpin's lower, detachable terminal, to have prevented the linchpin from dislodging. The mini terret would need to be secured onto the axle, or onto the linchpin's upper terminal. In the case of loop-headed linchpins, the loop element – itself visually very similar to a mini terret – could have fulfilled the same function.

An alternative theory was put forward when, in 2001, the BBC commissioned Mike Loades to co-ordinate the reconstruction and field-testing of an Iron Age chariot based on that recently excavated at Wetwang. When trying to establish how the J-shaped iron linchpin should be fixed to the axle, wheelwright Robert Hurford found that the best solution was to fix the linchpin to a large, custom-made rawhide washer. A slot was cut into the axle, and the linchpin and washer fitted into the slot. A thong was attached to a small ring (a small iron ring, seemingly equivalent to a mini terret, had been found in association with the J-shaped linchpin in the Wetwang burial), and passed through the slot in the linchpin before passing through a moulded loop on the washer. The thong was then passed back through the ring, and tied off around the eye of the pin. This arrangement kept the linchpin firmly in place against the wheel. (Loades 2001, 14; 'Sacred Women of the Iron Age' 2013).

As Loades (2001, 14-15) acknowledges, this is not a definitive solution: no evidence has yet been found of rawhide washers associated with chariots, and the arrangement is clumsy compared with the use of simpler straight linchpins, which were pegged directly into a hole on the axle. However, the viability of the theories put forward both by Stead and by Hurford makes it appear very likely that mini terrets and their iron equivalents were, in some way, used in partnership with linchpins. Clearly they did not function as terrets. On this basis it has been decided not to include mini terrets in this study.

One other artefact type has been excluded from the present project: plain iron or bronze rings, when these have no contextual associations to suggest that they were used as terrets. Artefacts of this kind are sometimes recorded in finds reports or museum collections as "possible terrets" or "harness rings", but it was felt that the inclusion of individual artefacts simply on the basis that they *could* have been used as terrets would add little to the study. Where found in obviously chariot-related contexts, as at Danes Graves, rings of this sort are included.

It was also decided to discount unidentified fragments that can neither certainly nor probably be said to come from terrets. No database of terrets can ever be entirely comprehensive, as there will always be artefacts that are undiscovered or unreported, so to include the maximum possible number of artefacts without discrimination will not necessarily progress understanding of terrets as an artefact class. It was felt that to speculate about the appearance and function, when whole, of artefacts that now exist only as unidentifiable parts would risk greater distortion to the conclusions of the project than to exclude ambiguous fragments.

3.1.4   *Research timeframe*

A deadline of 31st December 2013 was adopted for the inclusion of new material in the database (Appendix 1), distribution maps and statistical analysis, as continuing to integrate new material would have disrupted analysis and interpretation. Terrets encountered after this cut-off date are recorded in a supplementary "appendix" database (Appendix 2), and in some cases are referred to individually in the thesis. Terrets from the appendix database have ID codes beginning with APDX. The appendix database itself has a cut-off date of 31st October 2014.

3.2 Data collection

3.2.1 *Resources used*

The data collection aspect of the present project had two main stages, and drew on a range of resources. The first stage involved creating a basic list of all known terrets within the study area. The Celtic Art Database (CAD), created as part of the University of Oxford's "Technologies of Enchantment" project and hosted on the British Museum's website, was a significant resource for this list. The CAD is described by the British Museum (undated (b)) as "a comprehensive database of all Celtic Art ever found in Britain". Accessible online in spreadsheet format, the database includes excavated and published finds. Although in theory the CAD includes finds reported to the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), in practice many eligible PAS finds are absent, partly because the PAS database is updated more frequently: most data on the CAD was included during the database's main phase of construction, from between 2005 and 2008. Moreover, due to time constraints and the poor publication of some artefacts, at the time of its construction the CAD did not include *all* known British terrets (Adam Gwilt pers. comm., e-mail 9th March 2012). It is, however, a helpful starting-point for the identification of terrets from within the study area that have been published, or that are held within museum collections.

Using the CAD as a starting-point, it was possible to obtain more information about the terrets listed from their publications. The existing terret catalogues referred to throughout this project (Spratling 1972; MacGregor 1976; Palk 1992) were of fundamental importance at this stage. In many cases, the publications of individual terrets referred to the publications of other terrets, some of which were not listed on the CAD or included in the catalogues, and it was therefore possible to track individual lesser-known terrets in this way.

Over half of the terrets listed in the present project's database are *un*published. Of these, almost 80% are finds recorded through the Portable Antiquities Scheme. (PAS records are accessible to the general public online, but unlike print sources they are not classed here as "published". This is on the grounds that public access is dependent upon the continued operation of the Scheme and maintenance of its data, and different

levels of access are granted to different members of the public at the Scheme's discretion. Online records are, moreover, not definitive but always subject to revision.) The PAS database is a vital resource for the present study; the great number of terrets recorded by the PAS since its inception in 1997 partly prompted this re-evaluation of terret development and distribution in Britain. The PAS database only includes finds directly reported to the PAS, and is updated by a team of local Finds Liaison Officers and Finds Co-ordinators working individually throughout England and Wales. After an initial list of terrets within the study area was drawn up, the PAS database was checked for new additions every three months.

The initial list of terrets also drew on Historic Environment Records (HERs), which cover all areas of England and Wales and are generally maintained by local councils. Most are operated at county-, unitary authority- or city-level, but others at a more local level (such as Sandwell), or a broader level (such as Glamorgan-Gwent). Of the 57 HERs covered by the research area, 25 are available online through English Heritage's Heritage Gateway database. Four are available online through the Welsh Archaeological Trusts' Archwilio database, and three others have also made their records searchable online. The 28 other HERs were contacted individually, and asked for any records they held of terrets found within their areas.

It was necessary to cross-reference the results from the HERs against the terrets listed on the CAD and PAS database, in order to avoid duplication. In some cases, a lack of detail in the HER meant that duplications could not be identified with certainty; in other cases, where an artefact was recorded ambiguously (for example, as a "harness fitting") and further detail was not available, it was not possible to be certain that the artefact in question was a terret. Artefacts of this kind have not been included on the database; as with the unidentified fragments mentioned in **3.1.3**, it was decided that the inclusion of ambiguous artefacts recorded in only the most basic level of detail would add little to the project overall.

185 museums in the study area were identified as possessing collections of potential relevance. In the first stage of data collection, all of these museums were contacted individually and asked for any records they may have of terrets. To avoid duplication,

the results were cross-referenced against the lists of terrets obtained from the CAD, the PAS database, the HER records and the published sources.

3.2.2 *Museum visits*

The second main phase of data collection involved visiting museums with significant terret collections to view the artefacts first-hand. As only a little under half of the terrets in the database are held in museums (most of the terrets recorded by the PAS are in private hands, while the present whereabouts of around 60 further terrets are unknown), it was never possible to view directly all or even most of the terrets known from the study area. Rather, it was decided to view and record first-hand a representative selection of terrets which would allow familiarity to be gained with the overall artefact class, and with the diversity of types contained within it. Around 150 terrets were viewed (about a quarter of all the terrets on the database, and about half of those held in museums); the terrets viewed represent a broad range of types, dates, materials, decorative styles, sizes, weights and conditions. These terrets were viewed at museums around the study area, as well as at the British Museum in London.

3.3   Construction of the database

When constructing the database, it was important to ensure that the database enabled the project's other main objectives to be met: the development of a new typo-chronology, and a detailed consideration of the changing social roles of terrets.

To draw up a new typo-chronology it was necessary to compare terret form, style, material and decoration over space and time. For each terret, this meant recording as much as possible about its provenance, age, measurements and the details of any non-metal materials in its make-up. It was also important to include a clear image and description of the item, so that its form, style and decorative elements could be considered.

To gain a better understanding of the changing social roles of terrets, terret use and deposition over time and space needed to be examined. To study deposition, it was necessary to record information about the context from which each terret was recovered and the details of the local environment, as well as any associated artefacts or sites. To study use it was necessary to note any evidence for wear, damage or repair and to be aware of any associated artefacts.

The database was built using Microsoft Access, and contains 25 categories or fields (listed below), which allow the kind of information identified above to be expressed and organised. Each field is explained in Appendix 6.

- **TerretID**
- **OSGridRef**
- **Type**
- **TPDescription**
- **County**
- **Locality**
- **ArtefactDate**
- **DatingEvidence**
- **Measurements**
- **Description**
- **Context**
- **Associations**
- **IronAgePhase?**
- **RomanPhase?**
- **RomanRoad?**
- **Hoard?**
- **Burial?**
- **Enamel?**
- **Publications**
- **ReferenceNumbers**

- **PAS?**

- **Excavated?**

- **CurrentLocation**

- **ImageCredit**

- **ImageLink**

The main challenge in the construction of the database was to present information about each terret in a way that was easily navigable and searchable, but that also contained a useful level of detail and had some capacity for description and discussion. This was attempted through building the database with a combination of different kinds of field.

For each terret, some of its information is "absolute": the county in which it was found, the type (according to the new typology), whether it was recorded through the PAS, and so on. Fields that relate to this kind of information contain, effectively, a limited list of options of which only one (or a simple "Yes") is selected for each terret. It is hoped that these fields reflect the kinds of question that are likely to be asked of the terret corpus overall, and that filtering through these fields will allow the corpus to be navigated easily.

The database also contains three discursive fields ("Description", "Context" and "Associations"), in which the content is written out in full prose. There is the capacity here for detailed discussion of each terret and of the circumstances of its recovery. Whilst the content in these fields cannot be used for filtering, it is possible to search the database for instances of specific words or phrases. For example, to enter a phrase such as "iron core" in the search box would highlight every use of this phrase within the database, and would in effect enable the database to be navigated through the content of its discursive fields.

In the publicly-accessible version of the database, some sensitive information relating to findspots has been removed. This information is shown as "Protected".

3.3.1 *Using the database*

It is hoped that the database will be of use to future researchers, whether they are searching for detailed information about a particular artefact that is listed in the database, or carrying out broader research on terrets as an artefact class or on archaeological material from a particular region. As noted above, the information contained within the database can be filtered and navigated in a number of ways, which it is hoped will allow it to respond to most kinds of question likely to be asked of the terret corpus.

3.4   Terrets from the study area: summaries of database statistics

This section presents a review of basic statistical information drawn from the database, complete as of 31st December 2013. These basic summaries are provided as an introduction only, and conceal some important variations; in particular, it should be noted that the high number of terrets recorded in north-east England is partially due to the excavation of the Yorkshire chariot burials. Most of the terrets recorded from south-west England were found in Somerset, Dorset, Gloucestershire, South Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire and Wiltshire, again partly as a result of a long history of archaeological excavation in those areas; terrets are rare in Cornwall and Devon.

Category	Number of terrets	Percentage of total
Total number of terrets	596	-
Terrets in the care of public bodies*	289	48
Terrets recorded through the PAS	277	46
Published terrets	253	42
Complete (unfragmented) terrets	233	39
Terrets recovered from excavated contexts	134	22

* (those currently in collections held by museums, archaeological trusts and units, county councils etc.)

Table 3.1: Basic statistical observations

North-west England	52
North-east England	184
West Midlands	53
East Midlands	122
South-west England	125
North Wales	9
South Wales	39
Unknown	12

Table 3.2: Terrets by geographical region

(To see which counties within the study area are considered part of which geographical region, consult Appendix 5.)
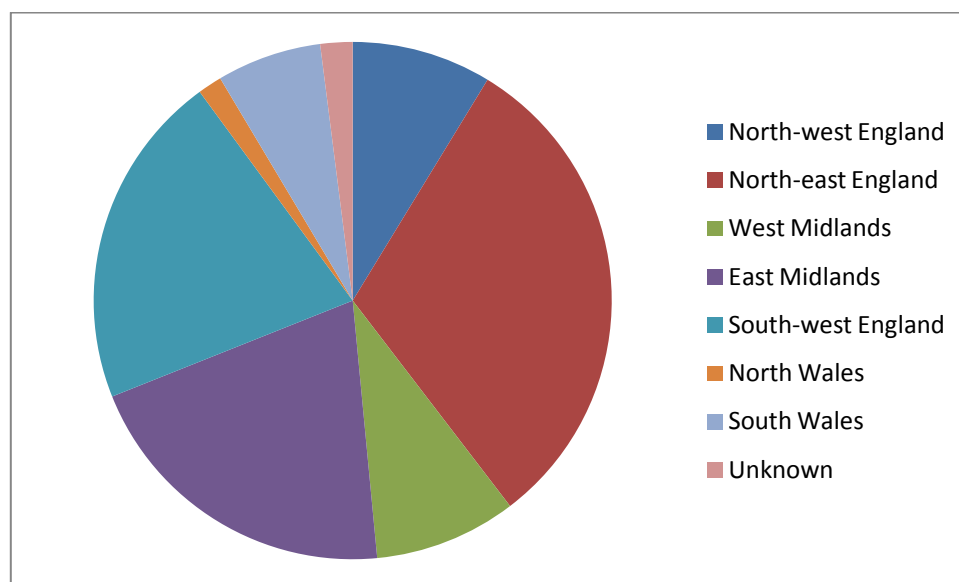
Figure 3.4: Terrets by geographical region

Plain	7
Studded	16
Ribbed	15
Lobed	7
Lipped	20
Simple	92
Triple projections	171
Crescentic	8
Massive	12
Dropped-bar	60
Skirted	59*
Plain shanked	4
Arched	4
D-shaped, unknown	42
Other	79

*One of which also has an arch

Table 3.3: Terrets by type
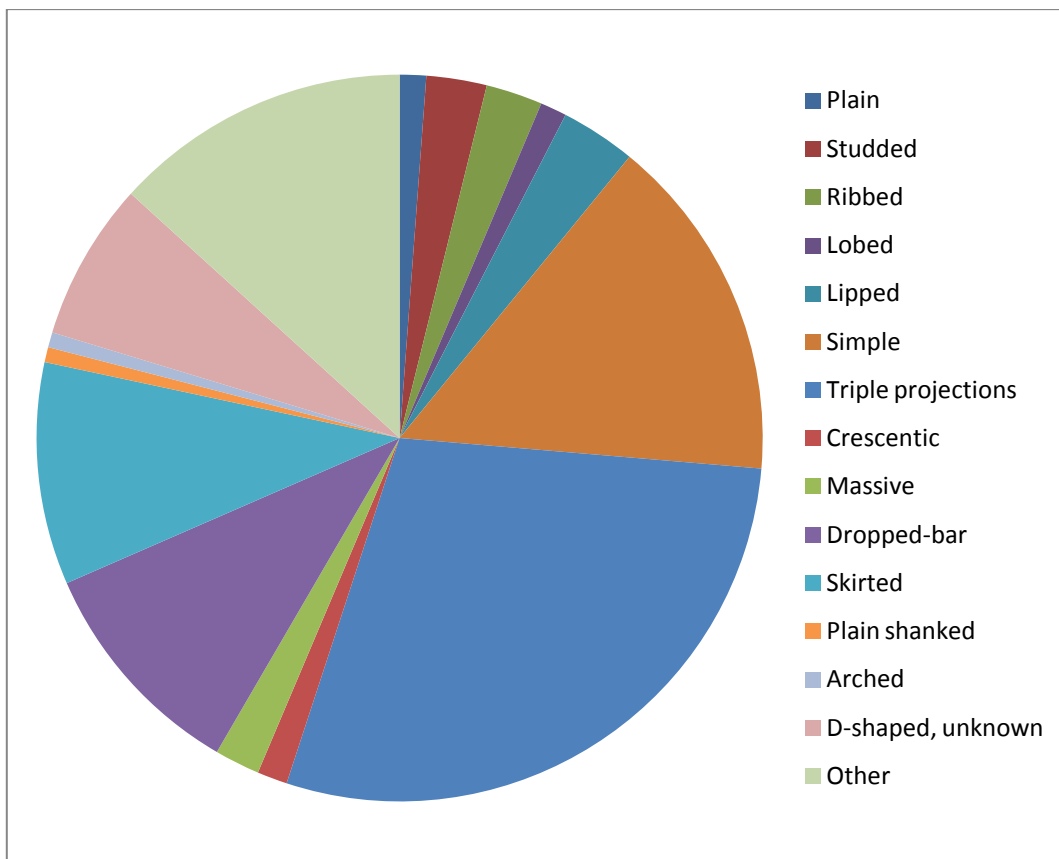
Figure 3.5: Terrets by type

Knobs	46
Transverse wings	33
Parallel wings	20
Platforms	31
Triplets	7
Clustered knobs	4
Discs	10
Bands	6
Other	14

Table 3.4: Breakdown of D-shaped terrets with triple projections
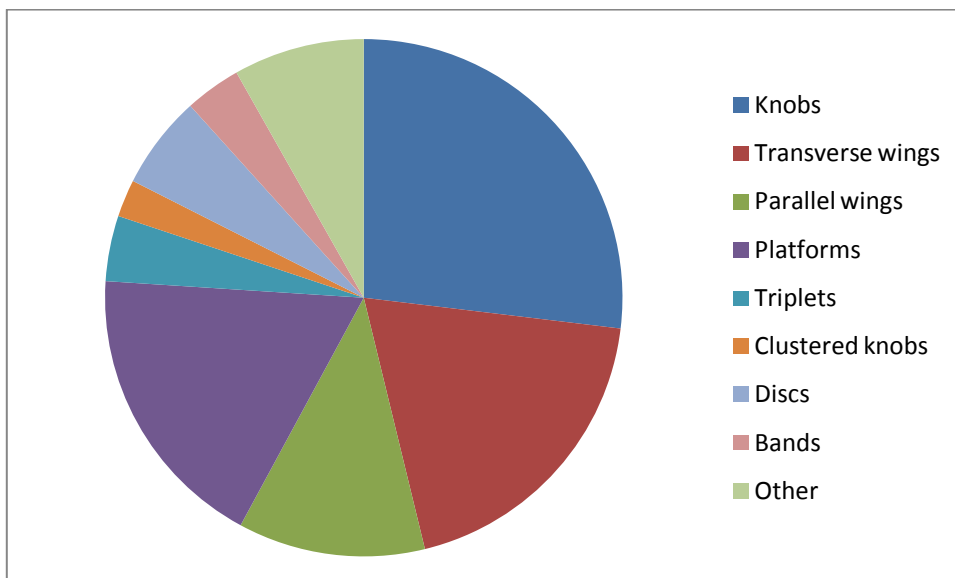
Figure 3.6: Breakdown of D-shaped terrets with triple projections

3.5   Construction of the typology

The typology was drafted alongside the data collection phase of the project, and revised once the database was complete. The typology is organised largely on stylistic grounds, and its categories are designed to reflect apparent conventions or constraints within the manufacture of terrets. In order to recognise these conventions, it was necessary to identify and compare the different stylistic components of each terret in the database.

This was achieved through the construction in Microsoft Excel of a series of spreadsheets which broke down the terret form into a list of 81 possible attributes. The full list of attributes is included in Appendix 7. The list ranged from the nature of decorative projections (knobs, transverse wings etc.) to the inclusion of decorative materials (such as coral and bone), to the shape of the attachment loop in dropped-bar examples (rectangular or rounded). The relevant attributes were recorded for each terret in the database, and any dating evidence (whether for manufacture or deposition) was also noted. In addition, for each terret the proximity was recorded of any Roman road, Roman spa or temple, Roman-era settlement site, Roman fort, Roman villa, Iron Age settlement site or Iron Age burial. It was also recorded whether the terret was included within a hoard or apparent votive assemblage.

Once the spreadsheets were completed, it was possible to compare the coincidence of particular attributes, and to draw some general conclusions about stylistic trends and conventions. For example, it was possible to conclude that *lipped terrets* usually possess *horizontal attachment bars*, and that *saddle-bars* most often appear in conjunction with *terrets with wings*. There is endless variety between individual terrets, and the categorisation of certain attributes required artistic or stylistic distinctions and decisions to be made from an inescapably subjective perspective: such as whether a particular enamelled moulding should be designated as a knob or a platform, or whether the difference between a horizontal and a saddle-form platform was significant enough to warrant separate categorisation. In making these decisions, consideration was given to precedents in the existing terret typologies; for example, the distinction between "collar-form" and "bell-form" terminals follows that set out by Palk (1992). Other distinctions were made afresh, degrees of similarity and difference judged by gauging maker intent as far as possible. Whilst remaining aware of perceived trends in the

material – as discussed in **2.4** – care was taken to assess each attribute of each artefact individually, to avoid falling into circularity.

Whilst the typology is organised on stylistic grounds, dating of the various types has been attempted based on evidence for the manufacture and deposition of individual examples. Dating is discussed in detail in **4.3**. In many instances there will have been a gap of years, decades or even centuries between the manufacture of a terret and its deposition in the context from which it was recovered archaeologically. Metallurgical analysis of individual terrets and the contextual dating of moulds for certain types – where secure contextual information exists – has in some cases helped to refine dates of manufacture. Secure contextual dating of individual terrets provides some indication of currency, both for the particular artefact and the artefact type as well as for individual stylistic attributes, but the circumstances of deposition need in each case to be assessed. For example, WYOR09 – a plain shanked terret from Castleford Roman fort – was recovered from the fill of a ditch dating to roughly AD 100-250, the period during which the fort was demolished. WYOR09 might have been thrown into the ditch as rubbish during the demolition period, and was not necessarily a functioning terret up until that point.

3.6   Analysis of terret composition

In the original project design, it was suggested that the research might include "limited XRF scanning" of "accessible terrets". X-Ray Fluorescence analysis is a process which allows the metallurgical composition of a copper-alloy artefact to be revealed: an X-ray is used to excite the artefact, with the result that an electron may be dislodged from an atom's inner shell and replaced from the outer shell. For each element, the radiation emitted during this process will have a known characteristic energy, and so the element can be identified from the resulting X-rays (Shackley 2011, 16). In the event, a programme of XRF scanning proved not to be feasible, but use has been made of existing analytical results on a case-study basis.

3.6.1 *The potentials and limitations of XRF analysis*

In the context of this project, the purpose of XRF analysis is principally to determine whether certain artefacts are made from tin bronze, brass or gunmetal. The presence or not of lead is also important. Those copper alloys composed mostly of tin are bronze, those composed mostly of zinc are brass, and those which fall in between – containing significant proportions of both tin and zinc – are known as gunmetal (Dungworth 1997, ch.1.2).

Previous studies, notably Dungworth (1997), have analysed a range of copper-alloy artefacts that could be dated with relative security, on the grounds of context or the radio-carbon dating of associated material. These studies have demonstrated that while in the Middle Iron Age the typical copper alloy is of (unleaded) tin bronze, with zinc scarcely ever present, and arsenic a regular impurity, by the Late Iron Age the tin and zinc contents of artefacts vary widely. In the Romano-British period zinc is used increasingly as a copper alloy, and arsenic content typically decreases (*ibid.*). In eastern England, brass is used for producing certain coins and brooches as early as around 20 BC; re-analysis of the Stanwick/Melsonby hoard of horse-trappings suggests, through a comparison of metallurgical composition with style, that brass may also have been in use in northern Britain before the Roman period (Fitts *et al* 1999). The metal used to manufacture these early bronze artefacts was probably imported: there is no evidence for brass production in Britain before the Claudian conquest (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 210).

As XRF analysis reveals an artefact's metallurgical content, it can in theory give an indication of the date of the artefact's production. However, there are various problems which can occur with the interpretation of the results of metallurgical analysis. Firstly, it has been observed from studies of Roman brass coins that the proportion of zinc in certain Roman alloys declines progressively from the late first century BC to the third century AD. This has previously been attributed to the recycling of coins minted in the first centuries BC and AD, and to the volatility of zinc: some of its content is lost each time brass is re-melted (Caley 1964, 99-100). Dungworth (1997, ch.8) has disputed this theory, suggesting instead that the relative quantities of fresh brass and fresh leaded bronze used to make Roman coins change as time goes on, with less and less brass

being used, which would cause less zinc to be present in later coins. (Caley (1964, 99) also considers the possibility that zinc minerals and ores may have become more costly and scarce over time.) Absence or mere trace elements of zinc cannot necessarily be taken as evidence that an artefact's date of manufacture is pre-Roman. The typical alloys used for coins and for other kinds of artefact can vary; trends cannot necessarily be applied across artefact-types.

Corrosion products present a further problem when analysing whole objects. Elements within an alloy can corrode at different rates. For example, zinc within copper alloys is particularly susceptible to corrosion and is also soluble, so after burial can be removed from the surface of an object through the action of ground water (Dungworth 1997, ch.3.5). Conversely, tin can accumulate causing surface enrichment (Mary Davis pers. comm., e-mail 30th May 2012). Where XRF analysis is limited to surface scanning, there is a risk that the readings it provides may be distorted considerably by corrosion and the surface depletion or enrichment of elements.

Without quantitative analysis, it is possible only to detect the presence or absence of particular elements in a sample, not the proportion. Detailed interpretation can be difficult even with the use of quantitative analysis: it can be hard to tell whether ternary or quaternary alloys have the deliberate additions of third or fourth elements, or whether certain elements have been added incidentally – as an impurity, for example, or through recycling (Mary Davis pers. comm., e-mail 30th May 2012).

3.6.2 *The use of XRF in the present study*

It was decided not to pursue an original programme of XRF analysis during the present project. Although the XRF scanner available at National Museum Cardiff is able to perform quantitative analysis, this is dependent on the quality of the sample and the availability and quality of appropriate empirical calibrations, and interpretation of the results would require an advanced understanding of chemistry. It was felt that carrying out this work would have been beyond the scope of the present study.

After consultation with Mary Davis (pers. comm., conversation 18th September 2013) at National Museum Cardiff, it was decided that a case-study approach based upon existing quantitative metallurgical analysis would be of greater benefit to the present project. Two of the three case studies would be single-site assemblages: the terrets from Hunsbury hillfort, Northamptonshire, which were investigated by Ian Barnes (1985) using microprobe analysis, and the Polden Hills hoard from Somerset, currently being analysed by Mary Davis (forthcoming) using scanning electron microscopy with wavelength dispersive spectrometry. The third case study would bring together the terrets analysed by David Dungworth (1997) as part of his investigation into Iron Age and Roman copper alloys from northern Britain. When taken together, these three case studies provide a diverse range of terret forms, with the additional advantage of environmental and analytical consistency within the groups. The case studies are presented in **4.4**.

CHAPTER FOUR

Emergence and development:
A new typo-chronology of terrets from western and central Britain

This chapter presents a new typo-chronology for terrets from western and central Britain. The typology itself is set out in full, illustrated, and is followed by a section in which each of the types is described in more detail. These descriptions are followed by a discussion of the chronological structure of the typology, and then by the presentation of the three metallurgical case studies. The chapter moves on to consider how the earliest terret forms in Britain may have emerged, and the relationship between British and European forms.

The typology is based primarily on the database, which includes only terrets from the defined study area of western and central Britain. As will be explained in greater detail below, decorative elements within the broader class of "terrets with triple projections" are listed in the typology as descriptive terms rather than as types in their own right; as these decorations can be highly localised and potentially of near-infinite variation, those listed in the typology are restricted to those found within the study area. Outside this class, most types of terret can be found both within and beyond the study area.

4.1   The typology

The typology is split into three broadly chronological groups: "early", "later" and "imported" forms. For each terret form, where possible, dates are given in table 4.1 for manufacture – based on evidence for metal-working at sites where moulds for the type have been found, or on the metallurgical analysis of individual examples – and for deposition. Dating evidence for deposition is described as "secure" where it is derived from examples of the type found in closed contexts, and where the examples were found in association either with reliably dateable artefacts such as coins, or with material subjected to radiocarbon dating. Depositional evidence is described as "less secure" where examples have been recovered from non-closed contexts in sites for which broad dating evidence exists (e.g. if a terret has been recovered from a hillfort

with principally Iron Age occupation, a probable broad Iron Age date of deposition can be inferred).

Where no evidence exists within the study area for the manufacture of certain forms, and where depositional contexts are insecure, the decision to list these forms as "early", "later" or "imported" has been taken on stylistic grounds: on their visual similarity to other datable forms. Dating evidence is scrutinised in detail in **4.3**.

Some forms – such as arched terrets – are known from within the study area for which no reliable dating evidence exists, and for which stylistic dating is especially tenuous. These are not included in table 4.1, but are discussed beneath.

The typology is illustrated in figure 4.1. For each class of terret, a typical example is presented.

	Manufacture	Deposition (secure evidence)	Deposition (less secure evidence)

Early forms

	Manufacture	Deposition (secure evidence)	Deposition (less secure evidence)
Plain round rings		C5th – mid-C2nd BC	
Simple terrets	C2nd BC – mid-C1st AD	Mid-C3rd BC – mid-C2nd AD	
· *Mill Plain ornamentation*			
Studded terrets		Mid-C3rd – C2nd BC	
Ribbed terrets	C2nd BC	Mid-C3rd – C2nd BC	Until mid-C1st AD
Lipped terrets	C2nd BC	Mid-C3rd – C2nd BC	Until mid-C1st AD
Lobed terrets			C2nd BC – C1st AD

Later forms

	Manufacture	Deposition (secure evidence)	Deposition (less secure evidence)
Simple terrets	C2nd BC – mid-C1st AD	Mid-C3rd BC – late C1st AD	Until C3rd – 4th AD
Terrets with triple projections			
· *Parallel wings*		Mid-late C1st AD	
· *Transverse wings*	Mid-C1st AD	Mid-late C1st AD – C2nd AD	
· *Knobs*		Late C1st AD – early C2nd AD	
· *Platforms*			
· *Fused knobs*			
· *Clustered knobs*			
· *Clustered wings*			
· *Triplets*			
· *Discs*			
· *Bands*			
· *Double-studs*			
Crescentic terrets			

Imported forms

	Manufacture	Deposition (secure evidence)	Deposition (less secure evidence)
Dropped-bar terrets	From mid-C1st AD	Late C1st AD	C2nd – mid-C3rd AD
Skirted terrets	From mid-C1st AD	Mid-C1st AD – mid-C2nd AD	C3rd – C4th AD
Massive terrets			
Plain shanked terrets	From mid-C1st AD	Late C1st AD	C2nd – mid-C3rd AD

Table 4.1: Typo-chronology of terrets from western and central Britain
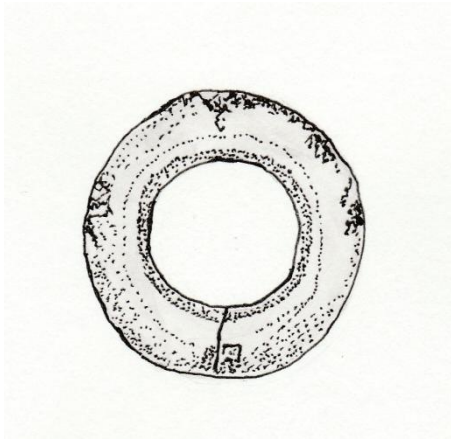
(i) Plain round ring
(After Boyle *et al* 2007, fig.98 no.17)
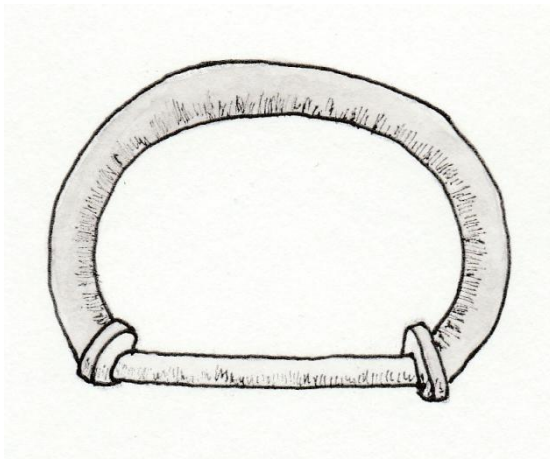
(ii) Simple terret
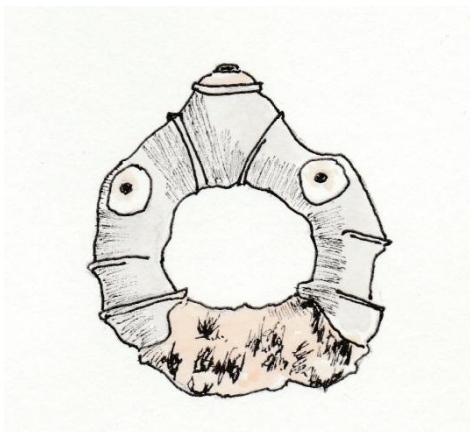
(iii) Studded terret

Figure 4.1: Illustrated terret typology. All images by Stephen Lewis. Scale approximately 1:1
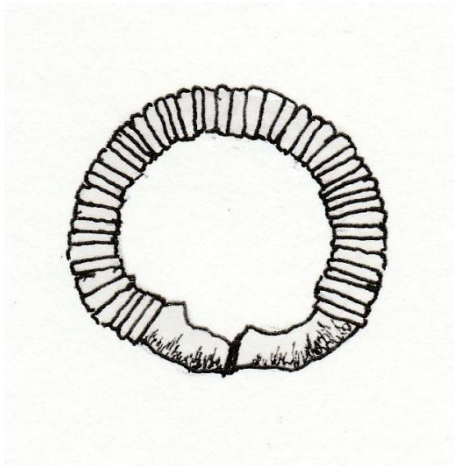
(iv) Ribbed terret
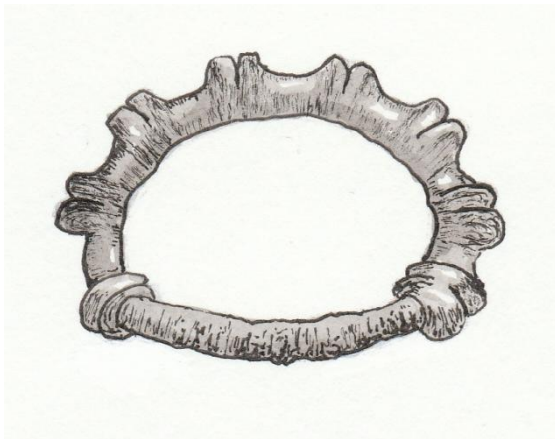
(v) Lipped terret
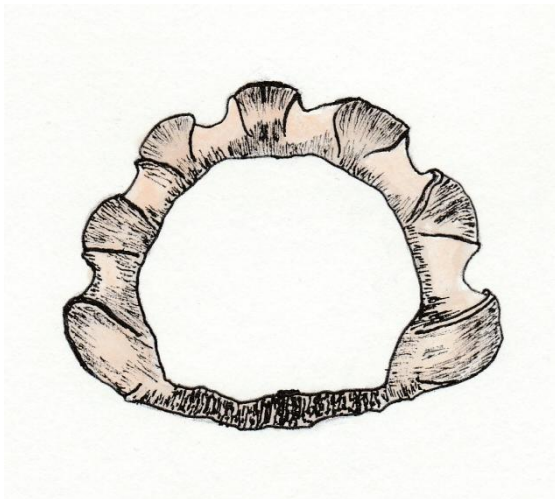
(vi) Lobed terret

Figure 4.1 *continued*
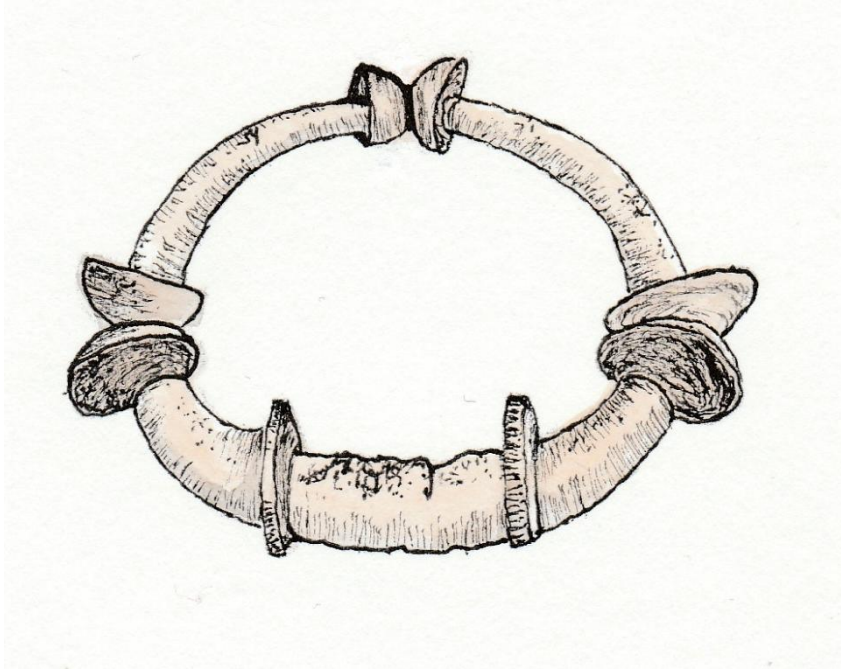
(vii) Terret with triple projections (transverse wings)
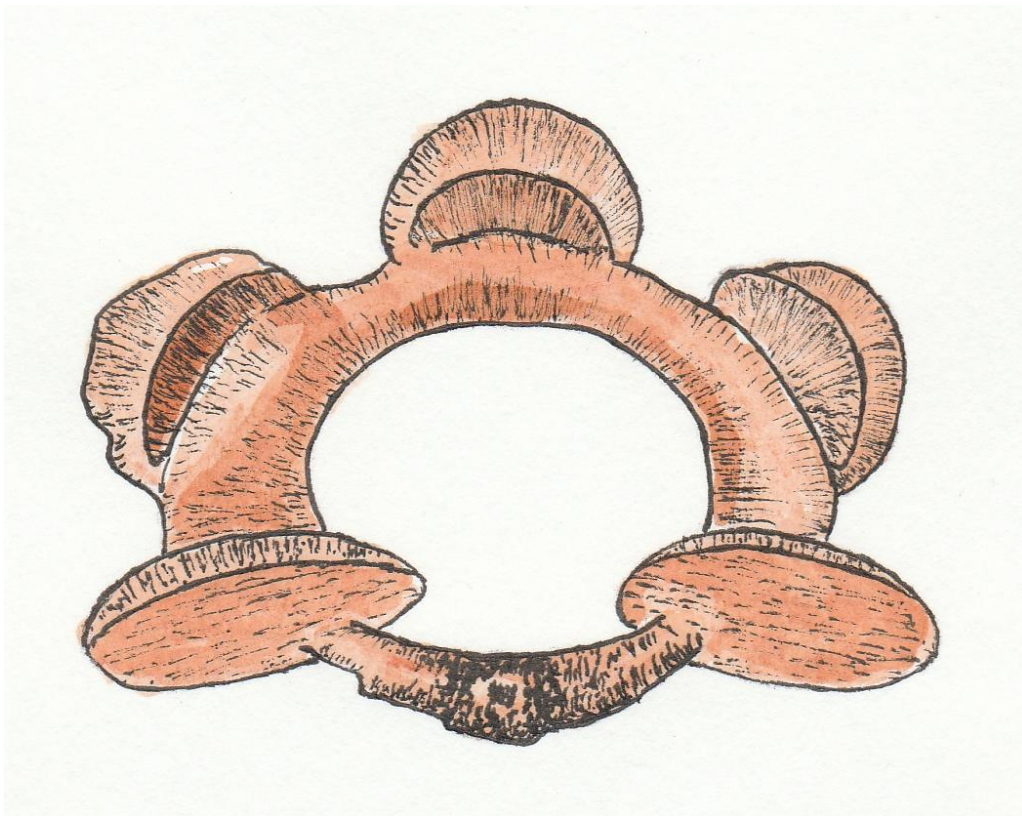
(viii) Terret with triple projections (parallel wings)

Figure 4.1 *continued*
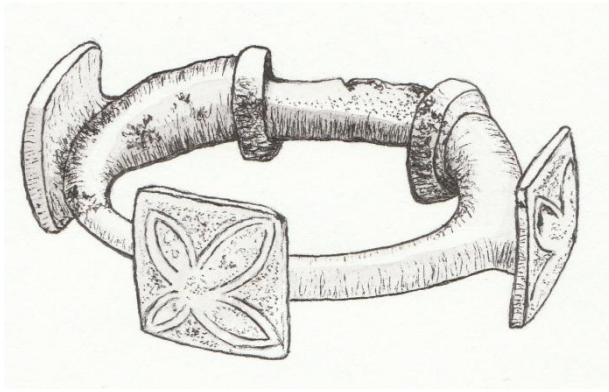
(ix) Terret with triple projections (platforms)
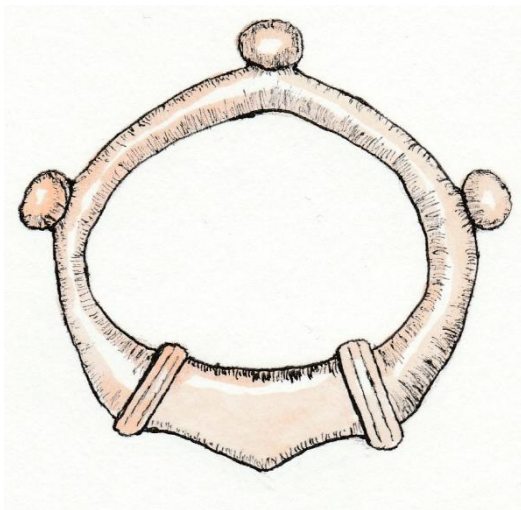
(x) Terret with triple projections (knobs)
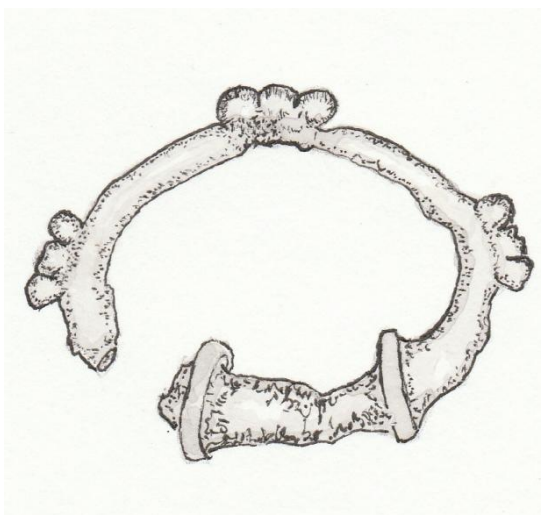
(xi) Terret with triple projections (fused knobs)

Figure 4.1 *continued*
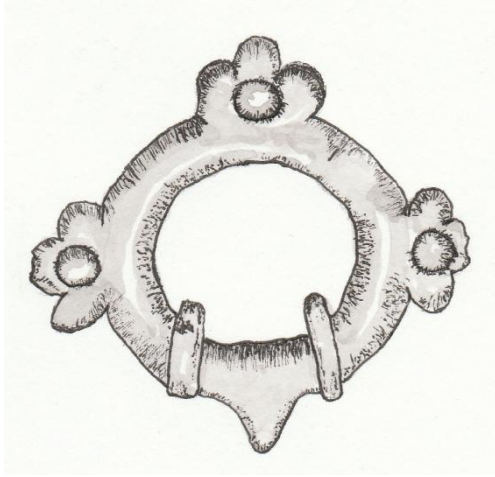
(xii) Terret with triple projections (clustered knobs)
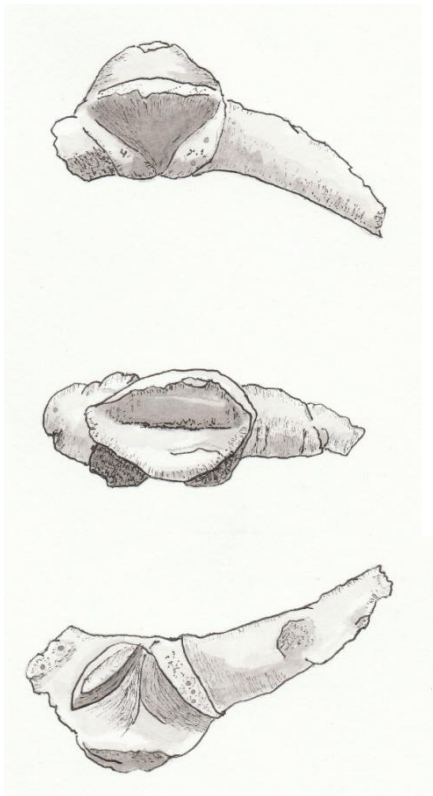
(xiii) Terret with triple projections (clustered wings). Fragment. Top: front view. Middle: plan view. Bottom: reverse view.

Figure 4.1 *continued*
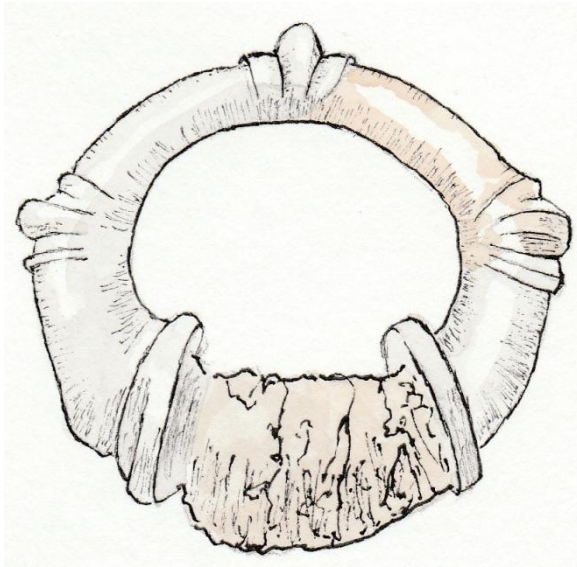
(xiv) Terret with triple projections (triplets)
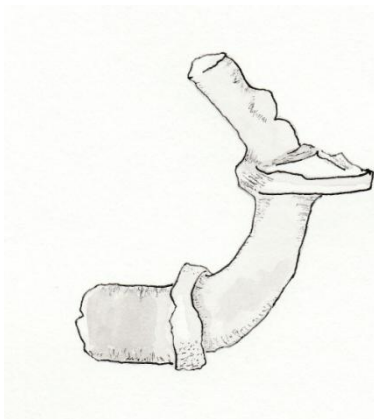
(xv) Terret with triple projections (discs). Fragment
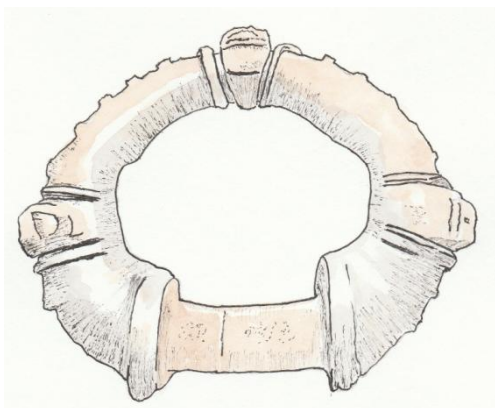
(xvi) Terret with triple projections (bands)

Figure 4.1 *continued*
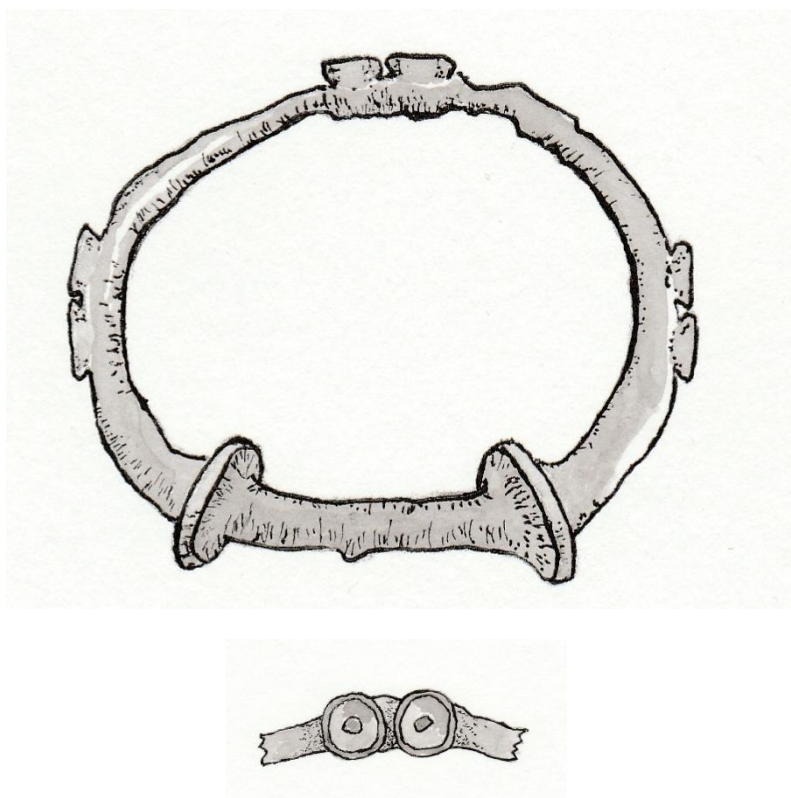
(xvii) Terret with triple projections (double-studs). Top: front view. Bottom: plan view

(xviii) Crescentic terret

Figure 4.1 *continued*
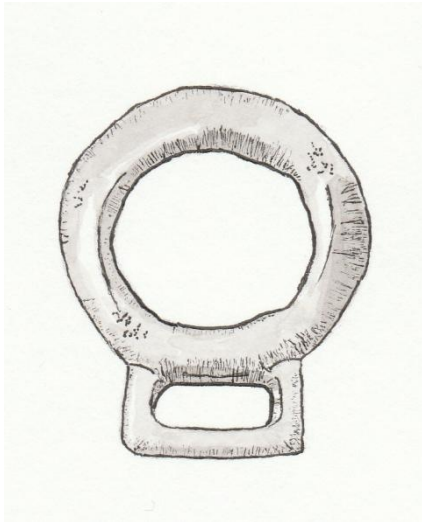
(xix) Dropped-bar terret
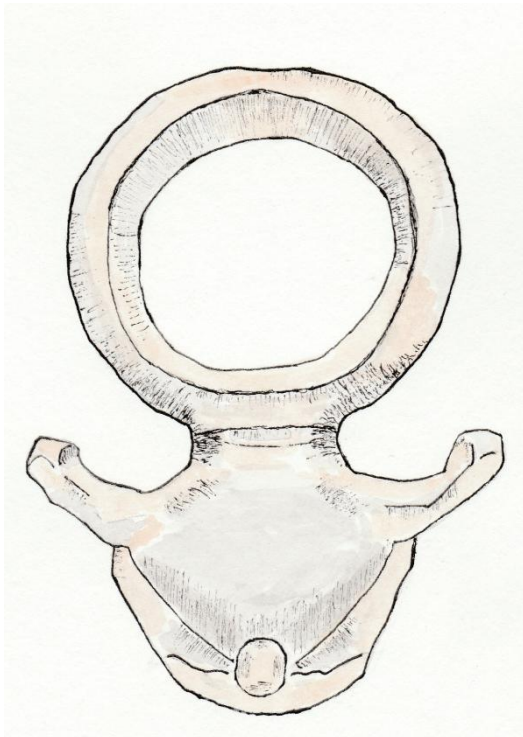
(xx) Skirted terret

Figure 4.1 *continued*
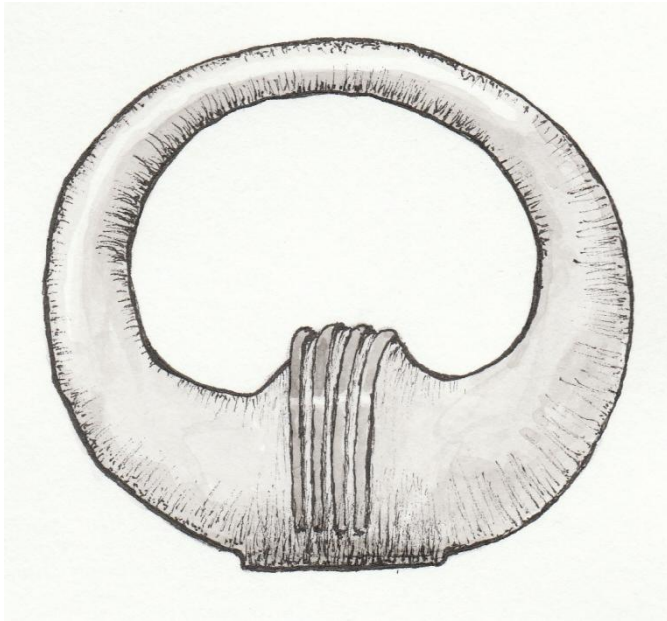
(xxi) Massive terret
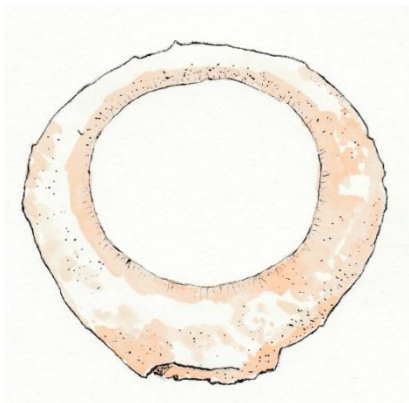
(xxii) Plain shanked terret (shank missing)

Figure 4.1 *continued*
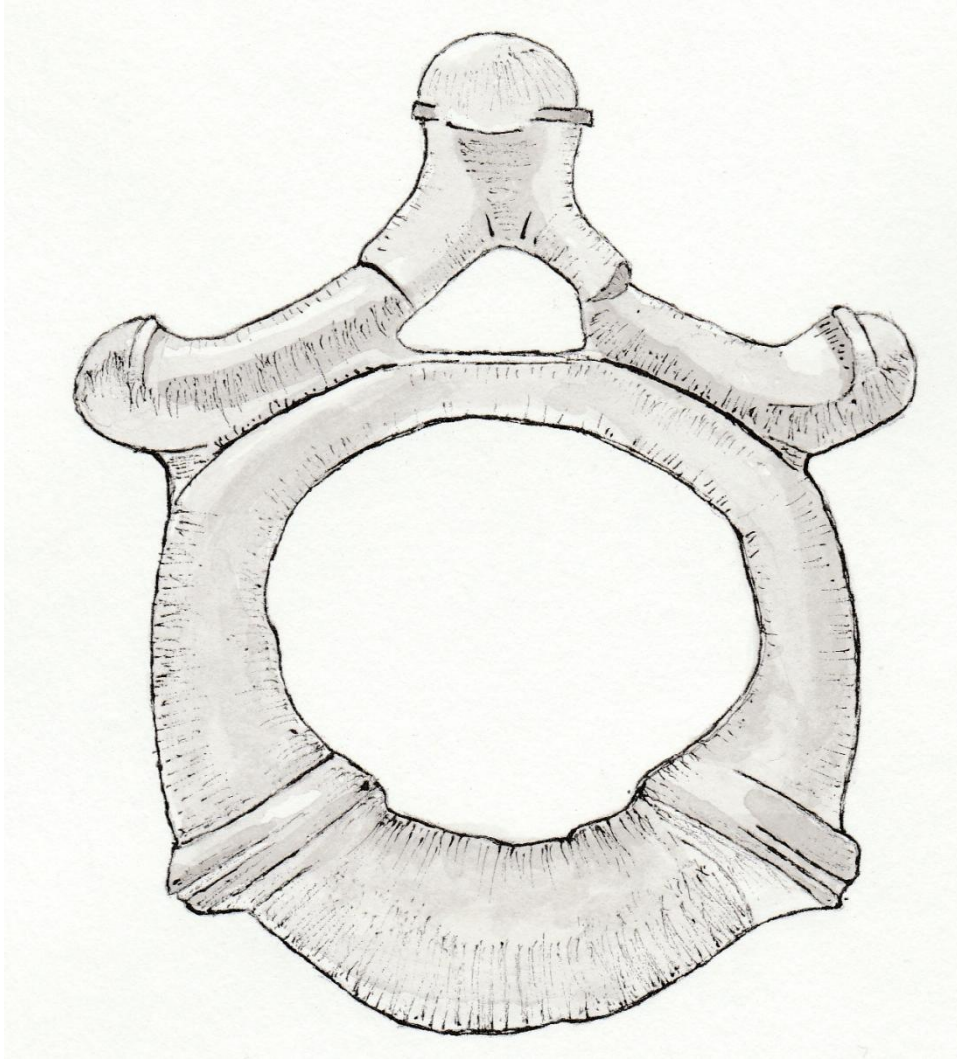
(xxiii) Arched terret
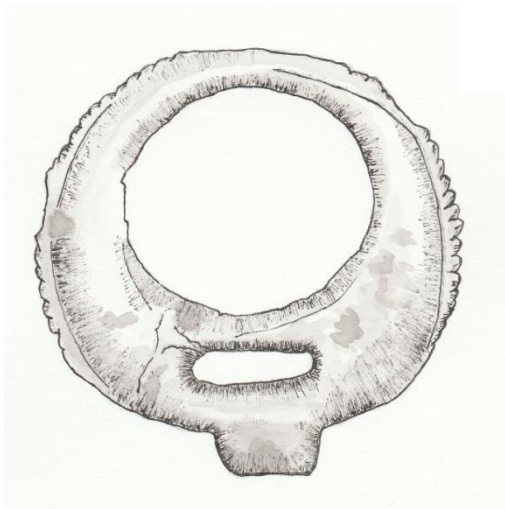
(xxiv) Slotted terret
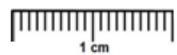
Figure 4.1 *continued*

4.2   Breakdown of terret types

Plain round rings (figure 4.1(i))

These are plain, circular rings typically made of iron, or of a bronze sheath around an iron core. They can only be identified with relative certainty as terrets when found in chariot burials *in situ*, as at Newbridge (Carter *et al* 2010) and Ferrybridge (Boyle *et al* 2007; WYOR04-08). In the latter example the cores are of clay or silt.

Simple terrets (figure 4.1(ii))

These are the most basic of the D-shaped British terret series, and can be seen as the archetype from which many of the more complex terrets evolve. They account for 15% of all terrets found within the study area, and constitute the single most common type excluding terrets with triple projections.

Simple terrets have been included in both the "early" and "later" sections of the typology as they have a long currency. The earliest datable examples come from the East Yorkshire chariot burials of the third or second centuries BC, but examples of the form continue to be deposited in contexts dating well into the second half of the first century AD, as well as in occasional later contexts (see Appendix 8).

Due in part to their longevity, as well as to their geographically broad distribution, there is a certain amount of variation in the design of "simple terrets". The ring is sub-circular or D-shaped, and above the terminals is usually thickest at the base while tapering towards the top, but in some more heavy-set examples is of roughly even thickness. Individual terrets can be small and slender, as in the case of NLIN30 (Kirmington), which has an external width of 34.8mm and a maximum ring thickness of 5.9mm, or comparatively weighty, as in the case of SOMR36 (Polden Hills), which is 55.7mm wide with a maximum ring thickness of 12.3mm. In all known simple terrets terminals are of collar form. Bars are usually vertical and may be tanged. Simple terrets may have iron bars or cores, although the majority are entirely bronze. The ring

may be plain, or bear some decoration such as a ridge along the spine. Occasional examples are embellished with recessed cells for enamel. The moulds for terrets at Weelsby Avenue, many of which allow for embellishment in the form of ridges and grooves along the spine or face of the ring (Foster 1995, table 3), seem to fall into the category of "simple terrets". The more complex examples from Weelsby Avenue include raised mouldings on the face of the ring (e.g. *ibid.*, fig.22), and are classified here as simple terrets, although they may bear some relation to studded forms (**4.3.2**).

Spratling (1972) seeks to divide simple terrets into those with little or no ornament ("Group I") and those "thick-ringed" examples ("Group II"), within which he identifies a sub-group of terrets with "curved-sided triangular panels enclosing ornamental motifs in low relief". This ornamented variety Spratling (1979, 134) later terms the "Mill Plain" type, after the example from Christchurch (DORS05). Neither Palk (1992, 18) nor Macdonald (2007, 12-18) are convinced that simple terrets can be meaningfully sub-categorised, given the long vogue of the form and lack of distinctive characteristics. It is countered here that Spratling's "Mill Plain" sub-group is, in fact, distinctive, with its combination of sturdy, thick-set ring and complex relief decoration, typically including a moulded crest along the spine, and an assortment of circle-and-dot motifs, leaves, triskeles and sweeping lines or tendrils (figure 4.2, below). The juxtaposition of elements at once tough and ornate gives these examples a character quite different from that of more prosaic simple terrets. Examples from within the study area which could be categorised as "Mill Plain" are those from Mill Plain itself (DORS05), Bishop Wilton (ERID66) and Duggleby (NYOR65). Rather than include the variety as a distinct category, however, it has been decided to incorporate it within the class of "simple terrets", and to note its ornamentation as a characteristic which merits occasional special reference. This is on the grounds that – as discussed in the context of "terrets with triple projections", below – one of the principles behind the organisation of the present typology is to avoid rigid and over-specific categorisation, and to emphasise broad similarity rather than narrow difference.
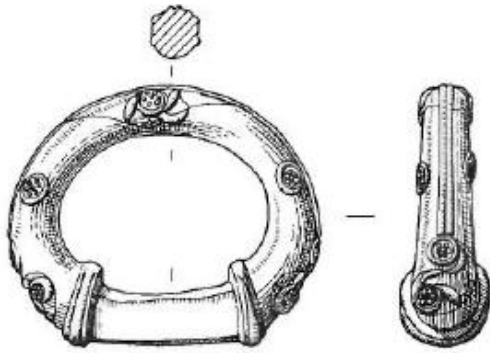
Figure 4.2: Terret with "Mill Plain" style ornamentation, from Bury Hill, Hampshire (Cunliffe and Poole 2000, fig.2.29 (1.1)). Not to scale

The diversity found within the broad "simple terret" category illustrates the scope for experimentation and innovation provided by the basic format of the type, as does the even greater diversity encountered in the later class of "terrets with triple projections".

Studded terrets (figure 4.1(iii))

These typically have a sturdy ring of varying shape, sometimes decorated with incised lines and ridges. Acorn-cup mouldings are cast integrally with the ring, and filled with studs made from material such as coral, bone or enamel. The studs are fixed in place with a bronze pin or rivet. There may only be one stud or as many as seven, and they may be set along the spine of the ring, or on the face, or both. These terrets typically have an iron core within a bronze casing, an iron bar, and rudimentary disc-like terminals. At present, they are only known from the chariot burials of East Yorkshire.

Ribbed terrets (figure 4.1(iv))

These have circular or sub-circular rings, typically composed of an iron core sheathed in a bronze casing, which is divided into transverse ribs or segments. These terrets usually have an iron bar and no defined terminals.

<u>Lipped terrets</u> (figure 4.1(v))

These have a sub-circular or D-shaped ring. The ring tends to be smooth on the inside but around the outside is moulded into a series of distinct bipartite projections, each of which has the appearance of a pair of full lips. In some cases the lips appear closed, in others parted. Terminals tend to be of simple disc-like or lip-like form; often the lowest set of lips each side of the bar will function as a terminal. Bars tend to be horizontal, but may be round or square in section, and are often made of iron.

In the existing literature, there is frequent confusion between "lipped" and "winged" terret forms, with "lipped" often being used as a defining adjective to describe any terret with bipartite projections. It is suggested here that "lipped" terrets are, in fact, quite different from terrets with wings.

Firstly, the bipartite projections on true lipped terrets continue all the way around the outside of the ring, whereas on terrets with wings there are typically only three sets of projections (terrets of this kind fall into the broad category of "terrets with triple projections" in the typology proposed here). Secondly, in lipped terrets the ring tends to be of even thickness, whereas in terrets with wings the ring tends to taper towards the apex. Thirdly, the projections on lipped terrets are notably similar in appearance to pairs of human lips, becoming rounded and full as they expand outwards from the ring. Within each pair the lips are not separate but, even if they are of "parted" form, remain joined at the base, as at the corner of a human mouth. Wings will be discussed further below, but they tend to be flat and disc-like, and are often separated within each pair.

<u>Lobed terrets</u> (figure 4.1(vi))

These have a sub-circular or D-shaped ring. The ring tends to be smooth on the inside, but around the outside is moulded into a series of pronounced, rounded lobes. In many cases the lobes are embellished by incised lines that run parallel with the edges of the moulding. When lobed terrets have terminals they tend to be simple disc-like features, sometimes grooved so that they appear lip-like. Attachment bars are usually horizontal. These terrets may have bars or rings made of iron.

<u>Terrets with triple projections</u>

Palk (1992) included in her typology a category that she named "terrets with decorated projections". This she split into sub-categories: knobbed, platform-decorated, and those with platforms supplanted by knobs. Palk's typology here differed from earlier models proposed by Leeds (1933) and MacGregor (1976), both of whom saw "knobbed" and "platform" as two distinct categories.

The category proposed here, "terrets with triple projections", borrows from Palk's broad view, but also includes terrets with wings, and various other ornamental projections listed below. This principle is argued on the grounds that terrets with parallel wings, transverse wings, knobs, platforms and almost every other kind of ornamental projection are, in fact, variations on the same form: they all have tapering rings, well defined terminals, and attachment bars very rarely composed of iron. The rings themselves may or may not be decorated – with incised lines, basic moulding, or enamelled cells – but the decorative projections almost always occur in sets of three: one projection at each side of the ring and one at the apex.

The intention of creating a broad category here is to draw attention to the basic form that all of these terrets have in common. The intention is also to avoid creating a typology with an ever-increasing number of categories or sub-categories: so many different kinds of ornamental projection are found on terrets that a typology with separate categories for each variety would be unwieldy. Instead, included within this broad group is a list of the kinds of ornamental projection that are encountered on terrets within the study area. This list can be expanded easily if new projection-types are discovered, and it allows the relationships between terrets with different kinds of ornamental projection to be emphasised: these relationships are often ignored when terrets are separated into mutually exclusive categories.

It is intended as a list of projection-types, rather than as a list of terret sub-categories. This is intended to avoid individual terrets being pushed into ever more esoteric categories, or being labelled "hybrid" if they fall between groups. Instead, terrets can be placed within the broad category of "terrets with triple projections"; then, to each individual terret can be added a description of its particular attributes. A terret such as

that from Kirmington (NLIN17), which Palk (1992, no.230) classes rather awkwardly as "terret with decorated projections: intermediate: platformed knob" can under the proposed new typology be *classed* simply as a "terret with triple projections", then *described* as featuring both knobs and platforms. This approach enables the material rather than the typology to lead the definition, and allows for some descriptive freedom within the normally rigid constraints of typology.

The various projection types known within the study area are listed below.

Wings (transverse and parallel) (figure 4.1(vii) and (viii))

As we have seen, winged and lipped terrets are frequently confused in the existing literature. Lipped terrets are described above. Wings are, for the purposes of this typology, bipartite mouldings that occur in three places around the ring. Wings tend to be flatter and more disc-like than lips, and might be almost or completely separated within each pair. Wings may be set parallel or transverse to the ring. Sometimes a second pair of wings – or perhaps a single wing or disc – is set within another pair: the "double wing". Sometimes wings merely project outwards from the ring; on other occasions, as in the case of the terrets with transverse wings from Stanwick/Melsonby, the feature encircles the ring entirely.

Within the study area transverse wings occur more frequently than parallel wings, at a ratio of roughly 3:2. Where parallel wings occur, they are mostly double-winged. Transverse wings, on the other hand, hardly ever occur as double wings. Enamel decoration (usually red) occurs quite frequently on terrets with wings. The enamel may be on the wings themselves, or on the ring, or both.

Platforms (figure 4.1(ix))

Platforms are flat projections on the outside of the ring, and may be rounded or rectangular. Platforms are typically decorated with enamelled cells arranged into

patterns; the enamel can be in a range of colours. Common patterns include crosses and quatrefoils, and simple grids.

Knobs (figure 4.1(x))

Knobs are rounded mouldings that project outwards from the ring. The knob may be cast integrally with the ring, or may be set into a "cup" moulding, giving an acorn-like appearance. Sometimes knobs are grooved around the outside, and occasionally may be decorated with enamelled cells in a range of colours. Each knob is usually alone on the ring, but on rare occasions may be set close to (but separate from) another knob – especially at the apex of the terret – so that in some examples a terret may actually be decorated with four or more knobs, in three positions around the ring.

Fused knobs (figure 4.1(xi))

Fused knobs are beaded mouldings that occur around the outside of the ring. The mouldings may quite clearly have the appearance of two or three small knobs or beads fused together, or they may appear more like a small ridged bar.

Clustered knobs (figure 4.1(xii))

These are mouldings in the shape of several distinct small knobs or beads clustered together into a group. Unlike fused knobs which are joined along the ring in a linear direction, these knobs are positioned in a pile. In one from Tattenhall (CHES04), for example, each of the three projections is composed of a "base layer" of four small knobs arranged in a cross, all touching, and a fifth small knob placed centrally on top of the lower four. The resulting appearance is that of a cluster of berries or grapes.

Clustered wings (figure 4.1(xiii))

These are unusual mouldings that bear some relation to wings. However, they are not arranged into neat pairs; rather, the two or three distinct wings within each projection are arranged at angles to one another around the ring. At least one of the wings may project from the inside of the ring.

Triplets (figure 4.1(xiv))

Mouldings of this sort occur with some frequency on terrets, but there is considerable diversity within the form. The moulding can perhaps best be understood as a pair of separated wings that flank a protruding central element, often a bulge or bump. In some cases, as in that from Bilbrough (NYOR25), the wings may be greatly reduced, so that the central bulge extends beyond them and dominates the protrusion. In other examples, such as NLIN14 (Kirmington), the central bulge may be relatively low so that it appears like a recess between the wings, but it is still raised above the ordinary line of the terret ring: this can be called an "inverted triplet".

Despite the frequency of terrets with this kind of moulding, none of the major typologies have included them specifically, although Hutcheson's (2004, 30, 132) round-up of terrets from Norfolk acknowledged the type. Hutcheson considered these examples unrelated to "'transverse wing' terrets on a 'visual display' basis"; she preferred the term "three-lipped terrets" (*ibid.*, 30).

As Hutcheson notes, terrets with this feature are usually treated as "winged". Although the moulding does bear some relation to terret wings, it is considered here to be fundamentally a different feature, as the stylistic emphasis seems to be less on the symmetrical relationship between the two wings than on the enclosure by the wings of the central element.

Discs (figure 4.1(xv))

These are flat, transverse discs that project outwards from the ring, but may also project into the inside of the ring. The discs may be enamelled on the upper face in a range of colours. An example from Badbury Rings (DORS10), although incomplete, features discs in different sizes; the position on the ring of the two surviving discs suggests that more than three may have decorated the terret when it was whole.

Bands (figure 4.1(xvi))

These rare embellishments take the form of moulded bands that encircle the ring at three points. As in that from Newent (GLOU03), the band may be decorated with ridges and grooves or threads of pseudo-stitching, and either the ring or the band itself (as in ASHM02, of unknown provenance) may be decorated with enamel. In SYGN02, of unknown provenance, two bands occur in addition to three knobs, and can perhaps here be seen as a secondary embellishment.

Double studs (figure 4.1(xvii))

Only one example of a terret with this embellishment is known from within the study area: one of the terrets from Set 'D' of the Stanwick/Melsonby hoard (NYOR61). At each side and at the apex of the ring, the terret is set with a pair of low moulded cups into which enamel studs were once fixed with pins.

Crescentic terrets (figure 4.1(xviii))

These terrets are traditionally included in the D-shaped series, but are quite different from the other forms. The ring is very thin in profile – Spratling (1972) calls these "flat-ring terrets" – but broad when viewed from face on. The breadth of the ring increases towards its apex, resulting in its characteristic crescent shape. Ordinarily a narrow rim runs along the outside edge of the ring, and a broader flange along the

inside. Both faces of these terrets are enamelled – sometimes only in red, sometimes in a range of colours – and typically decorated with curvilinear designs that include sweeping tendrils, triskeles and scrolls. Enamelling is always applied using the champlevé technique, to fields either cut from the bronze, or possibly sunk into the terrets during casting (Palk 1992, 36).

Crescentic terrets are occasionally found outside Britain. Two examples are well-known: one from Eauze in Gers, France (Michon 1925), and one from Faiyum in Egypt (Norman 1904). These both contain concealed bars within a box-like structure at the base of the terret, a feature echoed in one known example from London (London Corporation 1908, 9, no.98, pl.v no.2), but in none from within the study area. An extremely unusual skirted terret from Le Buissonnet in Picardy, France, has a flat, crescent-shaped ring decorated with small rectangles of enamel, and also possesses bell-form terminals (Henry 1933, fig.22.3).

Dropped-bar terrets (figure 4.1(xix))

Dropped-bar terrets are relatively common finds, accounting for 10% of all terrets found within the study area. The type is clearly distinct from the D-shaped series. These simple, roughly keyhole-shaped artefacts consist of a main circular or sub-circular ring and a smaller attachment loop below; the main ring is usually bottom-heavy but can be of even thickness, and the attachment loop is usually rectangular but occasionally rounded. The great majority of dropped-bar terrets are plain, but a few are embellished by a single small knob or bead at the apex of the ring. In some cases, the ring and attachment loop are separated by a narrow shelf.

Skirted terrets (figure 4.1(xx))

Skirted terrets are relatively widespread within the study area. They are related to dropped-bar terrets, but more complex. They consist of a circular or sub-circular main ring and a smaller attachment loop, but the attachment loop is shielded by a "skirt". In simpler examples the skirt consists of two parts, or "leaves", but more often it is

delicately moulded into four leaves: two that descend over the front and back of the attachment loop, and two that project sideways, often rising into a rounded tip. Sometimes the skirt may be a simple plinth.

The main ring is separated from the top of the skirt by a rounded neck, sometimes grooved or patterned. Occasionally the shape of the ring itself is embellished, as in the example from Hawksworth (NOTT09), where the ring is twisted to give the appearance of rope. Roughly a tenth of skirted terrets are furnished with triple projections around the ring in an apparent imitation of the D-shaped series, as in the example from Melandra Castle (DERB05), where the ring features with three pairs of transverse wings. In one case (Kirmington (NLIN18)) a flat, fishtail-shaped protrusion rises from the top of the skirt into the centre of the ring, perhaps inspired by the massive terret type.

Massive terrets (figure 4.1(xxi))

Massive terrets have a tapering ring and a sturdy, hollow base inside which a slim attachment bar – usually of iron – is concealed. The ring is usually thick-set but may be slender and elegant, as in that from Shrewsbury (SHRP04). At the base, the two halves of the ring come together and rise up into a feature that protrudes into the centre of the ring. This protrusion can take the form of two trumpet-mouths meeting, or of a fishtail-shape, or of a more basic stubby block often decorated with incised lines running from the base to the tip.

Plain shanked terrets (figure 4.1(xxii))

A number of terrets with iron shanks (or evidence for corroded shanks) are known from the study area. Some of these are otherwise similar in appearance to skirted terrets, and is it possible that some of the incomplete skirted terrets recorded on the database may originally have had shanks rather than the more usual attachment loops. For the purposes of clarification, those called here "plain shanked terrets" are those without a skirt, but with only a plain main ring and a shank, such as that from Nanstallon

(CORN01). They can be seen as similar to dropped-bar terrets, which also tend to be plain, consisting only of a main ring and attachment loop. Like dropped-bar terrets, plain shanked terrets may feature a narrow shelf below the base of the ring.

Arched terrets (figure 4.1(xxiii))

An "arch" is a rare decorative feature of which only a few examples have so far been found, all from southern and central Wales. The moulded feature stands on top of the terret ring in the shape of a sweeping archway, with a rounded knob at each end and at its apex. In most cases the feature appears crowning a terret clearly related to the D-shaped series, comprising a tapering ring, terminals and – in all three of the examples currently known in which the bar survives – a vertical bar which descends into a blunt, broad tang. They are, however, more heavily set than other types within the D-shaped series. The arched moulding also appears crowning a skirted terret from Swansea Bay (SWAN03).

Slotted terrets (figure 4.1(xxiv))

Five terrets from within the study area feature attachment slots rather than bars or loops. That from Middlewich (CHES03) is a complete example: the ring is sub-circular and thick-set, although tapering towards the apex. Terminals are weakly defined, and two parallel attachment bars lie between them to form a slot. A tang descends from the lower bar. An incomplete example from South Kesteven (LINC32) features a moulded cone-shaped projection that rises from the upper bar into what was, presumably, the centre of the ring.

Miscellaneous terrets

The database includes a few miscellaneous terrets which do not fit into any of the suggested categories, and which do not have any known close parallels either within or outside the study area. The aim of this typology is to identify trends in terret design

over time and space, and so a design unique to one terret does not seem to justify its own category, but can perhaps better be understood as the experiment of a single craftsperson. It is always possible, though, that other examples may be found and the typology modified accordingly over time.

Questionable terrets

The database includes some complete or near-complete artefacts which cannot clearly be said to be terrets, but which for various reasons could, possibly, be considered to be terrets of otherwise unknown form. These are discussed individually on the database.

One particularly well-known example is worth detailing here: the so-called "horned god terret" from Aldborough (NYOR38). The artefact consists of a plate of bronze moulded into a face of exaggerated, bulbous proportions, depicting a bull-like human or deity. Two horn-like projections rise from the top of the head, and it has been suggested (Megaw 1970, 157) that these are the remains of a ring, through which reins could have passed. The inside of the artefact is hollow and could possibly have slotted on to some kind of projection rising upwards from a yoke; alternatively, the hollowed-out shoulders of the figure could have slotted onto the yoke directly.

However, it is not certain that the artefact is a terret: it seems to be an example of La Tène plastic art, figurative in character, and is not in keeping with the artistic styles that were conventionally used for terrets during the British Iron Age. It is perhaps more likely to have been a chariot pole fitting of some other kind. Nonetheless, in view of both its ambiguity and its significance, it remains on the database.

4.2.1 *Other forms from outside the study area*

It is worth drawing attention here to a few notable terret forms which do not appear in the database as, although examples are known in Britain, they do not occur in the study area.

The skirted terret from Cholesbury in Buckinghamshire (BUC-F16307 on the PAS database; Worrell 2009) features a zoomorphic main ring, in the form of a pair of moulded horse-heads set back-to-back, connected by a single long, looped neck. A comparable but more complex two-tiered example, featuring what appear to be one pair of birds and one pair of oxen or deer, is known from Manching (Jacobi 1974, taf.52 no.817).

Forms of triple projection can be highly varied and localised. One recognisable type outside the study area, of which no examples within the study area have yet been recorded, is the curled platform especially familiar in Norfolk (see Spratling 1976 no.94, from Saham Toney; Hutcheson 2004, no.127; Davies's (1996) "platform" type) . These projections take the form of roughly rectangular enamelled platforms, but unlike flat platforms, they curl up at each end.

An interesting and unusual form of triple projection occurs on a terret from the Isle of Wight (IOW-A89A45 on the PAS database). Projecting out from the ring are three delicate moulded flower-like structures, each with four slim, discrete petals curving outwards and down, and each with a deep circular recess in the centre which would once have held enamel. The projection bears some visual similarity to the four-leaf skirt found on some skirted terrets, but is more overtly floral. It can also be compared to the mouldings on a terret from Hibaldstow, NLIN12, where a rounded knob is set on top of a four-leaf platform, but in the Hibaldstow example the moulding is flat against the ring.

4.3   Discussion: the chronological structure of the typology

This section is split into three sub-sections, which deal respectively with those terret forms considered to be "early" (dating to around the end of the first century BC), "later" (dating from the early first century AD onwards, and of D-shaped form), and those considered to be "imported" (Continental forms which were probably introduced or re-introduced into Britain by the Roman army, although individual terrets may or may not have been made in Britain). Of course individual terrets could have long life-spans, so

in reality many of these forms would have been current simultaneously. For each form, consideration is given to evidence for both manufacture and deposition.

4.3.1 *Early forms*

The earliest securely-dated terrets in Britain are the four plain iron rings found in the Newbridge chariot burial: sections of the chariot wheels have been subjected to radiocarbon dating, which resulted in a likely *fifth century BC* date (Carter *et al* 2010, 31). The chariot burial from Ferry Fryston, West Yorkshire, contained five plain round terrets, each composed of a bronze sheath around a silt core. These are later in date: two radiocarbon determinations on the human bone from the burial indicated that the individual died, at the latest, in the *early second century BC* (Boyle *et al* 2007, 154). The inclusion in the grave of an involuted brooch suggests a slightly later, mid-second century BC date. Boyle *et al* (*ibid.*, 139) suggest that the terrets were made specifically for this burial, due to their inherent weakness and the limited evidence of wear; taken altogether, this evidence suggests that the terrets were made some time between the fourth and second centuries BC, with an early to mid-second century BC date the most likely.

A line of three round, iron-cored, bronze-cased rings, possibly harness rings, lay across the floor of the chariot burial from Danes Graves, East Yorkshire. Stead (1979, 51) considers these to have been terrets. Recent modelling of radiocarbon dates for chariot burials at Wetwang, East Yorkshire (Jay *et al* 2012) estimates that the chariot burial rite in Yorkshire began in probably *225-200 cal BC (68% probability)*, and lasted for *between one and 70 years* (*95% probability*), but probably only for *between one and 25 years* (*68% probability*). The activity ended probably between *210–185 cal BC* (*68% probability*). It seems that the chariot burial rite in East Yorkshire was fairly short-lived, practised by not more than one or two generations. If the chariot burial at Danes Graves is roughly contemporary with those at nearby Wetwang, then it may demonstrate that plain iron rein-rings were in use in East Yorkshire in the third or second centuries BC.

The East and North Yorkshire chariot burials of the third or second century BC also include D-shaped terrets of various form, among them studded, ribbed and lipped terrets, and simple terrets with basic circle-and-dot moulding on the ring (Stead 1979; 1991). Terret moulds have been recovered from Gussage All Saints for ribbed, lipped and Mill Plain terrets, and for 11 varieties of simple terret, where variation lies in the detail of ridging or grooving along the spine (Foster 1980, fig.3). The moulds from Gussage are now considered to date *from the fourth to the first centuries BC*, most likely from the *second century BC* (Garrow *et al* 2010; Garrow and Gosden 2012, 271-276). Gussage also provides arguable evidence for an early date for terrets with transverse wings: it has been suggested that mould fragment 4230 could "possibly" be for one wing of a large wing-pair (Foster 1980, 11, fig.4); however, Foster's identification of the mould fragment is tentative, and not sufficiently conclusive to undermine a probable early first-century AD date for the origin of terrets with wings.

Moulds for simple or probable simple terrets also occur in Late Iron Age contexts at Kelk in the Hull Valley (Chapman *et al* 2000, 130), and from contexts dating to between roughly 300 BC and AD 40/50 at Cadbury Castle (Barrett *et al* 2000, 298) where terrets were produced of a design paralleled in moulds from first century BC contexts at Weelsby Avenue (*ibid.*; Sills and Kingsley 1990; Foster 1995). At Bury Hill, terrets of simple, Mill Plain and lipped form were recovered from a single deposit of soil thrown into the tops of two adjacent pits (Cunliffe and Poole 2000, 47, fig.2.29); recent remodelling of the radiocarbon dates for these two pits has shown that the deposit is likely to have been made during the *second century BC*. Two simple terrets and one lipped terret are known from Glastonbury Lake Village, which Bulleid and Gray (1911, 30) argue was abandoned around the time of the Roman Conquest due to the near-absence of Roman material, the absence of enamels, and the fact that the sole coin found was of a British type current in the first half of the first century AD. Simple terrets are found from both of the Lake Villages at Meare; the West Village was probably founded in the third century BC and the East in the second century BC, and both gradually abandoned during the Roman period as water levels rose (Coles 1987, 247-248). The three simple terrets from Stanwick/Melsonby are all from 'Set C', the latest in the hoard, and have been dated on a basis of both stylistic and XRF analysis to between roughly AD 60-65 (MacGregor 1962; Fitts *et al* 1999). Dating evidence for simple terrets in the study area can be found in Appendix 8.

It is notable that ribbed, lipped and lobed terrets almost all occur within Iron Age settlements or burials, and that none within the study area have been found on Roman-era sites. Simple terrets have a longer currency, first emerging in the third or second centuries BC and continuing to be found in both Iron Age and Roman-era sites. One example from Silverdale (LANC03) was recovered from a hoard or scattered assemblage of copper-alloy horse-gear and Roman coins, currently under consideration as Treasure, although the association between the terret and coins is not certain (Treasure case no.: 2010 T616; Dot Boughton pers. comm., e-mail 17th December 2014). According to the hoard's PAS record (LANCUM-009B63), the earliest coin it contains is a denarius issued under Mark Antony (dated 32-31 BC), and the latest coins a sestertius of Antonius Pius (AD 152-154) and a denarius of Faustina II, which could have been issued as late as AD 161. The latter two coins give a *terminus post quem* for deposition, although the terret's manufacture could of course have been earlier. Nevertheless, the terret was found in reasonably good condition, and if deposited along with the coins, must have been in circulation in some form in the mid-second century AD. A simple terret from "the Lunt" Roman fort in Baginton (WARW05) was excavated from an area in the fort's eastern defences. Based on coins and pottery, the building of the fort can be dated to around AD 70-90 (Hobley 1969). A simple terret from Salford Priors (WARW12), recovered during excavation of the villa estate, came from a context dated by coins and pottery to between the third and late fourth centuries AD (Palmer 1999, table 1); however, as a metal-detected find from topsoil (*ibid.*, 17), the terret may be residual. The only depositional evidence within the study area for a terret with Mill Plain ornamentation is that for the archetype, DORS05, which was recovered from a pre-Roman Iron Age settlement, but its exact context is unknown. The Mill Plain-type terret from Bury Hill, Hampshire, was recovered from a second-century BC context. Although these examples suggest an Iron Age origin, a dropped-bar terret with Mill Plain-style ornamentation is known from Richborough, Kent (Bushe-Fox 1926, 45, pl.XIII no.16); there is little contextual information, but the fact that the ornamentation is found on a terret of dropped-bar form is itself an indication of its persistence into the Roman era.

It is difficult to determine the order in which studded, ribbed, lipped, lobed and simple types developed, although the earliest plain iron rings clearly pre-date all of them. The

construction of most ribbed terrets from a copper sheath around an iron core appears comparatively primitive, but it should be noted that a similar method was employed in the manufacture of the terrets buried at Ferry Fryston in the second century BC (in that case using silt cores), by which time the *cire perdue* method of bronze-working seems to have been widely practised. Different techniques were quite probably preferred by different metalworkers. Iron cores and bars are common features of ribbed, lipped and lobed terrets, and can perhaps be taken as an indicator of early manufacture, although not in every case: many imported-form terrets possess iron attachment loops, bars or shanks. Lipped and lobed terrets are similar in design, although lips are more complicated – they are essentially split lobes – which may hint that lipped terrets are the later form. This is a supposition, however. Only one lobed terret is known from a datable context within the study area: SOMR10, from Meare Lake Village East. If SOMR10 was manufactured at some point between the second century BC and the Roman era, it could in fact be later than the lipped terrets from the East Yorkshire chariot burials.

Something of a gap in terret deposition is apparent from the first century BC to the mid-first century AD, by which point many of the early terret forms seem to have fallen out of use. Interestingly, this echoes a broader gap in Late Iron Age artwork identified by Garrow *et al* (2010) lasting from roughly 50 BC to AD 50. Garrow *et al* (*ibid.*, 110-111) suggest that this could be due to changing depositional practices during the period, and point out that the hiatus in the archaeological record does not necessarily mean that fewer pieces of Celtic art were actually being made or used. Alternatively, it could indicate a general decline in the production of Celtic art in the first century BC, and a subsequent revitalisation inspired by the new materials and technologies offered by increasing contact with Continental Europe (*ibid.*).

4.3.2 *Later forms: manufacture and deposition*

Evidence for the manufacture of later terret forms is limited. From outside the study area, mould fragments for terrets with wings, with platforms and with combined knobs and platforms – as well as for simple terrets – are known from Silchester, Hampshire, and have been dated to the latest pre-Roman period locally, on the basis of associated

pottery (Fulford and Timby 2000, 30-31; Northover and Palk 2000, 406): the period immediately before around AD 45. Within the study area, a fragment of a mould "possibly of a lip-moulding from either a terret or a cheekpiece" was recovered from the Romano-British industrial settlement at Prestatyn, from a Period II context: roughly between AD 70 and 150 (Blockley *et al* 1989, no.12, pl.XXc). The "lip" feature is described as bearing a "trace of an incised decoration… cf. those from Stanwick" (*ibid.*, 188 no.12), which suggests that it is in fact a wing-pair rather than a lip, in the terminology of the present study. It is clearly uncertain whether this mould fragment is for a terret, however. The 14 terrets with transverse wings from the Stanwick/Melsonby hoard have been dated through a combination of stylistic and XRF analysis to between roughly AD 50 and 65 (MacGregor 1962; Fitts *et al* 1999): a period which can be seen as within the late pre-Roman Iron Age in northern England.

The situation is complicated a little by the presence at Weelsby Avenue of fragmentary moulds for terrets which appear to have been embellished with two flat, platform-like projections on each face of the ring (Foster 1995, 52-53, fig.22). There is no evidence that the Weelsby Avenue platforms contained enamel (no actual terrets corresponding to the moulds are known), although Foster (*ibid.*, 53) considers enamel decoration "probable", on the basis that most platform-decorated terrets are enamelled. Weelsby Avenue has been dated to the first century BC on the basis of its "excellent pottery sequence" (Sills and Kingsley 1990, 50); the terrets made there considerably pre-date other terrets with triple projections, where evidence for either manufacture or deposition exists. However, it is suggested here that the projections on the Weelsby Avenue terrets are not, in fact, true platforms, given the absence of any solid evidence for enamel decoration, and given their setting on the face of the terret: quite different from the typical arrangement around the ring of triple projections. They are perhaps better viewed as a kind of simple terret with moulded embellishment, or possibly as bearing some relation to the studded terrets of the East Yorkshire chariot burials: in these terrets the studs are also sometimes set on the face of the ring, and vary in number (cf. those from Wetwang, ERID54-56, 63-64).

Contextual dating evidence for the deposition of terrets with triple projections from within the study area is also limited: of approximately 140 terrets with knobs, wings or platforms known from the study area, the deposition of only around 10 can be securely

dated on contextual grounds (see Appendix 9). No crescentic terrets from within the study area have been recovered from secure depositional contexts. A terret with transverse wings from Wroxeter (SHRP12) comes from an AD 60-90 context, sealed by the paving stone layer above it (Atkinson 1942, 82-83, 123, 210). An example from Usk (MONMO3) comes from a roughly contemporary pre-Flavian or Flavian context (Manning *et al* 1995, no.10). Another example comes from a burnt fill layer within the Roman villa at Watts Wells, Enstone (OXFD07), which contained pottery fragments of Trajanic and Antonine date (AD 98-161), and a fragment of second century AD date (Radford 1936, 33-34). The sealed earliest layer, on the natural clay, contained pottery fragments of Flavian date (AD 69-96) (*ibid.*). Although Jope (2000, 308) dismisses the terret as a "curio", manufacture need not have greatly preceded deposition if, as the contexts for SHRP12 and MONM03 show, terrets with transverse wings were current in the mid-late first century AD. A terret with parallel wings was excavated from the Roman fortress at Mancetter (WARW09), which was in use from around AD 50-70 (Scott 1998, no.14), making the terret's likely deposition broadly contemporary with that of SHRP12 and MONM03.

Terrets with knobs appear only in Roman-era contexts, although in most cases dating is not precise. In Castleford (WYOR12), a terret with knobs comes from a "phase 1" context of the fort, dating to around AD 71/4-86, and sealed by a layer of destruction and levelling (Bishop 1998). An example from Chester (CHES22) was recovered from the surface of a Roman cement floor; below the floor were pieces of late Flavian pottery (Newstead 1939, 58-59), indicating that the terret cannot have been deposited before the late first century AD. The terret with knobs from Caerwent (MONM01) cannot have been deposited before the construction of the basilica in the early second century AD, but the end-date for deposition is open (National Museum Wales accession record no.: 2007.35H/2.81).

Contextual dating for terrets with platforms is poor: date ranges are either very broad (as for the example from Wanborough, WILT24, which we know only came from a settlement occupied throughout the Roman era), or so late as to suggest residuality or re-use in a later period (as in the case of ERID46, recovered from an apparent Roman phase of the multi-period burial mound at Walkington Wold, or GLOU12, Lechlade, a Saxon-era grave). The Silchester moulds suggest that terrets with platforms were, at

that site, made alongside terrets with wings and knobs in the latest pre-Roman Iron Age, but this is outside the study area.

The above evidence, although limited, indicates that terrets with triple projections began to be manufactured in the study area in the late pre-Roman Iron Age, and remained in common currency until at least the mid-late first century AD, with evidence for the occasional deposition of terrets with knobs and with transverse wings in the second century AD.

4.3.3   *The stylistic dating of later terret forms*

In addition to the evidence for manufacture and deposition, there is some scope for the dating of later terret forms on stylistic grounds. It is important to emphasise that stylistic dating is not secure, but suggestive, and has been used here mainly in the assessment of enamelled terrets. It should also be pointed out that most Iron Age "enamels" in Britain are not, in fact, true enamels but heat-softened glass; the Romans introduced the technique of applying vitreous enamel to metalwork, whereby ground glass is fused through heating. For consistency, though, the word "enamel" is used here to mean decorative coloured glass, regardless of the technique of application. It should also be noted that, although enamel does not always survive, on the present database terrets have been recorded as "enamelled" when they feature clear recessed cells.

During the fourth century BC, smiths in East Yorkshire began to apply red glass studs to brooches: this is the earliest evidence we have of the use of enamel in Britain, while the earliest example of yellow enamel is found on the Late Iron Age Grimthorpe sword (Rigby 2006). The use of enamel became increasingly common and sophisticated during the early or mid-first century AD, when reds, blues and yellows were used together in curving cells (Bateson 1981, 114-116; Adam Gwilt pers. comm., e-mail 20th June 2014). Red and yellow glasses are heavily leaded, and were therefore particularly easy for Iron Age metalworkers to soften and cut to shape; blue and white glasses were more difficult, and tended only to be used for "dots" until techniques of vitreous enamelling allowed them to be applied to large, irregularly-shaped cells (Davis and Gwilt 2008, 159).

By the time of the Roman invasion, Britain already possessed a "flourishing enamel-working industry" (Bateson 1981, 7), which attuned itself during the Romano-British period to the demands of the Roman army. During and after the Roman invasion, British enamels began to incorporate greens, oranges, blacks and whites, and geometric patterns of cells began to replace the earlier curves (*ibid.*, 68, 116). Iron Age enamels tend to have higher copper and lead content than Roman enamels (Davis and Gwilt 2008, 157, figs.9.9 and 9.10), a composition that gives Iron Age reds a particularly intense colour, known as "sealing wax red" (*ibid.*, 155; Rigby 2006). The colour and shape of the enamelled cells on both the rings and the decorative projections of terrets can, then, give some indication of the period in which they were manufactured.

Crescentic terrets are always enamelled. Those with only red enamel, or with red and yellow enamel in curvilinear designs, are likely in most cases to date from the early first century AD (e.g. PETR01, Eye), while those with a broader range of colours are likely to date from the mid- to late first century AD (e.g. SHRP08, Telford).

Terrets with wings and with knobs are sometimes enamelled, but not always. Within the study area, 19 (58%) of terrets with transverse wings are enamelled, 10 (48%) of terrets with parallel wings, and 14 (26%) of terrets with knobs, as well as two with wings of unknown orientation. Nine of the enamelled terrets with transverse wings come from the Stanwick/Melsonby hoard, dated by XRF analysis to around the mid-first century AD (Fitts *et al* 1999), and three from the associated Aldbrough St. John assemblage. Altogether, eight enamelled terrets with parallel wings were recovered from the Polden Hills hoard. Straight-sided geometric triangles – possible indicators of Roman rather than La Tène stylistic character – decorate five of these. The other enamelled terrets from the study area with transverse, parallel or indeterminate wings are mostly of classic La Tène design, embellished with curvilinear incisions or recesses, and with red or gold enamel where traces survive.

Stylistically there is some resemblance between lips and transverse wings: it is possible that wing mouldings developed out of lip mouldings, as the result of a flattening of the lips and a deepened split between them. On the Burrough Hill terrets (LEIC16-17, 26) the lips are especially pronounced, and stand almost clear of the ring. It may be that

here we see a transitional stage between classic lipped terrets and the emergence of the transverse-wing feature. It is hoped that radiocarbon dating of organic material from the pit deposit will clarify the date of the Burrough Hill terrets in due course.

MacGregor (1976, 42) relates lipped terrets to the "split-lip" chapes of Piggott's (1950, 12-14) Groups II and III scabbards, comparable to Stead's (2006, 15, fig.9) type "g" variety; two chapes of this kind can be seen to illustrate the resemblance between lips and wings. One, from Bugthorpe, East Riding, parts at the terminal into a pair of "split lips" of soft, bulbous appearance (Piggott 1950, fig.2 no.5; Stead 2006, no.176), while the split lips of a roughly contemporary example from Hounslow, Berwickshire are more angular and flat-edged, with a disc-like appearance reminiscent of the wings on the terrets from the Stanwick/Melsonby hoard (Piggott 1950, fig.7 no.3; MacGregor 1976, no.138). Stead (2006, 63) suggests on stylistic grounds a date no earlier than the second century BC for chapes with moulded lip terminals (although he admits the chronology is "vague"), which would indicate that the chapes are broadly contemporary with lipped terrets, but earlier than terrets with wings. Parallel wings, on the other hand, present a more dramatic and possibly less direct modification of lips: the decorative projection is here rotated 90 degrees. They may be a later development than transverse wings.

Of the 14 enamelled terrets with knobs from within the study area, the two from the Seven Sisters hoard (NEAT01 and 02) bear traces of white enamel. The Seven Sisters hoard also included a skirted terret; stylistically and on the basis of metallurgical analysis, Davis and Gwilt (2008) have dated the material within the Seven Sisters hoard to the third quarter of the first century AD. The remaining enamelled terrets with knobs from the study area are mostly of classic La Tène design.

Something should be said here about the terret from Colchester with red enamelled knobs, considered by Hawkes and Hull (1947, 330) to date to the first century BC because the recesses on the knobs were cross-scored after casting: this technique for affixing enamel to metal was used in Britain before the Roman invasion. However, discs of red enamel were also inset into the ring itself using the champlevé technique (Spratling 1972, no.81). This raises the possibility not only that different craftspeople preferred different techniques, but that the same craftsperson (assuming that the same

individual was responsible both for the enamel knobs and the enamel discs) may have preferred different techniques for different jobs. The Colchester terret dates in all likelihood from the first century AD.

Terrets with platforms are probably always enamelled – except where occasionally they are topped with knobs (e.g. Kirmington (NLIN17)) – although sometimes the platforms are so worn that no evidence either for the enamel itself or for the recess remains. 26 terrets with enamelled platforms are known from the study area. Examples from Barmby Moor (ERDI02) Scretevon (NOTT05), Y Gaer Roman Fort, Brecon (POWY07), Wall (STAF02), Fremington Hagg (NYOR42) and Horspath (OXFD06) possess platforms of geometric design, in the form of square or triangular cells, while NYOR42 and OXFD06 are also embellished with polychrome enamel. Polychrome enamel decorates examples from Wanborough (WILT24), Lechlade (GLOU11), Wroughton (WILT07) and Collingham (WYOR03), although the basic design on these examples is curvilinear. The remaining enamelled terrets with platforms from the study area are mostly of classic La Tène design.

An interesting terret is known from Thurlaston (LEIC18): each of its three platforms is embellished with a simple enamel diamond-shaped stud of degraded colour, held in place by a copper-alloy rivet. This is a pre-Roman kind of enamel uplay (Bateson 1981, 88-89), and its use is curious on a terret with platforms, as is the use of a single stud on each platform (platforms are more typically embellished with a pattern of small cells). Possibly this may be an early example of a platform terret; or, as with the Colchester knobbed terret, may be the work of a Roman-period manufacturer who for one reason or another chose to work with an old-fashioned enamelling technique.

*

When the evidence for manufacture and deposition is combined with stylistic observation, little chronological discrimination can be made between crescentic terrets, terrets with transverse wings, parallel wings and knobs as artefact classes, although some discrimination is possible between individual terrets in each class. An indication

that platforms evolved after wings – perhaps directly out of wings – is provided by Leeds's (1933, 120-121) observation that, on one of the terrets from the Polden Hills hoard, a pair of enamelled parallel wings has been flattened out into a platform: this creates an accidental quatrefoil notably reminiscent of the quatrefoils on other *intentional* platforms. However, although terrets with platforms are more commonly enamelled than other forms of terret with tripled projection, the class does not contain a higher overall proportion of examples with polychrome enamel or other obvious Roman stylistic influence; MacGregor (1976, 47) considers knobs and platforms to be "a twin and interacting development". Jope (2000, 310) argues that the integrally-cast rounded knobs found on certain terrets descend from the sort of knob in which an upper "hemisphere" sits within an integrally-cast base, or acorn-cup moulding (e.g. CARD01, Pentyrch); the acorn-cup moulding he relates to platforms. Very tentatively, we might suggest that terrets with transverse wings are the earliest in the series to emerge – due to their resemblance to early lipped terrets – and that terrets with platforms are later, following Leeds (1933) and on the basis that, unlike terrets with wings and knobs, enamel embellishment is key to the type's character. Following MacGregor (1976) and Jope (2000), platforms and knobs could be roughly contemporary. These are admittedly speculative interpretations, though, and purely stylistic.

Terrets with rarer forms of triple projections are more difficult still to place in sequence, due to the limited number of examples and the almost complete lack of dating evidence. They are placed as broadly "late" rather than "early" in the typo-chronology on the basis of their close stylistic relationship with terrets with wings, knobs and platforms. In her study of Later Iron Age metalwork from Norfolk, Hutcheson (2004, 30) suggests that terrets with triplets – which are comparatively common in her study area, and which she describes as "three-lipped" – pre-date terrets with knobs and platforms, and may be related to terrets with wings, but this is a stylistic observation not based on any contextual evidence.

Again on purely stylistic grounds, we might infer that fused and clustered knobs evolved from single knobs, clustered wings from single- or double-pair wings, that discs might be related to platforms, and that triplets might be related to bands, wings and possibly to lobes. In northern Britain, according to Jope (2000, 310), terrets with fused and clustered knobs tend to come from early Roman contexts, but the contexts are

not necessarily secure (e.g. MacGregor 1976, nos.81, 84). One terret with discs – NORT01 – is known from Towcester, a Roman town but with an Iron Age phase of occupation. Another – DORS10 – comes from the Iron Age settlement of Badbury Rings, where occupation possibly continued into the Roman era. One terret with clustered knobs was found directly on the course of a Roman road (Stamford Bridge, CHES14). None of these decorative features are particularly common within the study area, with no more than around 10 examples known of each kind (of some kinds only one or two examples are known). In view of the limited information available, there is probably little to be gained by suggesting a chronology.

4.3.4   *Imported forms: depositional contexts*

Of the 135 dropped-bar, skirted and plain shanked terrets listed on the database, only 17 are from datable contexts. No massive terrets come from contexts for which reliable dating evidence exists. In all 17 datable cases, the contexts are Roman-era. No evidence is known for their manufacture within the study area, although it is perfectly plausible that many of the known examples were made in Britain rather than imported.

The three datable plain shanked terrets are all from Castleford Roman fort (WYOR09-11). Two were recovered from "phase 1c" contexts: WYOR10 from a midden deposit and WYOR11 from a re-surfaced part of the gravel road, both contexts sealed by a layer of destruction. Phase 1c of the fort dates from roughly AD 71/4-86 (Bishop 1998). WYOR09 came from a context of fort ditch infill in the fort's northern annexe, dating to "phase 3" – roughly AD 100-250 – during which period the fort and annexe were demolished (*ibid.*). It is possible that WYOR09 was thrown into the ditch as rubbish during the demolition period. It appears similar in style to WYOR10, and is not obviously a later development of the type.

A dropped-bar terret from Castleford (WYOR15) was recovered from a "phase 3" context in the west of the fort, dating to around AD 140-180 (*ibid.*). This context was the western rubbish pit; again, the terret may well have been residual. The date of deposition for the dropped-bar terret from Little Orme, Llandudno (CONWY01), is open to debate: part of a large metal-detected scattered assemblage of coins and

artefacts, the terret's deposition has previously been dated on the basis of its association with the 68 coins, all of Carausius, who ruled Britain for 10 years from AD 286 (Brewer 2011). However, Evan Chapman and Adam Gwilt (pers. comm., e-mail 25th June 2014) question the association between the terret (together with the brooches and ox-head escutcheons) and the coins themselves, and suggest that a late first- to second-century AD date is more plausible for the artefacts. This conclusion is reached through comparison with parallel artefacts including an ox-head escutcheon from Welshpool, recently carbon-14 dated to the late first or early second century AD (Gwilt 2014, 39). The dropped-bar terret from Templeborough Roman fort (SYOR04) can only be dated in line with general dates for the fort itself: dated on the basis of coins and pottery to between AD 41-54 and around AD 170, with a later phase of occupation in the third or possibly fourth century AD (SMR record 316617; May 1922, 75). The example from Shiptonthorpe (ERID72) is a surface find from a trench containing pottery with a mid-late third century AD date, but the terret is not stratified (Allason-Jones 2006, 227).

Two skirted terrets from the vicus to the north-west of the Roman fort at Cirencester (GLOU18-19) were deposited in contexts producing relatively early material (Webster 1982, 117); the fort was abandoned by around AD 75. A skirted terret from Margidunum (NOTT13) was recovered from a cutting containing pot sherds and a vessel found of first-century AD date, with some early second-century AD sherds in the upper fillings (Todd 1969, 90). Good contextual evidence exists for the example from Wroxeter (SHRP14), which was recovered from the original floor of "East Room 1": a three-inch layer of cement. Cooking pots of second-century type were also found on the layer, as well as coins of Trajan (AD 98-117), Hadrian (AD 117-138) and Faustina I (AD 138-140) (Atkinson 1942, 68-69, 104-105). A skirted terret from Castleford (WYOR14) was found in the vicus to the south-west of the fort, in a context containing coins of Vespasian, Hadrian and Trajan, and dated to "phase 3", or around AD 140-180 (Bishop 1998, no.30), and separated from earlier levels by a layer of destruction. A skirted terret from a late first- or second-century AD context from Melandra Castle (DERB05) was probably discarded as rubbish. An unusual terret from Wilderspool (WARR02) may be a late example of the form: it was recovered from a "phase 7" context, dating to around AD 270-320 (Dunn 2007). Rogers and Garner (2007, 39) see the terret as indicative of "the importance of road transport to the settlement", and see no reason to treat the find as anachronistic.

We can see from the above review of depositional contexts that plain shanked, dropped-bar and skirted terrets are all current in Britain from around the mid-first century AD, with secure contextual evidence for the deposition of all three forms in the late first century AD, and for skirted terrets as late as at least the mid-second century AD. Outlying examples are notably either in less secure contexts, or appear likely to be rubbish.

The evolution of massive, skirted and dropped-bar terrets, and their relation to other terret forms found on mainland Europe, is discussed in detail in **4.7**.

4.3.5   *Terrets of ambiguous date, miscellaneous terrets and questionable terrets*

Various other terret forms are known from Britain – such as terrets with arches and slotted terrets – as well as a number of questionable terrets. There is little in the way of dating evidence for most of these examples. Where, in some cases, dates can be suggested on stylistic grounds, this is noted on the database. Terrets with arches and slots are also discussed in **8.4**.

4.4   Metallurgical analysis: case studies

The potential of XRF analysis to refine the proposed new typo-chronology was explained in **3.6**, along with the reasoning for a case-study approach based upon existing quantitative metallurgical analysis. The three case studies are presented here.

4.4.1   *Hunsbury hillfort*

Microprobe analysis was performed on six terrets from Hunsbury hillfort by Ian Barnes (1985, 16-21; nos.13-17, 19; fig.3). The exact findspot is not known for any of the terrets, but the hillfort is of Late Iron Age date: probably occupied from the fourth century BC until around the period of Roman conquest, although poor stratification

makes it difficult to establish a reliable chronology (*ibid.*, 4-6). At least some of the terrets were recovered from an alleged chariot burial (**9.1.2**), although it is not known which ones.

Three of the terrets are lobed, one is ribbed and two are simple. Each of the six terrets has a tin content of between 11 and 17%; no zinc is present at all. Each of the terrets contains arsenic, with a content of under 1%, and five of the terrets contain lead with a content of under 1%. The ribbed terret has a comparatively high lead content of 8.7%.

Following Dungworth (1997), these results appear to confirm that the six terrets from Hunsbury are of Mid to Late Iron Age date. This is the expected conclusion, given the location in which they were found. The high lead content of the ribbed example is more surprising; Dungworth (*ibid.*, ch.5.3.3) notes that the mean lead content of Iron Age alloys in his study is 0.9%, which contrasts both with Bronze Age alloys where almost all objects have at least several percent of lead present, and with Roman-period alloys in which lead generally is absent, or present at considerably less than one percent. A small proportion of Roman artefacts have lead levels of up to 40%. As the ribbed terret is contextually unlikely to be of Roman date, the possibility must be considered that it is an early artefact, perhaps made from recycled Bronze Age material.

4.4.2   *The Polden Hills hoard*

The Polden Hills hoard of metalwork contains 24 terrets, which have been subjected to SEM WDS analysis (scanning electron microscopy with wavelength dispersive spectrometry) by Mary Davis (forthcoming). The assemblage comprises seven terrets of simple form, 15 with parallel wings and two with transverse wings. All 24 are tin bronze, and all contain arsenic, at a level of under 0.5%. The majority have an arsenic content of between roughly 0.2 and 0.35%. None are leaded.

The hoard is traditionally considered likely to have been deposited in the middle of the first century AD or a little later, based on comparison with parallel artefacts from other dated assemblages (Brailsford 1975). There is arguable Roman stylistic influence on some of the terrets within the hoard, such as the triangular recesses for enamel found on

SOMR30, 42 and others. The metallurgical content does not in itself mean that these artefacts are pre-invasion or early Roman in date: individual metal-workers could well have continued to work with tin into the Roman era, either through personal preference or lack of access to zinc.

4.4.3   *Dungworth's (1997) assemblage*

The third case study draws together the terrets analysed by David Dungworth (1997) as part of his investigation into Iron Age and Roman copper alloys from northern Britain. Dungworth's categorisation of terrets differs in places from that of the present study, so before beginning to assess the results of his XRF analysis it was necessary to re-classify all of Dungworth's published examples following the categories of the proposed new typology. A few of Dungworth's examples were unpublished and in those cases, as it was not possible to confirm the types, they had to be discounted from the analysis. Mini terrets were also discounted, along with a questionable artefact from Dalton Parlours. A sample of 34 terrets remained, all of which come from northern Britain, some from outside the boundaries of the present project's study area. Dungworth's examples consist of lipped terrets, simple terrets, terrets with transverse wings, knobs, double knobs, clustered knobs and fused knobs, dropped-bar terrets and plain shanked terrets.

We can see from figure 4.1 that all of the lipped terrets in Dungworth's study are tin bronze, which reflects their early position in the terret series (the lipped terrets sampled by Dungworth are all from either Arras or Kirkburn, and are of definite Late Iron Age date). We can also see that zinc begins to be used in simple terrets, terrets with transverse wings, knobs, double knobs and fused knobs, and plain shanked terrets: an indication that these varieties all either continued or began to be manufactured from around the mid-first century AD. It is not known precisely when brass was first *produced* in northern Britain, but its use for some of the terrets from Stanwick/Melsonby indicates that brass was being *worked* in the north by the mid-first century AD, possibly in the form of ingots imported from Continental Europe (Fitts *et al* 1999; Bayley and Butcher 2004, 210).

Alloys have been recorded as "leaded" in figure 4.2 where they contain more than one per cent lead. Very low levels of lead – less than one per cent – are unlikely to indicate deliberate addition, but are probably impurities in the metal (Dungworth 1997, ch.5.3.3). All four of Dungworth's dropped-bar terrets are bronze, all with relatively high lead content: three with a lead content of 5-6%, and one of 18%. Given that three of the four dropped-bar terrets come from secure Roman-era contexts, this finding indicates a diversity in the metallurgical content of Roman-period terrets, rather than an unexpectedly early date for dropped-bar terrets.
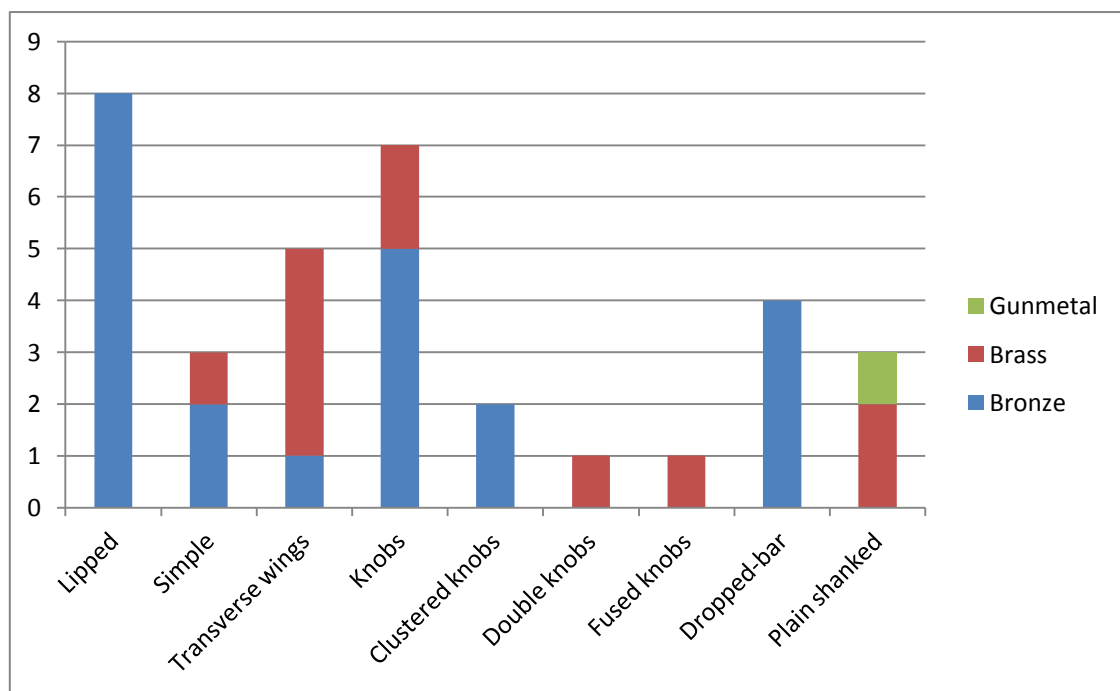
Figure 4.3: Metallurgical content of terrets in Dungworth (1997), by type
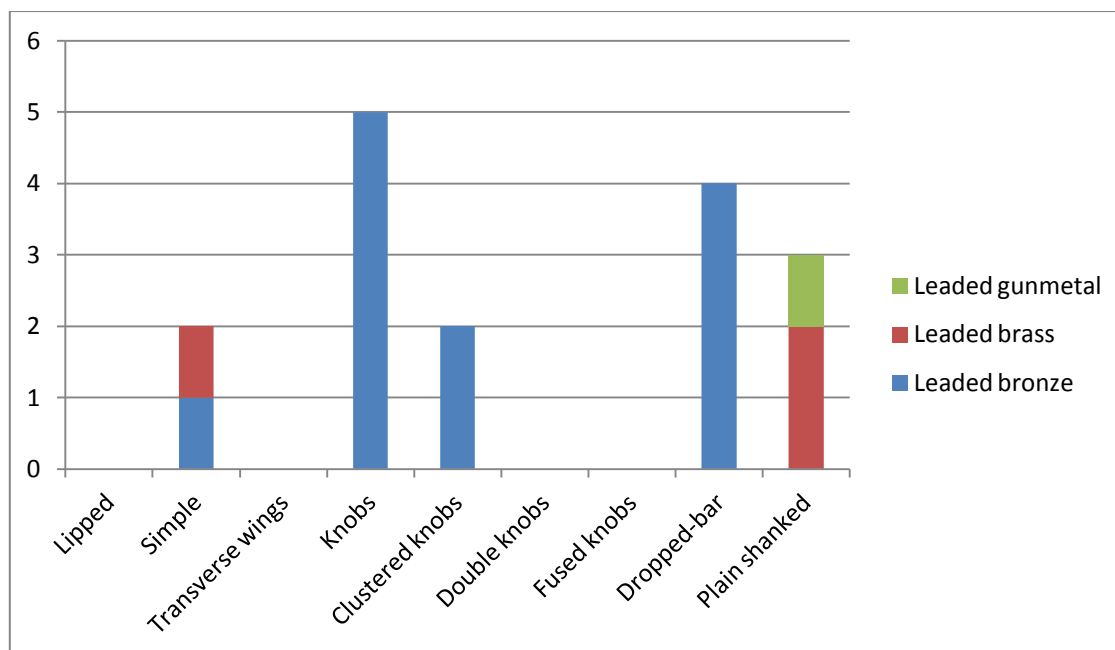
Figure 4.4: Leaded terrets in Dungworth (1997), by type

High lead content also occurs in the plain shanked terrets (between 16 and 20%), the two terrets with clustered knobs (10 and 14%), and two of the terrets with knobs (10 and 15%). Lead is present, although in lower quantities, in three of the five other knobbed terrets (between 1 and 6%), and in two of the simple terrets (at levels of 2 and 5%). Of the five terrets with transverse wings, however, four have no lead present, and the fifth has a lead content of 1%. Arsenic is recorded in only one of Dungworth's terrets, a lipped example, at a level of 1%.

4.4.4 *Conclusions*

64 terrets in total were assessed in the above three case studies, of which 54 come from within the study area. This constitutes 9% of the terrets on the database: a reasonable-sized sample, but one which is not fully representative of terrets as an artefact class, as certain widespread terret forms were not included in any of the case studies, notably terrets with platforms and crescentic, massive and skirted terrets.

The results of the metallurgical analysis from the three case studies broadly support the chronological structure of the proposed typology. The absence of any zinc in the lobed,

ribbed and simple terrets from Hunsbury, and in the lipped terrets from Arras and Kirkburn, confirms the likely early position of these forms in the terret series; although, as noted above, the same conclusion can be reached on contextual grounds. It is important also to be aware of the danger of circularity: because a terret from an Iron Age context contains no zinc, this does not automatically mean that an absence of zinc is indicative of Iron Age date. It is perhaps safer to say that the absence of zinc in the lobed, ribbed, simple and lipped terrets sampled *does not contradict* the proposed chronology.

Few firm chronological conclusions can be reached from metallurgical analysis of the Polden Hills hoard. The tin bronze content of all of its artefacts demonstrates the use of traditional manufacturing techniques, but the presence within the hoard of certain artefacts with Roman stylistic influence – notably the three "dolphin" brooches – strongly suggests that it was probably deposited during or after the Roman invasion, and that at least some of the items in the hoard are Roman in date. How long after invasion the hoard was deposited is difficult to assess. The hoard indicates that simple terrets and both terrets with transverse and parallel wings were concurrent during or after the mid-first century AD.

Dungworth's (1997) analysis reveals that, in the case of simple terrets, terrets with transverse wings and terrets with knobs, the dominant copper alloy is sometimes tin and sometimes zinc. This suggests that, in northern Britain, these forms either started or continued to be used after around the mid-first century AD. The high lead content present in the dropped-bar and plain shanked terrets, the terrets with clustered knobs and some of the terrets with knobs is indicative of a Roman date of manufacture for these examples. It is interesting that only one of Dungworth's terrets with knobs has the combination of high tin and low lead content which would suggest Late Iron Age manufacture. It is possible that terrets with knobs continued to be manufactured – at least in northern Britain – for longer than terrets with either transverse or parallel wings.

The above conclusions must be treated with caution, as there is an obvious danger in attempting to extrapolate observations drawn from limited samples to a much wider range of material. However, the metallurgical analysis does not prompt any especially new or startling findings; rather, it shores up the contextual and stylistic basis of the

typology, adding another – albeit limited – layer of evidence to its chronological structure.

4.5 Summary: the chronology of terrets within the study area

Based on evidence for manufacture (moulds, metallurgical analysis) and use (securely-dated depositional contexts), the estimated chronology of terrets in Britain is expressed graphically in figure 4.3, below. This graphic only includes those terret types for which dating evidence exists *within the study area*. It does not divide evidence for manufacture from evidence for deposition, but rather intends to show the maximum general currency for each type. (It should be remembered that some artefacts could have been curated for a period of time before deposition, even after removal from general use or circulation, or could have been disturbed and re-deposited.) Where terrets have been recovered from a dated but non-closed context, this is recorded as "Less secure" evidence.

Figure 4.3 shows an apparently pivotal change in the mid-first century AD in the types of terret in use; of early forms, only simple terrets certainly continue to be used and deposited into the Roman era. Terrets with triple projections come to dominate the D-shaped series, while other types are introduced from the Continent. The social implications of these changes are discussed in Chapter Eight.

Figure 4.5 chart — estimated chronology of terret forms. Row labels, column headers, and legend:

	C5th BC	C4th BC	C3rd BC	C2nd BC	C1st BC	0-50 AD	50-100 AD	C2nd AD	C3rd AD	C4th AD
Plain										
Studded										
Ribbed										
Lobed										
Lipped										
Simple										
Simple (Mill Plain)										
TP (transverse wings)										
TP (parallel wings)										
TP (knobs)										
Plain shanked										
Dropped-bar										
Skirted										

Legend:
Secure evidence
Less secure evidence
Implied
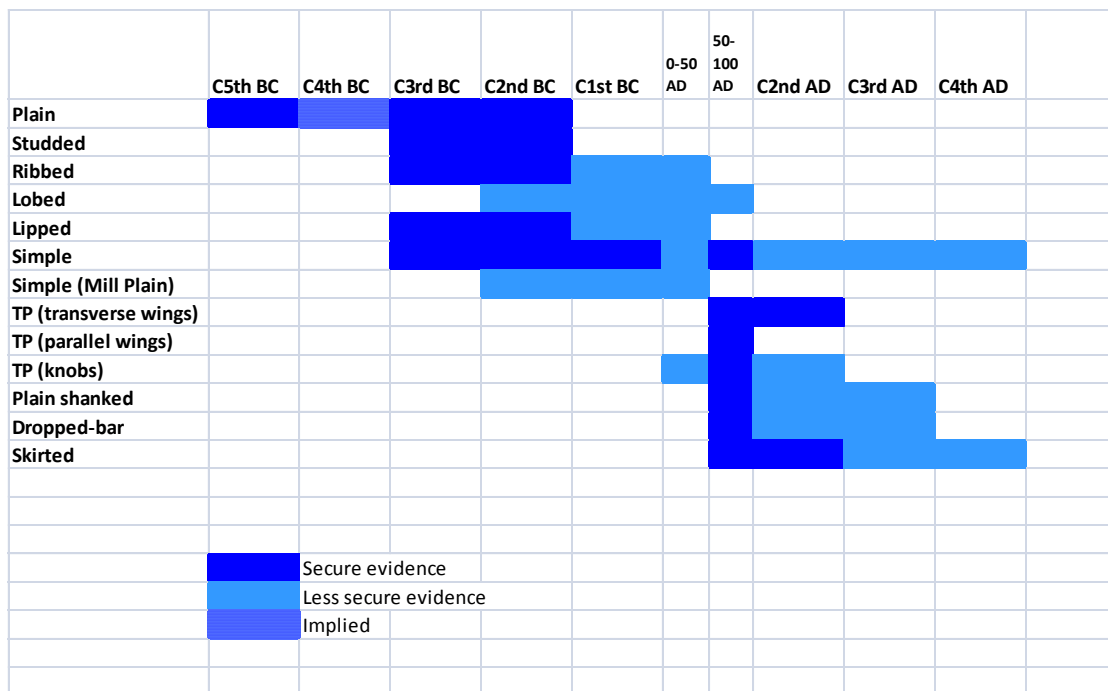
Figure 4.5: Estimated chronology of terret forms in western and central Britain

4.6   Discussion: the emergence of terrets in Britain

We have seen that the earliest securely dated terrets known from Britain are the four round iron rings from Newbridge, which date from the fifth century BC. These are echoed later in the iron-cored, copper-coated round rings of Danes Graves and in the silt-cored, copper-coated round rings of Ferry Fryston, which themselves recall the sets of four round bronze guide-rings found in earlier La Tène chariot burials such as Châlons-en-Champagne (formerly Châlons-sur-Marne), La Gorge-Meillet and Somme-Bionne in the Marne region of north-eastern France. The French examples are broadly contemporary with the Newbridge grave.

Piggott (1983, 177) hints that the British D-shaped terret series may have its origins in harness equipment like that found in the Late Bronze Age hoard from Parc-y-Meirch, Denbighshire. The Parc-y-Meirch hoard falls within the Wilburton phase of the Late Bronze Age metalworking industry, now thought to date from roughly 1150-1050 BC (Savory 1980, 119; Needham 2007). More recently, Macdonald (2007, 8-9) has endorsed Piggott's theory. The Parc-y-Meirch hoard of leaded bronze artefacts, found

outside a corner of Dinorben hillfort, contains amongst other things nine bronze "buckle-like objects" (Savory 1980, 119) with some resemblance to simple terrets (figure 4.4). These D-shaped artefacts each consist of a ring of roughly even breadth, with a triple-ridged bar at the base: the ridge at each end forms a terminal where the bar meets the ring, while the ridge at the centre may have helped to grip a strap that passed through the ring. A number of "slides", or bars with three or four ridges, are also included in the hoard without rings attached.

Figure 4.6: "Buckle" from the Parc-y-Meirch hoard (National Museum Cardiff. Photograph by A. Lewis, by permission of the National Museum of Wales)

At between 40 and 45 millimetres in width and 30 and 35 millimetres in height these objects are large enough to have functioned as terrets. They are, however, not solid as terrets are solid, but concave on the back face, and considerably lighter and flimsier than most terrets as a result. They are more likely to have been buckles or strap fasteners, as implied by Savory, although it is quite possible that they were used in connection with a chariot or cart of some description: cheekpieces, phalerae and nave bands from the cave hoard at Heathery Burn, County Durham – in the Ewart Park metalworking phase of the Late Bronze Age – are evidence that wheeled draught vehicles, probably drawn by horses, were in use in Britain as far back as perhaps the tenth century BC (Piggott 1983, 133-134; Needham 2007). A very similar artefact from Binbrook, Lincolnshire, recently recorded through the PAS (LIN-901115), is described as an Iron Age or Roman strap loop. A more substantial artefact – with a plain ring of even thickness, clay core and slim attachment bar – which closely resembles a D-

shaped terret of basic form is known from the Late Bronze Age metalwork hoard from Green End Road, Cambridge (RCHME 1959, pl.2), and may represent a genuine Bronze Age prototype of the D-shaped terret series (figure 4.5). It is described in the online collections record of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge as a "ring; fitting; weapon furniture" (accession no.: 1931.295). Two other artefacts from the Parc-y-Meirch hoard, similar to dropped-bar terrets in appearance, may well have functioned as terrets, a point returned to below.

Figure 4.7: Possible terret from Green End Road (RCHME 1959, pl.2). Not to scale

Although D-shaped terrets might well have developed from buckles of the sort found at Parc-y-Meirch, the plain round rings of Newbridge, Danes Graves and Ferry Fryston seem to come from a different tradition, while the studded, lipped, lobed and ribbed varieties of early terret – with their iron components and often indistinct terminals – do not bear as strong a visual resemblance to the Parc-y-Meirch buckles as simple terrets do. All currently-known uses of plain, round terrets within Britain occur in the eastern half of the island: at Newbridge on the banks of the River Almond, seven kilometres inland from the Firth of Forth; at Danes Graves in the East Riding of Yorkshire, five kilometres inland from the eastern seaboard; and at Ferry Fryston, some seventy kilometres from the eastern seaboard but on the banks of the River Aire, which flows into the Ouse and from there into the Humber estuary. Strontium isotope analysis carried out on the burial from Ferry Fryston revealed that the dead man was not local to the region, but may have spent his early childhood in East Yorkshire or further afield (Boyle *et al* 2007, 129). Of course, plain round rings are only identifiable as probable terrets when recovered from a chariot burial *in situ*; the fact that we presently only know of chariot burials from eastern Britain is relevant to the apparent distribution of the form. We do not know whether plain round rings were used elsewhere in Britain, but we *do* know that at least sometimes they were used in chariot burials.

Greta Anthoons (2013) has posited that the chariot burial rite in East Yorkshire could have been adopted as part of a religious or theological package introduced by a member or members of a druidic class from Continental Europe, echoing Stead's (1991, 184) vision of "a well-connected evangelist". This could explain the local and short-lived – almost faddish – popularity of the rite among a population which, Anthoons argues, was not itself immigrant: as evidence of the community's longevity, she points to the continuity in the region of distinctly British material culture such as roundhouses and certain pottery types. There are problems with this theory of a single, charismatic importer of chariot burial, not least the existence of various outlying British examples, both geographically and chronologically (**9.1.2**). All the same, the transition of the practice to Britain from the Continent – if perhaps over a longer period – seems highly likely, given its earlier emergence in Aisne-Marne, the Rhineland and the Ardennes, its Hallstatt-era precedents on mainland Europe (see Pare 1992), and its long-lasting popularity in regions of France and Belgium in particular.

If some communities in eastern Britain appear to have been receptive, from the Middle Iron Age onwards, to developments in Continental chariotry and its associated behaviours and material culture, then a Continental origin for plain, round iron or iron-cored terret rings also appears plausible. Carter *et al* (2010, 57-58) point out that the closest parallel to the Newbridge chariot burial, with its plain iron rings, are the chariot burials of the Belgian Ardennes, which date to the early La Tène period on the Continent. Of the 21 La Tène chariot burials known from this region (19 from the fifth century BC, two from the third and second centuries BC), most contain iron rein-rings, although two have rings of bronze (Cahen-Delhaye 2000, 399-400). The sets of grave-goods are in some cases incomplete, but up to six rein-rings occur per inhumation (*ibid.*, fig.9); these need not all have been used as terrets. The eastern distribution of plain round rings within Britain supports the possibility of a Belgian origin for the type; mutual influence between British and Belgian harness traditions are attested by the presence at La Courte, in the La Haine group of first- or second-century BC chariot burials, of a mini terret in the British D-shaped style (Mariën 1961, 49, fig.20 no.61).

It is possible that mini terrets are in fact a type of buckle, used to secure linchpin straps (**3.1.3**). With this in mind, we can consider the possibility that mini terrets developed directly from the Late Bronze Age variety seen at Parc-y-Meirch and that, furthermore,

mini terrets were not designed to "match" or complement the design of full-size terrets, but full-size D-shaped terrets made to complement the design of mini terrets. The D-shaped terret series may in its early stages have developed from the convergence of these two traditions: indigenous bronze D-shaped harness buckles, and plain round guide-rings imported from the Continent. In those British plain, round terrets with iron cores and copper sheaths, as well as in the iron-cored and copper-coated ribbed, lobed, lipped and studded forms, it is possible that we can see an insular adaptation of Continental-style harness-gear.

The only Bronze Age British artefacts that we can be almost certain are terrets are closer to dropped-bar and skirted forms than D-shaped forms, possessing a main ring and a smaller attachment loop, as in the examples from Parc-y-Meirch and from Isleham, Cambridgeshire (**4.7**). Intriguingly, the two likely terrets from Parc-y-Meirch both have D-shaped main rings: the flat base of the ring forms the plinth, and is ribbed at each end, recalling the ridges on the bars of the Parc-y-Meirch buckles, as well as the terminals of later D-shaped terrets. The possibility is raised that the British Bronze Age terrets are not only precursors to the Continental dropped-bar and skirted forms, but are directly related to the D-shaped series in the early stages of its development. We do not have enough evidence for harness-gear dating to between the Late Bronze Age and the Middle Iron Age to prove continuity, and it is equally possible that the skirted and dropped-bar terrets of Late Bronze Age Britain and La Tène Continental Europe are independent developments. However, the long time difference does not in itself preclude continuity: as is discussed below, the fifth- or fourth-century BC terrets from Laumersheim, in the Rhineland (Kimmig 1944-1950), are similar in design to the skirted terrets current in Britain at least until the second century AD; and, as Palk (1992, 16) has pointed out, terrets similar in form to the Iron Age simple variety are still in use today. Fashions in harness equipment can be persistent.

4.7   Discussion: British terrets in a European context

As we saw above, the round, iron or iron-cored terrets that occur in a handful of British chariot burials echo the plain round rings found in Middle Iron Age burials on mainland Europe, particularly those from the Belgian Ardennes. However, from around the third

century BC, the development of the insular D-shaped series moved British terrets away from the Continental tradition; we do not again see a close relationship between those terrets found in Britain and on the Continent until the mid-first century AD. From this point we encounter massive, skirted, dropped-bar and shanked terrets in the British archaeological record, all of which have Continental parallels.

A few examples exist outside Britain of terrets that appear related to the D-shaped series. A crescentic terret with concealed bar is known from Eauze in Gers, France (Michon 1925), and another from Faiyum in Egypt (Norman 1904), while a skirted terret from Le Buissonnet in Picardy, France, has a flat, crescent-shaped ring with bell-form terminals (Henry 1933, fig.22.3). A fragment of crescentic terret, the enamelled ring almost completely broken off, comes from Hofheim in Hesse, Germany (Spratling 1972, no.67). A D-shaped mini terret of simple form is known from La Courte, Belgium (Mariën 1961, 49, fig.48), but at only 25mm wide probably functioned as a buckle or strap fastener. These isolated finds are so rare that they can probably be attributed to individuals who brought from Britain either the artefacts themselves or the inspiration behind their manufacture.

The massive terret is an interesting example of the inter-connection between Continental La Tène and later British terrets. The form has variously been considered British (Kilbride-Jones 1935), British but influenced by Continental design (MacGregor 1976, 48), and Roman but influenced by European – especially German – design (Laing and Laing 1986). Breese (1930) describes those examples discovered at Dinas Emrys as "Celtic". Although Livens (1976) argues that it is native to north-eastern Scotland, there is no reliable evidence to support this theory; rather, it seems to have developed from a series of European precedents. Its earliest likely relatives are four terrets from a chariot burial at Nanterre, northern France (figure 4.6(L)), dated to La Tène II (Duval 1961, 68), or around 270/250-150/120 BC. These terrets each have a sub-circular keeled ring, and at the base a cube-like structure inside which the attachment bar is concealed. A decorative protrusion rises from the base into the centre, terminating about halfway towards the top of the ring.
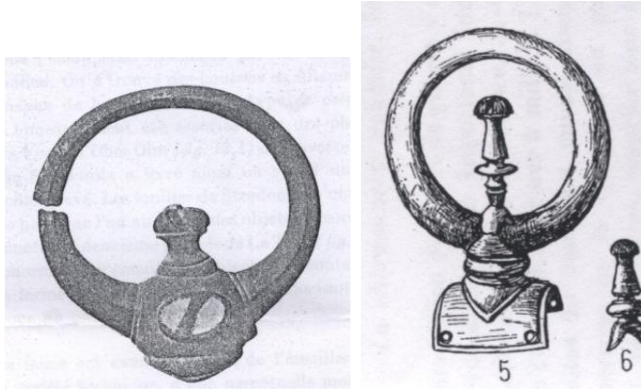
Figure 4.8 (L): Terret from Nanterre (Duval 1961, fig.4.3). Not to scale

Figure 4.8 (R): Terret from Mainz (Déchelette 1906, fig.510 (5,6)). Not to scale

The Nanterre type seems to evolve into the kind found in the Mainz area of the Rhineland (figure 4.6(R)), two examples of which are illustrated by Déchelette (1914, fig.510). These examples each have a circular ring with a spacious central cavity, mounted upon a sturdy neck which in turn is mounted upon a skirt which, it appears, would have been nailed directly to the yoke. Gripping the base of the ring and extending up into the centre, almost to the top, is an ornate stalk. The stalks seem to be detachable, and have been found – without rings attached – at the *oppidum* at Stradonice, Bohemia (*ibid.*; Pič 1903, 1906, pl.XXIII no.14), a site assigned by Déchelette (1906) to the first century BC, and also in late La Tène contexts at Karlstein, Bavaria (Reinecke 1965, nos.1166, 1167).

Elsewhere on Continental Europe, terrets develop into the form found in the La Tène III chariot burial at Armentières (Mariën 1961, 49). Mariën (*ibid.*, fig.68) illustrates one of the four terrets from Armentières: it consists of a latitudinal ovular ring set upon an angular neck. The neck sits on top of a broken skirt, which appears to extend sideways, but not to the front or back. The ring itself is deep, and funnels inwards to a recessed ovular cavity at its centre. Extremely similar terrets to those from Armentières are known from the *oppidum* at Manching (Jacobi 1974, taf.52), which was abandoned by around 50 BC. Some of the Manching terrets, dated by Jacobi to the Late La Tène period (*ibid.*, 200; taf.52, nos.809, 814-816) – now thought to be from roughly 150/130 BC – 30/20 BC (Haselgrove 2007) – illustrate well the relationship between the type and the British massive terret (e.g. figure 4.7): the resemblance is particularly notable at

the bottom of the ring, just above the neck, where the two sides of the ring sweep towards each other in a motion that, if continued, would extend upwards into a form of the moulded central protrusion found in the British massive terret.
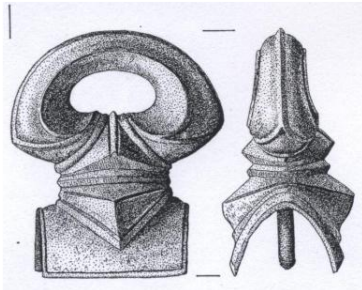
Figure 4.9: Terret from Manching (Jacobi 1974, taf.52.814). Not to scale

By the time the massive terret surfaces in Britain in the first century AD, it has developed a thick, smooth ring and distinctive stubby or fishtail-shaped central protrusion, whilst retaining the attachment bar concealed within the base. This form is not unique to Britain: two pieces of yoke from Italy, illustrated in Lindenschmit (1858, heft.II, taf.5, nos.1 and 2), between them bear three harness ornaments that appear near-identical to massive terrets although, in keeping with the general confusion over the origin of the form, Lindenschmit (*ibid.*) simply describes the artefacts as "Roman". Palk (1992, 55) notes an artefact very similar to a massive terret, but with an external strap bar, from the Roman fort of Lauriacum in Austria. The massive terret may have been susceptible to Roman and other influences along the course of its evolution, but its La Tène stylistic origin seems clear.

Dropped-bar and skirted terrets are common in Britain from around the middle of the first century AD, and are closely paralleled by Continental types. It is worth recalling, however, the existence of a number of much earlier pieces of harness equipment which seem to pre-empt the forms: the Late Bronze Age hoard of over 6,000 pieces of bronze recovered from Isleham, Cambridgeshire includes three "double loops" which, according to Britton (1960, 282) "may be terrets". These artefacts, of which one complete example is pictured in Britton's write-up of the hoard (*ibid.*, pl.XXXVII no.4; figure 4.8(L)), consist of a main loop and smaller attachment loop sheltered by a flat skirt or plinth. Another possible but incomplete example from Strensall (YORK04),

recently discovered, closely resembles one of the artefacts pictured in Britton 1960 (pl.XXXVII no.9), although the nature of this artefact is not certain. The Parc-y-Meirch hoard, as we saw above, also contains two items similar to those from Isleham but without skirts (figure 4.8(R)), one complete and one incomplete (Sheppard 1941, pl.VIb and pl.III:19 respectively), and one of which is described in the metallurgical report as a "terret" (Smythe 1941, 10).

Figure 4.10 (top): "Terret" from Isleham (Britton 1960, pl. XXXVII no. 4). Not to scale
Figure 4.10 (bottom): "Terret" from the Parc-y-Meirch hoard (National Museum Cardiff. Photograph by A. Lewis, by permission of the National Museum of Wales)

It is widely held that dropped-bar and skirted terrets were introduced into Britain by the Roman army, an observation which has caused them to be treated as examples of Roman military equipment, and generally excluded from discussions of British chariot gear as a result. As the above Bronze Age examples demonstrate, however, this is a limiting approach. Certainly, terrets of these forms do not seem to have been popular in Britain during the Iron Age, and perhaps fell out of common use altogether. Nonetheless it is likely that some, however few they were and however antiquated they may have seemed, would have survived into the Iron Age; with this in mind, we cannot

assume that when re-introduced by the Romans these terrets would have been considered a wholly new or foreign phenomenon.

Neither on the Continent can dropped-bar or skirted terrets adequately be described as "Roman". The terrets from Laumersheim (figure 4.9(L)) have been dated to the fourth or fifth centuries BC, and are among the earliest examples known in Europe (Kimmig 1944-1950), but with their smooth, circular rings and boxy skirts appear obvious precursors to the skirted type found in Britain from the first century AD (figure 4.10). More closely related to this later type are the three terrets from La Courte, Belgium (figure 4.9(R)), each with two small adjacent cavities set within recesses inside a latitudinal ovular ring (Mariën 1961, fig.21). The ring sits on top of a skirt which extends downwards, at both front and back. At either side of the neck the skirt extends outwards into flat arms. Underneath the skirt are the remains of an iron shank. Mariën (*ibid.*, 49) dates the double-ringed terrets from La Courte to Continental La Tène III – from around 150/120 BC until Roman conquest – on the basis of their stylistic similarity to the harness rings of Armentières. A number of terrets with attachment loops shielded by simple, two-leaf skirts are known from Manching (Jacobi 1974, taf.52 nos.801-808). Varieties of skirted terret have been found in Roman-period contexts from the eastern Rhine delta (Nicolay 2007, fig.6.6), but the Pannonian cart burials to which Nicolay (*ibid.*, 220-225) compares these finds are native rather than Roman (Mráv 2012).

Figure 4.11 (L): Terret from Laumersheim (Kimmig 1944-50, taf.3). Not to scale
Figure 4.11 (R): Terret from La Courte (Mariën 1961, fig.21). Not to scale

Figure 4.12: Skirted terret from Newport (c) Portable Antiquities Scheme/Trustees of the British Museum, NMGW-7D0AA5

It is difficult to be sure about the kinds of terret, if any, that the Romans themselves developed. The Romans did not use their chariots to fight, and the large quantity of dropped-bar and skirted terrets found in Britain cannot all be associated with racing – if, indeed, the Romans used terrets for their chariots, something which cannot be ascertained as no Roman racing chariots have yet been found within the archaeological record (Sandor 2012). No clear depictions of terrets in any Roman reliefs or mosaics illustrating chariot racing have been encountered while researching the present study. Rather, these terret forms are most likely to have been introduced into Britain as part of the paraphernalia of Roman carts and wagons (**5.1.2**, **8.3.4**, **9.1.3**). The development of Roman wheeled vehicles, however, was significantly influenced by the vehicular traditions of Celtic Europe: within Roman culture, northern European artefact styles became popular for a period when the Roman empire extended into Gaul (Piggott 1983, 231-232), and the Latin language assumed Celtic loan-words to describe various types of wheeled vehicle, such as *essedum* and *carpentum* (*ibid.*). Referring specifically to cavalry equipment, Bishop and Coulston (2006, 120) write that the harness fittings of the early Principate are "probably directly descended from Celtic equipment"; the dropped-bar and skirted terret forms so common in Britain during and after the period of Roman conquest are, in all likelihood, versions of La Tène terret forms that were assimilated into the overall package of Roman military material culture during the course of the empire's northward expansion.

In the second half of the first century AD, when massive, dropped-bar and skirted terrets appear in Britain, we encounter a rare parallel between insular and Continental

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forms. Unlike the previously paralleled iron rings, in this instance the shared forms are widespread in Britain as well as on mainland Europe. It is note-worthy, however, that while later forms may have been introduced to Britain by the Roman army, most of the terret features usually considered in Britain to be Roman – such as skirts, attachment loops and dropped bars, concealed bars, double-loops and shanks – in fact developed from Continental La Tène horse-gear, some elements of which are common with harness-gear that was in circulation in Britain as far back as the Late Bronze Age. The relationship between British and Continental terret forms may be intermittent, but is long-lived.

CHAPTER FIVE
Terret manufacture, use and artistic character

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part deals principally with terret manufacture in Late Iron Age Britain, and considers how imported-form terrets might have differed in use from D-shaped terrets. The second part is concerned with terret design and artistic character.

5.1   Terret manufacture and use

5.1.1   *Manufacture*

Although several Iron Age sites within the study area – including Prestatyn and Cadbury Castle – have yielded evidence for the small-scale manufacture of terrets, manufacture on a much greater scale has been revealed at Gussage All Saints and Weelsby Avenue.

Gussage All Saints (Dorset)

Gussage All Saints is a settlement site occupied throughout the second half of the first millennium BC, and was excavated in the 1970s (Wainwright 1979, vii-xi). The site showed three distinct phases of occupation with some evidence for continuity, although the radiocarbon dates for each phase presented in the excavation report (*ibid.*, 16, 21, 25) have since been revised. Based upon radiocarbon dating, Wainwright attributed the deposit in pit 209 – the source of the site's major metalworking assemblage – to the first century BC, placing it late in the site's second phase of inhabitation as the chronology was then understood (Spratling 1979, 125), although more recent radiocarbon dating indicates a likely date in the *second century BC* (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 271-276). The internal structures of the "phase 2 settlement" consisted of pits and at least one hut, although it is probable that other structures have been lost through ploughing (Wainwright 1979, 184).

The site produced a huge finds assemblage, including pot sherds from over 10,000 vessels, over 15,000 animal bones, and human bone from the remains of 53 individuals (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 268). There is evidence for the working of both bronze and iron, and 7318 fragments were recovered from moulds for terret production alone (Foster 1980, 7). Terrets at Gussage were cast in fired clay investment moulds, made by the *cire perdue* (lost wax) method of casting in which an unlimited number of identical moulds can be copied from an original model.

Clay moulds were found at the site for a range of terret forms: ribbed and lipped as well as eleven varieties of the simple terret, including one variety with Mill Plain-type ornamentation (Foster 1980, 9-11). The other "simple" varieties can be distinguished by the detail of rib and groove moulding along their spines (*ibid.*, fig.3). Most of the mould fragments for terrets were recovered from a single feature: the "bell-form" pit 209, dug close to the entrance on the site's eastern side. There appears to have been a "working hollow" containing a small bowl furnace near the entrance, and many of the features and finds associated with metal-working – although not all – were found in the same area (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 271). The presence of tiny pieces of hammerscale in the front part of the site is an indication that metal-working activity took place there, and that it was not merely where the activity's remains were deposited (*ibid.*).

The deposit in pit 209 consisted of 12 distinct layers, of which the bottom three contained almost exclusively metal-working debris, including the terret mould fragments, within a matrix of charcoal, ash, burnt clay and soil (*ibid.*, 272, fig.8.6). Moulds for bridle bits, linchpin heads, strap unions and button-and-loop fasteners were also recovered. Spratling (1979, 140) estimated that the deposit contained moulds for the production of about 50 sets of chariot equipment; most of the terret moulds occurred in earlier layers than most of the moulds for bridle bits (Foster 1980, 33; Garrow and Gosden 2012, 273-274), which might indicate the order in which the various components of the sets were made. It is also possible that this patterning might indicate a deliberate placing of material in the pit, or of structured deposition: Garrow and Gosden (*ibid.*, 278-279) point out the rarity of similar features in the archaeological

record, and suggest that pit 209 can be read as a "special deposit", the making of which might have been a significant event in the life of the local community.

The production of terrets was a complex process involving many stages, but was a process that once established could be repeated on a large scale. The quantity of debris found at Gussage All Saints indicates that this may well have been a long-term operation (Spratling 1979, 129); the fact that no complete terrets at all were found on the site (*ibid.*, 134), and little if any in the way of other finished harness equipment, may suggest that Gussage was principally a site of manufacture, and that completed items were distributed elsewhere rather than kept for use by the site's inhabitants. Pit 209 does not represent the only instance of bronze-working on the site: evidence for bronze-working was found from 16 features and 39 separate contexts, from all three of the site's phases of occupation (*ibid.*, 271, 275-276).

In their assessment of pit 209, Garrow and Gosden (2012, 274-275) consider the length of time over which the deposit was likely to have been made. They note the densely packed contents and absence of any silting, indicative of a short and intense period of deposition. If the items represented in the deposit had been *manufactured* over a long period, then the deposit probably accumulated elsewhere, and was moved altogether to its final location. On balance, Garrow and Gosden (*ibid.*) conclude that the deposit is likely to have been made over a short period of perhaps several days, pointing out that the order in which moulds for different artefact-types were deposited would otherwise suggest a lengthy specialisation in terrets, followed by a lengthy specialisation in bridle bits: they find it more likely that *all* of the metalwork was cast in the same exercise, to allow complete sets to be distributed. (On the other hand, if pit 209 was indeed an example of ritually structured deposition, artefacts might well have been brought from elsewhere on or beyond the site, and deliberately ordered within the pit.)

Weelsby Avenue (Lincolnshire)

At Weelsby Avenue, excavations between 1976 and 1990 uncovered the remains of a foundry containing "the most extensive deposits of bronze casting known from Iron Age Britain" (Sills and Kingsley 1990, 49). The site was a small, enclosed settlement

on a spur projecting into marshland; in its initial phase of agricultural occupation it contained a granary, two roundhouses, and a small sub-enclosure. In the mid-first century BC the roundhouses were abandoned, and for around a decade the site seems to have become a focus for bronze-working: it revealed an "almost continuous" layer of metal-working debris such as slag, tools, moulds and crucibles (Foster 1995, 49). The distribution of the debris indicates that different stages of production took place in different parts of what was clearly a specialised site (*ibid.*). Dating evidence for the site is based on its pottery sequence; in its second, industrial phase, the range of pottery includes the stamped and rouletted wares "so characteristic of Iron Age Lincolnshire" (Sills and Kingsley 1990, 50).

As at Gussage All Saints, bronze-casting at Weelsby Avenue was carried out using the "lost wax" method. Production was again centred on harness-gear: terrets, bridle bits, linchpins and strap unions. Fragments of over 3000 investment moulds were recovered, but at Weelsby Avenue some 80% of the artefacts produced appear to have been terrets (*ibid.*, 40). All the terrets which we know to have been made at the site were variations on the simple form. Evidence for relief decoration on the terrets occurs frequently in the moulds, and suggests in some instances platform- or stud-like mouldings set on the face of the ring, a style unparalleled in any known surviving artefacts (Foster 1995, 52-53, fig.3). Production at the site probably exceeded local demand; the site's position at the mouth of the Humber offers the possibility that items were being made there for trade further afield (Sills and Kingsley 1990). Foster (1995, 58) notes that although Weelsby Avenue was a permanent settlement, bronze-working seems to have been practised over not more than a decade, and posits that a single episode of metal-working may have taken place, carried out by itinerant metal-workers: craft specialists who travelled around the country servicing local communities as required, bringing their skills to sites where the some of the necessary equipment and raw material was provided for them. It is not clear from any of the reports yet published on Weelsby Avenue (Sills and Kingsley 1990; Wise 1990, 216-217; Foster 1995) why the metal-working phase is believed to have lasted for around a decade; a decade might, in fact, seem rather a long time for the local community to host a party of itinerant workers. The site's character in the mid-first century BC has yet to be explained fully.

Bronze-working and repair could also be a smaller, simpler concern. For example, four moulds for what were probably simple terrets with, in two cases, a raised ridge along the ring, were recovered from two storage pits at Cadbury Castle, from contexts which date to the middle phase of occupation on the site: between roughly 300 BC and AD 40/50 (Barrett *et al* 2000, 298). These terret forms are paralleled at Weelsby Avenue (*ibid.*; Foster 1995, table 3 type 'b'). Finds such as this suggest that in some settlements metal-working was "part of the general round of life" (Foster 1995, 58); while it is perfectly possible that some sets of harness equipment were produced individually on ordinary settlement sites, Gussage All Saints and Weelsby Avenue provide clear evidence of the production of harness equipment on an almost industrial scale.

It is interesting to consider the high proportion of terrets within the overall production assemblage at Weelsby Avenue where, as we have seen, 80% of the artefacts produced were terrets (Foster 1995, 50, table 1). A typical set of Iron Age harness equipment, for use on a chariot drawn by a pair of ponies, would include at a basic level five terrets, two bridle bits and two linchpins. Other items such as strap unions, button-and-loop fasteners and mounts might also be employed. If bronze-workers at any given site were producing complete and discrete sets of harness equipment, we would then expect terrets to account for roughly half of the material produced; however, the evidence from Weelsby Avenue strongly suggests that artefact-specialisation did occur, and that different metal-workers or communities of metal-workers focused their efforts on the production of different artefact types, at least at certain times. This observation can lead us to deduce that there is, in fact, no reason why pit 209 at Gussage All Saints need not represent a sustained period of terret-production, followed by a sustained period of the production of bridle bits.

This leads us to the issue of demand: for whom was the harness equipment at Weelsby Avenue and Gussage All Saints made, and what was the significance of the variety of design? The differences between the styles of simple terret produced at Gussage All Saints are not always tremendously striking: one variety has a narrow, deep groove along the spine, one has a broad, shallow groove, one has a rib flanked by a pair of grooves, and so on. Nevertheless, even this limited variety would have considerably added to the workload for those producing the terrets, as a new mould would have to have been created for each style. This could imply that the terrets were commissioned

by individuals, or perhaps that differently-decorated artefacts were able to generate higher returns for those supplying them. Diversity allows for preference, and can therefore heighten demand: a simple diversity of design allows the availability of specific styles to be limited, in theory stimulating their market value, whilst ensuring that overall supply of the basic artefact type remains adequate.

At Gussage All Saints and Weelsby Avenue we see a considerable number of terret moulds for which, so far, no corresponding artefacts have been found in the material record, just as we have no record of production for most known terrets. The production assemblages from both of these sites alert us to the potentially huge body of missing evidence from the archaeological record of Late Iron Age Britain. What is clear from the scale of production at both sites, however, is that terrets were artefacts for which there was great demand. Cunliffe (1995), in his theory of a "Gussage-Bury Hill tradition" of metal-working in southern central Britain, has argued for a period of social stress in the region culminating around 100 BC, which in the archaeological record is represented by an increase in both actual harness equipment (as at Bury Hill) and evidence for the manufacture of harness equipment (as at Gussage All Saints). This, along with the unusually high proportion of horse bone found at Bury Hill, Cunliffe takes to be indicative of a social context in which horses and chariotry had particular prominence. Tribal leaders might need to call upon hundreds or thousands of charioteers in times of unrest, as Caesar (*The Gallic War* 5:19) claims Cassivellaunus was able to do when faced with Roman invasion; and "an upsurge in the use of the chariot, both as a symbol of prestige and as an instrument of war", might be made visible archaeologically through the élite exchange of items of high-quality harness equipment (Cunliffe 1995, 37). The new radiocarbon dating of the Gussage All Saints material (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 271-276) shows the site to be earlier than previously thought, dating probably to the *second century BC*, but new radiocarbon dating of the material from the pits at Bury Hill (**1.3**) confirms that the two sites are broadly contemporary. Whether they were directly connected remains a matter of speculation, but there is no doubt that from the second century BC onwards D-shaped terrets were being produced in considerable quantity, and that their distribution was widespread.

5.1.2 *Imported-form terrets: practical use*

The ways in which D-shaped terrets might have functioned on a practical level were discussed at length in **1.1.1**, with attention paid to position on the yoke and to wear patterns. In Britain no imported-form terrets have yet been found in association with yokes; nonetheless, imported-form terrets often bear wear patterns which indicate their methods of attachment, and which sometimes hint that imported-form and D-shaped terrets could have different practical uses.

In dropped-bar terrets, the main ring is typically hefty at the base and shows pronounced wear patterns inside its lower portions, as in the examples of CNWY01 (Little Orme, Llandudno) and ERID26 (Brough-on-Humber). Perhaps the base of the main ring was secured to the yoke with binding, while for additional stability the small attachment loop, which typically shows little wear, was inserted into a slot in the yoke. This would allow the attachment loop to fulfil a similar function to that of a tang, but with the advantage of allowing the strap to pass underneath the main ring. The attachment loop in skirted terrets must have been used in a similar way, with the skirt itself resting on top of the yoke. LINC08 (Sudbrooke) is an interesting example of a skirted terret with a neat, circular hole bored through the front face of the skirt, presumably to allow a pin or nail to be driven into the yoke. Binding could have been passed through the small attachment loop before it was inserted into the wood. Robert Hurford (pers. comm., e-mail 12th November 2013) has questioned whether the small knobs which commonly tip the upwards-curving arms of skirted terrets could have been used as hooks for reins; or perhaps, like the terminals on D-shaped terrets, they helped stop the binding from slipping. This possibility is supported by the wear patterns evident on top of the arms of skirted terrets such as NEWP04 (Langstone).

On mainland Europe, massive terrets have been found mounted on yoke saddles (e.g. Lindenschmit 1858, heft.II, taf.5 nos.1 and 2). With this method of attachment, a strap or rod would be placed inside the saddle and passed through the strap bar within the terret's base (Palk 1992, 53-56). Additional straps may have been passed through the main body of the ring, at either side of the central protrusion. The fishtail-style central protrusion, as seen on SHRP04 (Shrewsbury), would have been particularly effective at preventing the straps from slipping.

It must be borne in mind that chariots were not the only vehicles to have been used in Iron Age Britain. It is quite possible that some of the terrets we encounter in the archaeological record were used with carts or wagons, for purposes of travel or the transport of goods. Diodorus Siculus (*The Library of History* Book V, chs.21-22) refers to the Britons fighting with "chariots", but also to them using "wagons" to carry tin from the Cornish mines. Only chariots survive in the British archaeological record, so we have no way of knowing whether there was any distinction in the kinds of terret utilised for more everyday vehicles. It is possible that later terret forms were not used with chariots at all: it is likely that skirted, dropped-bar, plain shanked and massive terrets were introduced by the Roman army as accoutrements for carts or wagons (**4.7**), and we have no proof that they made the transition to chariots. Palk (1992, 53-55) has noted that the wear patterns on massive terrets – usually inside the upper portions of the ring – indicate a method of harnessing that causes an upward pull on the reins, itself different from the downward pull of native harness methods illustrated by the wear patterns on D-shaped terrets, and perhaps suggestive of a different sort of vehicle. This wear pattern can also be seen on a plain shanked terret from Nanstallon (CORN01). The use of terrets does, however, strongly imply the employment of horses: Foster (1995, 59) notes that slower, heavier vehicles tend to be drawn by oxen, which do not need reins, as they can more easily be goaded by whips and the voice.

5.2   Terret design and artistic character

5.2.1   *D-shaped terrets as Celtic art: communication through imagery; the significance of the horse; the interaction of the secular with the divine*

As well as being items of practical use, terrets can be regarded in terms of their artistic quality, and in terms of the ideas and concepts communicated through their design. A great deal has been written about the character and definition of Celtic art, and trends in its interpretation and appraisal have inevitably varied over the years (cf. Leeds 1933; Fox 1958; Megaw 1970; Jope 2000; Garrow and Gosden 2012). This section will not discuss the concept of "Celtic art" in general, but rather focus on a number of main points which are particularly relevant to terrets, and which it is hoped can help us to

understand terrets as communicative artefacts. This section is mainly concerned with the D-shaped terret series, but imported forms are discussed at the end of the chapter.

Sharples (2008, 206) has pointed out that, in the context of Celtic art, it is important to distinguish between form and decoration, and that "form is as much an artistic expression as the appearance and complexity of decoration". This is true in the case of terrets, in which there is great variation between forms. Aside from the decorative mouldings, incisions and enamels, the rings themselves occur in many shapes and sizes, and there is considerable variety among terminals and attachment bars. These are not decorative elements, but part of the terret's basic structure. A plain ring, of the sort found at Newbridge, can function as a perfectly adequate terret, but the fact that the vast majority of Iron Age examples are more complex in form indicates an expression of artistic or at least aesthetic rather than purely functional intent.

This suggests that aestheticism is fundamental to the D-shaped terret series: they are artefacts always designed with visual appearance and tactility as well as practicality in mind. Many are decorated overtly, with triple projections, studs, enamel inlays, mouldings or incisions around the ring. Of the 337 early-form or D-shaped terrets of identifiable type from within the study area, only 60 have no discernible evidence of decoration. They are inevitably of simple type, and even these examples are not entirely plain, as almost all of them have evidence of a groove around the circumference of each terminal: a common feature in D-shaped terrets of all varieties, which has no obvious practical purpose unless, perhaps, a very slim strap was threaded along the groove as an additional means of securing the terret to the yoke. What is more, as will be argued below, in many D-shaped terrets the shape of the ring itself constitutes a form of equine imagery integral to the artefact.

It is worth pointing out that this finding stands in contrast to Spratling's (1979, 140-141) observation that the relative quantities of terret types manufactured at Gussage All Saints show terrets of "simple" design to have been far more commonly made there than those of "elaborate" design – which he takes to mean Mill Plain, ribbed and lipped forms – at a ratio of around 20:1. This, Spratling (*ibid.*) claims, undermines the general emphasis within Iron Age archaeology on decorated horse-gear which, he argues, was deposited more frequently in hoards and graves, and has therefore received

disproportionate attention. Of the 337 early-form or D-shaped terrets of identifiable type from within the study area, 96 are of simple form and a further seven of plain round form: 31%. If, from our 337 identifiable early-form and D-shaped terrets, we remove those artefacts found in hoards, ritual deposits and burials, we are left with 207 terrets, of which 62 are of simple form and none of plain round form: 30%. If we include within the calculations all 42 fragments of D-shaped terrets of *unknown* form – of which an unknown quantity will be from simple terrets – we reach a total of 379 terrets, from all contexts, of which a minimum of 27% and a maximum of 38% are of simple or plain round form.

These statistics show that, regardless of depositional context, within the study area only around a third of early-form or D-shaped terrets are "simple" or "plain" rather than "elaborate". Even this proportion is generous: those terrets categorised as "simple" on the present database in fact include three examples with Mill Plain ornamentation, as well as certain terrets with quite extravagant decoration, such as DEVO03 (Shillingford Abbott), which features sweeping trumpet-mouthed cells for enamel. As we have seen, most of the terrets defined as "simple" on the present project's database are decorated to varying degrees of complexity. Terrets are clearly artefacts into which at least some creativity of design was routinely invested.

Spratling (2008, 194) also points out that while insular Celtic art was once thought to be characterised by abstract pattern, it is now recognised to be "full of visual imagery". Images of foliage are arguably quite often present on terrets: the wing-pairs of WILT13 (Cold Kitchen Hill) bear inscribed leaves, schematically drawn, while the variety of triple projection here termed "clustered knobs" can be seen to depict a cluster of berries or grapes (e.g. CHES04 and 05, from Tattenhall). Cunliffe and Poole (2000, 47-50) describe two of the terrets from Bury Hill as "rosette and tendril decorated", and one of them as also featuring a "bud". Stylised leaves or petals can be inferred from the mouldings on the ring of the Mill Plain archetype (DORS05), and rosettes occur on the ring of another Mill Plain-type terret from Duggleby (NYOR65). Enamelled cells are arranged in petal-like formation on the platforms of terrets such as GLOU11 (Butcher's Field, Lechlade) and WILT07 (Wroughton), as well as on those from the Saham Toney hoard, Norfolk (*Norfolk Archaeology* 1849, figs.6-8). Arguably, the bipartite mouldings around the rings of "lipped" terrets might themselves have originally have

been envisaged as pairs of leaves, rather than lips. When we look at the harness-gear recovered from a pit deposit on Burrough Hill, Leicestershire (figure 5.1), we see that the strap union, linchpins and toggles are embellished with floral mouldings in the shape of leaves, buds and tendrils; when placed side by side, the leaf-pairs decorating the strap unions and toggles in particular seem to relate to the lip-pairs on the terrets. Bishop and Coulston (2006, 121) connect the vine tendrils, leaves and bunches of grapes that often embellish Claudian cavalry harness equipment to the association between Bacchus and horses, but this particular association might be unlikely in the context of British harness-gear, in which the earliest floral imagery considerably pre-dates the Roman invasion.

Figure 5.1: Chariot equipment from Burrough Hill, Leicestershire. Image by Carl Vivian, (c) University of Leicester. Not to scale

Celtic art also contains imagery at a less literal level of representation, in which the object depicted is broken down, with particular elements of its nature emphasised. The repoussé bronze plaque from Llyn Cerrig Bach (figure 5.2) presents us with an example of the subjectivity that can come into play when we try to interpret imagery of this kind from a modern standpoint. Spratling (2008, 194-195) notes that the decoration on the plaque was read by Cyril Fox in geometric terms (as an "asymmetric triskele" (*ibid.*)), while more recent commentators such as Jope have seen birds' heads, specifically puffins. Spratling himself reads the decoration as "a horse on the move", and makes a convincing comparison with the stylised depictions of horses on East Midlands staters (*ibid.*, figs.10.5 and 10.6). The curving, elongated shapes that comprise this pattern

could also be compared to the leaves and tendrils inferred from several of the terrets mentioned above. It seems likely that the design is deliberately ambiguous, suggestive at the same time of plants, land-animals and birds, of the different elements (earth, air, water) they inhabit, and of the different shapes they cast in motion.

Figure 5.2: Repoussé bronze plaque from Llyn Cerrig Bach (c) Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum Wales/People's Collection Wales. Not to scale

On one particular terret from within the study area – SOMR44, a terret with transverse wings from the Polden Hills hoard – the shape of the ring has been embellished through moulding and incision to create the clear impression of a horse's face (figure 5.3). The terminals taper away towards the underside of the bar so that, when viewed sideways-on, each terminal has the appearance of a pair of flared nostrils. Above the nostrils, on each side of the ring, are two sweeping triangular cells with traces of red enamel, surrounded by hatched borders: these have the appearance of eyes surrounded by lashes. The ring is keeled, with a band of pseudo-stitching running down its spine, which here helps to form the image of a long, narrow face, quite similar to that on the famous horse-mask from Stanwick/Melsonby (figure 5.4).
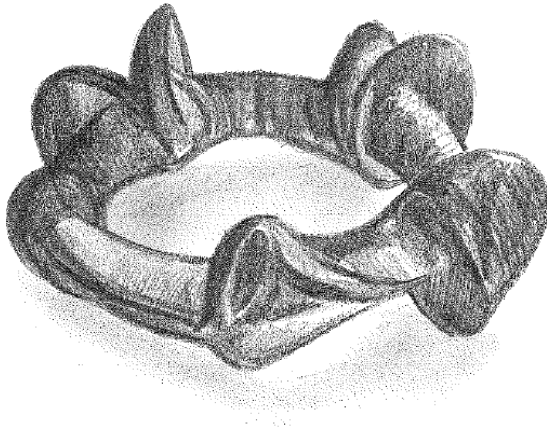
Figure 5.3: Equine imagery on SOMR44, Polden Hills hoard (British Museum, 1846,0322.100). Artist's impression by Philippa Lewis. Not to scale

Figure 5.4 (L): Close-up of detail on SOMR44, Polden Hills hoard (British Museum, 1846,0322.100). Artist's impression by Philippa Lewis. Not to scale

Figure 5.4 (R): "Horse-mask" mount from Stanwick/Melsonby (c) Trustees of the British Museum. Not to scale

As mentioned above, equine imagery can be found in the shapes of some terret rings. A good example is that of LANC03, a simple and – aside from grooved terminals – undecorated terret from Silverdale (figure 5.5 (L)). In this terret, the lower portions of the ring and the terminals together give the impression of a horse's ankle and foot, an

impression formed by the steep angle at which the underside of the ring rises, requiring it to kink inwards slightly in order to continue its curve. This calls to mind a horse's fetlock, while the terminal – the underside of which is slanted at the same angle as the lower ring – is reminiscent of a hoof. The overall impression is heightened on this example by the degree of wear inside the lower portions of the ring, but while wear is not necessarily deliberate it would nevertheless have been expected, and perhaps anticipated in the ring's design.

Figure 5.5 (L): LANC03, Silverdale (c) Portable Antiquities Scheme/Trustees of the British Museum, LANCUM-701EE1

Figure 5.5 (R): STAF01, Longdon (c) Portable Antiquities Scheme/Trustees of the British Museum, DENO-679BE6

Another distinctive example is STAF01 (Longdon), in which the lower portions of the ring are especially bulbous (figure 5.5 (R)). This imagery can be encountered in many D-shaped terrets; generally, the visual relationship between ring and terminal can quite reasonably be said to mimic that between a horse's foot and hoof. As Adam Gwilt (pers. comm., e-mail 4th August 2014) has pointed out, the "pseudo-stitching" found on SOMR44 as well as on SOMR32, 35 and 36 (all also from the Polden Hills hoard) is often interpreted as imitation leather-work (Macdonald 2007, 23), and perhaps on terrets alludes to leather harness straps. It might also hint at leather sheaths or sleeves for terrets, which could have acted as protection or decoration for plain varieties (Penelope Allison pers. comm., conversation 26th March 2015): organic remains cover almost a third of the circumference of terret no.13 from Ferry Fryston (Boyle *et al* 2007, 139).

Of course, much of the abstract imagery we encounter in Iron Age harness equipment is subjective in nature, and depends upon perspective: some individuals will recognise distinct images where others will not. This will have been the same during the Iron Age, and the fact that particular images can rarely be identified with objective certainty should not undermine the importance of artistic suggestion.

Equine imagery in harness-gear is not restricted to terrets, and nor is the imagery in harness-gear limited to horses and vegetation. A horse-bit with a moulded human face decorating the side-link is known from Ireland (Raftery 1974); here, when we consider the account within the Ulster Cycle of Cúchulainn carrying the heads of the sons of Nechtan Scéne in his chariot, the association between harness-gear and the human head might take on an additional, macabre significance (Melanie Giles pers. comm., conversation 31st May 2014). Mortimer (1905, 360, fig.1022) suggests that the bottom end of a linchpin recovered from the Market Weighton chariot burial resembles the head of a "horse or dog". Jennifer Foster (2014) has identified 23 examples of Iron Age British champlevé harness-gear in which human and animal faces can be seen, although she acknowledges that not all of these faces – or impressions of faces – may have been intended. Foster finds faces in eight terrets (*ibid.*, nos. 14-21; fig.5), all of which are crescentic in form – except no.20, which is arguably an enamelled simple terret – and two of which are from within the study area: BOLT01, of unknown provenance, and LINC47 (Whaplode Drove). In most cases Foster identifies the faces entirely from within the enamel, although in several examples she sees the open space at the centre of the terret as the mouth. Often the face is represented by rather generic features – round eyes, a triangular nose or mouth – that do not recall any particular creature, but on several examples Foster points out a "duck's head" motif: an enamelled detail with the shape of a compressed teardrop, beaky at one end, and containing a large central circle, as though an eye.

Spratling (1972, 58) has pointed out that on some vase-headed linchpins, the foot is "shaped like the upturned hoof and fetlock of a horse", an observation previously made by Greenwell (1906, 280) with regard to the terminal of a linchpin from the King's Barrow. The bulging "ankle" on these linchpins (e.g. Spratling 1972, nos.109, 111) makes the impression of a fetlock even more pronounced than it is on terrets. Intriguingly, the copper-alloy linchpins from Kirkburn (Stead 1991, figs.37.1 and 38.1),

two others with fetlock-like feet, both feature on the face of each terminal a relief triskele motif reminiscent of that from the Llyn Cerrig Bach plaque into which, as we saw above, Spratling (2008, 194-195) reads a "horse on the move".

If we accept the notion that terrets and other forms of harness-gear can be invested with equine imagery, then we might wonder what ideas are being communicated through this aspect of their design. Does it simply reflect the functional association between harness-gear and horses, or is there something more significant inherent in the image of the horse? The horse, after all, is a creature often understood to be particularly symbolic in Iron Age society. Horses or horse-like creatures are depicted prominently within La Tène art: on the Aylesford and Marlborough cremation buckets (Evans 1890, pl.XIII), for example, and by the vast chalk horse cut into the hillside at Uffington. The excavators of the Uffington white horse suggest that the horse was especially important in Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Britain, as it existed "on the boundary between wild and domesticated animals, and between nature and culture" (Barclay *et al* 2003, 246). However, it could be argued that the image of the Uffington white horse arcing across the Berkshire Downs has itself become so iconic and pervasive an emblem of Iron Age society and art that it has influenced the ways in which we interpret the significance of the horse. The image reminds us of human mastery over the land and, at the same time, of the mystery of human creativity; this perceived dichotomy between application and instinct within the *creation* of the artwork implies a dichotomy between culture and nature within the *subject* of the art. Although we see the artwork as capturing the significance of the horse, it may be that we have transferred onto the horse – to the Iron Age horse in general – certain properties of the art.

Nonetheless, this reading of the importance of the horse remains largely accepted. Cunliffe has argued for the significance of the horse in both social and belief systems in the Late Iron Age (Cunliffe 1995; Cunliffe and Poole 2000, 80-81; **5.1.1**), and horses are also a dominant motif on British Iron Age coinage. Creighton (2000, 26) notes that in the late second and early first centuries BC, "virtually everywhere throughout northern Europe coins appeared in a variety of styles, but almost all of them had in common a horse on one side and a [human] face on the other". This, he argues, is partly because most northern European coinage derives from the gold staters of Philip II of Macedon, which depict the head of Apollo on one side and a two-horse chariot on

the other (*ibid.*, 26), but the endurance and popularity of the "duality" of the "man/horse" image reflects the position of the horse as a symbol of authority in Iron Age society. Creighton relates this symbolism to the concept of sacral kingship (*ibid.*, 22-24): the Celtic notion that a king or leader is invested with power by the forces of the natural world, and that the success or prosperity of a reign is dependent upon the union between leader and earth. Certain medieval Irish texts describe rituals in which a king is "married" to the earth; horses sometimes play a central role in these ceremonies. Although we cannot specifically trace this concept to the Late Iron Age, or indeed be sure that all Late Iron Age societies were organised as kingships, Creighton states that this "theme… has very firm roots in Indo-European 'culture'" (*ibid.*, 23), and that in the context of the British Middle and Late Iron Age, "if any one thing symbolised the power of potential rulers and the leaders of *comitates*, it was the horse" (*ibid.*, 22). Perhaps, recalling Bishop and Coulston's (2006, 121) identification of vinous imagery on Claudian cavalry equipment with Bacchus, we could relate the notion of sacral kingship to the floral motifs that sometimes appear on British harness equipment.

All the same, as with the Uffington white horse discussed above, it remains important to be cautious when seeking to interpret particular motifs within Celtic art – such as that of the horse – as being plainly symbolic, or as being invested with a specific meaning. As we saw in the Llyn Cerrig Bach plaque, ambiguity is part of the character of much Celtic art, and it may be reductive to say simply that, for example, the horse is a symbol of power, the chariot a symbol of prestige, or that equine imagery on chariot-gear may be an attempt to identify the charioteer with the horse in an overtly totemic sense. The horse is a creature so often depicted in an ambiguous fashion, or a hybrid state: can it really have held a fixed and constant symbolic meaning? Vincent Megaw (1970, 22) has noted the important theme of shape-shifting within Celtic mythology: the phenomenon by which people, animals, plants and objects can exchange forms. In a world "saturated with magic" (*ibid.*), personal identity and bodily integrity are fluid. With this in mind, we can perhaps see the incorporation of subtle equine and other motifs into items of chariot- and harness-gear as a means of drawing together the horse, the charioteer, the activity of chariotry, the physical material of the chariot, and the chariot's terrain, into one physical and conceptual space. From this perspective, the equine imagery found on terrets does not so much *represent* or *symbolise* the horse as share in its nature.

Megaw (*ibid.*, 38) writes that "Iron Age and particularly La Tène art is predominantly a religious art… [it] employs an iconography which imbues even the simplest objects with a degree of the mysterious or indeed the divine". This arguably reflects a culture in which there is no hard and fast distinction between the secular and the sacred worlds, and in which – just as animals, people, plants and objects may shift and exchange form – the physical and the spiritual may be in constant interaction. This differs from a reading of Iron Age art and society which places the practical in opposition to the spiritual, or the cultivated in opposition to the innate. It may be a perspective of inter-relation and fluidity that underlies the character of many British terrets, and this perspective that is being communicated through the artistic effort put into their creation.

5.2.2 *Comparison: the artistic qualities of D-shaped and imported terret forms*

Niall Sharples (2008, 211) has argued that "most" of the decorative metalwork included on the Celtic Art database "was used in very specific religious contexts", in which the metalwork was intended to "dazzle and enchant the audience… in a close intimate context, possibly between a restricted group of the elite who were privileged to be able to handle the objects". However, there is no evidence in the archaeological record to show that decorated terrets were used primarily in ritual or ceremonial contexts. Elaborate terrets with bone, coral and, in one case, enamel studs are found in some East Yorkshire chariot burials, but other chariot burials include more prosaic forms. Although it has been suggested that the five plain copper-sheathed terrets from Ferry Fryston were made specifically for the occasion of the burial (Boyle *et al* 2007, 139), they are particularly unspectacular, and appear to be disposable rather than of high quality. The three simple terrets from Llyn Cerrig Bach, almost certainly a ritual deposit, are of unremarkable design. The most ornate and exotic terrets within the study area (such as WILT13 (Cold Kitchen Hill), SOMR21 (Polden Hills) and CARD01 (Pentyrch)) all show evidence of heavy wear. These artefacts were not hidden away, for élites to "study the decoration" (Sharples 2008, 211), but were subjected to regular use, and to a use which involved moving through the landscape: a dynamic and public activity. Rituals and ceremonies involving chariots and chariot-gear doubtless took place within Iron Age society, but we cannot say that these only

involved certain, special artefacts, and it is especially problematic to suggest that these artefacts more than others can be distinguished as "Celtic art".

If "most" (*ibid.*) of the decorative metalwork interpreted archaeologically as "Celtic art" was used by élites in restricted contexts, the implication must be that simpler, plainer material was used for day-to-day, practical purposes by the general population. Here, Megaw's observation that the "simplest" La Tène artefacts are imbued with "a degree of the mysterious" is relevant: as we have seen, equine imagery can be perceived in the basic form of many simple terrets; and within almost all terrets in the D-shaped series, a general symmetry and balance gives a sense of the care that was taken over their design. This is true both when we look at individual terrets and when we look at sets (as parts of which most terrets were probably manufactured). Not all D-shaped terret sets have the striking aesthetic coherence of the pink coral-studded examples from the fourth Wetwang burial – which also complement the bridle bits and strap unions, decorated with red enamel and coral respectively – but sets are almost always of the same basic type. (Exceptionally, while the four smaller terrets from the Garton Station chariot burial are of simple form, the largest is set with three studs.) Some stylistic balance is obviously of fundamental importance: the D-shaped terret can be understood as an artefact which is essentially artistic.

Not all terret types possess the same stylistic grace as those from the D-shaped series, however. There is less variation within the imported forms, and they tend to be more prosaic and functional. Aesthetic or artistic concerns are evident in the form of the vast majority of D-shaped terrets; in contrast, most dropped-bar and plain shanked terrets constitute merely a ring for the passage of the reins, and a simple element to allow the ring to be attached to the yoke. The ring is rarely decorated in any way. In their basic guises these are prosaic artefacts, and – although this is a subjective standpoint – for the most part lack the element of "the mysterious or indeed the divine" (Megaw 1970, 38) which permeates the D-shaped series. In other words, they contain little imagery: imagery which implies an imagination on the part of the creator, and a desire to express something beyond the literal.

Massive and skirted terrets tend to have more in the way of decoration. The central protrusions of massive terrets add an aesthetic aspect to the artefact, whether the

protrusion is fishtail-shaped or stubby but decorated with a pattern of incised lines. This protrusion has a likely functional purpose (**5.1.2**): it may have been intended to stop straps that secured the terret from slipping, as may have been the upturned arms present on many skirted terrets. These arms, and the skirts themselves, can be elegant, and there are a number of examples from within the study area of skirted terrets with wholly decorative elements to their design: DERB05 (Melandra Castle), for example, which has three small pairs of transverse wings set around the ring, and NEWP07 (Caerwent), which has a flat, crescent moon-shaped projection at each side of the ring and a larger crown-shaped projection at the top. (This extraordinary item has – like the most ornate D-shaped terrets – reasonably heavy evidence of wear, as has DERB05.) Other skirted terrets feature incised decoration on the skirt or neck; around 30, or half, of the skirted terrets on the database show some evidence of embellishment. A skirted terret from outside the study area is worth highlighting here: that from Cholesbury, Buckinghamshire (BUC-F16307 on the PAS database; Worrell 2009), in which the ring is formed from a pair of moulded horse-heads set back-to-back, connected by a single long, looped neck. In Britain this is an extremely rare, or even unique, example of clear equine imagery on a skirted terret. More common is a suggestion of floral imagery: the skirts themselves can appear like leaves or petals, their rounded tips reminiscent of buds.

The question of whether imported terret forms were used with chariots or with other kinds of vehicle was touched on above, and will be explored in greater depth in Chapter Eight. As with D-shaped terrets, more effort seems to have gone into the design and manufacture of some imported-form examples than others; but again, the more impressive artefacts were clearly put to use, and again, there may be no need to infer anything more from relatively high-quality artefacts than the expression of wealth and skill. We cannot assume that they were used for particularly special purposes.

CHAPTER SIX
Analysis of distribution

This chapter presents a series of distribution maps based upon the typology in Chapter Four. The maps allow the geographical spread within the study area of different terret forms to be compared. Key observations are highlighted, to be investigated in greater depth in later chapters.

6.1 Distribution maps: some caveats

The distribution maps plot the geographical location of all provenanced Iron Age and Roman-period terrets currently known from within the present project's study area. Whilst distribution maps are a useful way of presenting geographical data visually, there are a number of basic points that need to be borne in mind when viewing them.

Gosden (1997, 305) argues that, when attempting to interpret the Iron Age landscape through the elements that survive to the present day, "The trick [archaeologists] are asked to perform is to move from the distributional landscape to the social landscape". In other words, we are required to draw conclusions about Iron Age social behaviours from our observations of the Iron Age features and artefacts distributed around the landscape. The distribution map is one tool used in this "performance": from marking out the geographical locations of certain kinds of artefact, we attempt to infer where in the country these artefacts were most heavily used, where they were used first, where they were used later, and where they were not used. From these observations, we interpret patterns of social contact and cultural influence, regional trends, and perhaps the acceptance or refusal of certain aspects of social and cultural identity in different parts of the country through the uptake or rejection of certain forms of material culture.

These interpretive methods seem reasonable, and largely reflect the approach taken by this thesis as set out in Chapter Two. But there are two significant problems with distribution maps, both of which relate to biases in the data. Firstly, the distribution

patterns of particular artefacts may reflect trends of deposition rather than density of use. The high concentration in Somerset of terrets with transverse and parallel wings, for example, as demonstrated in Map 4, is due to the discovery of the Polden Hills hoard, which includes 24 terrets altogether, 17 of which have either parallel or transverse wings. It is quite possible that all of these terrets were used locally, but whereas in the normal course of events each might have been used until it broke and then thrown away casually, the fact that in this instance the terrets were all deposited together, as part of a large and deliberate assemblage, has not only contributed to their preservation and survival into the modern era, but has increased their likelihood of being brought to the attention of archaeologists. The Polden Hills hoard was discovered during ploughing; one ploughed-up terret might have been dismissed by the finder, but 24 are hard to ignore. (According to Harford's (1803, 91) account of the discovery of the Polden Hills hoard, the finder was prompted to investigate the site after finding his ploughshare clogged with several "rings", which "he very naturally concluded were the fetters of some prisoner escaped from gaol".) Different circumstances of deposition can, then, affect the survival rate of different artefacts, and their subsequent presence in distribution maps.

This brings us to the second major difficulty with the data: biases in the practice of archaeology itself. As we saw with the example of the Polden Hills hoard, chance finds that are in some way unusual are more likely to be brought to the attention of archaeologists, but archaeologists also make deliberate decisions about the places in which they excavate; this will have a considerable bearing on the apparent geographical distribution of artefacts and features. Sharples (2010, 9) notes that Wessex, with its famous landscape of still highly visible prehistoric monuments, has "dominated the literature… [and] archaeology of early prehistory" in Britain; in terms of the Mid to Late Iron Age, the same could be said about East Yorkshire. Since the first explorations of the Arras graves in the early nineteenth century numerous others have taken place, with over 700 graves excavated since 1960 (British Museum undated (c)). It is easy for cycles of excavation to develop: archaeological finds in a certain area generate excavations, which produce more finds, which can generate more excavations, and so on. The concentration of early terret forms in East Yorkshire in Map 2 can be partly attributed to this phenomenon; the local chariot graves, from which most of the

early East Yorkshire terrets have been recovered, might never have been discovered were it not for the visibility of the burial mounds.

Data from the PAS can provide a partial corrective to this problem, as the scheme operates throughout England and Wales, and encourages the recording of single and stray finds. However, PAS data itself is prone to bias, for various reasons. For example, while most Finds Liaison Officers (FLOs) in England are responsible for recording finds from only one or two counties, a single Finds Co-ordinator is responsible for the whole of Wales, based in Cardiff. Although the work of the Finds Co-ordinator is supported by staff at Wales's four Archaeological Trusts and by some regional museums, coverage is inevitably inconsistent, and relationships with metal detecting groups in certain parts of the country can be difficult to maintain (Lodwick 2009, 118). The PAS does not operate in Scotland at all.

Most finds brought to the attention of FLOs are metal-detected, and therefore reflect the choices made by metal detectorists about where to operate. Just as successful archaeological excavations may generate further excavations in the same location, areas known to yield plentiful artefacts to metal detectorists will be subject to increased levels of detecting activity. Finds will be recorded from areas that are *perceived* to be rich in metal artefacts, regardless of whether the areas are in fact rich in relation to others, because that is where the metal detecting activity has actually taken place. PAS data also tends to show a bias against urban areas, as most metal detectorists work on agricultural land (Brindle 2013, 75). Metal detectorists are subject to certain restrictions on the land they are allowed to access: metal-detecting can be constrained on Scheduled Ancient Monuments, Sites of Special Scientific Interest, National Trust- and Forestry Commission-owned land, nature reserves, Crown-owned land and Ministry of Defence-owned land, as well as in various other environments (Robbins 2012, 89-90). Access to land owned by private individuals is subject to permission. The proportionately low number of PAS finds from central and North Wales, the Peak district and the far south-west of England is probably largely due to the fact that 80% of PAS finds are recorded from land below 100 metres, according to the April 2013 dataset (Katherine Robbins pers. comm., e-mail 18th December 2014), a point explored further in Chapter Nine.

Other factors can influence the volume and nature of recording through the PAS in different parts of the country, such as the quality of the relationship between any given FLO and the local metal detecting community (Worrell 2006, 373), and any period- or artefact-specialisms of the FLOs themselves. Among metal detectorists who see the PAS primarily as an artefact-identification service, reasonably recognisable artefacts such as terrets may go under-reported (Paula Gentil pers. comm., conversation 6th November 2013). A further problem is the reliability and accuracy of information presented to FLOs by finders, particularly with regard to artefact provenance: unlike the findspots of excavated artefacts, which are recorded as precisely as possible, the findspots reported to FLOs may be approximate. This is reflected in the varying degrees of precision with which findspots are recorded on the PAS database, with grid references generally given to between four and 10 figures. At a micro scale, less accurate references, or "data fuzziness", can make it difficult to tell whether an artefact was found, for instance, at the foot or at the peak of a hill, or precisely how closely an artefact was located to a road or settlement (Katherine Robbins pers. comm., e-mail 18th December 2014). Within the metal detecting community there is a great range of both detecting ability and recording habits, and artefacts can be subject to widely varying post-depositional factors (Brindle 2013, 74).

Despite these limitations, distribution maps remain a useful tool for the interpretation of material culture. Biases in the data can to a certain extent be identified through comparison between different data sets. For example, Sally Worrell (2006) discusses the impact of the PAS on interpretation of the distribution of Iron Age horse and vehicle equipment. She notes that excavations of hillforts in Wessex and the Arras cemeteries in East Yorkshire have yielded large quantities of horse-gear, which has contributed to those two regions traditionally being seen as "equine material culture 'hot spots'" (*ibid.*, 376); however, the PAS has recorded relatively little horse-gear from Somerset, Dorset and East Yorkshire (see **7.2.3**). A far greater quantity has been recorded from Norfolk, Suffolk and Lincolnshire. Whilst the distribution patterns of horse and vehicle equipment recorded through the PAS differ from those resulting from excavated data, the PAS distribution for Iron Age brooches is broadly in keeping with traditionally accepted models, based on excavated data (*ibid.*, 385). More Iron Age brooches are now known as a result of finds reported to the PAS, and the distribution patterns of certain brooch types have been refined, but PAS and excavation data demonstrate

similar distribution patterns across the country for Iron Age brooches in general (Adams 2013, 166, maps 6.1-6.3). Comparison with the evidence for brooches allows us to see that, where horse-gear is concerned, this is not simply a question of biased excavation data contrasting with differently-biased PAS data, but a genuine counter to existing perceptions of distribution.

There is also the undisputable fact that, regardless of how much archaeological material may – hypothetically – still be concealed in the landscape, the material reflected on distribution maps really does exist, and really can provide positive evidence for the existence of particular features or artefacts at particular locations. The absence on Map 2 of, for example, any lipped terrets in Wales does not necessarily mean that no lipped terrets have ever existed in Wales, but the presence on the same map of multiple lipped terrets in East Yorkshire *is* proof of the deposition of lipped terrets in that region. The negative evidence presented by distribution maps may be unreliable, but the positive evidence can allow cautious interpretations to be made. While extraordinary assemblages such as the Polden Hills hoard and the material from the Arras graves might give disproportionate emphasis to the representation of certain parts of the country in the material record, we are not obliged to take distribution maps at face value. We need not look to the maps directly for answers, but can use them to formulate deeper questions which themselves seek to identify biases in the data as well as genuine patterns and trends.

The next section should be read with these caveats in mind. Each map is accompanied by a short summary of the information it contains; where relevant, any possible biases or quirks in the data are highlighted. No interpretive conclusions are suggested here: the data is interrogated and interpreted in Chapters Seven to Nine.

6.2   Distribution maps and summaries

Continues on next page

Map 1: All terrets
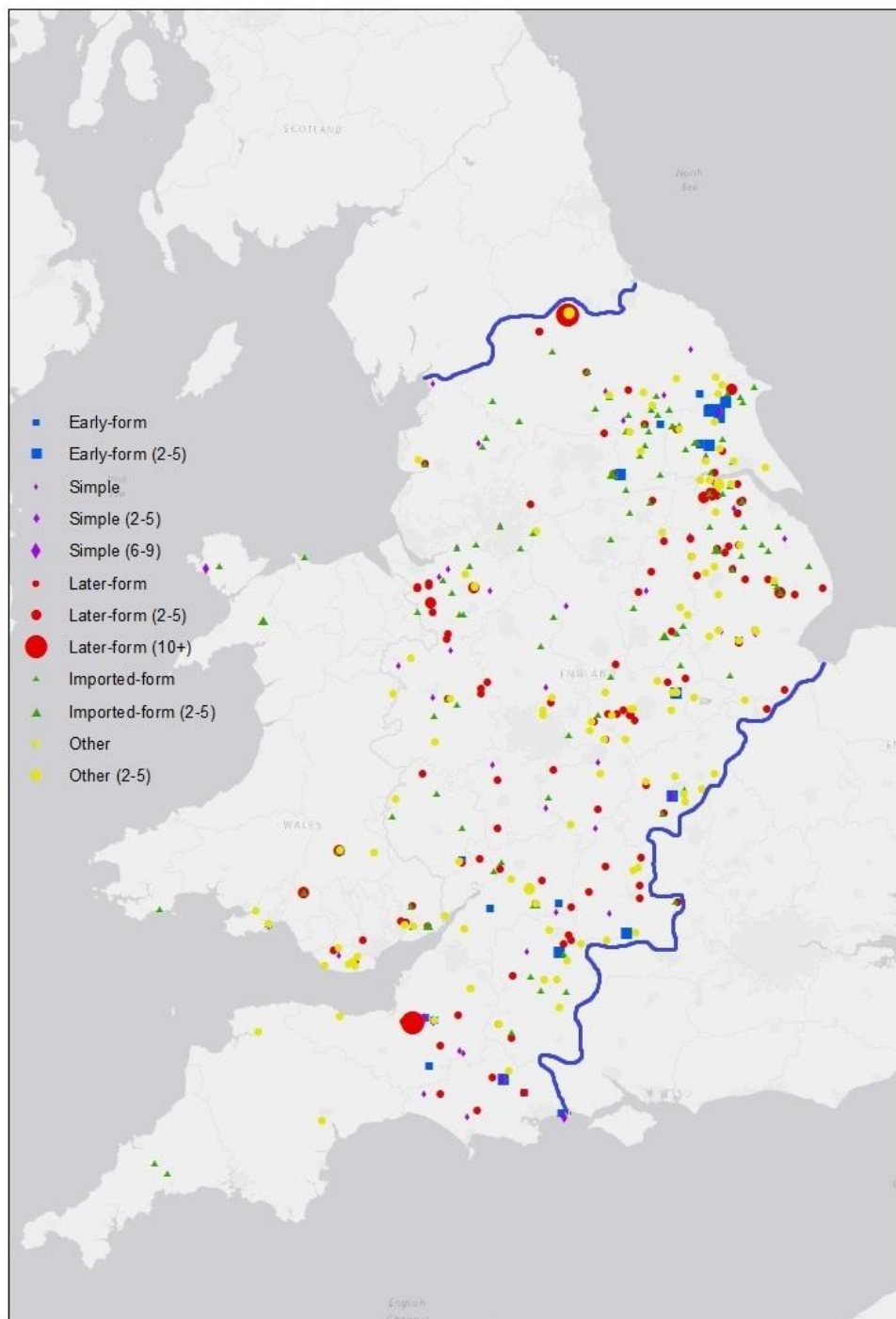
This map presents all known provenanced terrets from the study area, divided into categories of "early-form", "simple", "later-form", "other" and "imported-form". The borders of the study area are shown in blue.

Map 2: Early-form terrets
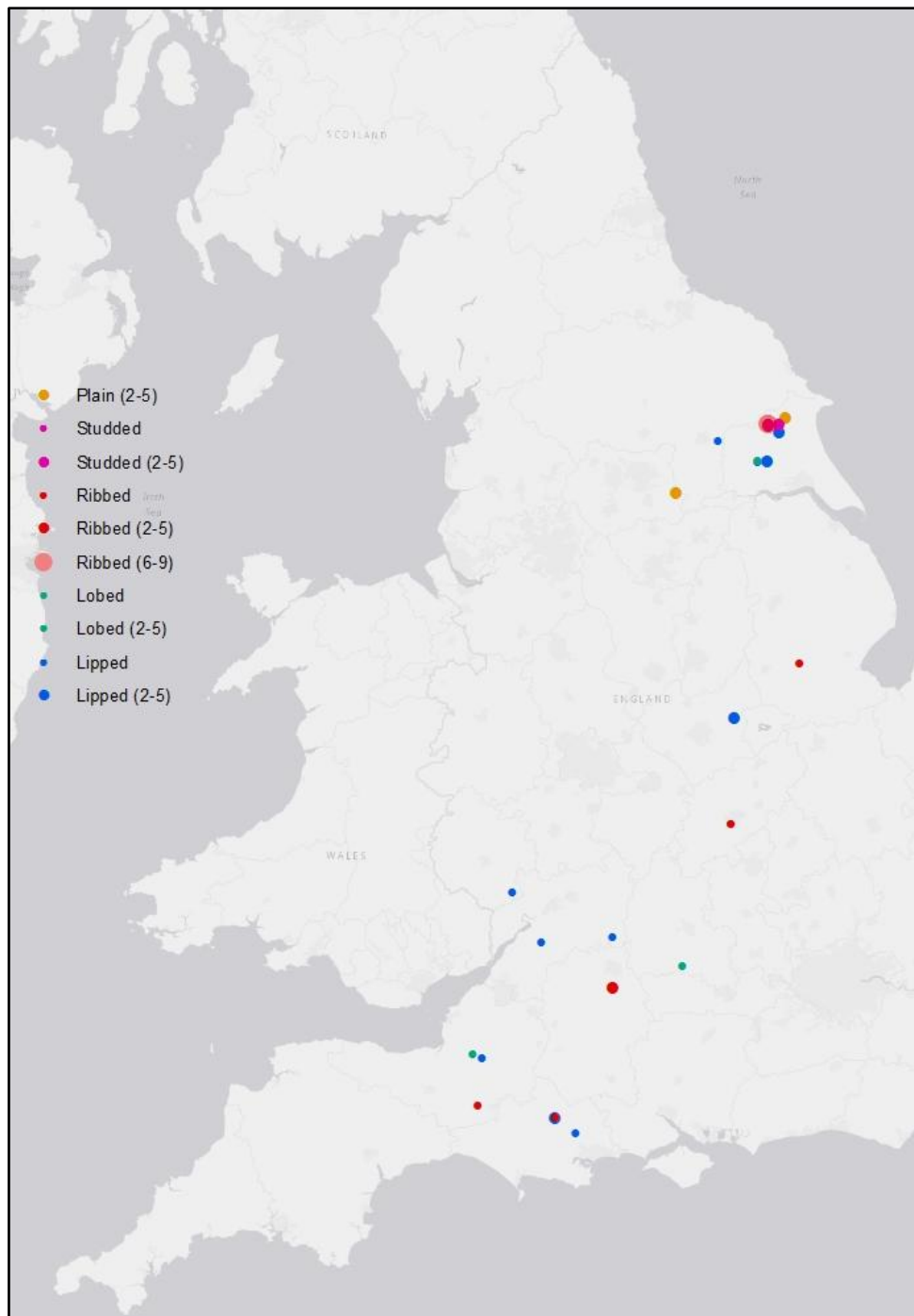
A cluster of early-form terrets is visible in the north-east of the study area, centred on East Yorkshire. Most of these are finds from the Yorkshire chariot burials. The emphasis in this map on the "north-east" and "south-west" regions of the study area is partly due to a long history of the excavation of Iron Age sites in both regions (**5.1**).

MacGregor (1976, 42-44) regards the forms referred to here as "ribbed", "lobed" and "lipped" as all variations on the same type ("ribbed"). Her corpus records a distribution ranging from the Humber Estuary through the East Midlands as far south-west as Somerset and Dorset, with a few outliers in south-east England (*ibid.*, map 6). This pattern is broadly confirmed by the distribution patterns shown in Map 2 here, although no lobed terrets appear in the Midlands.

The impact of the PAS on our understanding of the distribution of later-form terrets is significant, and is discussed in connection with Map 4, below. However, the impact of the PAS on early-form terrets is less pronounced. Of all 20 lipped terrets known from the study area – of which between 11 and 13 were discovered since MacGregor's (1976) corpus was published[2] – only three were reported through the PAS. Eight of these more recent finds were discovered through excavation of known Iron Age sites (Kirkburn chariot burial and Burrough Hill hillfort). Similarly, of all 15 ribbed terrets – of which 10 or 11 were discovered since 1976 – only one was reported through the PAS. Nine come from Dent's 1984 chariot burial excavations at Wetwang Slack.

To an extent, continued archaeological interest in established sites of Iron Age activity is perpetuating the traditionally-accepted distribution patterns of early-form terrets (although the discovery of three lipped terrets at Burrough Hill allows us to see an extension of the type through the East Midlands). In contrast, later-form terrets appear to be deposited more widely in the landscape (**9.3.1**). Far more later-form terrets are recovered through the PAS than through archaeological excavation.

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[2] Precise dates of discovery for some terrets are not known

Map 3: Simple terrets
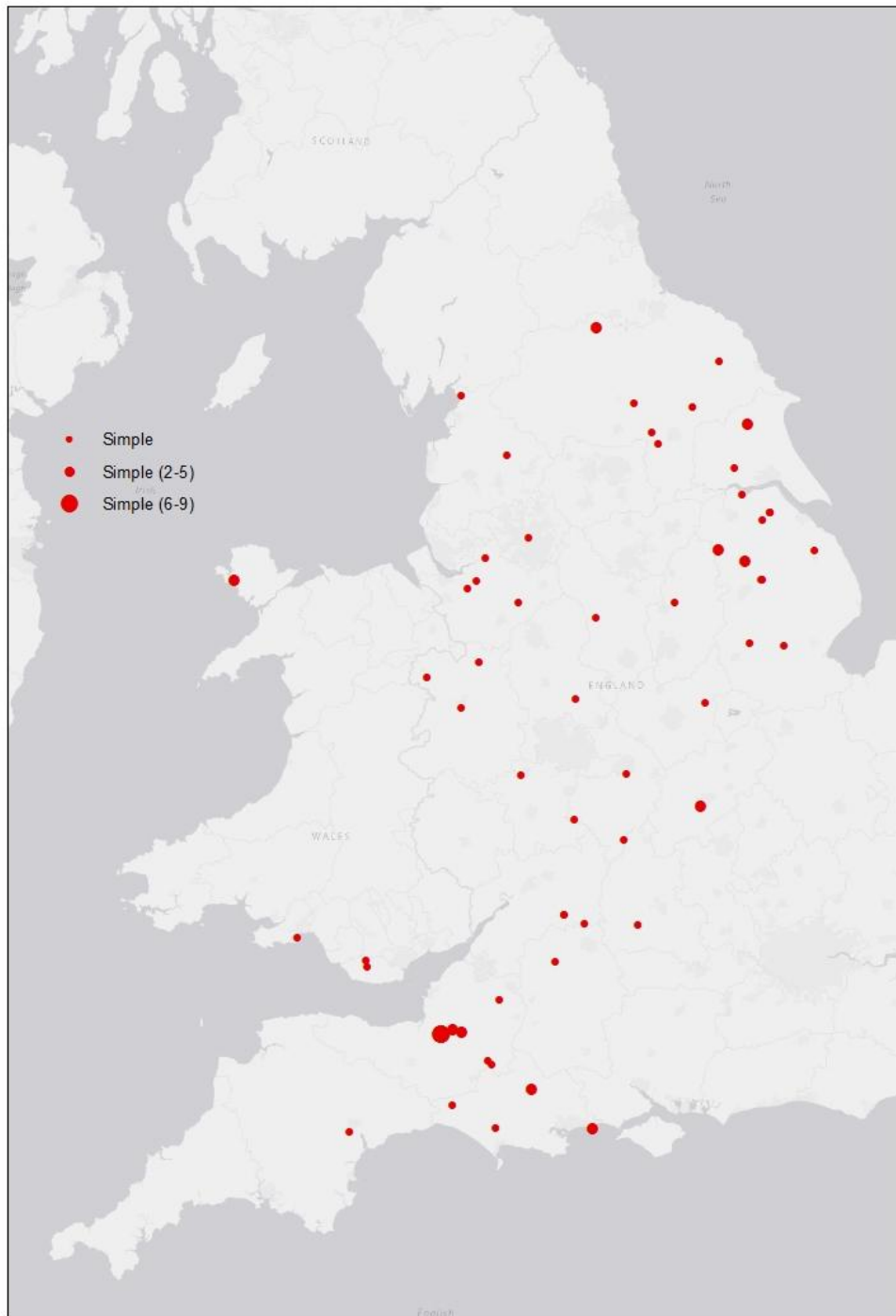
Simple terrets emerge in the early stages of the D-shaped series, but have a long life-span, continuing to be made and used during the Roman era. Map 3 shows simple terrets from all periods.

Map 4: Later-form terrets (widespread forms)
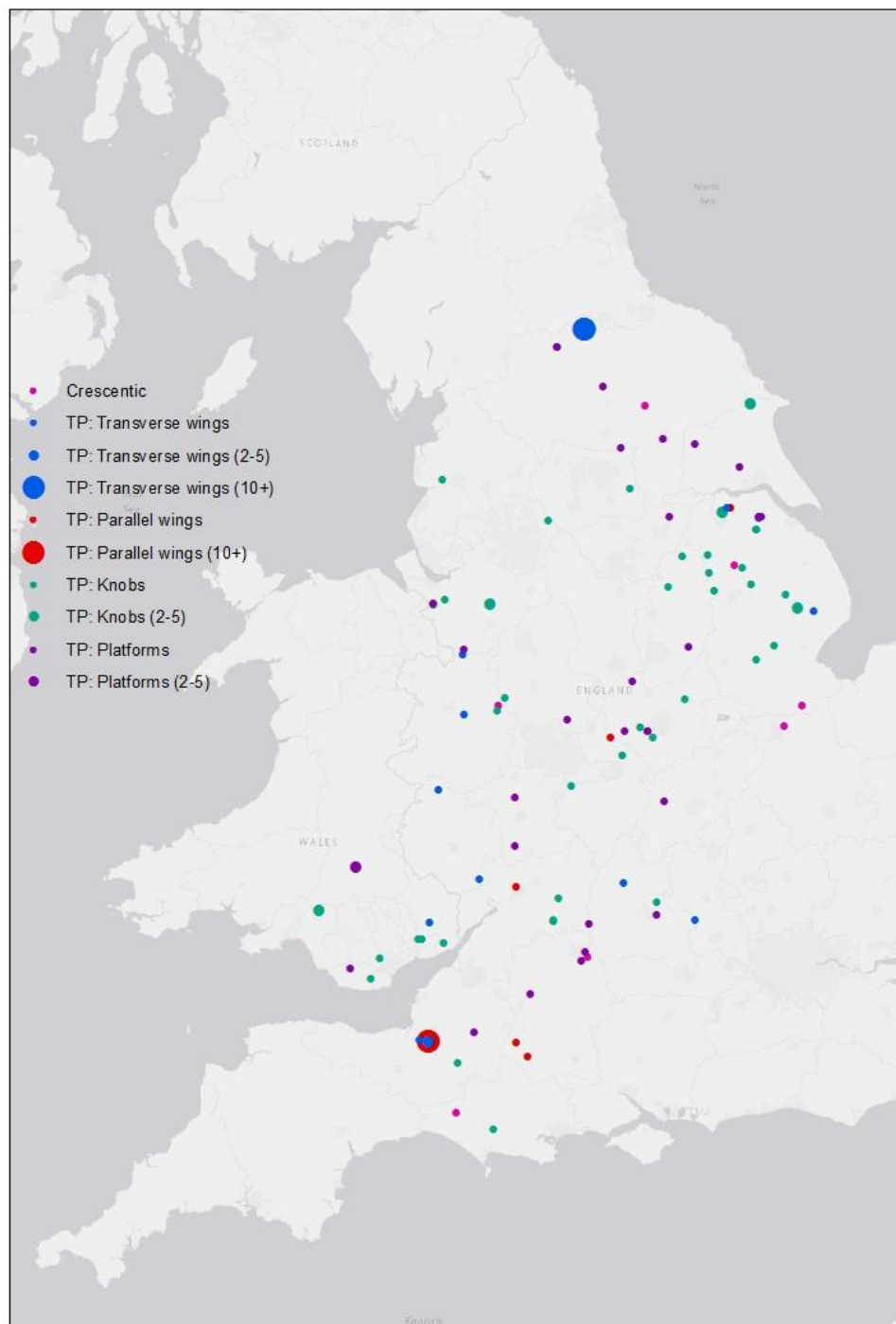
Map 4 shows all later-form terrets of "widespread" types. The clusters in North Yorkshire and Somerset represent the Stanwick/Melsonby/Aldbrough St. John and Polden Hills assemblages respectively. Both contain matching terret sets: the Stanwick/Melsonby hoard includes four sets with transverse wings – two complete and two incomplete, containing 18 terrets in all – while the Polden Hills hoard includes four

sets with parallel wings – one complete, three incomplete – as well as two odd terrets with transverse wings and two incomplete sets of simple terrets.

Map 4 shows some of the distributions identified in previous studies no longer to hold true, most notably MacGregor's (1976, maps 9 and 10) assessment of terrets with platforms and with knobs as predominantly northern-British. Both forms are now shown to be widespread across the study area. On the other hand, terrets with parallel wings ("winged", in MacGregor's terminology) continue to appear largely limited to south-west England and the West Midlands (cf. *ibid.*, map 8).

The new data included in these maps is largely a result of the high volume of finds generated by the PAS. For example, of the 46 terrets with knobs known from the study area – of which between 31 and 38 were discovered since 1976 – 26 were reported through the PAS. Of the 31 terrets with platforms, of which between 19 and 26 were discovered since 1976, 18 were reported through the PAS. Of the 20 terrets with parallel wings, only three were discovered since 1976, but two of those were reported through the PAS.

Map 5: Later-form terrets (localised forms)
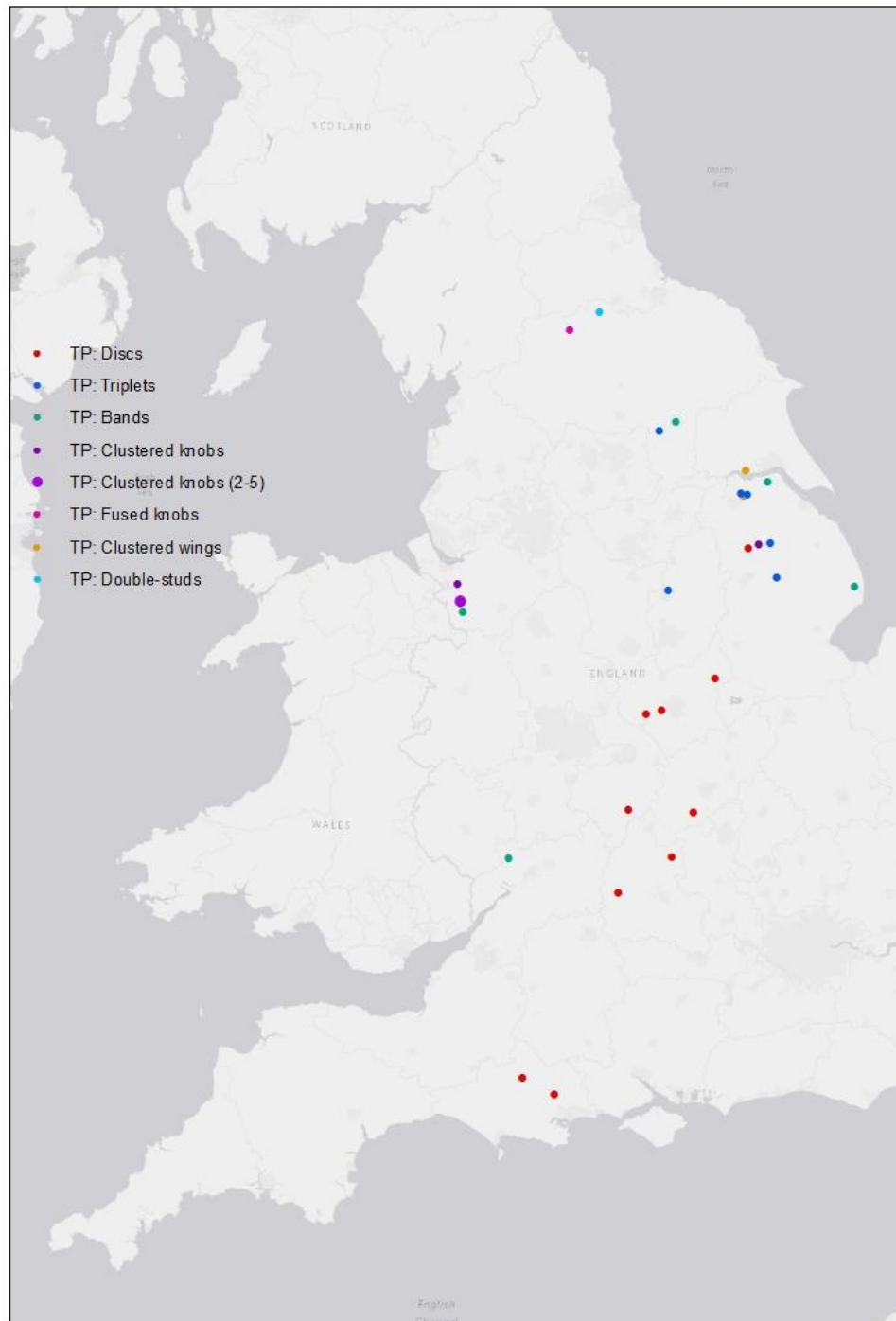
Map 5 shows all later-form terrets of "localised" types: those found only rarely, or in distinct regions of the study area. Most of these types are also occasionally found outside the study area, however, especially to the south-east: see Maps 11-13.

Map 6: Imported-form terrets
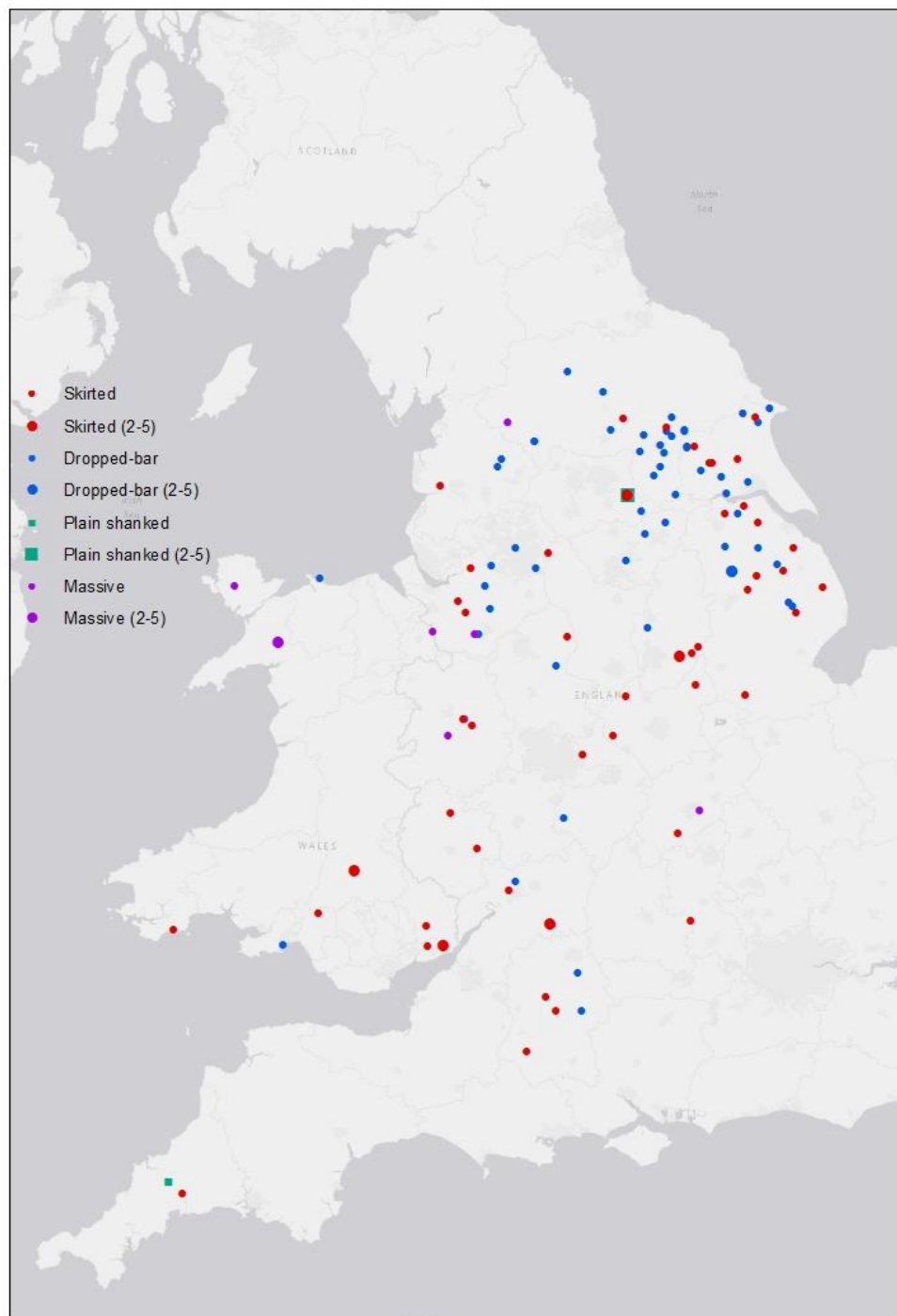
Map 6 shows all imported-form terrets. The small cluster of plain shanked terrets in West Yorkshire is centred on Castleford Roman fort. The small cluster of massive terrets in Gwynedd is centred on Dinas Emrys fortified hilltop settlement.

It should be noted here that skirted and dropped-bar terrets are likely to be somewhat over-represented in both the database and the distribution maps, due to their recognisable forms. A fragment of a skirted or dropped-bar terret can often be identified with certainty, but while a fragment of a D-shaped terret can often be easily identified as a terret, unless at least around a third of the ring is extant, it is impossible to say whether the fragment is from a simple terret, or a terret with platforms, or a terret with knobs, and so on. Fragments of this nature are recorded on the database as being of "D-shaped, unknown" type. Both skirted and dropped-bar terrets are, however, equally identifiable; the northern emphasis on dropped-bar terrets is likely to be a genuine depositional trend.

Map 7: Terrets with triple projections (all varieties)
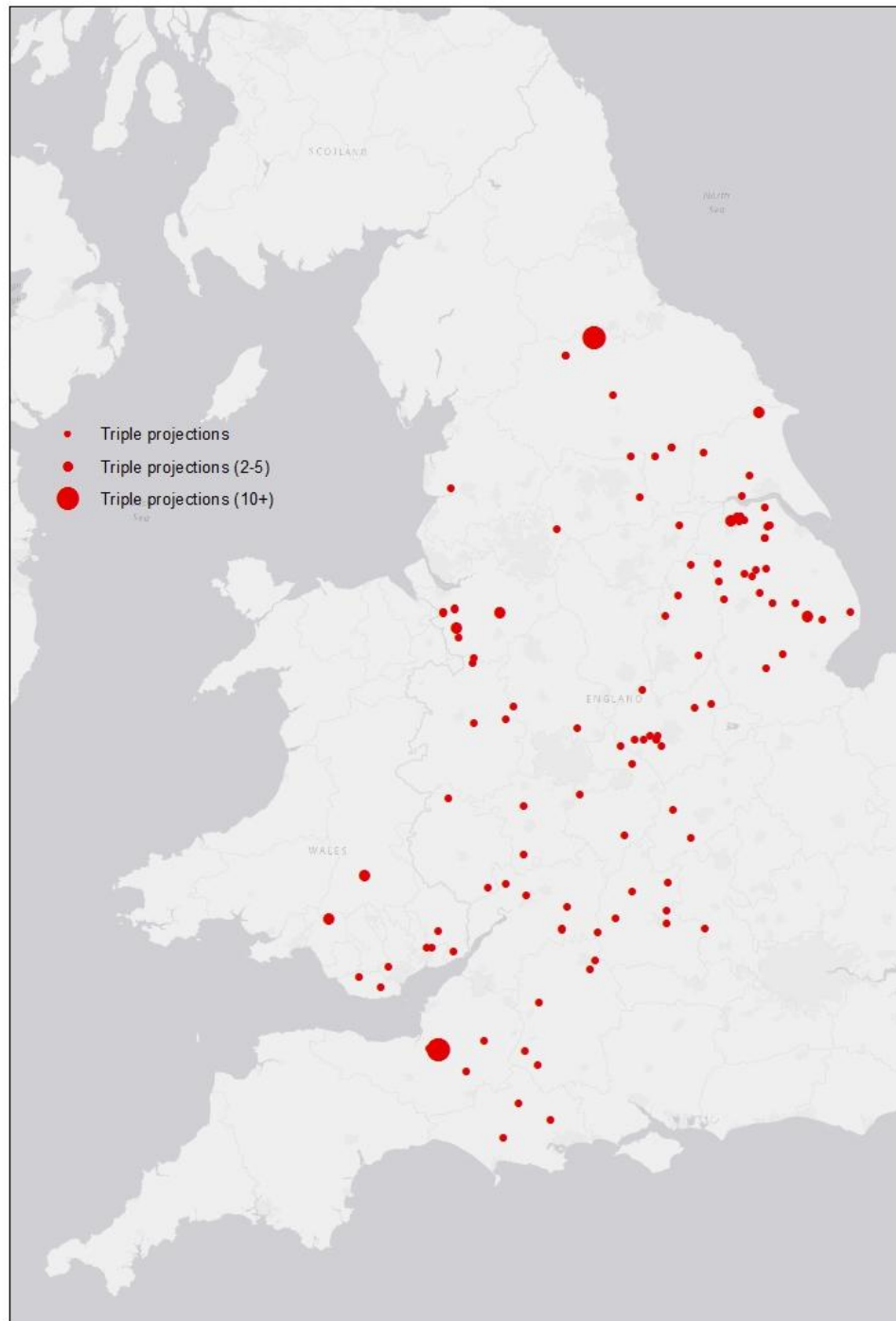
Maps 4 and 5 both used different symbols to represent different varieties of triple projection. Here, Map 7 uses the same symbol to represent all terrets with triple projections, expressing them all as one type. The purpose is to contrast the fragmented distribution patterns of individual kinds of triple projection with the widespread and

more even distribution of the basic form. The point is discussed in greater depth in **7.3.2**.

Map 8: Arched, slotted and other terret forms
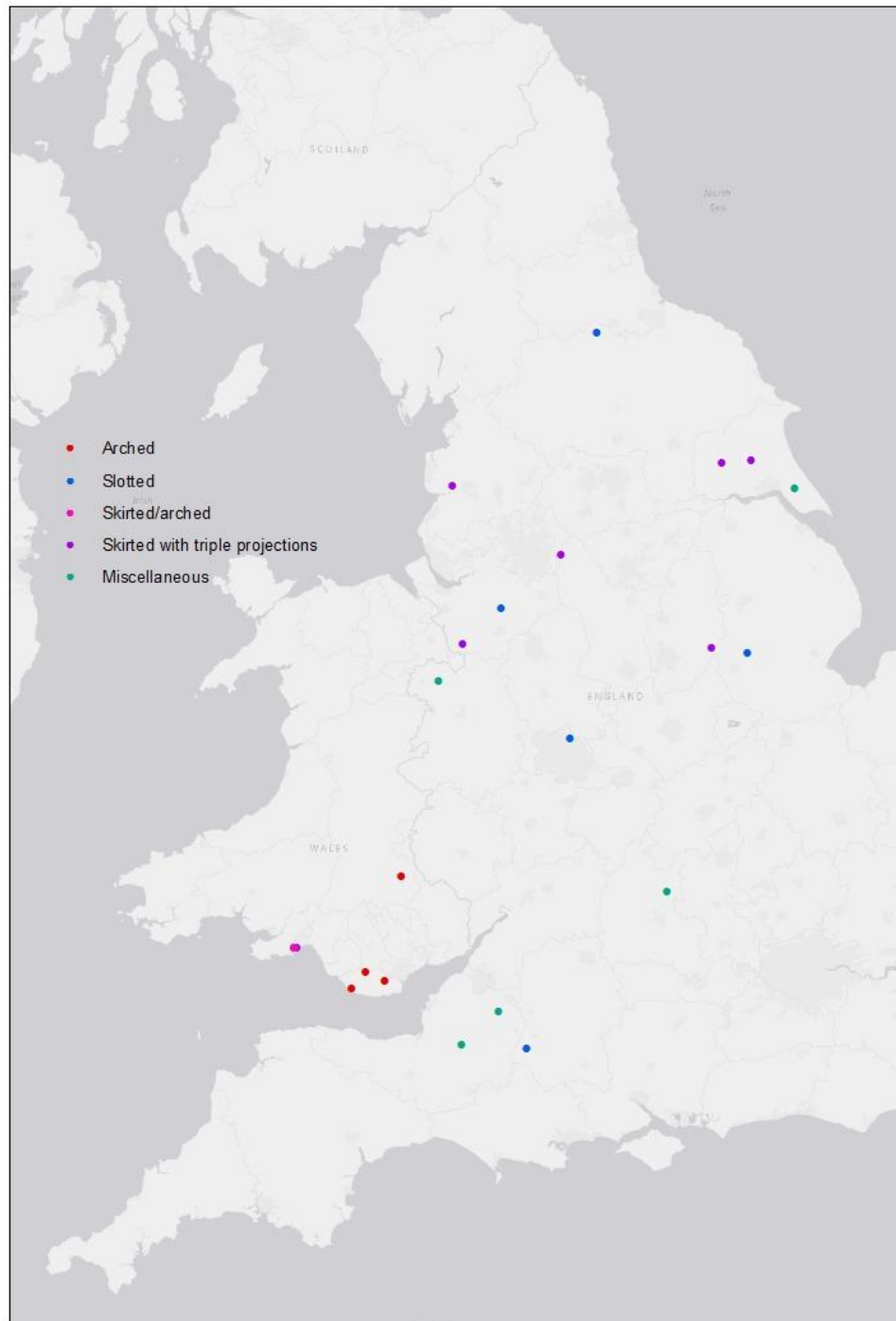
Map 8 shows the distribution of discernible terret forms for which no secure dating evidence exists – arched and slotted terrets – as well as of miscellaneous forms.

The category of "skirted with triple projections" is *the only category of terret on any distribution map in this thesis* to include examples from the supplementary database

(Appendix 2), which records terrets identified after 31st December 2013. It was decided to make an exception and include these (three) additional examples because the extended period of data collection has in this case allowed a distinct pattern to be observed: the significant proportion of skirted terrets to be embellished with triple projections around the ring, and their northerly distribution.

Map 9: Excavated terrets
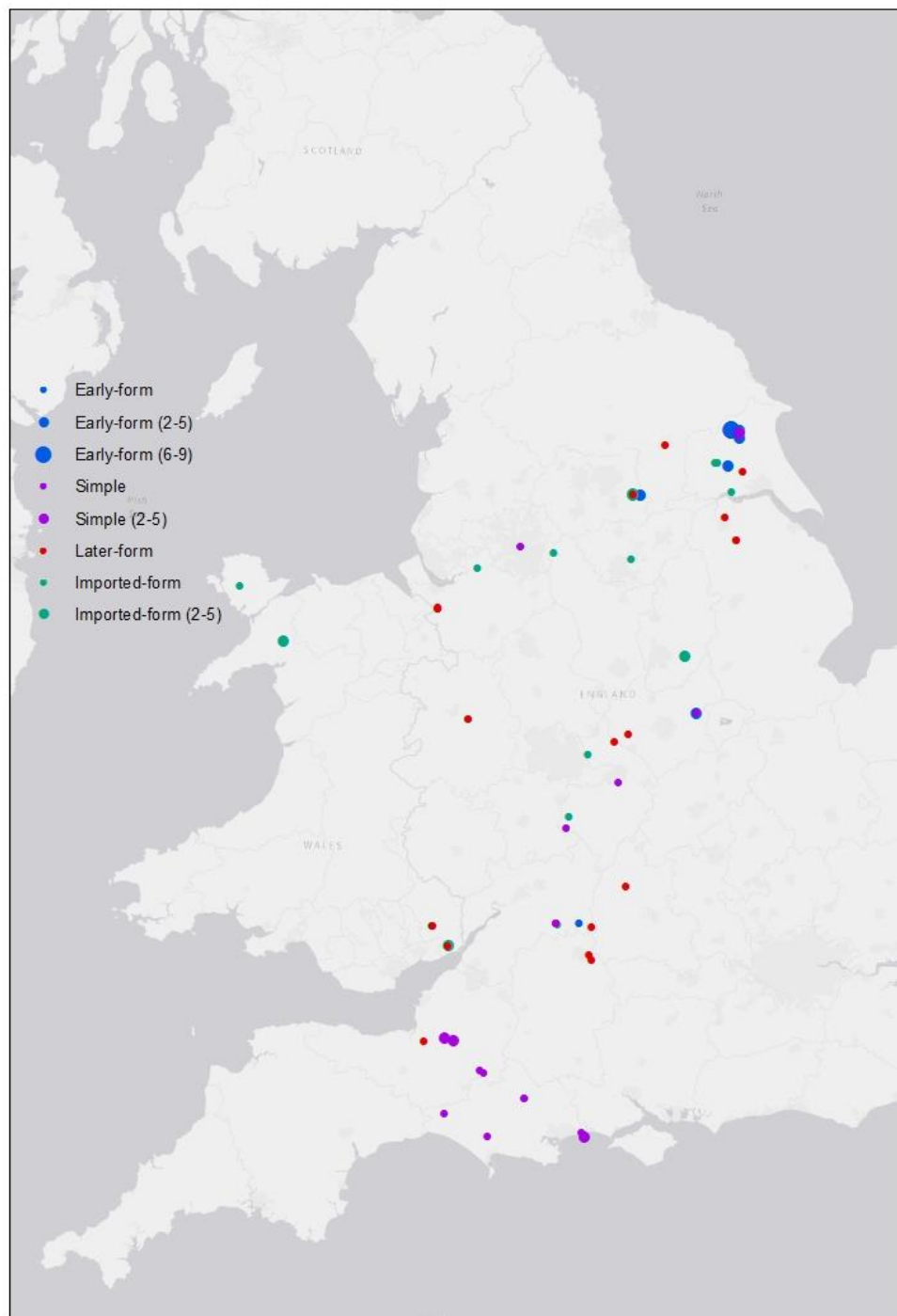
Map 9 shows all terrets recovered through excavations, divided into categories of "early-form", "simple", "later-form" and "imported-form". The emphasis on the north-east of the study area is largely due to the high volume of terrets recovered from the Yorkshire chariot burials (see Map 2).

Map 10: Terrets recorded through the Portable Antiquities Scheme
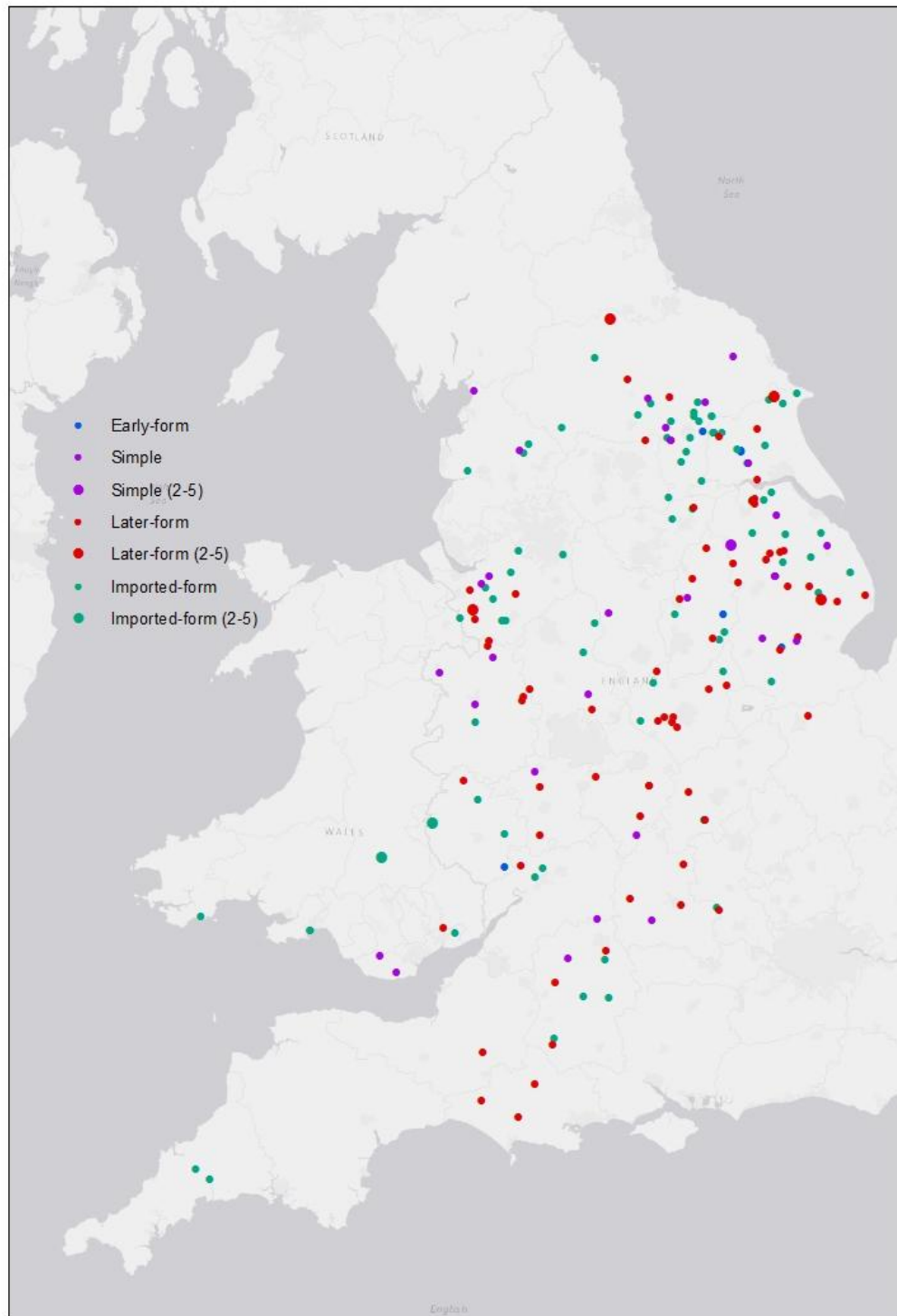
Map 10 shows the distribution of those terrets recorded through the PAS, divided into categories of "early-form", "simple", "later-form" and "imported-form".

Map 10 can be compared to Map 9, which records excavated terrets. Map 10 shows a greater number of terrets found in the East Midlands and along the Marches: both areas are largely blank in Map 9. The south-western emphasis shown in Map 9 for simple terrets does not survive once the PAS data is taken into account.

In Map 10, the concentration of terrets in North Lincolnshire may partly be accounted for by the longevity of the PAS in this area: this was one of the counties in which the PAS first operated in 1997 (Worrell 2006, 372). Of the total number of Iron Age finds recorded by the PAS between September 1997 and April 2003, the only counties within the present project's study area to report over 100 finds were Lincolnshire and Somerset (*ibid.*, table 1). For the same period, the only county within the study area to report over 10 terrets was Lincolnshire; none were recorded from Somerset at all (*ibid.*, table 3).

Since 2003, the PAS has covered the whole of England and Wales. Data for *all* PAS finds recorded in 2011 reveals that, within the study area, Lincolnshire was the only county to report over 5,000 finds. North Yorkshire reported around 3,000 finds, and East Yorkshire around 2,700. Cheshire, the other area in which a concentration of terrets is shown on Map 10, reported only 500 finds in total. Somerset and Cornwall, counties which have reported few terrets through the PAS, respectively reported around 2,800 and 3,800 total finds in 2011 (Department for Culture, Media and Sport 2012, table D).

For English counties, the average number of finds recorded through the PAS in 2011 was around 1,900 (*ibid.*). Looking over the statistics given above, it is evident that PAS-recording activity is particularly heavy in Lincolnshire and in East and North Yorkshire, and that the concentrations of terrets shown on Map 10 in these areas may be a reflection of this. The high levels of recording in Somerset and Cornwall, however – including historically, for Somerset, Iron Age material – may indicate that the near-absence of terrets recorded through the PAS for these counties is evidence of a genuine lack of material in the archaeological record. Similarly, the low overall level of recording in Cheshire may indicate that the density of terrets shown on Map 10 represents a genuine concentration.

Finds reported through the PAS have considerably changed our understanding of the distribution of later-form terrets in particular (see Maps 2 and 4), and can help both to bolster and counter data drawn from archaeological excavation. Nonetheless, it should be remembered that even when taken together, PAS and excavated finds account for less than 70% of all known terrets from the study area. The two most significant large assemblages from within the study area – the Polden Hills and Stanwick/Melsonby hoards – both pre-date the PAS, and neither was excavated scientifically. Other historic and stray finds also influence our understanding of terret distribution; for example, two massive terrets found as historic stray finds in Northamptonshire (NORT19) and North Yorkshire (NYOR63) allow us to see that the distribution of massive terrets is not as closely restricted to the north-west of the study area as excavated and PAS finds alone would suggest.

Map 11: Terrets north of the study area

Legend:
- Simple
- Simple (2-5)
- TP: Transverse wings
- TP: Knobs
- TP: Knobs (2-5)
- TP: Knobs (6-9)
- TP: Platforms
- TP: Platforms (2-5)
- TP: Triplets
- TP: Double-knobs
- TP: Fused knobs
- Dropped-bar
- Dropped-bar (2-5)
- Skirted
- Massive
- Massive (2-5)
- Slotted
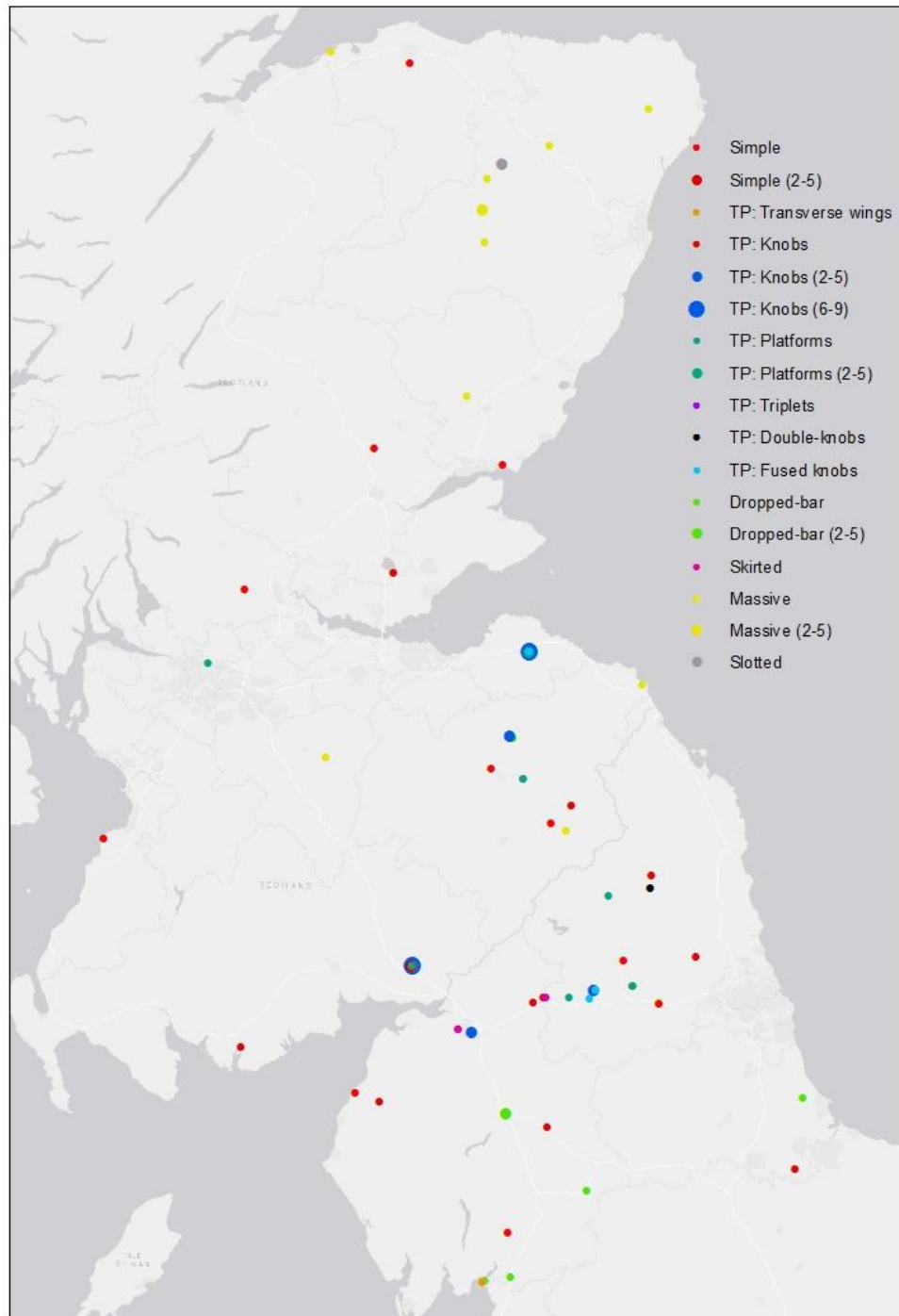
Maps 11-13 are included for basic comparison with the study area. While none are sufficiently comprehensive to allow any interpretations to be made about the distribution of terret types in either northern or south-eastern Britain, they do allow certain apparent distribution patterns within the study area to be qualified.

Map 11 is based upon data from both the PAS and the Celtic Art Database as well as excavation reports and online museum collections; as the PAS does not operate in Scotland, Scottish material in this map is under-represented. MacGregor's (1976) catalogue of "Celtic art" has been used as an additional resource, as it includes massive terrets and *some* dropped-bar and skirted terrets, forms usually not included on the Celtic Art Database. This map should in no way be taken as a full or balanced representation of terret distribution in northern Britain but allows the distribution of certain forms within the study area to be viewed in a wider British context, and certain observations to be adjusted accordingly. Map 11 shows a concentration in north-east Scotland of massive terrets (which inspired the type's alternative name: the "Donside" terret); here, the eastern emphasis provides a contrast with the western emphasis on the distribution of massive terrets within the study area. Map 11 also demonstrates the northern presence of certain varieties of triple projection found only as localised types within the study area, notably fused knobs and triplets. Other types found within the study area, such as crescentic terrets, are not yet known to the north at all.

A line of terrets of various types appears on Map 11 just above the Tyne, roughly following the line of Hadrian's Wall. Extensive and regular archaeological excavations have been carried out along Hadrian's Wall since the mid-nineteenth century, a fact likely to account for the comparative density of finds along its length, although its course through a local belt of comparatively low ground is also relevant.

Map 12: Early-form and simple terrets south-east of the study area
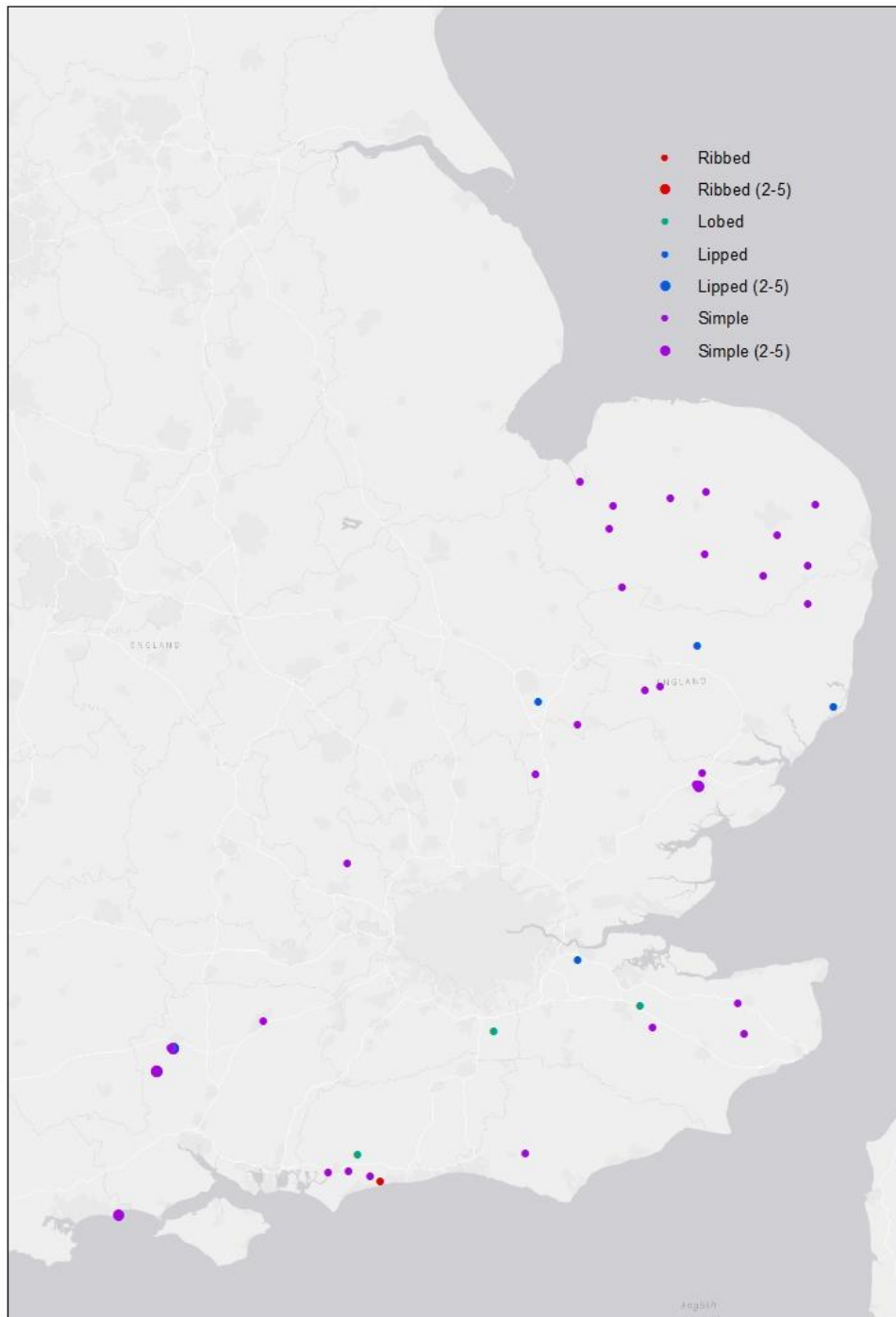
Map 12 presents terrets of early and simple form from beyond the study area's south-eastern border, and combines data from the Celtic Art Database, the PAS, excavation reports and online museum collections.

Map 13: Later- and imported-form terrets south-east of the study area
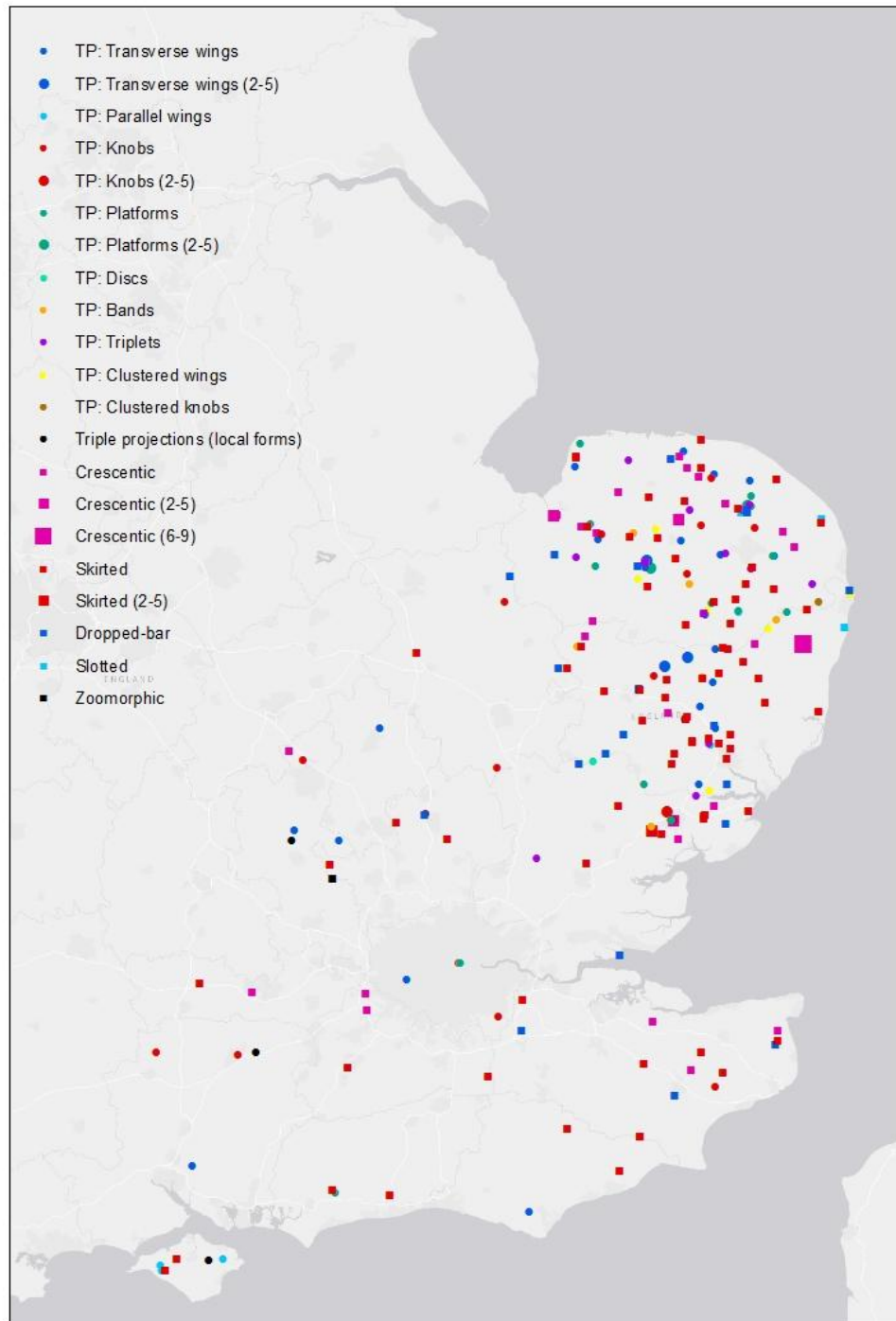
Map 13 presents terrets of later and imported form from beyond the study area's south-eastern border, and combines data from the Celtic Art Database, the PAS, excavation reports and online museum collections. As with Map 11, Maps 12 and 13 should not be regarded as comprehensive, but they allow some comparison with the study area to be made.

The south-eastern data indicates a wider distribution for certain "localised" terret forms – terrets with bands, clustered wings, clustered knobs and triplets – than is suggested by data from the study area alone, a point developed in **8.1.2**. All of these "localised" forms are found in East Anglia, although in south-east England beyond East Anglia terrets with triple projections appear less common. Both skirted and dropped-bar terrets are common in East Anglia, but dropped-bar terrets less so elsewhere in south-east England. As in the study area, there seem here distinct differences between the distribution of dropped-bar and skirted terrets, hinting at differences in use or deposition.

Map 13 shows a comparatively dense and even distribution of crescentic terrets across south-east England, although most common in East Anglia. These have an occasional and sporadic distribution in the study area. Occasional examples also appear of terret forms *not* found within the study area: a zoomorphic skirted terret from Cholesbury in Buckinghamshire (BUC-F16307 on the PAS database), and triple projections such as curled platforms (e.g. from Mapledurwell and Up Nately, HAMP-88E571 on the PAS database).

6.3 Interrogation of the data

The maps presented in **6.2** should not be taken as straight-forward evidence for the distribution of terrets in Iron Age and Roman Britain. Drawing basic observations from the maps, the next stage in interpretation is to identify the questions these observations pose.

Maps 2-8 appear to show that while some terret forms are widely distributed throughout the study area, others are restricted to local regions. Maps 11-13 contextualise these apparent patterns within wider Britain. The implications of these patterns are considered in Chapters Seven and Eight. Chapter Seven investigates the extent to which apparent regional trends in terret design reflect local and broader social identities, and communication between regions, while Chapter Eight makes use of post-colonial theory to interpret the distribution patterns of later and imported terret forms

during and after the period of Roman invasion, and to consider possible differences in the circumstances under which they were used.

Maps 9-10 contrast the distribution data obtained through archaeological excavation with that obtained through the PAS. Differences between the two can partly be attributed to tendencies amongst archaeological practitioners – such as historical interest in the Iron Age of Wessex and East Yorkshire among archaeologists, and a preference for lowland ploughed terrain among metal detectorists – but these behaviours themselves engage with those of Iron Age peoples, and can amplify visibility in the archaeological record not only of certain geographical regions, but of certain social practices. For example, a historic attraction among archaeologists to Iron Age hillforts has exposed the practice of making "special deposits": the structured deposition of metalwork and other material inside pits within hillforts. Factors behind both the deposition and recovery of terrets of different period and form are explored in Chapter Nine, which is concerned with the situation of terrets within the landscape.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Terrets and social identity:
distribution and deposition in the third to first centuries BC

Chapter Two began with a discussion of the relationship between objects and people, and of the ways in which aspects of identity can be expressed through the use of material culture, before moving on to address the extent to which Iron Age social identities and social relationships can be identified through the material record. The present chapter draws on some of the theoretical arguments developed in Chapter Two in order to consider what we might learn from terrets, in particular, about the expression and negotiation of identity in the third to first centuries BC.

7.1   The problem of personal identity

Concepts of personhood or personal identity can vary considerably between societies, as can the relationship between personal identity and material culture. We saw in Morin's (1969) example of 1960s French society how iconic objects can be considered as indicative and, consequently, in some cases determinative of the social status of the individuals who possess them (**2.1.1**). We cannot be sure how personhood was understood in Iron Age Britain, but the persistence of shape-shifting as a concern within Celtic art and mythology might be relevant.

An example of how aspects of personal identity can be interpreted through the archaeological record is provided by Eckardt and Crummy's (2008) study of toilet equipment in Late Iron Age and Roman Britain. Crucially, in the context of personal identity, toilet artefacts are intimately associated with the individual body, and relate to aspects of personhood that are both culturally conditioned and physically innate, such as gender/sex and age/maturity: although concepts of gender and age may be socially constructed, biological sex and maturity are defined by the body. Toilet instruments have a direct bearing on the individual body, which is altered through grooming. This alteration of the body is outwardly visible, and connected to social status: as Eckardt and Crummy point out (*ibid.*, 91), the practice of grooming can imply leisure and non-

physical work. The private activity of grooming is therefore transmitted, through its physical effects, to the public sphere. Toilet instruments can convey further aspects of personal identity, such as religious belief, through decorative symbolism: 10 out of the 35 nail-cleaner strap-ends in Eckardt and Crummy's catalogue are detailed with Christian iconography (*ibid.*, 95).

There are numerous aspects of personal identity that could, in theory, be communicated by an individual's use of particular terrets, or terret styles. At an overt level, ornate or valuable terrets might have been used to express wealth or status. Particular designs of terret – the inclusion of enamel in certain patterns or colours – could have symbolised membership of a particular tribe, or political affiliation. Other aspects of identity might have been communicated at a more subtle level. Palk (1992, 329) estimates that bronze harness fittings could have had a working life of at least 50 years; individual terrets or sets of terrets could well have been handed down between generations, and so possession of "antique" terrets through inheritance or bequest might imply descent from an established lineage, or the approval or patronage of senior members of the community. If physical form was understood in Iron Age Britain as something changeable, it is possible that artefacts such as terrets may have been in some way personified or animated: they could have been seen as extensions of the persons who used them, or of the horses whose reins they guided. It was suggested in **5.2.1** that terrets, with their often innate equine imagery, might have been artefacts which drew together charioteer, horse, terrain, the physical chariot and the activity of chariotry; this incorporation of personality, materiality, environment and activity need not have been merely representational, but could plausibly – as in the Catholic tradition of transubstantiation – have been regarded as literal.

On anything more than an abstract level, the problem with attempting to deduct aspects of personal identity from artefacts such as terrets is that, unlike in the example of toilet equipment, we cannot easily assume a close association between chariot equipment and individuals. We do not know whether particular items of horse-gear were in fact the property and preserve of particular individuals, or whether they were used by multiple people within the community. Even the 20 or so currently-known chariot burials from Iron Age Britain do not necessarily prove an association in life between the interred individuals and their grave-goods: although grave-goods are often taken by

archaeologists to indicate the wealth or social standing of the deceased, this is an assumption. The burial – and removal from circulation – of such high-value artefacts as the coral-studded terrets from Wetwang Slack, for example, could equally be interpreted as an announcement that the family or community that buried the woman was sufficiently wealthy and secure to be able to dispose of these valuable assets.

Indeed, **2.1.3** concluded that it is unrealistic to seek out the Iron Age individuals behind the terrets. More easily accessible is the web of societal relationships and connections *between* individuals. In line with this theoretical approach, the most productive way to approach personal identity through the study of terrets may be within the wider context of social identity. Personal identity is not, after all, restricted to those qualities of personhood that are unique, private or embedded in the body, but also involves those that are by their nature shared. Membership of a family, tribe or other group might be of fundamental significance to an individual's sense of self, but is possible only because that individual lives within a social context. It was argued in **2.2** that "society" exists as the expression of numerous constantly changing activities and relationships, and "social identity" as the conceptualisation of those aspects of personhood relevant especially to social interaction. If we accept this, then we can understand "personal" and "social" identity to be inextricably interlinked.

7.2   The distribution of early-form terrets and other Iron Age harness-gear

7.2.1   *The distribution of early-form terrets*

The points in the archaeological record at which we encounter terrets – their geographical distribution and their depositional contexts – can help us to identify underlying patterns of social behaviour and interaction. The following review – summarised in tables 7.1 and 7.2 and figure 7.1 – breaks down the study area into regions, in order to assess the comparative distribution patterns, regional density and depositional contexts of early-form terrets.

Simple terrets have an exceptionally long period of currency, from the third or second century BC until certainly the late first century AD, and in rare cases until perhaps the

third or fourth century AD. Rather than include simple terrets with either early- or later-form terrets, they are reviewed separately below.

It should be reiterated that here, as throughout the thesis, the named regions (e.g. "north-west England") relate to those regions of the study area as defined in Appendix 5.

North-west England	Very few early-form terrets: one group of five plain rings from the Ferry Fryston chariot burial
North-east England	• Dense concentration of studded, ribbed and lipped terrets, almost all from chariot burials • Two plain rings from a chariot burial • One lobed terret: a stray find
West Midlands	Very few early-form terrets: one lipped terret, a stray find
East Midlands	• Three lipped and two lobed terrets, all from within hillforts • Two ribbed terrets, one from within a hillfort and one a stray find
South-west England	• Five lipped terrets (excluding one from Saxon grave). All from either hillforts or lake villages • Four lobed terrets, all from either hillforts or lake villages • Four ribbed terrets, all from hillforts
North Wales	None
South Wales	None

Table 7.1: Distribution and deposition of early-form terrets, by region

	Land area (km²)	Early-form terrets	Terrets / 1000 km²
North-west England	9461	5	0.5
North-east England	13678	38	2.8
West Midlands	12905	1	0.1
East Midlands	15951	7	0.4
South-west England	26443	14	0.5
North Wales	6172	0	-
South Wales	14605	0	-

Table 7.2: Early-form terret distribution and density, by region
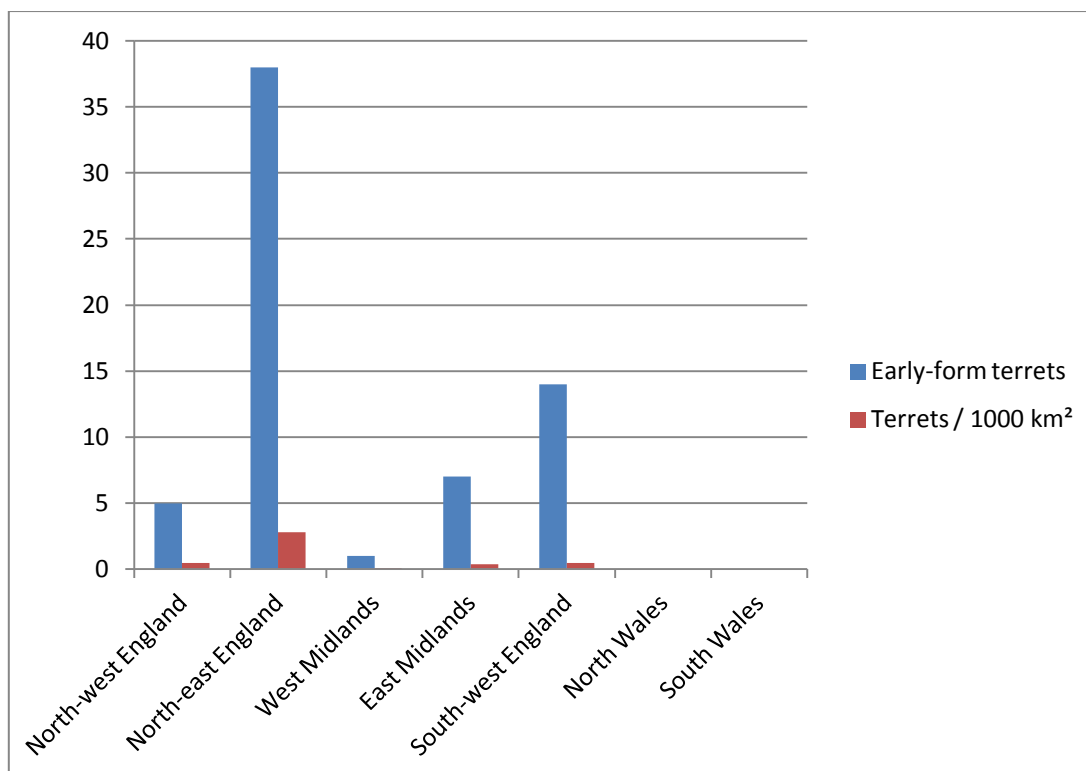
Figure 7.1: Distribution and density of early-form terrets, by region

It is clear from the above review that early-form terrets are not only more common in north-east England than in any other part of the study area, but more densely distributed. This region, like south-west England, has long been perceived as an area rich in Iron Age archaeology, and where evidence exists for Iron Age behaviours – such as large-scale inhumation – rarely seen elsewhere. However, the East Midlands – traditionally more overlooked – is shown to have a similar *concentration* of early-form terrets to south-west England, as does north-west England.

Early-form terrets are rare in the West Midlands and non-existent in North and South Wales (with the exception of simple terrets, not shown in the above analysis). We might expect to see limited use of wheeled vehicles – and therefore limited evidence for their constituent parts – in the mountainous areas of Wales; moreover, remembering that 80% of PAS finds are recorded from land below 100 metres (Katherine Robbins pers. comm., e-mail 18th December 2014), the impact of the PAS will be less keenly felt in highland regions. This does not explain the low numbers of terrets so far recovered from the generally low-lying West Midlands, however, where PAS finds account for the

sole known early-form terret and for four of the six known simple terrets. It is possible that the low numbers overall from Wales and the West Midlands suggest a general eastern emphasis to terret distribution – and chariot use – in the period from the third to the first centuries BC, with a more tentative uptake in western Britain.

Some support for this theory might be offered by the relative distribution of widespread and localised early-period forms. The most localised form of early-period terret is the studded variety, which at present is only known from the chariot burials of East and North Yorkshire. Plain round rings are only confirmed from chariot burials in East and West Yorkshire, although it is only when encountered within the context of a chariot burial that a plain ring of this kind can be identified as a terret with relative certainty. Lipped, lobed and ribbed terrets – as shown in **6.2**, Map 2– are reasonably widespread across the study area, but none occur in Wales, and a sole lipped terret is known from the West Midlands. Otherwise, in the early period, only simple terrets are known from the West Midlands and from North and South Wales. It could be inferred that innovation and experimentation in terret design is restricted to those regions where terret use generally is more common; in areas where fewer terrets are used, the preference is for simpler, more conservative styles.

7.2.2   *The distribution of simple terrets*

Table 7.3 and figure 7.2 summarise the regional distribution of simple terrets, which could in theory be in use at any point between the third century BC and fourth century AD.

	Simple terrets	Simple terrets / 1000 km²
North-west England	8	0.1
North-east England	20	1.5
West Midlands	6	0.5
East Midlands	17	1.1
South-west England	25	0.9
North Wales	3	0.5
South Wales	3	0.2

Table 7.3: Regional distribution of simple terrets (all periods)
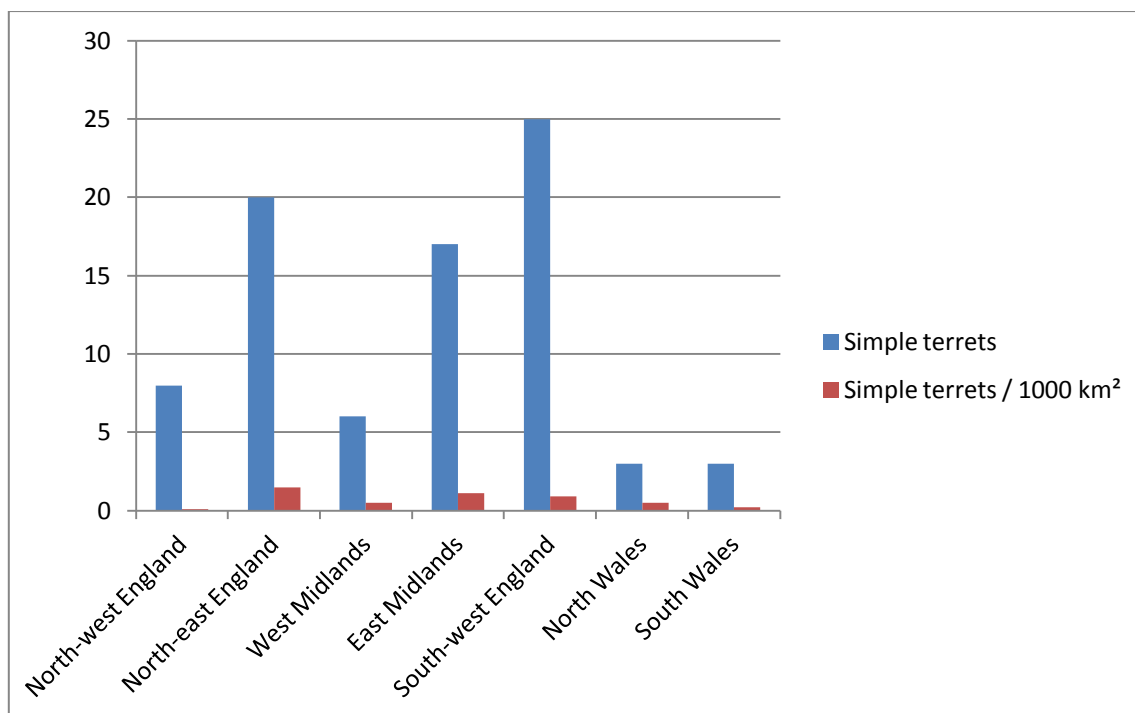
Figure 7.2: Regional distribution and density of simple terrets (all periods)

The most striking point to note here is the emphasis on south-west England, where simple terrets occur most frequently, although they occur with greater density in north-east England and the East Midlands. Only two of the 25 terrets from south-west England come from Devon, and none from Cornwall: the majority are from the eastern part of the region.

The distribution of simple terrets is discussed further in **8.2.3**, in comparison with the distribution of terrets of early, later and imported form.

7.2.3   *Comparative artefacts: Iron Age harness-gear recorded through the PAS*

It is helpful to contextualise the regional distribution of D-shaped terrets by carrying out a basic comparison with the distribution of other forms of harness equipment. This section compares the distribution of D-shaped terrets with that of linchpins, bridle bits and strap unions. For each artefact type, finds are restricted to those recorded through the PAS. This is in order to limit the comparison, as far as possible, to data sets which

have been accumulated over the same period of time, under the same conditions, and which have been subjected to the same potential biases. The review includes those linchpins, bridle bits and strap unions – of all types – recorded on the PAS database under the "broad period" category of "Iron Age", as well as those recorded under the "broad period" category of "Roman", where the object description specifies that the artefact is of "Iron Age to Roman" date. In the interests of consistency, as no chronological cut-off between the first centuries BC and AD has been applied to the linchpins, bridle bits and strap unions, none has been applied to the terrets. Early- and later-form terrets, simple terrets and those of D-shaped (unknown) form have all been included.

It should be noted that there is some variation, both on the PAS website and in archaeological literature, in the terminology used for the artefacts here called "strap unions", as well as variation in the style and function of the artefacts recorded under the different terms. The artefacts listed here include those commonly referred to as strap unions and strap junctions, but exclude toggles, button-and-loop fasteners, baldrics and belt-sliders.

The regions are as defined in Appendix 5.
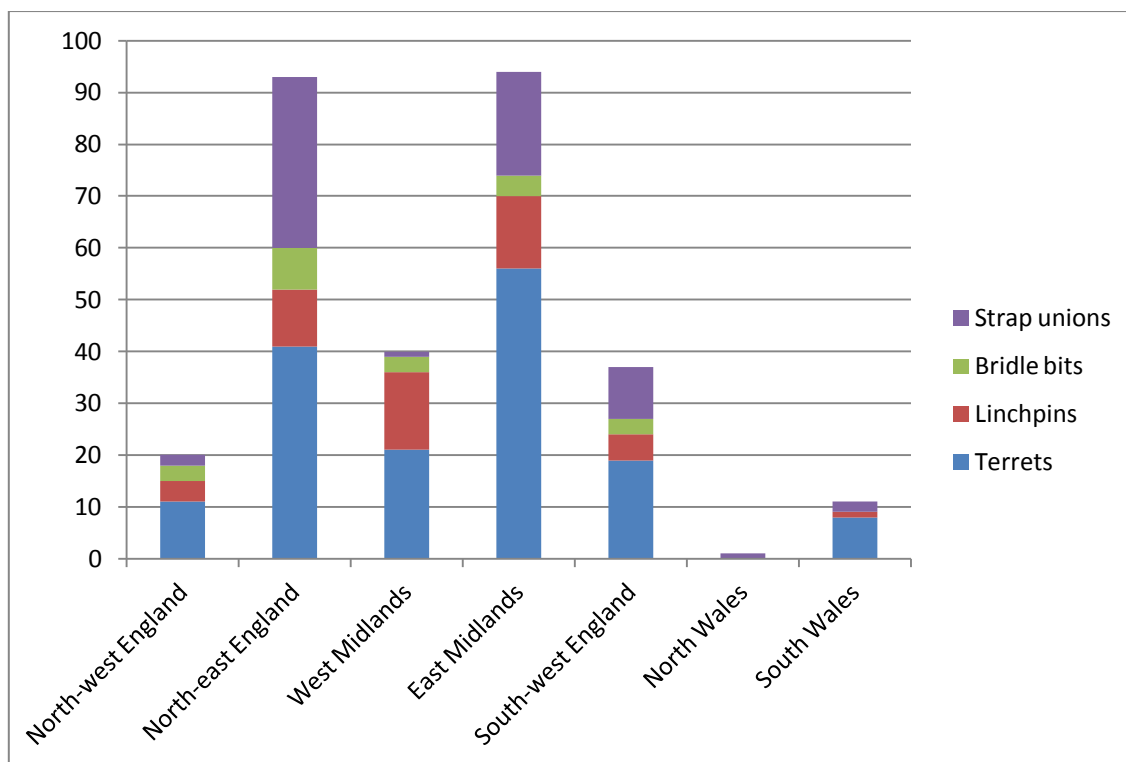
Figure 7.3: Regional distribution throughout the study area of early- and later-form terrets and other Iron Age harness-gear, as recorded through the PAS

Whilst this review is not comprehensive, the exercise allows some basic observations to be made. Firstly, it reveals the significant impact of the PAS on our current understanding of the distribution of D-shaped terrets. When PAS finds alone are taken into account, more D-shaped terrets are found in the East Midlands than in north-east England, and slightly more are found in the West Midlands than in south-west England. The traditional emphasis on north-east and south-west England as "hotspots" of Iron Age harness-gear is further undermined by the distribution of the other kinds of artefact reviewed here: linchpins are most common in the West and East Midlands, and whilst bridle bits most commonly occur in north-east England, their distribution is roughly even between north-west England, the East and West Midlands and south-west England. A somewhat more traditional distribution pattern is seen for strap unions, with a notable emphasis on north-east England, followed by the East Midlands and then by south-west England, with low numbers in the West Midlands and north-west England. Harness-related finds remain generally very low in North and South Wales.

PAS-recording activity is generally high in Lincolnshire and East and North Yorkshire (**6.2**, Map 10), which might partly account for the large quantity of harness-gear of all types recorded from these regions. As Paula Gentil (pers. comm., conversation 6th November 2013) has pointed out, the fame of the Yorkshire chariot burials is in itself likely to have contributed to a particular interest in and enthusiasm for Iron Age material culture amongst local metal detectorists and amateur archaeologists, who as a result may be especially likely to report artefacts of this nature. However, PAS-recording activity is also high in Somerset and Cornwall, where the PAS reports almost no Iron Age harness-gear. The Polden Hills hoard and the Glastonbury and Meare lake villages (all in Somerset) have between them produced 35 terrets: 76% of the county's total from all periods. If the finds from these exceptional sites are placed to one side, it becomes possible to challenge the received notion of south-west England as a heartland of Iron Age chariotry and related material culture. Despite considerable PAS activity in the region, finds of both terrets and linchpins lag behind those from north-east England and both the East and West Midlands, while finds of strap unions lag behind those from north-east England and the East Midlands.

It is interesting to note certain regional emphases in the types of artefact being produced. Terrets are most common in all regions, probably because they were used in sets of five. Figure 7.3 shows that strap unions are the second-most common artefact in north-east England, the East Midlands, south-west England and South Wales; these, as Spratling (1972, 107) notes, were certainly sometimes used as harness-equipment, but might also have been used as personal ornaments or buckles. Linchpins are the second most common artefact in north-west England and the West Midlands; in the latter region 15 linchpins are recorded through the PAS, compared to only one strap union. It is conceivable that such a major reversal of distribution patterns seen elsewhere might reflect a local production trend; as we saw in **5.1.1**, artefact-specialisation does seem to have been a feature of production at Weelsby Avenue and, at least in the short term, at Gussage All Saints.

7.3 Terret distribution and social identity

7.3.1 *Depositional contexts*

The regional distribution of terrets of different form, as well as the distribution of other kinds of harness-gear, can give us some insight into the expression of aspects of social identity in Britain in the Mid-Late Iron Age, particularly those aspects related to chariotry. There is an eastern emphasis on chariot-equipment during this period; it is posited that the D-shaped terret series developed from a meeting between Bronze Age British harness-buckles and plain, round terret rings introduced to eastern Britain from Continental Europe, specifically from Belgium (**4.6**). Although a tentative theory, it is plausible that from the Middle Iron Age onwards the popularity of the war chariot and of associated La Tène harness-gear moved gradually westwards across Britain, colouring to varying degrees the self-identity of different communities.

Chariot-gear is very rarely associated with funeral practices in western Britain; no likely chariot burials are known from west of Ferry Fryston or Hunsbury, both roughly in the middle of Britain, longitudinally. Whilst this association between chariotry and lavish funeral rites appears restricted to some eastern communities, other rites involving chariot-gear take place elsewhere, and demonstrate different behavioural trends. For example, it is note-worthy that all of the simple terrets currently known from Wales have been recovered either from watery contexts or from sites of apparently deliberate deposition – or both. Three are known from the major votive assemblage at Llyn Cerrig Bach (ANGL01-03); one was found in sand and mud offshore at Swansea Bay (SWAN01); one was found at the edge of the headwaters of the River Thaw at Penllyn (VALE01), an area with a history of votive deposition through the Bronze and Iron Ages (Adam Gwilt pers. comm., conversation 21st May 2012); while the last, from Cowbridge, was found buried in association with a copper-alloy rein ring, and has consequently been declared Treasure (VALE05). Whilst not *all* of these depositions may have been deliberate, the pattern nonetheless suggests a focus in Wales on the deliberate, possibly ritualistic, deposition of simple terrets. The tendency is particularly intriguing given the scarcity of D-shaped terrets in Wales in general. We could perhaps infer that the rarity of terrets was a factor in their selection for instances of ritual deposition; on the other hand, it could be that D-shaped terrets were more commonly

used in Wales than we realise, but that many were deposited into watery locations and have not been recovered.

Elsewhere, we see further evidence for the deposition of terrets in contexts which imply instances of structured or formalised activity. At Burrough Hill hillfort, for example, three lipped terrets (LEIC16-17, 26) were together placed in a pit, carefully arranged as part of a group of Iron Age base metal artefacts in a context with evidence for *in situ* burning. At Gussage All Saints (**5.1.1**), debris from the production of harness-gear was arranged in a pit in distinct layers, possibly indicating curation of the material. **2.1.1** discussed ways in which individual personalities can engage with material objects, imbue objects with character and at the same time absorb character from objects; it is possible for persons to be objectified, and objects personified. In the depositional behaviours described above, it can be argued that we see a comparable interaction with objects on a social scale. Where terrets and other artefacts have been subjected to ritual treatment – to selection, to deliberate burning and other forms of damage – and where they have been positioned in burials, hoards, votive assemblages and pits, we can interpret this behaviour as a means of addressing particular social concerns. These concerns are objectified through the deposited material.

The depositional contexts of early-form terrets are considered in greater detail, alongside those of later- and imported-form terrets, in Chapter Nine.

7.3.2   *The expression of social relations; different identities at different scales;*
         widespread and localised terret forms

The theoretical framework developed in Chapter Two concluded that, following Appadurai (1986), terrets can helpfully be viewed as "things-in-motion", the trajectories of which across time and space can illuminate those human relationships that constituted the society in which they moved. Connected to this is the argument, following Hunter (2006), that social identities – the ways in which people perceive or conceive of themselves in relation to others – are expressed on different levels and in different spheres, stimulated by different scales of social interaction. As we have seen, Cunliffe (1995) has argued for the war chariot as a symbol of status during the Mid-

Late Iron Age, and for the circulation of high-quality harness-gear in systems of gift-exchange between social élites, while Creighton (2000, 22-26) has claimed a symbolic and spiritual association between the concept of leadership in Iron Age Britain and the figure of the horse. These particular connotations of chariot-gear – as prestigious artefacts which identified and connected high-status groups – need not have applied to all communities; but wherever chariots were used, their supply would need to have been secured through the maintenance of a network of medium- or long-distance social relations. Spratling (1979) and Giles (2007, 407) have pointed out that to produce a chariot and associated equipment requires the use of diverse materials such as iron and bronze, wood, enamel and coral, of which only some might be available locally. More exotic materials can only be obtained through the manipulation of trading contacts, and the exercise of social and economic influence. Conversely, we might see the demand for exotic materials as necessary to maintain medium- or long-distance relations. Giles (*ibid.*) has discussed the importance among small-scale communities of long-distance acquisition as a "key [testament] of chiefly power"; the chariot and its equipment can, then, be viewed as a show-piece that displays not only the skills and resources of the local community, but that community's place in the wider world, and the social prowess of its leaders or members.

When it comes to terret type, while simple terrets are relatively widespread across the study area, other forms – particularly, in the early period, studded varieties – are only known from certain local areas, while others – lipped, lobed and ribbed terrets – are reasonably widespread, but unknown from particular regions (**6.2**, Maps 2-3). It could be argued that the distribution of localised terret forms indicates communication and influence between particular regions. If we look ahead to the distribution of those D-shaped terret forms that emerge in the first century AD – crescentic terrets and terrets with triple projections – we see further evidence for the co-existence in certain regions of widespread and localised terret forms. Terrets with transverse wings, parallel wings, knobs and platforms are particularly widespread across the study area (**6.2**, Map 4). It is notable that – as in the Mid-Late Iron Age – the area around the Humber Estuary is in the later period home to a number of localised terret forms, as well as to widespread varieties. Some of the localised later-period forms found around the Humber Estuary are also found in small number elsewhere in the study area; for example, terrets with discs are found in a distinct, narrow band which runs south-west from Lincolnshire

through the Midlands to Dorset. A single terret with clustered knobs is known from Lincolnshire, while all the other examples currently known from within the study area are from Cheshire. Of course, contact between communities might well exist even when it is not demonstrated by the distribution of terret types, but where communities do have terret types in common – particularly those types which are rare or non-existent in other parts of Britain – a degree of contact can reasonably be inferred.

Following Hunter (2006, 286-287), the co-existence of widespread and localised terret forms can be taken to illustrate the expression of local and broader identities within the same communities: the use of localised terret forms affirming local traditions of design, manufacture, fashion and taste, and the use of more widespread forms demonstrating awareness of trends in material culture that reach far beyond the immediate locality. Widespread terret varieties appear in geographically isolated locations – simple terrets on Anglesey and in the Pennines, terrets with platforms in the Yorkshire Dales and the Brecon Beacons – and show that the material culture even of peoples in these regions was influenced by prevailing trends in other parts of the country. With the trade and cultural contact between communities that these distribution patterns imply, the restriction of some terret forms to certain areas might lead us to speculate that, perhaps, some forms of terret were only ever produced in small number, and went broadly unnoticed outside their community of origin; that some forms reflect particular local tastes, and lacked popular appeal; or that communities deliberately restricted the circulation of certain terret forms, retaining them for local use, or limiting their use to members of particular tribes, families or other social groups.

A comparison can be made with the change in pottery production centres and exchange networks in parts of south-western England in the Middle Iron Age, identified by Morris (1996). Here, a "dramatic" shift occurred away from numerous centres of localised pottery production towards a wider exchange network of pots manufactured in a limited number of specialised centres. Morris found that, during this period, some areas continued to consume only locally-made pottery and some began to consume only pots of widespread type, made further afield, while in other areas both local and widespread forms were used. Morris (*ibid.*, 46) points out that a movement towards total or near-total dependency on relatively distant centres of production for these essential everyday artefacts is "highly significant", and may suggest a considerable

increase in social cohesion. In terms of harness-gear, we see possible evidence for local and regional specialisation in the manufacture of different kinds of artefact: a specialisation in terrets at Weelsby Avenue, for example. A possible emphasis on linchpin production in the West Midlands was noted in **7.2.3**, although the relatively high number of linchpins recorded through the PAS in that region might alternatively indicate a local trend in depositional practices.

It is possible to draw another inference from the juxtaposition of widespread and localised terret forms. Anthoons (2013, 421) claims that the third century BC – the period during which the D-shaped terret series first emerges – "is marked by a spirit of innovation and of standardisation, in particular in the domain of weaponry". This combination of innovation and standardisation is well-illustrated by the D-shaped terret series as it continues into the first century AD. It is important to notice – as was argued in detail in **2.4** – that almost all D-shaped terrets are made with close adherence to certain principles of form and design, and that local types exist only as minor variations on an essentially uniform pattern. To illustrate the point, we can compare Maps 4, 5 and 7 (**6.2**). Maps 4 and 5 – in which different kinds of triple projection are shown by different symbols – present a complex array of distributions, some broad and others local, while Map 7 – in which all terrets with triple projections are shown by the same symbol – presents a simple, widespread and comparatively even distribution across the study area. This approach allows us to see that even localised forms need to be viewed in the context of wider cultural trends.

Although localised terret forms might represent local traditions and innovations, and instil in those who used them a sense of local or regional identity, and although the dramatic and original designs of especially ornate terrets might represent extravagant displays of wealth and status or power, all of these artefacts are nonetheless quite formulaic and conventional at a basic level. This is significant because, as these artefacts all follow the same basic pattern, they can easily be compared to each other; the superficial differences between them appear all the more pronounced because the fundamental elements are the same. An easy comparison between artefacts allows for competition, and for expressions of identity and status to be readily communicated. It is notable that although the introduction of Roman metalworking and enamelling technologies gave terret design a new impetus from the mid-first century AD, allowing

the range of colours used to expand and elements such as platforms and wings to become more intricate, the continued development of the D-shaped series nonetheless largely occurred within the constraints of its traditional principles. These principles suggest the expression of aspects of social identity in a restricted, even codified way.

Ultimately, the very diversity within the D-shaped series of terrets presents us with evidence for the inter-relation of the peoples who used them. Innovations within the form clearly could and did take place, but only to a limited extent. Chariotry can be understood as a relatively formalised social and cultural concern, through which bonds between communities could be emphasised and affirmed. Local variations in terret design can be seen as the gentle testing of those bonds, but enacted within parameters that were understood and adhered to across Mid-Late Iron Age Britain and into the first decades of the Roman era.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Terrets and social identity:
distribution and deposition from the first century AD

This chapter begins by comparing the regional distribution of early- and later-form terrets within the British D-shaped series, and with a review of the comparative distribution of widespread and localised later-period forms. It goes on to look at the changes that occur to terret manufacturing technology and design in Britain from the mid-first century AD onwards, and the introduction of Continental-influenced types. The chapter also addresses the relationship between terrets of different type and the Roman army, before considering the impact of Roman invasion on harness-gear as a medium for the transmission of aspects of social identity. The chapter also explores the suitability of "hybridity" and "creolisation" as theoretical models through which to understand the changes we see to material culture and society in Britain during the period of Roman invasion.

8.1   The distribution of later-form D-shaped terrets

8.1.1   *Comparison: the regional distribution and density of early- and later-form terrets*

7.2 reviewed the distribution of early-form terrets: those likely to have been manufactured and used before the end of the first century BC. This section compares that distribution with that of later-form D-shaped terrets: those likely to have been manufactured after the start of the first century AD. Figure 8.1 illustrates the regional distribution and density of later-form terrets, while table 8.1 compares the regional distribution and density of early- and later-form terrets. Here, as throughout the thesis, the named regions (e.g. "north-west England") relate to those regions of the study area defined in Appendix 5.
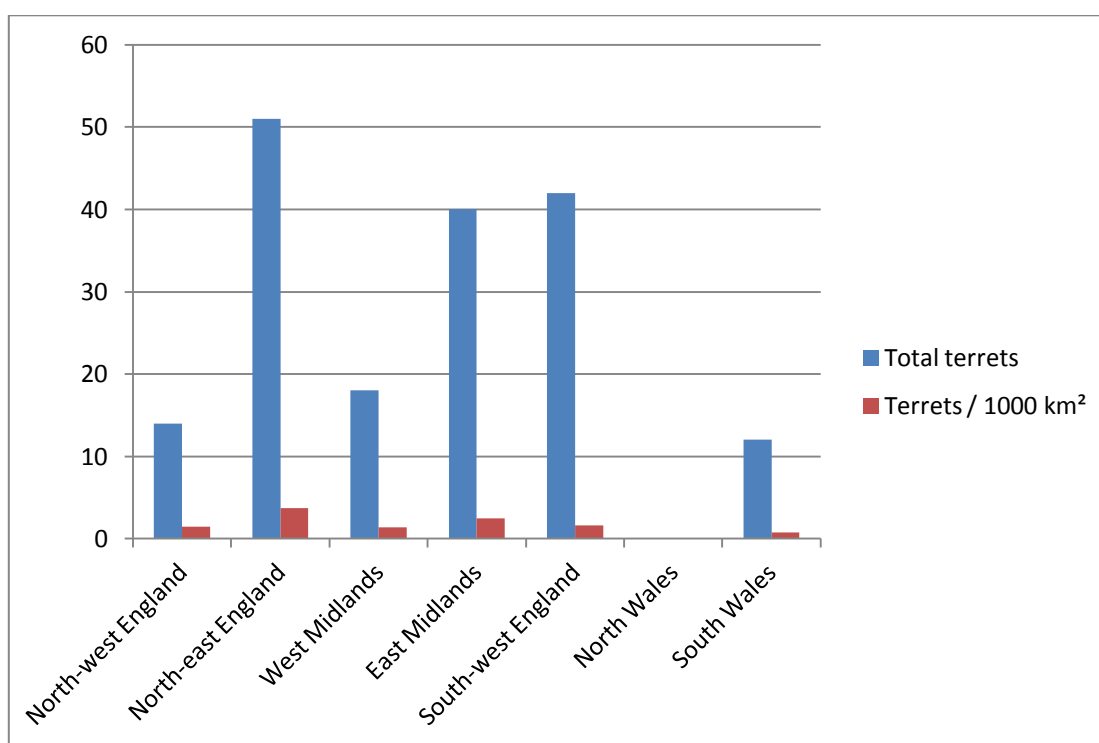
Figure 8.1: Distribution and density of later-form terrets, by region

	Total early-form terrets	Early-form terrets / 1000 km²	Total later-form terrets	Later-form terrets / 1000 km²
North-west England	5	0.5	14	1.5
North-east England	38	2.8	51	3.7
West Midlands	1	0.1	18	1.4
East Midlands	7	0.4	40	2.5
South-west England	14	0.5	42	1.6
North Wales	0	-	0	0
South Wales	0	-	12	0.8

Table 8.1: Comparative distribution of early- and later-form terrets

From this basic comparison, the following main observations can be made:

- In both periods, both frequency and distribution density is highest in north-east England.
- In both periods, south-west England is the region with the second-highest number of terrets overall, albeit predominantly from the eastern half of the region. However, the East Midlands has the second highest level of density of later forms.
- In all regions apart from North Wales – where the only known D-shaped terrets are of simple form – numbers increase significantly in the later period. The increase is most marked in South Wales and the West Midlands, the regions from which fewest early-period terrets are known (North Wales aside).
- It needs to be remembered that this review does not include imported-form terrets, some of which will have been concurrent with some later-form D-shaped terrets. Nor does it include simple terrets, which were concurrent with early-, later- and imported-form terrets. These points are developed in **8.2.3** below.

8.1.2 *The regional distribution of later-form terrets: localised and widespread forms*

Table 8.2 reviews the regional distribution of later-form D-shaped terrets, by type. It does not include imported-form or simple terrets.

	Crescentic	TP: Knobs	TP: Platforms	TP: Parallel wings	TP: Transverse wings	TP: Clustered knobs	TP: Discs	TP: Bands	TP: Triplets	TP: Other
North-west England		7	1			3		1		
North-east England	1	5	9	1	22			2	4	6
West Midlands	1	4	4	1	4		1			2
East Midlands	3	16	7	1	1	1	3	1	3	2
South-west England	2	6	6	18	5		4	1		
North Wales										
South Wales		7	3		1					1

Table 8.2: Regional distribution of later-form terrets

It should be noted that the Stanwick/Melsonby/Aldbrough St. John assemblage accounts for 20 of the later-form terrets from north-east England: 19 of those with transverse wings, and one with double-studs (listed as "TP: Other"). In south-west England, 17 of the terrets – 15 with parallel wings and two with transverse wings – are from the Polden Hills hoard.

The juxtaposition of widespread and localised terret forms within the archaeological record might demonstrate the expression of different identities at different social scales, within a system of conventions and constraints (**7.3.2**). Table 8.3, below, shows localised terret forms as a percentage of total later-form terrets, by region. Of the terrets listed above, "widespread" forms consist of crescentic terrets and terrets with knobs, platforms, transverse wings and parallel wings (see **6.2**, Map 4). Clustered knobs, discs, bands and triplets constitute "localised" forms (**6.2**, Map 5).

	Later-form terrets	Terrets of localised form	Percentage
North-west England	14	4	29
North-east England	51	12	24
West Midlands	18	2	11
East Midlands	40	10	25
South-west England	42	5	12
North Wales	0	0	n/a
South Wales	12	0	0

Table 8.3: Regional concentration of localised forms (later period)
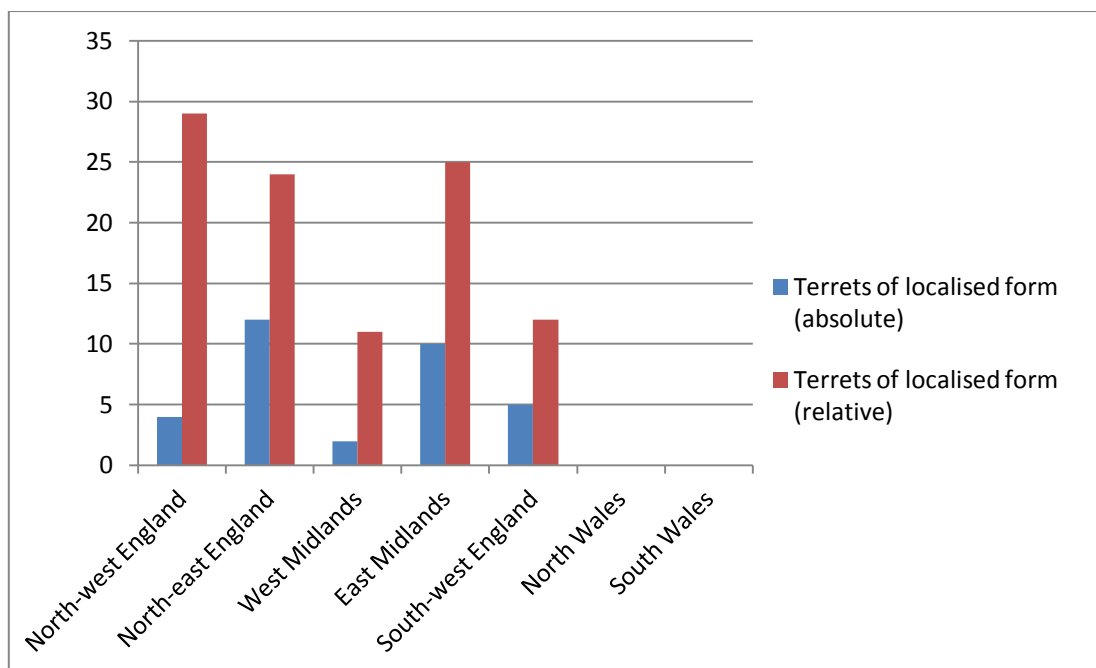
Figure 8.2: Incidence of localised terret forms, by region (later period)

Where early forms are concerned, studded terrets – the most localised early-period form – are at present known only in north-east England. Plain terrets are confirmed only in north-west and north-east England. Lipped, lobed and ribbed terrets are relatively common in north-east, north-west and south-west England and the East Midlands, but rare or non-existent in the West Midlands and in Wales. In the distribution of localised forms of later-period terrets, some continuation of these trends can be seen. North-east England and the East Midlands emerge as regions where localised terret forms are most common, followed by south-west England. Comparatively few terrets of localised form are seen in the West Midlands, and none at all in Wales[3].

Before the end of the first century BC, the regions of Britain in which terrets were most common appear also appear to have been the regions in which localised forms were most concentrated. In terms of absolute numbers of terrets of localised form, this observation still broadly applies to the later period. In terms of relative numbers, however, it is notable that localised forms are most prominent in north-west England, where they account for a little under a third of total later-form terrets. A slightly higher

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[3] A terret with knobs and bands (SYGN02) is on display in the "antiquities room" at Sygun Copper Mine in Beddgelert, Gwynedd. The provenance of the terret is not known.

percentage of localised forms occurs in the East Midlands than in north-east England, despite the latter region producing more later-form terrets overall.

The most significant concentrations of localised terret forms can be identified as follows:

- **North-west England**: emphasis on terrets with clustered knobs. Of the four in the study area, three occur in Cheshire: two found together at Tattenhall, and the third at a location roughly 10km to the north. This can realistically be read as a local trend. The fourth occurs in Lincolnshire.
- **East Midlands**: Terrets with discs run in a distinct, narrow band from the East Midlands to **south-west England**. Triplets also occur in the East Midlands.
- **North-east England**: focus of terrets with clustered wings, bands, double-studs, fused knobs and triplets.

	Bands	Discs	Triplets	Clustered knobs	Clustered wings	Double-studs	Fused knobs
North-east England	x		x		x	x	x
East Midlands	x	x	x	x			
North-west England	x			x			
South-west England	x	x					
West Midlands		x					
North Wales							
South Wales							

Table 8.4: Distribution of localised forms

It is tempting to see localised terret forms as flourishes of stylistic innovation and bravura born from local long-standing exposure to chariotry and harness-gear. While this may in some cases be true, it does not explain the relatively high incidence of localised forms in north-west England: a region from which comparatively few terrets are known overall. It may be the case that localised-form terrets in north-west England point to communication with other parts of Britain. Three of the localised terrets from the region are those with clustered knobs; elsewhere in the study area, the sole other known example is from Lincolnshire (East Midlands), a distribution which raises the

possibility of a connection between peoples in the two regions, despite their separation by the Pennines. Likely contact and influence between communities can also be inferred from the distribution of terrets with discs, which reach in a tight band running north-east to south-west between Owmby Cliff in Lincolnshire through Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire and Oxfordshire to Badbury Rings and Okeford Fitzpane in Dorset.

As Maps 12 and 13 (**6.2**) show, almost all of the early- and later-form varieties encountered within the study area – whether widespread or localised – also occur beyond the study area's south-eastern boundary. Although Map 13 is not comprehensive, it shows one terret with discs from Clare in Suffolk (NMS-D5E6F4 on the PAS database), and one possible terret with clustered knobs from Aldeby in Norfolk (NMS-973260 on the PAS database). Isolated finds in south-east England of terret types that have otherwise geographically limited distribution patterns perhaps reflect the migration into the region of individuals or groups from other parts of Britain. In comparison with the rest of Britain, economies in south-east England were developing rapidly even before the Roman invasion, while – partly in response to the quantity of military supplies and other imports passing along the Thames – economic and urban development continued to intensify during the early Roman period (Mattingly 2006, 496-497, 500, 511). On the other hand, terrets with bands are relatively dense in south-east England: Map 13 records six examples, while only seven are known from the whole of the study area[4]. Within the study area, terrets with bands are spread thinly and disparately, and may in this case represent a sporadic movement of the type west and north from a south-eastern origin. Unfortunately, none in the study area is from a datable context. We also see some extension of the distribution of localised terret forms north of the study area (Map 11) – a terret with triplets is known from Newstead, Roxburghshire (MacGregor 1976, no.63), and terrets with fused knobs from Chesterholm and Housteads, both in Northumberland (MacGregor 1976, nos.81 and 84) – but not to the same degree as in south-east England.

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[4] One terret with a band (ASHM02) held at the Ashmolean Museum, and another held at Sygun Copper Mine in Beddgelert (SYGN02) are of unknown provenance.

Table 4.1 presented the chronology of terret types within the study area. We can see that secure dating evidence exists for the deposition (and in some cases the manufacture) of plain, studded, ribbed and lipped terrets until the second century BC, and for the deposition of terrets with triple projections from the mid-late first century AD onwards. In terms of secure dating evidence for terret manufacture and deposition, there is a lacuna in the first century BC and early first century AD which occurs in Iron Age artwork generally between roughly 50 BC and AD 50 (Garrow *et al* 2010, 110-111; **4.3.1**). This may reflect depositional behaviour rather than a decline in terret manufacture or use, but nonetheless provides a noticeable watershed in the design of the native British terret series. Later-form terrets – those which seem to emerge from around the middle of the first century AD – display a much greater variety of design than early-form terrets. Some of this variety can be attributed to the new opportunities for experimentation brought about by increasing exposure among British communities to Roman metal- and glass-working technologies, which is explored below.

8.2   New terret forms and new technologies

8.2.1   *Changes to terret design and technology*

The first century AD in Britain brings with it some major changes to terret design and distribution. Within the D-shaped series, crescentic terrets and terrets with triple projections first appear, sometimes with elements of Roman technology incorporated into their manufacture. This is most obvious in the use of polychrome enamel, enabled by the introduction of the Roman vitreous enamelling technique (**4.3.3**), but is evidenced also by the use of brass (**3.6.1**). Simple terrets, the currency of which can be securely dated back as far as the mid-third century BC, from the first century AD are sometimes made out of brass or gunmetal. A further change to terret design during this period is the appearance of decorative elements that seem inspired by the Roman rather than Celtic artistic tradition. Davis and Gwilt (2008, 167-171) have identified the emergence of geometric designs – grids, triangles, zigzags and so on, often incorporating cells for polychrome enamel – as a trend within metalwork of native British form in the period c.AD 40-100.

The most noticeable change to the character of the terret record is the appearance of types distinct from the D-shaped series: massive, dropped-bar, skirted and plain shanked varieties. The massive terret has in the past been considered a British innovation, but now appears most likely to be a Continental La Tène development (**1.2.4**, **4.7**). Pieces of harness equipment close in form to skirted and dropped-bar terrets are known from the British Bronze Age, and may have influenced the evolution of Continental harness-gear (**4.6**, **4.7**). Nonetheless, although these forms have pre-Roman roots, it is with the arrival of the Roman army that they become widespread in Britain. Dropped-bar and skirted terrets are particularly common: together they account for a fifth of all terrets on the database. Beyond the Bronze Age examples, no skirted or dropped-bar terrets have been found in clearly pre-Roman contexts in Britain, nor have any clearly pre-Roman contexts yielded massive terrets.

In the emergence of new terret forms, as well as in the incorporation of elements of Roman design and technology into traditional British forms, we appear to see evidence within the archaeological record for both the incursion of Roman material culture, and for the emergence of cultural hybridity. We can look at the distribution of this evidence across the study area, and consider how the distribution patterns of early, later and imported terret forms compare.

8.2.2 *The distribution of imported terret forms*

Table 8.5 and figure 8.3 show the regional distribution and density of terrets of imported form.

	Total terrets	Terrets / 1000 km²
North-west England	20	2.1
North-east England	48	3.5
West Midlands	12	0.9
East Midlands	24	1.5
South-west England	13	0.5
North Wales	6	1
South Wales	9	0.6

Table 8.5: Distribution and density of imported-form terrets, by region
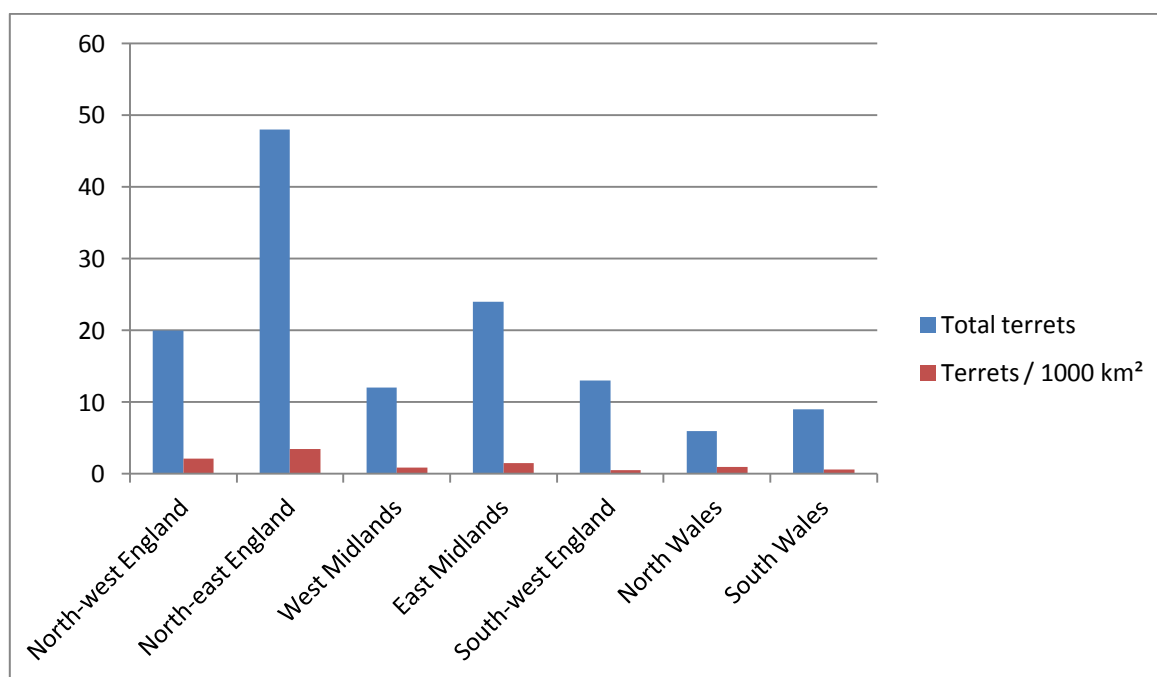
Figure 8.3: Distribution and density of imported-form terrets, by region

Table 8.6 and figure 8.4 break down the regional distribution of imported-form terrets into type:

	Dropped-bar	Skirted	Massive	Plain shanked
North-west England	10	6	1	3
North-east England	35	12	1	0
West Midlands	2	8	2	0
East Midlands	8	15	1	0
South-west England	3	9	0	1
North Wales	1	0	5	0
South Wales	0	8	0	0
Totals	**60**	**59**	**10**	**4**

Table 8.6: Regional distribution of imported-form terrets, by type
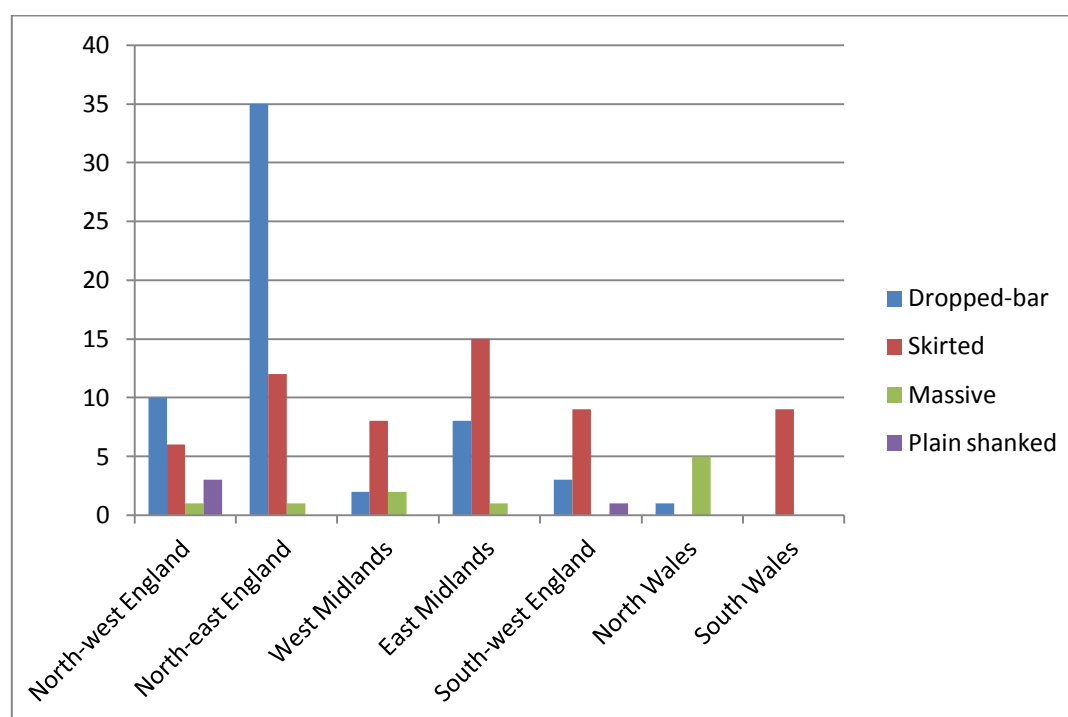
Figure 8.4: Regional distribution of imported-form terrets, by type

The above review allows the following observations to be made:

- Whilst dropped-bar and skirted terrets are almost exactly even in number within the study area (60 and 59 respectively), their distributions differ noticeably. Dropped-bar terrets are heavily concentrated in north-east England: over half the total number appear in this region. They then appear in greatest number in north-west England, followed by the East Midlands.

- Only one dropped-bar terret is known from Wales – from Little Orme, Llandudno, on the northern coast – despite the fact that imported-form terrets account for around a third of all terrets from Wales. There are no dropped-bar terrets known from England west of Henhull (Cheshire) in the north, or Sandhurst (Gloucestershire) in the south.

- The distribution of skirted terrets is more even across the study area, extending further west and south than that of dropped-bar terrets.

- Massive terrets are concentrated in North Wales: this is the only type of terret, from any period, which is most common in this region. Isolated examples also occur across northern England and the Midlands.

- With their north-western emphasis and tendency towards areas of higher ground, massive terrets appear associated with less accessible locations and with areas further from Roman economical and cultural centres, an observation borne out by the type's distribution outside the study area, which is densest in mountainous north-eastern Scotland. Massive terrets are one of the few forms not so far known from south-eastern England.

- Plain shanked terrets are concentrated in north-west England, where all three examples are from Castleshaw Roman fort. The sole example known elsewhere in the study area is also from the vicinity of a Roman fort (Nanstallon, Cornwall). This seems to have been a type of terret used in occasional Roman military contexts, and which never gained wider appeal in Britain, even within the Roman army.

8.2.3 *Comparison: The regional distribution of early-, simple, later- and imported-form terrets*

Having reviewed the regional distribution of early-form, simple, later-form and imported-form terrets in turn, table 8.7 and figure 8.5 draw together and compare the data.

	Early-form	Simple	Later-form	Imported form
North-west England	5	8	14	20
North-east England	38	20	51	48
West Midlands	1	6	18	12
East Midlands	7	17	40	24
South-west England	14	25	42	13
North Wales	0	3	0	6
South Wales	0	3	12	9

Table 8.7: Regional distribution of early-, simple, later- and imported-form terrets: total numbers
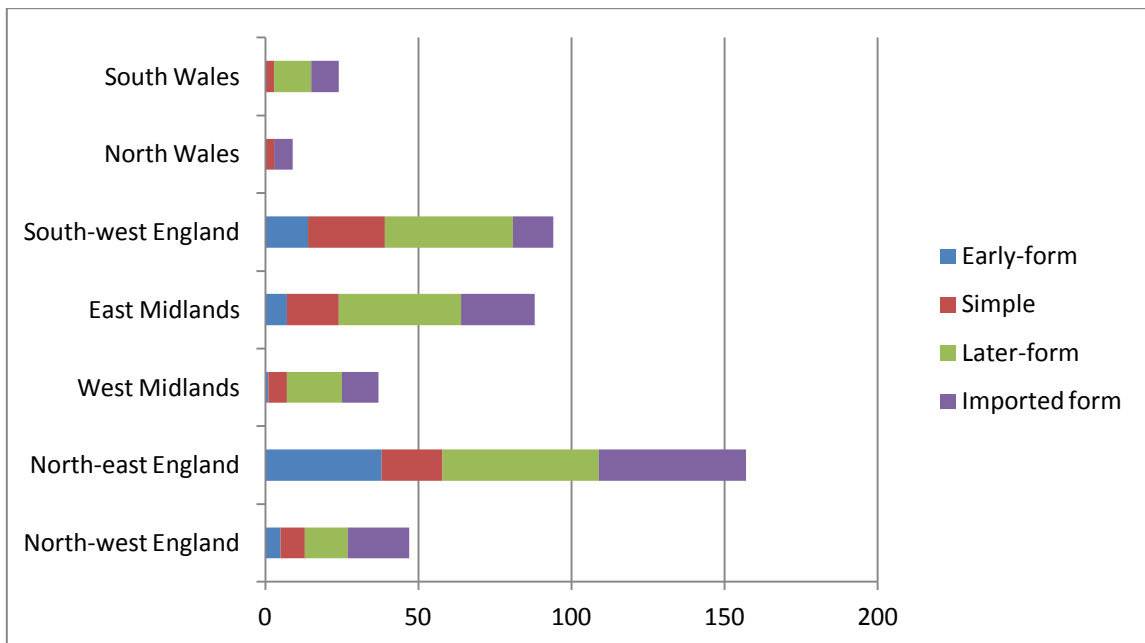
Figure 8.5: Regional distribution of early-, simple, later- and imported-form terrets: total numbers

A number of key points stand out:

- Despite some fluctuations, there is a broadly consistent trend over time in terms of the regions in which terrets are most common. Early-form terrets occur most frequently in North-east England, followed by south-west England, the East Midlands, north-west England and the West Midlands. This pattern holds true for later-form D-shaped terrets (which also occur in small number in South Wales), except that there are slightly more later-form terrets in the West Midlands than north-west England.

- The pattern is broadly similar for imported-form terrets, with one significant difference: these types are more common in the East Midlands and north-west England than in south-west England; and roughly as common in the West Midlands as in south-west England.

- Exceptionally, simple terrets are most common in south-west England. Apart from this fact, the regional distribution of simple terrets follows the general broad pattern.

- This broad pattern at first glance emphasises the traditional view of north-east and south-west England as centres of Iron Age material culture, and of chariotry, but is somewhat subverted when only PAS finds are taken into account (see **7.2.3**). Most significantly, PAS finds reduce the relative dominance of south-west England. The great majority of the terrets recorded from south-west England are from the eastern half of the region, an area with a long history of intense archaeological excavation; terrets of all periods are scarce in Devon and Cornwall.

- The accumulation of later- and imported-form terrets outnumbers early-form (and simple) terrets in each region of the study area. This might indicate an overall increase in terret use over time; however, the question of whether later-form and imported-form terrets were used by the same people and for the same purposes is explored in **8.3** below.

8.1.2, above, looked at the distribution of localised and widespread early- and later-period forms. The most localised imported-form terrets are the plain shanked and the

massive varieties (**8.2.2**); their respective distribution patterns do not, however, echo any pattern seen in other terret types. In contrast with the general observation made for terrets within the British series – that localised varieties often emerge in those areas where comparatively high numbers of terrets are found – plain shanked and massive terrets are concentrated in areas of relatively low terret incidence overall.

Figure 8.6, below, compares the evenness of the distribution of certain early-, later- and imported-form terrets, as well as of simple terrets. It presents the mean regional total for each form, as well as the standard deviation. The terrets represented are a selection of the most common forms.
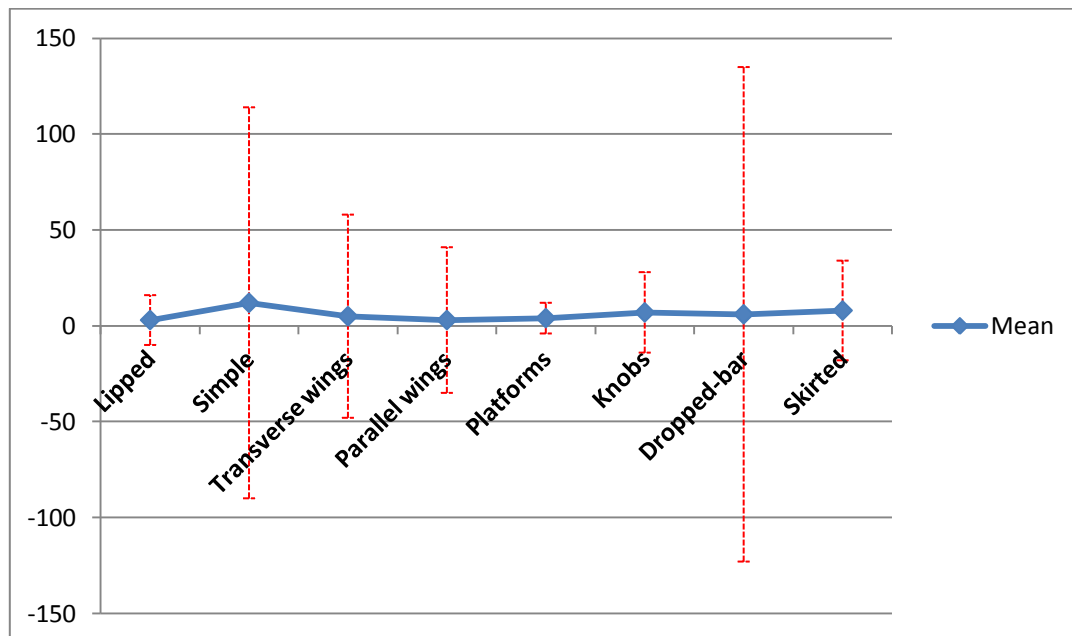
Figure 8.6: Evenness of distribution throughout the study area of common terret types (vertical bars show standard deviation from the mean regional total)

- The difference in distribution between dropped-bar and skirted terrets, despite their concurrency and their almost exactly equal total number, is especially noteworthy. Skirted terrets have a low standard deviation from the mean (26), while for dropped-bar terrets standard deviation is 129.

- Terrets with platforms are the most evenly-distributed form within the study area, with a standard deviation of eight, followed by lipped terrets (standard deviation of 13) and then by terrets with knobs (standard deviation of 21).

- Excluding simple terrets, lipped terrets are the most common early-period form (totalling 20), and terrets with knobs and with platforms the most common varieties of later-period form (totalling 46 and 31 respectively).

- Simple terrets, although very common (totalling 92), and occurring in every region of the study area, have a relatively high standard deviation: 102.

- There is, then, not a necessary relationship between the overall frequency of terret type and the evenness of its distribution.

- Nor is there an apparent trend over time either towards or away from evenness of terret distribution.

This section has identified considerable changes to the character of terret use in Britain from the mid-first century AD. The following section considers these developments in the context of Roman invasion and occupation.

8.3   Terrets and the Roman invasion

8.3.1   *Iron Age and Roman-era depositional contexts*

The depositional contexts of early-, simple, later- and imported-form terrets at different points within the landscape are considered and compared in greater detail in Chapter Nine. Contextual analysis here is restricted to an assessment of dating evidence, in order to gain an impression of the popularity and longevity of different types within the Iron Age and Roman periods.

Table 8.8 records those terrets for which secure or moderately secure depositional dating evidence exists. These terrets are divided between those for which deposition either before or after the arrival of the Roman army locally is "reasonably certain". In addition, the table records those unstratified finds from sites at which activity appears to

have been limited to either before or after the arrival of the Roman army locally. The deposition of unstratified finds from such sites is recorded as "reasonably likely" to reflect the era of the site's use. Unstratified finds from sites with multiple phases of activity are not included.

This analysis does not necessarily tell us about the ethnic or cultural backgrounds of the peoples who were using the terrets: the populations of the Roman-era sites, especially the larger urban settlements, are likely to have been mixed.

	Pre-Roman era (reasonably certain)	Pre-Roman era (reasonably likely)	Roman era (reasonably certain)	Roman era (reasonably likely)
Plain	7			
Studded	16			
Ribbed	9	1		
Lobed		7		
Lipped	10			
Simple	15	4	3	1
TP (transverse wings)	14	5	2	1
TP (parallel wings)			1	
TP (knobs)			6	7
TP (platforms)			1	4
TP (other)	1			1
Crescentic				1
D-shaped (unknown)		1	1	1
Dropped-bar			3	6
Skirted			11	4
Plain shanked			3	1

Table 8.8: Era of deposition, by terret type

The analysis reveals a distinct emphasis on early-form and simple terrets within Iron Age contexts. Unsurprisingly, no imported-form terrets are known from either certain or likely Iron Age contexts; more telling is the low number of later-form D-shaped terrets recovered from Iron Age sites. From the existence of the Stanwick/Melsonby material (Fitts *et al* 1999) and the Silchester moulds (Fulford and Timby 2000, 30-31;

Northover and Palk 2000, 406), it appears possible that terrets with triple projections were being made in at least some parts of Britain in the years immediately before the Roman invasion; however, table 8.8 suggests that their deposition within the study area was uncommon in this period.

14 terrets with transverse wings and one with double-studs ("TP (other)") are from the Stanwick/Melsonby hoard; the five terrets with transverse wings from "likely" Iron Age contexts are all from the Aldbrough St. John assemblage, recovered from the same areas as the probable findspot of the Stanwick/Melsonby hoard. Aside from this exceptional collection, *no* later-form D-shaped terrets have been found from probable pre-Roman contexts. (Simple terrets, although early in origin, have a long life-span as an artefact type and it is not always easy to tell the likely age of a simple terret on stylistic grounds. Camerton, which Jackson (1990) argues was the site of a Roman fort, has yielded an unusual simple terret – SOMR19 – decorated with a slim zig-zag and band of punched dots along its spine, a design which hints at an Iron Age date of manufacture. Camerton has a long history of Iron Age occupation, however, and much of the material it has yielded is unstratified, so the period in which this particular terret was in use remains open to debate.)

Later-form D-shaped terrets appear more frequently in Roman-era contexts. Terrets with knobs are the most common form of the triple-projection variety in Roman-era contexts; here, notably, they out-number dropped-bar terrets, despite the fact that dropped-bar terrets are more common across the study area overall. Skirted terrets are the most common form from Roman-era contexts. Notable also is the absence of early-form terrets from Roman-era contexts. This seems to indicate that older terrets were not being brought to new sites and re-used; rather, in these sites, newly-made terrets were acquired.

8.3.2   *Terrets recovered from Roman military contexts*

Although the presence of certain terrets in Roman-era settlements does not necessarily tell us that they were used by persons of "Roman" ethnic or cultural background, it is nonetheless possible to establish which terret forms were most closely associated with

the *Roman army*. Table 8.9 presents a breakdown, by type, of those terrets recovered from Roman-era contexts which are clearly military: within a Roman fort or camp. This analysis does not include unstratified finds from multi-phase sites.

	Total in study area	Roman-era military site
Simple	92	1
TP (transverse wings)	33	1
TP (parallel wings)	21	1
TP (knobs)	46	2
TP (platforms)	31	2
Dropped-bar	60	1
Skirted	59	5
Plain shanked	4	4

Table 8.9: Terrets from Roman military contexts, by type

Interestingly, of the 60 dropped-bar terrets known from the study area, only one (1.7%) is from a clearly military context. Of the 59 skirted terrets, five (8.5%) are from clearly military contexts. This proportional difference could hint at a preference for skirted over dropped-bar terrets within the Roman army, but the number of artefacts in question is low, and allows only for tentative interpretation. For both skirted and dropped-bar terrets, roughly two thirds of recorded examples from the study area were reported through the PAS. 15 skirted terrets come from excavated contexts compared to eight dropped-bar terrets, a statistic which might support an association between skirted terrets and sites of focused activity or settlement. The geographical distribution of dropped-bar terrets is considerably more restricted – to northern and eastern regions of the study area – than that of skirted terrets (**8.2.2**). The difference in their depositional contexts is another indication that there were distinctions between both the places and, perhaps, the circumstances in which they were used. This distinction is given further emphasis when we note that, in Wales, the significant uptake of imported-form terrets does not extend to the dropped-bar variety.

Table 8.8 shows that 30 D-shaped terrets (i.e. simple and crescentic terrets, terrets with triple projections, and D-shaped (unknown) terrets) have been found on probable

Roman-era sites. Of these, we can see from table 8.9 that seven – or 23% – are from military contexts. This might be taken as evidence that the association between the Roman army and D-shaped terrets is closer than that with imported terret forms (altogether, of 135 dropped-bar, skirted and plain shanked terrets, 10 – 7% – are from clearly military contexts). However, the comparison is not equal. Over 100 D-shaped terrets have been recovered from multi-period sites and from contexts which *could* date to the Roman era but which, being unstratified, cannot be dated with certainty. Many others are stray finds which, again, *could* have been deposited during the Roman era, but this cannot be established. Those D-shaped terrets found in Roman military contexts are likely to count for far less than 23% of all those D-shaped terrets actually in use during the Roman era.

In contrast, if we accept that dropped-bar, skirted, massive and plain shanked terrets are Continental varieties introduced from the early Roman period (see **4.3.4**, **4.7**), then we can be satisfied that most known examples were in use during the Roman era, and that the numbers of those found in military contexts can be translated into relatively accurate percentages. Given this, the small numbers of imported-form terrets to come from military contexts is somewhat surprising. The relationship between imported terret forms and the Roman army requires some clarification.

8.3.3   *Comparative artefacts: the distribution of Roman-introduced artefact types*

In order to shed light on this relationship, the distribution patterns for imported terret forms can be compared with those for other Roman-introduced or Roman-era artefact types, both military and domestic in character: a comparison which allows us to view terrets in the broader social context of Roman military expansion and cultural influence. As with the comparison of terrets with other forms of Iron Age harness-gear (**7.2.3**), this assessment is based on PAS data, in order to compare data sets accumulated under the same conditions and subjected to the same potential biases. It is not intended to be a comprehensive review of the distribution of the artefacts in question, but a basic exercise in comparison.

Imported-form terrets are grouped into one category for the purpose of this review. The other artefacts or groups of artefacts chosen are: harness mounts, strap ends, hand-held weapons (swords, daggers, spears, scabbard/chapes), cosmetic equipment (cosmetic sets, pestles, mortars, spoons) and seal boxes. All are recorded on the PAS database under the "broad period" category of "Roman". As with terrets, this does not necessarily mean that the artefacts were used by peoples of Roman ethnic or cultural identity.
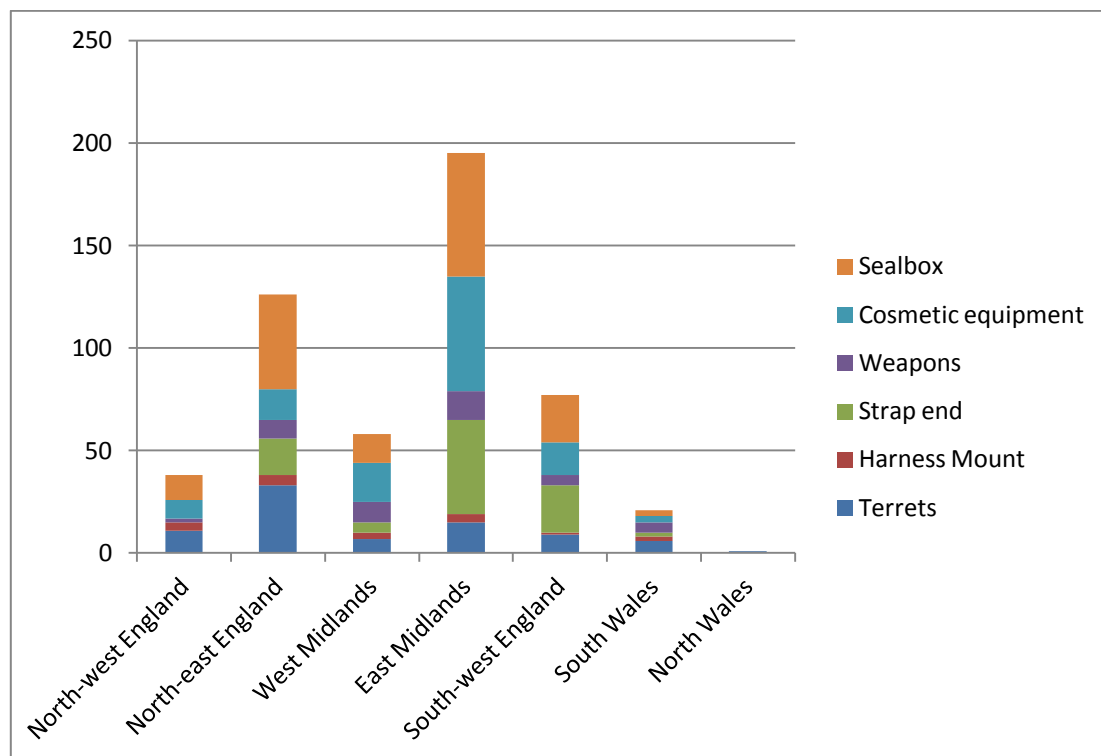
Figure 8.7: Comparative distribution of imported-form terrets and other Roman-era artefacts

- Figure 8.7 shows that the heaviest concentration of imported-form terrets, when the various forms are grouped together, is in north-east England, followed by the East Midlands and north-west England, with smaller numbers in the West Midlands, south-west England and South Wales, and fewest numbers in North Wales.
- A similar distribution pattern to that for terrets is seen in that for harness mounts, although the numbers are smaller.

- This distribution pattern for terrets is not closely echoed by those for strap ends, cosmetic equipment or seal boxes, all of which are most common in the East Midlands. Seal boxes also have a heavy concentration in north-east England, where they in fact outnumber terrets. All three artefact types outnumber terrets in south-west England, and both cosmetic equipment and seal boxes are more common than terrets in the West Midlands.
- The distribution pattern of hand-held weapons echoes more closely that of cosmetic equipment and seal boxes than that of terrets.

This brief review indicates that there is generally little overlap in the distribution of imported-form terrets with artefacts connected to personal ornamentation and grooming, nor with seal boxes, which similarly reflect the expression and protection of individual personal identity. The implication is that, among civilian populations, imported-form terrets are not adopted as part of a general package of Roman material culture and lifestyle. Nor is there a close correlation between the distribution of imported-form terrets and Roman-era weaponry. We have seen that imported-form terrets sometimes appear in Roman military contexts, but not often; the lack of correlation with weaponry is a further indication that imported-form terrets were not of predominantly military use.

The correlation between the distribution of terrets and harness mounts is potentially significant, but must be treated with caution due to the small numbers of mounts (a total of 19 from the study area recorded through the PAS compared to 82 terrets). Like terrets, harness mounts are sometimes but not always associated with the Roman army. As Crummy (2011, 57-58) notes, distinguishing between the kinds of harness-gear used in military and civilian circumstances is difficult, and context does not always clarify the distinction: soldiers moved around Britain and might have been billeted in civilian settlements, and many settled and farmed in their retirement.

8.3.4   *Terrets and the Roman army: conclusions*

The depositional contexts and distribution patterns of imported-form terrets do not point to a clear association with the Roman army, although *some* association is implied by their occasional appearance in clear military contexts. Their introduction during the period of Roman invasion is, however, strongly suggested by their absence from any secure pre-Roman contexts, and by their long earlier currency on the Continent. It is worth bearing in mind that although the Roman army possessed a cavalry, it did not make use of chariots for warfare. Bishop and Coulston's (2006) study of Roman military equipment does not include terrets; as the authors (*ibid.*, vii) point out, the Roman army certainly used carts and wagons, but these vehicles were not necessarily military in design, and fittings are found in both military and civilian contexts "without distinguishing features". We might infer that imported-form terrets were used by and in connection with the Roman army, but not necessarily in overtly military operations. Rather, they are likely to have been used with carts and wagons carrying equipment and goods, some of which may have been directly associated with military logistics, and others which need not have been. This likely relation between later-period terrets and goods transport is considered in greater depth in Chapter Nine.

The relationship between D-shaped terrets and the Roman army is difficult to gauge. As we have seen, D-shaped terrets appear in occasional Roman military contexts, but the proportion of *all* Roman-era D-shaped terrets deposited in these contexts is uncertain. Those few D-shaped terrets found in Roman military contexts might indicate use within the Roman army, but might equally indicate booty, the collection of souvenirs or curios, or selective deposition.

There are some notable differences between the distribution patterns of imported-form and later-form D-shaped terrets, particularly in the distribution of localised varieties, and in the emphasis on the northern part of the study area for dropped-bar terrets (a distribution not seen in any similarly common type of D-shaped terret). The differences must be significant, especially when we consider that many of these artefacts are likely to have been in concurrent use. It seems likely that imported-form and later-form D-shaped terrets tended to be used either by different sections of the populations, or under different circumstances. In particular, the relatively dense distribution of imported-

form terrets in Wales and the West Midlands – areas which since the Middle Iron Age have traditionally yielded very few terrets in comparison with the rest of the study area – indicates new levels of exposure or reception to harness-gear among the populations of these regions, and a marked enthusiasm for imported terret forms. This might reflect changing behaviour in the native British populations, but is likely also to reflect the arrival of the Roman army.

8.4   Hybridity and distinction: the relationship between imported and traditional terret forms

From the mid-first century AD onwards, chariot and harness equipment in Britain becomes increasingly characterised by hybridity. The earliest, more classically Iron Age D-shaped forms fall out of favour: as shown in table 8.8, early-form terret forms – with the exception of simple terrets – never appear in Roman-era contexts. Palk (1992, 329) estimated that bronze harness fittings could have had a working life of at least 50 years; those terrets that were made before the early first century AD would naturally be nearing the end of their working lives by the time of the Roman invasion, but it seems that new terrets do not continue to be made in the studded, ribbed, lobed or lipped styles.

Later-form D-shaped terrets in some cases demonstrate Roman stylistic influence, incorporating elements of Roman technology and design into their manufacture. On the one hand, this emphasises the robust appeal of the D-shaped terret series, and the success with which it endures into the Roman period. The manufacture of these esoteric indigenous artefacts does not tail off immediately after Roman invasion; rather, they continue to be made and used in considerable quantity, and indeed to evolve. On the other hand, the *ways* in which D-shaped terret design evolves during the Iron Age/Roman transition emphasise the adaptability of the series, and the openness of those who made and used D-shaped terrets to the new stylistic possibilities offered by Roman technology and design. The very ability of the D-shaped series to accommodate these new technologies and fashions may, in part, have contributed to the longevity of the class. We saw in **7.3.2** that the constraints within D-shaped terret design appear to have allowed local innovation to flourish within a wider framework of stylistic

convention. Perhaps, in the receptiveness of the D-shaped series to Roman influence, we witness a similar management of diversity: the harnessing of potential challenges to material culture in its established state.

Some later-form D-shaped terrets will have been closely contemporary with some imported-form terrets. The differences between the distribution patterns of later-form and imported-form terrets (**6.2**, Maps 4-6) therefore imply a distinction between these two groups not wholly attributable to chronology. It was argued above that imported-form terrets are likely to have been used with Roman goods wagons and carts, for both military and non-military purposes. If imported forms were broadly associated with the Roman army, and if D-shaped terrets continued to be used principally among British populations, this would be an obvious factor behind differences in their distribution. However, a number of individual artefacts have been found that blend together elements of D-shaped and imported-form terret design. These artefacts, although rare, confirm a relationship between D-shaped and imported-form terrets, and suggest that there was not an absolute or unbreachable distinction between the classes. Those examples recovered from within the study area are reviewed below.

Terret ID	Location	Type	"D-shaped" design elements	Contextual/dating information
DERB05	Melandra Castle, Glossop	Skirted	Three pairs of transverse wings set around the ring	Roman military context, moderately secure. Associated material mostly of Flavian-Trajanic date, some Hadrianic
LANC01	Fylde	Skirted	Three rounded knobs set around the ring	Stray find (rural)
NOTT02	Cotham	Skirted	Three mouldings set around the ring: double-beads or, possibly, worn-down pairs of transverse wings	Stray find (rural)

GLOU12	Cirencester	Skirted	Moulding on apex of the ring: three rounded beads, reminiscent of "fused knobs"	Unstratified, found during excavations at Dyer Court, Cirencester, on the location of the one-time centre of the Roman town
ERID70	Leconfield	Skirted	Three fused knob mouldings set around the ring	Stray find (rural)
NORT18	Towcester	Skirted	Main ring reminiscent in shape of D-shaped crescentic ring. Separated from neck by collar-form terminals. Ring embellished on each face with two rows of small diamond-shaped cells, set with black enamel or niello	Stray find from Towcester (Roman Laetodorum)
SHRP02	Ellesmere	Miscellaneous (enamelled massive)	Broad, flat ring recalls D-shaped crescentic ring. Each face of ring embellished with a row of triangular cells filled with red enamel	Stray find (semi-rural)
NYOR17	Leyburn	Dropped-bar	Band of moulded pseudo-stitching runs in a seam around outside of the ring	Stray find (rural)

Table 8.10: Imported-form terrets showing elements of D-shaped design

Since the completion of the database on 31st December 2013, three more examples of skirted terrets with knobs or similar mouldings set around the ring have been recorded through the PAS. These are listed in Appendix 2 as APDX04 (Shiptonthorpe, East Riding of Yorkshire), APDX06 (Malpas, Cheshire) and APDX19 (Swansea Bay). These are all stray finds not associated with any known archaeological activity; two are from rural locations, and one from offshore. The inclusion of triple projections around the ring can now be recognised as a relatively common modification of the skirted terret design, occurring in roughly 10% of known skirted terrets from within the study area. It is interesting to note that the distribution of skirted terrets with triple projections is largely – although not entirely – confined to the northern part of the study area (**6.2,**

Map 8). This is closer to the general distribution of dropped-bar terrets than of skirted terrets overall.

Terrets with arches are worth highlighting in the context of hybridity. They are at present known only from South and mid-Wales. On top of the ring stands a substantial decorative moulding in the shape of a sweeping archway, with a rounded knob at each end and at its apex. The feature mostly occurs on terrets of D-shaped form – POWY01 (Talgarth), VALE02 (Windmill Farm, Penllyn), VALE09 (St. Donats) and VALE10 (St. Nicholas and Bonvilston) – although the terrets are heavier-set than most examples from within the D-shaped series and, where the attachment bars survive, they are deeper and broader than is usual, as though to balance the heavy weight at the top of the ring. One example is known of an arch embellishing the top of a skirted terret: SWAN03, a stray find from the Swansea Bay area.

One fragment of POWY01 (Talgarth) was found with two incomplete Roman copper-alloy bow brooches, one of Polden Hill type and first-century AD date (National Museum Wales accession no.: NMWPA 2011.123.2), the other of T-shaped type and first- or second-century AD date (NMWPA 2011.123.3). The second fragment was found with a Roman copper-alloy coin, probably a second-century AD sestertius (NMWPA 2011.172.2). The association is in both cases loose and – if genuine – may reflect deposition rather than manufacture, but could indicate second-century usage, and is the only possible dating evidence we currently have for arched terrets.

It seems plausible that the arch is a feature influenced by the design of later-period terret forms. When D-shaped terrets are decorated, this tends either to take the form of triple projections around the outside of the ring, or alteration of the shape of the ring itself (as in the case of lipped or crescentic forms). It is highly unusual for a D-shaped terret to be embellished with a single, dominating feature at the top of the ring, such as the arch. Large, dramatic features like this are more common on skirted terrets such as NEWP07 (Caerwent), the ring of which is set about with extravagant pronged mouldings, of which the largest and most ornate is at the top; and LEIC07 (Goady Marwood), the ring of which is surrounded by projecting trefoil-shaped mouldings. The arch may have had a practical function, perhaps similar to the upwards-curving arms found on many skirted terrets (**5.1.2**): a fixture around which additional binding

could be secured. In the case of VALE09 (St. Donats), apparent wear facets on top of the lower part of the arch might bear this out. Taking all the above evidence together, it appears probable that terrets with arches are a later-period form, in which the decorative (possibly also practical) feature has developed from the Continental terret tradition. In the case of SWAN03 (Swansea Bay), the feature embellishes a skirted terret, but in other cases it is applied to a modified version of the D-shaped terret form. Here is strong evidence for an inter-relation between native and Roman-introduced traditions of terret design and use.

The localisation of arched terrets to South and mid-Wales is especially interesting, giving rare focus to a region which has yielded comparatively few terrets. Terret distribution intensifies in Wales with the introduction of imported forms; the development of the arched feature might be part of the same upsurge in terret use and deposition during and after the period of Roman invasion. As with the terrets listed in table 8.10, the application of the arched feature to both skirted and D-shaped terrets presents evidence for interaction between native and Roman communities, although the prevailing direction of influence is hard to judge.

Five terrets with slots are known from within the study area. These mainly come from the northern half of the study area but one is from Wiltshire:

WILT13 (Cold Kitchen Hill)	Although exceptionally ornate, this fits clearly into the D-shaped terret series: D-shaped tapering ring, three pairs of parallel wings, two collar-form terminals. Saddle-shaped attachment bar, above it a simple horizontal attachment bar, together forming the slot
CHES03 (Middlewich)	Approximately D-shaped tapering ring, notably thick-set, terminals poorly defined. Stubby tang projects from the bottom of the lower bar
WMID02 (Aldridge)	Close in appearance to a simple terret: D-shaped ring, collar-form terminals. Upper bar is particularly thin, and has broken away
LINC32 (South Kesteven)	Fragment. Two collar-form terminals extant with two bars running between them. Protruding from the top of the upper bar is an unusual conical feature consisting of two rounded intersecting triangles
NYOR06 (Aldbrough St. John)	Fragment. Two collar-form terminals connected by two bars, close in appearance to LINC32. Heavily worn; possible that a decorative protrusion similar to that of LINC32 could have crowned the slot

Table 8.11: Terrets with slots

The first four slotted terrets listed above are stray finds, none from a datable context. NYOR06 is from the Aldbrough St. John assemblage, associated with the original Stanwick/Melsonby hoard and likely also to be of late pre-Roman Iron Age date.

Slotted terrets are presented within this section as examples of a "hybrid" terret form on the grounds that, although clearly influenced by the D-shaped series, their slots arguably take some inspiration from the attachment loops separate to the main ring encountered in dropped-bar and skirted terrets, and from the concealed bars found in massive terrets. If NYOR06 was indeed deposited before the arrival of the Roman army in North Yorkshire, this *could* suggest a pre-Roman British genesis for slotted terrets; however, Stanwick was clearly a site of considerable power and influence, which during the Late Iron Age was importing material and technologies from the Roman world (Fitts *et al* 1999). Excavations in the 1990s near the findspot of the Stanwick/Melsonby metalwork hoard revealed an extensive assemblage of imported Roman pottery dating to the period c. AD 55-75/80 (*ibid.*, 14), whilst the use of brass in sets A, B and C of the harness-gear implies exposure to Roman metals or metalworking technology. The slotted terret might conceivably have been made and deposited during

the Late pre-Roman Iron Age, but at the same time demonstrate Roman stylistic influence.

It should be noted here that there are other examples of skirted and dropped-bar terrets from within the study region which have some form of embellishment to the ring – for instance, a crest of small moulded triangles or peaks runs all around the outside of the ring of SYOR01 (Stainforth), a dropped-bar terret. Terrets such as this have not been included in the above review as, unusual though they are, they do not seem to echo the design of any known varieties of the D-shaped series.

*

The way in which terret manufacture and use develops during the Iron Age/Roman transition does not suggest inherent resistance to Roman influence by native British populations, but neither does it demonstrate a whole-hearted adoption of Roman harnessing practices. Rather, it appears that elements of Roman technological expertise and artistic preferences are incorporated into the British tradition of harness design and manufacture, in a fashion that for some time allows the tradition to thrive. From a post-colonial theoretical perspective, the inter-development of Roman and native social and material culture is expected, and presents a challenge to the concept of "Romanisation": to the concept of a social process through which native Britons gradually adopted elements of Roman social and material culture, consequently becoming more Roman themselves. The following section considers what impact this inter-development might have had on chariotry as a practice which, during the Late Iron Age, appears to have been so significant for the formation and expression of certain elements of social identity.

8.5   Integration versus integrity: changes in the British harness-gear tradition

In line with the post-colonial theory introduced in **2.3**, we might see the inter-development of Roman and native material culture as evidence for hybridity, or creolisation, and as proof for the suitability of these models of "heterogeneity" (after Mabardi 2000, 247) within the context of Romano-British society. Before we accept this, however, it is important to clarify some definitions, and address some problems with the post-colonial theoretical model.

The idea of a distinction between "Roman" and "native" peoples is difficult in itself. As Barrett (1997, 59) has argued, the Roman Empire itself can be seen not as a "single reality", but as an ideological construct "used to hold together and give a feeling of consistency to numerous experiences". If "Rome" is a construct then so is the "Roman" and, by implication, so is the "native", defined in opposition. Of course, in a situation of military invasion, there is a real distinction between the people marching in to a particular place and the people who were already present; in the case of the Roman invasion of Britain the invaders were marching under Roman insignia, and their operations were organised by a leadership based in Rome. These individuals were members of the Roman army, but this does not make them inherently Roman. From Barrett's perspective, the degree to which any individual in the invading population was Roman can be measured only by their pursuit and embodiment of a socially constructed ideal.

Carr (2006, 14) argues that, for those generations of people who were alive during the period of Roman invasion, a notion of "us" and "them" is hard to deny, but that what precisely was meant by "us" and "them" would have depended on perspective. "Us" and "them" is not, after all, a simple dichotomy, nor is it a scale or spectrum with extremes of Roman or native identity at either end. During the period of Roman invasion and conquest, individuals will have regarded other individuals as "like" and "other" in any number of ways, for any number of reasons, not all of which will have been directly connected to Roman subjugation. Aspects of identity such as ethnic or tribal background, gender, age and class all feed into perceptions of similarity and difference between individuals, and into the circulation of social currents and tensions. Moreover, even if it is sometimes convenient to talk about "Roman" individuals and

communities – when by "Roman" we mean those people who came to Britain as part of or directly in association with the Roman army – the longer a colonial power remains in occupation, the harder it can become to recognise even this tentative distinction between "colonial" and "native". Social interaction can result in the breaking down of differences in language and behaviour as well as of differences in material culture; sexual relationships between people of "native" and "colonial" background can result in children, whether legitimate or illegitimate, whose cultural and ethnic identities may be ambiguous. Children born to two parents of "native" background might grow up identifying themselves wholly or partly as citizens of the occupying power, while children born to two parents of "colonial" background might consider themselves "native" to the environment in which they were born and raised.

McClintock (1994, 254-255) argues that, although the *concept* of post-colonialism has sought to offer a pluralistic alternative to modern western preoccupations with dichotomies (such as colonised/coloniser), and with progress through linear time, the *term* "post-colonialism" in fact implies that colonialism was a singular and defining moment in time, now past, and to which the present stands in opposition. A related criticism can be made of the application of post-colonial theory, and post-colonial concepts such as hybridity and creolité, to Roman Britain. While we attempt to move away from the theory of "Romanisation", and from the idea that Roman colonialism was an experience imposed by imperial powers on passive subjects, we continue to emphasise Roman invasion and conquest as the dominant narrative of the period: as the context in which all human experiences were played out. We see creativity and change in the material record as evidence for hybridity, for the expression and interplay of multiple agencies, but nonetheless the very notion of "hybridity" suggests a whole fused from distinct and limited elements. To speak of "hybrid" artefacts or "creolised" behaviours is to locate individuals at the convergence of distinct historical and cultural courses, and can arguably be seen as a return to processualism. The infinite and unique accumulations of experience and chance that shape individual creativity and decision-making are obscured.

Individual lives and characters are, of course, affected to an extent by broader circumstances and by chains of cause and effect, but the difficulty with taking a broad context-based theoretical approach to the interpretation of past society is that past

individuals did not exist in just one context. If, during the Roman invasion of Britain, a British fighter is killed in battle by a Roman fighter, we might reasonably view this event in the context of Roman invasion: both at the local, immediate and material level of Roman military incursion into that particular region, and in the more remote, ideological context of Roman imperial ambition. But the fact that both fighters met at that precise intersection of space and time can also be seen as the most recent result of, in each of their lives, a tremendously complex and only partly sequential mass of decisions and chances.

As appealing as post-colonial theory may be – as an alternative to received, imperialist-centred perspectives of history – it does not go far enough to break down prevailing narratives. What a broad context-based approach *can* do, nevertheless, is help us to make sense of trends. If many people died whilst participating in the hypothetical battle between Romans and Britons mentioned above, then while it might be simplistic to say that all of these people died because of the Roman invasion, we can recognise that the Roman invasion of Britain was a contributing factor to each of their deaths. This they all have in common, however diverse the details of their lives might have been in other respects. We do not need to try to remove the broad context completely from our analysis, but we need to be aware that it is only one layer of human experience among many, and its impact is not consistently felt.

One aspect of life in Britain on which the impact of Roman invasion *does* appear reasonably widespread is that of chariotry: an arena of relatively formalised cultural engagement and communication (**7.3.2**). We have seen that, across the study area, the influence of Roman design and technology on terret manufacture and use became quite pervasive in the decades after initial invasion, involving not only the introduction of new terret types and new techniques of manufacture, but the creation of terrets in which basic elements of the native and Continental terret traditions combine. We could describe these artefacts as "hybrid" or "creole", but we need to be aware that the creole society is not simply one in which different cultures meet and mix: it is one in which its constituent cultures are entangled in a process of "grappling" (Hall 2004, 29) for power and control. According to Hall (*ibid.*), creolisation always involves inequality, and issues of domination and resistance: it is this inherent conflict that gives the creole society its character.

From this perspective, the artefacts described in **8.4** – those which appear to challenge the traditional constraints of the D-shaped terret series by ornamenting skirted, dropped-bar and massive terrets with wings, knobs, collar-form terminals and other classic features of D-shaped terret design – can be interpreted as culturally aggressive artefacts. They are not the same as those D-shaped terrets that have incorporated elements of Roman technology and design: this co-option of Roman style into the native terret tradition allowed the potential challenge or competition of Roman material culture to be contained, and the D-shaped terret series to evolve – to take advantage of new opportunities for colour and patterning – without loosening the basic constraints of the form. Something different, it can be argued, is happening with the co-option of elements of native style into imported forms: the conventions of the D-shaped series, so closely adhered to through Britain since at least the third century BC, are now being broken down. Traditional terret components are being removed from their stylistic contexts and applied to unfamiliar artefacts, and so the system of codified communication and expression contained within Iron Age harness-gear is undermined.

Whether these artefacts were made by people working principally within Roman or British communities, we cannot be sure. Most are stray finds unassociated with any known archaeological activity. The terrets may have been made by metalworkers from within the Roman population who sought to "exoticise" their own harness-gear, or perhaps they were last-ditch attempts by metal-workers from within the British tradition to preserve elements of design that were disappearing as D-shaped terrets began to fall out of use. Whatever the exact circumstances of their manufacture, these terrets clearly emerged from an environment in which long-established cultural and material conventions were changing.

It is not clear how long after Roman invasion war-chariots and their associated harness-gear remained in use. Tacitus (*Agricola* 35-37) records the use of chariots by British forces fighting under Calgacus in AD 85, but the accuracy of his account is not certain, and we at any rate have no later references. Although D-shaped terrets could have been used by vehicles other than chariots, their popularity seems nonetheless to have been waning by the end of the first century AD. Table 8.12 shows that within the study area, excluding those from Saxon graves at Fairford and Butler's Field (Gloucestershire), no

D-shaped terrets have been recovered from depositional contexts securely dated to later than 100 AD, and only five from moderately secure contexts: this is 1.3% of all 372 D-shaped terrets. In contrast, two imported-form terrets have been recovered from depositional contexts securely dated to later than 100 AD, and six from moderately secure contexts: together 6% of all 135 imported-form terrets. This might suggest longer continuity of use for imported-form terrets, although the small number of terrets in question means that interpretation must remain tentative.

	Secure	Moderately secure
Simple		1
TP (platforms)		1
TP (knobs)		2
D-shaped (unknown)		1
Skirted	2	1
Dropped-bar		4
Plain shanked		1

Table 8.12: Terrets from depositional contexts dated – securely or moderately securely – to after 100 AD

In **5.1.1**, Cunliffe's (1995) theory of a "Gussage-Bury Hill tradition" of metal-working was discussed. Cunliffe's proposed connection between Gussage All Saints and Bury Hill needs now to be adjusted back to the second century BC in light of new radiocarbon dating evidence, but his model of a society structured around a warrior élite, in which the chariot functioned as a "symbol of prestige" (*ibid.*, 37), is still viable. Certainly, the large quantity of harness-gear recovered from Iron Age Britain demonstrates the prominence of the horse, and of activities relating to the horse and chariot, within society. The decline of chariotry and the eventual decline in production of traditional harness equipment might, then, have had considerable repercussions for British communities: an economic impact on the networks of trade and exchange previously supported by the production and consumption of harness-gear, and perhaps a less tangible – but no less affecting – impact on the self-image of those communities and individuals for whom chariotry was previously a significant part of their identity. The loss of the chariot as a "symbol of prestige", and the loss of an arena in which the young men of Cunliffe's chariot-driving élite could demonstrate their "warrior prowess" (Cunliffe 2008, 361) could have been an emasculating experience. It may not

be too far-fetched to compare this social shift to the decline of heavy manufacturing in the industrial regions of Britain during the second half of the twentieth century: both in terms of economic upheaval, and of the redundancy of the expertise of many in the community.

The Roman conquest did, however, bring with it opportunities for new networks of trade and communication to be established. The production and consumption of harness-gear in Iron Age Britain allowed social bonds to be forged and maintained through the exchange of both raw materials and finished products (**7.3.2**). There is a sense in which this remains the case even as the character of terret design changes throughout the Roman period. As we saw in Chapter Four, Roman harness equipment is adapted from the La Tène tradition, which itself echoes certain very early British terrets: the Bronze Age dropped-bar examples from Parc-y-Meirch, for instance. The introduction of dropped-bar, skirted, massive and plain shanked forms to Britain by the Roman army draws Britain once again into the Continental tradition of harness-gear: the British harness tradition is opened again to La Tène influences, and a limited British influence is felt on the Continent and further afield. The crescentic terrets with concealed bar from Eauze (Michon 1925) and Faiyum (Norman 1904) are close in appearance to one from London (Spratling 1972, 53; London Corporation 1908, 9, no.98, pl.v no.2)), and similar also to WILT23 (Palk 1992, no.180), which was discovered during excavation of the Romano-British settlement at Wanborough. A fragment of crescentic terret is known from the Claudio-Neronian *erdkastell* at Hofheim (Ritterling 1913, 175 no.15; taf.XIII no.37; Spratling 1972, no.67), while a unique terret from Le Buissonnet combines a four-leaf skirt (the front face of which is embellished with a recessed palmette) with a crescentic enamelled ring, bell-form terminals, and triangular triple projections each of which is tipped with a circular hoop (Henry 1933, fig.22.3). The date of the Le Buissonet terret is not known, but the extraordinary design clearly makes use of British, Continental La Tène and Roman style alike.

Ideas for terret design, and probably terrets themselves, are again passing back and forth between Britain and Europe during this period, as well as between Roman and native populations within Britain. However, this belated integration of British and Continental harness-gear comes at the cost of the integrity of the British D-shaped series, which does not appear to survive much later than the end of the first century AD.

By this point chariotry is in decline, and although harness-gear continues to be necessary for purposes of transport, its capacity as a medium for the expression of social identities seems to have changed. We cannot assume that the use of imported terret forms indicates Roman identity, but we can reasonably identify imported forms with vehicular activity unrelated to chariotry.

CHAPTER NINE
Rites of passage: terrets in the landscape

Terrets are by their nature associated with wheeled vehicles, whether with chariots, carts or wagons. Wheeled vehicles themselves exist primarily as modes of travel and transport, allowing humans to move themselves and their belongings through the landscape. This chapter addresses the relationship between terrets of all forms and the physical environment, beginning with a discussion of the different ways in which humans experience the landscape and their positions within it. The chapter considers how people in Late Iron Age Britain might have experienced vehicular travel in various circumstances, then addresses the relationship between terret distribution and Roman roads, and physical terrain. The chapter also looks at the deliberate deposition of terrets into different contexts in the landscape, and what this might tell us about terrets – and harness-gear more broadly – as a medium through which people formalised interaction with their environment.

9.1   Humans in the landscape: theoretical approaches

Dominant approaches to landscape archaeology have, in recent decades, moved away from the idea of the landscape as a natural backdrop to human culture, and towards the idea of landscape as a human concept. Rather than drawing a distinction between the natural world and the human cultural or social activity carried out within it, recent theoretical positions within landscape archaeology (e.g. Knapp and Ashmore 1999) have increasingly emphasised a distinction between the natural world and the "landscape". The natural world – the physical, material universe – exists of its own accord: it simply *is*, with or without the presence of humans. On the other hand, the "landscape" can be understood as the human interpretation and conceptual remodelling of the land; as Hirsch (1995, 2) points out, the origin of the word is the Dutch *landschap*, meaning a painting of a natural scene. Landscape is seen not as a material reality but a cultural construct, albeit one that is embedded in the physical world.

The difficulty with this approach is that it can be too anthropocentric. Humans are *of* the world, and structured both physically and mentally by their surroundings. Recent studies in neural plasticity have shown that, within the brain's visual cortex, neurons constantly reorganise themselves as they learn to recognise and classify features in the environment, clustering in response to different visual stimuli. Over time, the brain gives increased significance to recurring features in its "visual lexicon" (Anderson 2012, 198-199); these features gain emotional associations as, through the release of the pleasurable neurotransmitter dopamine, the brain "rewards" identification. These associations will be similar in people who inhabit the same place, resulting in common subconscious responses to the local environment, which might play a part in the formation of certain cultural perspectives and concerns. We can understand this notion more simply in the receptivity of human imagination; writing about British prehistoric landscapes, Tilley (2010, 33) notes: "Chalk, pebbles, sandstone and granite afforded different sensory possibilities for the creation of cosmologies and the structuring of social relationships". As Robert Macfarlane (2012, 77) argues in *The Old Ways*, his account of journeying along ancient paths, "Felt pressure, sensed texture and perceived space can work upon the body and so too upon the mind, altering the textures and inclinations of thought". Our *concept* of our environment can be seen itself as a *product* of our environment: human perceptions and conceptions of the landscape are inextricably intertwined.

9.1.1 *Passage through the land: chariot warfare*

Landscapes used and altered by humans, according to Tilley (2010, 27), consist of two basic elements: places, and the paths between them. Travel is rarely completely arbitrary, but usually embarked upon with either some physical destination or some purpose in mind; linking the points of departure and arrival is the route, which constitutes at once the spatial and temporal elements of the journey. What kinds of journey, involving wheeled vehicles, might people have made in Late Iron Age and Early Roman Britain? How might these journeys have affected perception and formulation of the landscape for Iron Age peoples? How might this, in turn, have affected the significances attached to wheeled vehicles and their constituent parts? It is helpful here to take an approach grounded in phenomenology, which Tilley (1994, 12)

describes as involving "the understanding and description of things as they are experienced by a subject". To do this requires some imaginative engagement with the past.

Historical sources and the archaeological record provide us with evidence for two main uses of chariots in Iron Age Britain: as battle vehicles and as funerary vehicles. As battle vehicles, chariots seem partly designed to awe and impress: in his account of the battle of Mons Graupius, Tacitus describes British charioteers attempting to intimidate their adversaries by "making a din as they rode back and forth", before the fighting began (*Agricola* 35). Chariots also had serious military uses. Describing the Roman invasion of Kent in 54 BC, Caesar (*The Gallic War* 5:15-19) says that the British forces fought the Romans using their chariots, sometimes attacking close to the Roman camps and sometimes while the Romans were on the march. The charioteers were organised into small groups far from the site of combat, and took turns to relieve each other. Eventually the British abandoned open warfare in order to conceal themselves in "intricate and woody places" (*ibid.*). As the Romans scattered through the countryside, the charioteers would emerge from the woods and attack with the advantage of surprise.

In Caesar's account, we see three different kinds of journey involved in the context of chariot warfare: journeys to and from the site of battle, a series of forays taking place over relatively long distances, and a passage of stealthier, undercover movement through woodland and other forms of enclosed terrain. The latter sort of travel, especially, would have required a close knowledge of the landscape or, at least, an ability to read the landscape carefully and to obtain familiarity with it quickly. Great skill with both chariot and horse would also have been needed to manoeuvre quietly through awkward country. Rather differently, the second kind of journey described – the battle raids – would have required the ability to control horse and chariot at comparatively high speed, perhaps over ground already churned up, and perhaps littered with discarded weapons and dead or injured fighters and animals. These would have been heavily physical journeys, involving strength and dexterity, but would also have been intense emotional and psychological experiences as the charioteers immersed themselves, at great personal risk, in the violence of battle. It would have been essential that the charioteers who formed each small attacking party trusted each other's courage and ability; if, as Caesar (*ibid.*, 4:33) describes, each chariot contained two riders, one

to guide the horse and the other to fight, then the relationship between each chariot's two occupants would have been vitally important.

Caesar claims that, after the dismissal of "the greater part" of Cassivellaunus's forces, "only" four thousand charioteers were left to meet the Romans in Kent (*ibid*., 5:15-19); if this is accurate, many of the charioteers in Cassivellaunus's army must have travelled some distance to reach the battle. For those who survived the fighting, the journey home might have been less nerve-wracking than either the forays or the skulking, but would still be likely to have been physically and emotionally fraught. Charioteers may have travelled home with others from their own region, as they may have travelled to the battle in the first place, but almost inevitably there would be some individuals missing. Chariots may have been damaged in combat, charioteers and horses injured and exhausted. Victorious fighters may nonetheless have travelled home in an atmosphere of triumph, if tempered to an extent by physical pain or by sadness for those who were lost.

It is possible that the emotional and psychological associations of warfare would have remained attached to chariots even if they were used under other circumstances. The very physicality of chariot travel may have embedded this association, each jolt of the chariot in motion instilling the experience into the charioteer's body. We can imagine that if, even after some time had passed since combat, a charioteer drove out on a purely peaceful expedition, the physical sensations that accompanied the drive may well have reminded him or her of the emotions connected to chariot warfare. Whatever else chariots may have been used for in Late Iron Age society, it may have been difficult for people to separate them from an association with war and violence.

9.1.2 *Passage through the land: chariots in ritual and ceremony*

Chariots were not only used for transport and warfare in Late Iron Age society, but played a role in ritual and ceremony. Most prominent in the archaeological record is the rite of chariot burial, which in Britain echoes a longer and more widespread Continental tradition dating from the Early La Tène period, which itself is preceded by

a tradition of burial with four-wheeled wagons that dates back into the Hallstatt era (see Pare 1992). An overview of chariot burials from Britain is given here.

In Britain, as we have seen, the chariot burial rite was mostly confined to East Yorkshire and to a period of around *70 years* from a start date of between *255-195 cal BC* (*95% probability*) (Jay *et al* 2012). 15 certain or possible chariot burials are known from East Yorkshire, four from North Yorkshire (from Hunmanby, Pexton Moor, Cawthorn Camps and Seamer), one from West Yorkshire (Ferry Fryston) and one earlier example from Edinburgh (Newbridge). Those from Seamer, Huggate and Hornsea (the latter two both in East Yorkshire) should be regarded as dubious: no physical evidence survives for any of them, and the written records are vague, especially in the cases of Seamer and Hornsea (see Greenwell 1906; Mortimer 1905, 358; Stead 1965, 93-94; Rutter and Duke 1958, 62).

Beyond these 21 well-known examples, Greenwell (1906) mentions three further alleged chariot burials: from Hunsbury (Northamptonshire), Ham Hill (Somerset) and Ballindaloch (Moray). In fact, the report to which Greenwell refers of chariot wheel fragments, weapons and human bones found in a "gulley" at Ham Hill posits that the material is the detritus of an ancient battle (Hoare 1827). The reference to Hunsbury seems more plausible: seven terrets are known from the hillfort, five of bronze or iron or a mixture of the two, and two of bone (NORT09-12, 14-16). Four are currently held at Northampton Museum, but the whereabouts of the others are unknown. According to Baker (1891, 71), who wrote the first substantial account of the archaeology of Hunsbury, the skeleton of a man and a horse were found interred together in the centre of the hillfort along with a bridle bit, part of a wheel tyre, and "other pieces of metal, now in the Museum". This discovery was made between 1880 and 1885, when the interior of the hillfort was dug up for the extraction of ironstone ore. The historical significance of the site was known, and the workmen were rewarded for any "relics" they handed in. Excavation of the hillfort was in no way archaeological, so we cannot be certain that the burial and other pieces of metal were found in direct association. Nor do we know what has happened to the skeletal remains from the alleged chariot burial, but Baker's report is carefully written and thorough, and there seems no particular reason to doubt the account given by the diggers.

The burial from Ballindalloch is described in some detail in Wilson's (1851, 456-457) *Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*. In 1829 a labourer, digging on a moor around a mile from the town, is said to have discovered about a foot beneath the surface of the ground a number of bones, including a human skeleton and the skull and bones of a horse, along with various "rings", pieces of rusted iron and a bridle bit, and some fragments of oak. These details come from a letter sent by a J. Stewart to the Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; Stewart claims to have spoken to the labourer who discovered the interment, and to have taken the bridle bit, some bronze rings "which may have belonged to [the] harness" and some of the wood into his possession (*ibid.*). The letter includes an illustration of a shield boss also found in the grave (*ibid.*, 457). Although according to Greenwell (1906) no material evidence of the burial survives, the letter – with its illustration – is held in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and again there seems no particular reason to doubt the account within it.

Mortimer (1905, 361) mentions two further Scottish chariot burials from Aberdeenshire, referenced in Thurnam (1871, 474). The burial from Towie does not in fact seem to have included a chariot, although it did include two massive terrets (Innes 1865, 341), which are listed in MacGregor (1976, nos.125 and 126) and held in the collection of the National Museums of Scotland (accession nos.: FA 30 and FA 31). Thurnam (1871, 474) says that, as at Towie, the alleged inhumation from "Inverury" was within a cairn, and that the "bronze ring" is held by the British Museum. This is probably the massive terret from Crichie, Inverurie, held at the British Museum (accession no.: 1856,1104.6) and listed in MacGregor (1976, no.116). It is described by MacGregor as having been found "under a large stone" in 1867, in association with a bronze spear ferrule (*ibid.*, no.177) and seven shale pin heads, but MacGregor's account makes no reference to any human remains, or chariot.

A chariot burial is said to have been recovered in the 1920s or early 1930s from a limestone quarry and cement works at Hibaldstow, North Lincolnshire (Loughlin and Miller 1979, 200). The finds, which included wheel rims, were displayed for a while in the cement works, but it is not known what then happened to them (*ibid.*). Without material evidence or more detailed contemporary accounts, we cannot be sure of the age

or nature of the burial; although quite plausibly an example of the Iron Age tradition, this is not certain.

Cunliffe (1991, 504-505) briefly describes three possible chariot burials from southern Britain, all discovered in the nineteenth or early twentieth century. An extended inhumation at Mildenhall, Suffolk contained two ponies, but no evidence for a chariot or fittings, although the likelihood that important details went unrecorded is "extremely high" (*ibid.*). A burial at Newnham Croft, Cambridgeshire contained what was initially thought to be a head-harness for a pony (*ibid.*), but has more recently been interpreted as a human head-dress; there is nothing else in the grave to mark it out as a chariot burial (Whimster 1981, 227-228; Stead 1995, 83). The remains of a horse, along with a two-link snaffle bit of Iron Age type and two rings (one of which might possibly be a terret: APDX23), were found underneath the parish church of St. George at Fordington, Dorset, but although a chariot burial is suggested (RCHME 1970, 574, pl.230) there is again no positive evidence for a chariot (Cunliffe 1991, 504-505).

In 1984 Stead (1985, 11-12) carried out detailed geophysical surveys of various sites around the area of the Yorkshire Iron Age cemeteries, and concluded that chariot burials produce a distinctive pattern of readings on the magnometer. On this basis, he identified a likely chariot burial at Slingsby, North Yorkshire, but this has not yet been excavated (Giles 2012, 191).

In summary, it would seem that there is inadequate evidence for chariot burial at Towie, Crichie, Ham Hill, Hibaldstow, Mildenhall, Newnham Croft, Fordington or (as yet) Slingsby, but that the cases of Hunsbury and Ballindalloch provide us with reasonable evidence for the extension of the chariot burial rite beyond East and North Yorkshire. This should not be an especially controversial finding: it would be more surprising if the chariot burial from Newbridge (Carter *et al* 2010) was isolated in Scotland. It is a shame that no fittings survive to allow the Ballindalloch burial to be dated, but the terrets from Hunsbury are of types broadly contemporary with those from the chariot burials of East Yorkshire. The Newbridge burial is the only example currently known with certainty to be as early as the fifth century BC, but from the above review it seems likely that during the Mid-Late Iron Age – and perhaps earlier – the practice of chariot burial was more widespread within Britain than has traditionally been thought.

*

A number of the chariot burials known from Britain include grave goods of a martial nature: male chariot burial "3", from Wetwang Slack, included an iron sword and scabbard, the probable remains of a shield, and two bronze rings probably for use on a sword-belt (Dent 1985). Chariot burial "1", also from Wetwang Slack, contained a similar array of goods plus seven iron spear-heads (*ibid.*), while grave "K5", from Kirkburn, included an iron mail coat (Stead 1991). As suggested above, it is likely that there was a strong association between chariots and warfare in Late Iron Age society, and it seems probable that this association fed into the chariot burial rite, whether or not the buried individuals were charioteers or warriors in life. Chariot equipment is also sometimes found deposited with martial equipment in hoards and apparent votive deposits (**9.3.1**). Where analysis of wear patterns has proved possible, the terrets found within most British chariot burials show evidence of reasonably heavy use – as at Garton Slack, for instance – with the only known exception being the terrets from Ferry Fryston. Even in the case of Ferry Fryston, the two outermost terrets show some sign of wear, although Boyle *et al* (2007, 139) suggest that this must have occurred over a short period, possibly even on the way to the grave.

The typical inclusion of old, worn chariot fittings in funerary contexts indicates a continuity between the chariot's previous uses and its final outing: the vehicles in which bodies were transported to the graves may have been vehicles from which, previously, battles were fought. The metaphor of life as a journey towards death is an obvious one, and one into which the chariot as funerary vehicle easily fits. But it is also possible to invert the metaphor and, while at once appreciating the symbolism of a former war chariot now deployed as a hearse or coffin, to consider the dramatic effect of charioteers riding to battle in *future* hearses or coffins now deployed as war vehicles. This particular symbolism must have enhanced the impression of charioteers as fearless fighters, fully aware that death, whether distant or imminent, was certain.

Metaphorical journeys aside, the literal journey of the deceased to the grave also needs to be considered. All of the currently-known chariot burials from East and North Yorkshire are located within about 30 kilometres of the eastern seaboard, with the

majority clustered on the eastern side of the Yorkshire Wolds. The three most northerly from the region – those at Cawthorn Camps and Pexton Moor, and the dubious case from Seamer – lie on the southern edge of the North York Moors, separated from the other burials by the Vale of Pickering and by the River Derwent which flows along its floor. By and large, chariot burials are not isolated: those from Danes Graves, Arras and Kirkburn are all positioned within larger Iron Age barrow cemeteries, and at Wetwang Slack and Garton Slack the chariot burials are close to groups of graves, although not immediately surrounded (Dent 2010, 72). Altogether, the Iron Age cemeteries of East Yorkshire comprise at least several hundred graves.

The cemeteries appear to have served nearby settlements, of which one of the largest so far to have been excavated in the region is at Wetwang Slack, where over 100 prehistoric building structures have been identified, mainly round-houses (*ibid.*, 48). Here, during the Earlier Iron Age, open settlement extended around an apparently earlier trackway which ran between Wetwang and Garton along the valley floor (Stoertz 1997, 69, fig.36.). Most of the 450 or so square barrows found in this valley are aligned to the trackway, running close to its northern edge (*ibid.*; Dent 2010, 130). The cemetery seems to have been contemporary with the Iron Age settlement: a pit from one excavated house was found to contain an "S" type brooch and ring-headed pins directly paralleled by grave-goods from the cemetery (Halkon 2013, 93; Dent 2010, 51). However, by the latest phase of the Iron Age the open settlement had been replaced by nucleated settlement marked out by rectilinear enclosures, about a kilometre north of the track; this activity cuts into the cemetery, indicating that by this stage the cemetery was no longer in use (Dent 1983, 39).

If the journey to the grave began in the local village, then it would not have been long or particularly arduous, and could have been made at least partially by road. It would have been public, as the funeral procession moved along the trackway and past the surrounding houses. Perhaps people from the local community took part in the procession – the short distance and relative ease of the route lends itself to this possibility – and we can imagine that those not directly participating might have stood along the roadside or in their doorways, watching as it went past. Alternatively, it might be the case that the bodies of some of those buried in chariots were brought from further afield – some could even have been killed in battle – and it may be that the track

on the floor of Wetwang Slack was only the last phase of a longer journey. All the same, this last phase would have been enacted in public, even if other stages had involved travel through more remote areas and, perhaps, greater logistical difficulty. The alleged chariot burial from Hunsbury, located inside the hillfort, suggests an even more public arena: an interment in the heart of the settlement itself.

The chariot burial at Ferry Fryston, West Yorkshire, was not included in an Iron Age cemetery, but rather in an area of Bronze Age burial which appears to have been unused in the intervening centuries (Boyle *et al* 2007, 157). A square, ditched enclosure stood 31 metres to the south-west of the chariot burial; this building may have been contemporary with the grave, but can only be said with certainty to be pre-Medieval in date (*ibid.*, 150). Otherwise, the Ferry Fryston burial appears to have been relatively isolated in the Iron Age landscape although, as Boyle *et al* (*ibid.*, 156) point out, with its differently-sized wheels and weak terrets, the chariot could probably not have borne a very long journey. It was, however, located close to a "potential" east-to-west route along the River Aire (the modern course of which lies 800 metres to the east) to the Humber and the North Sea, and a north-to-south route along the Magnesian Limestone Ridge (*ibid.*, 157), either of which could have provided reasonable access.

Similarly, the chariot burial from Newbridge was located close to a crossing point on the River Almond (Carter *et al* 2010, 31), and less than four miles south of Queensferry, the major crossing point of the Firth of Forth; the alleged burial at Ballindalloch is close to the confluence of the Rivers Spey and Avon. Again, the Newbridge grave lies in an area of historic burials, where Bronze Age and Neolithic funerary remains have been discovered (*ibid.*, 33). Carter *et al* (*ibid.*, 35-36) suggest, on the basis of a cluster of ring-ditches of uncertain date found about 150 metres to the north-west of the grave, and their parallels in the East Yorkshire cemeteries, that the Newbridge chariot burial should not necessarily be regarded as isolated, but "potentially as a component of a small Iron Age cemetery". That no chariot burial has yet been discovered in a truly remote location may be an indicator of the performative aspect of the chariot burial rite, a rite described by Giles (2012, 206-213) as "staging death", and as involving "choreography", "dramatic tension", "elaborate play" and "[improvisation] in real time". Theatre requires an audience, and the audience needs to be able to reach the stage.

The chariot at Ferry Fryston was buried with its wheels standing upright in the grave, as were those from Newbridge, Hunmanby, and two of those from North Yorkshire (Pexton Moor and Cawthorn Camps). In most of the East Yorkshire examples the wheels were removed before the chariot was placed in the grave (see Halkon 2013, table 2). Boyle *et al* (2007, 130) question whether, in the case of Ferry Fryston, the chariot was brought to the graveside intact or was carried there in pieces, and assembled at the site; we might similarly ask whether those chariots buried with wheels detached were driven to the site and disassembled there, or carried to the site already dismantled. The chariot box does not survive at Ferry Fryston, but is suggested by a round-ended stain on which the body lay; Boyle *et al* (*ibid.*, 130, 144) note that this platform does not appear to lie flush with the top of the axle, indicating either that it had been separated from the chassis or that it may not have been the chariot box at all, but a separate litter or bier. Both the visual impact and the experience of participating in a funeral rite in which the deceased person was driven to the graveside in a chariot would have been quite different from a rite in which the deceased was carried on a bier, with the various pieces of a chariot carried separately. Yet another alternative scenario is suggested by Boyle *et al* (2007, 145): that, on the basis of an absence of strap unions and the presence of only one bridle bit, it was pulled to the grave by humans rather than horses. The presence of the bridle bit, however, does seem to count against this interpretation, as does the dorsal yoke, which cannot have been easily worn on human shoulders. Two horse teeth were recovered from the chariot burial at Hunmanby (Greenwell 1906, 311); half of the burial had been lost over the edge of the quarry, so it is unknown whether a whole horse or horses were buried along with the grave's human occupant, but as Greenwell (*ibid.*) remarks, horses are certainly represented there. The remains of a horse are also said to have been recovered from Seamer, although there is no physical evidence of this. In the King's Barrow at Arras, an entire horse or pony was buried under each wheel of the chariot (*ibid.*). Horse bones are also said to have been found in the alleged chariot burials of Hunsbury (Baker 1891) and Ballindalloch (Wilson 1851, 456).

Any imaginative reconstruction of the means by which the bodies were brought to the graves must be speculative and, just as there is variation in the way in which chariot and components are arranged in the grave, so there is likely to have been variation in the

nature of the funeral rite. However, there is likely to be some importance in the fact that – where situations are recorded – all currently-known British chariot burials are aligned in the grave with the wheels to the south and the pole pointing (roughly) towards the north (Boyle *et al* 2007, 125). This indicates a preoccupation within the chariot burial rite with *direction* which may, as the chariot is a vehicle, imply a journey. We could infer a cosmological significance: perhaps the location of an otherworld in the north, or the necessity of a northward journey to reach an afterlife. Interpretations of past belief can only ever be very tentative, but this uniform north-south alignment does cause us to consider that it is not only body and chariot that are of fundamental importance within the chariot burial rite. Place seems also to matter: the religious or symbolic aspects to the rite, whatever they may have been, are grounded in geography, the spiritual world mapped in the physical.

Chariots may have played a role in other ceremonial activities. Giles (2012, 204-213) has posited that the vehicle could have acted as a platform or stage for oration or debate, and has drawn attention to its theatrical qualities. Discussing the prehistoric henge-like enclosure at Navan (Emain Macha), County Armagh, Cooney (1999, 58) notes the spatial relationship between Loughnashade – a natural lake from which Iron Age material has been recovered, which lies to the north-east of Navan – with the King's Stables, an artificially-created lake found to contain Late Bronze Age material, which lies to the north-east of Haughey's Fort trivallate enclosure, itself west-north-west of Navan. This arrangement might suggest a pathway from major enclosures to sites where formal deposition was made; procession and movement along pathways such as these, Cooney argues, should be understood in the context of "control and division of the surrounding landscape" (*ibid.*). The act of procession might have emphasised a social contrast between those who were "free to move across the land to carry out ceremonial deposition and warfare" with those who were "bound to it" (*ibid.*).

Cooney does not mention chariots, but his joint focus on deposition and warfare is interesting: the votive deposition of martial equipment is a well-recognised phenomenon, but in this specific landscape he views the two spheres of activity connected in spatial terms. Cooney (*ibid.*) argues that control of land and territory was, whether actually or symbolically, linked to military defence and aggression, represented in the landscape both by metalwork deposits and by heavily defended sites such as

Haughey's Fort, as well as by the ceremonial activity implied at sites such as Navan. Procession between defended enclosures, ritual enclosures and sites of formal deposition might have allowed the existing conceptual bond between warfare and deposition to be expressed through physical movement across space: across, in fact, the very space that engagement in both warfare and deposition was intended to protect. These two related activities – warfare and votive deposition – are in Iron Age Britain closely associated with chariotry and chariot equipment. It is plausible that in Britain, chariots – with their visual and aural properties exploited to dramatic effect – may have featured in similar ceremonies. Beyond display of prestige and military might, the act of procession across the land could also have been understood as an assertion of territorial control.

9.1.3 *Chariots, carts and wagons: everyday transport*

We do not know the extent to which chariots were used for every-day purposes of travel and transport, or whether their use was reserved for warfare and special ceremonial occasions. The archaeological record does not provide much guidance. There is no obvious practical reason why chariots could not have been used day-to-day: describing the "field trials" of the reconstructed Wetwang chariot, Loades (2001, 32-33) observes that, on flat grassland terrain with a rutted, bumpy ground surface, the ride was smooth and comfortable at walk, trot, canter and gallop alike, thanks largely to the strap and arch suspension system. Travel by chariot would clearly have had an advantage over travel on foot, in terms of speed, but might not have had any particular advantage over travel on horseback beyond the opportunity to showcase the vehicle itself. Larger carts or wagons might have been more suitable for the transport of goods or of passengers, where neither the speed nor the agility of the vehicle was particularly important.

It was argued in Chapter Eight that imported-form terrets – massive, dropped-bar, skirted and plain shanked – are likely to have been used by the Roman army with carts and wagons carrying goods and equipment, which may or may not have been for overtly military use. Although the known numbers of terrets are too small to draw firm conclusions, imported-form terrets may have remained in use for longer than D-shaped terrets, as a greater proportion of the former have been found in depositional contexts

dated to later than the first century AD (**8.5**). One of the latest terrets to be recorded on the database, where deposition is concerned, is a skirted example from Wilderspool (WARR02), recovered from a late third-century AD context and tellingly described in the excavation report as a "wagon terret" (Rogers and Garner 2007, 39). It is possible that imported-form terrets were adopted by some civilians within the "native" population: although the use of two-wheeled chariots died out under Roman rule, other forms of wheeled vehicle would have continued to be necessary.

As Boyle *et al* (2007, 145) note, Iron Age chariots were part of a tradition of "robust, workaday farm carts and haulage devices". Although it is tempting to imagine that the more impressive terrets were used with chariots, and the simpler varieties with "workaday" vehicles, the archaeological record does not bear this out. Ferry Fryston provides a case in point: despite their inclusion in what might be considered the special occasion of a chariot burial, the terrets are plain and, to modern eyes at least, unspectacular. Heavier agricultural vehicles would often have been drawn by oxen, which would not have needed reins (Foster 1995, 59); and although horses might sometimes have been employed to draw relatively simple carts or carriages, any vehicle in Iron Age society might nonetheless have been expensive to acquire and maintain, and considered equally worthy of adorning with glamorous accoutrements.

Regardless of the vehicle used, journeys within and between communities must often have been routine in themselves. Both villagers and town-dwellers would have needed to travel between their homes and their places of work; soldiers would have marched between forts and garrisons; people from Roman and native communities alike would have travelled varying distances herding livestock, attending markets, paying social visits, taking part in festivities and so on. Those journeys that were regularly made between consistent points would have become manifested in the landscape as routes, perhaps semi-formalised through the clearing of paths and the location of way-markers. During the Roman era, the introduction of an extensive system of metalled roads allowed certain routes to be permanently marked into the landscape. The relationship between terrets, roads and other routes is considered in the following section.

9.2   Roads and routes

9.2.1   *Roads and route-ways in Late Iron Age and Roman Britain*

A good deal is known of the network of roads, both major and minor, that crossed Britain during the Roman period. Jones and Mattingly (1990, 175-177) divide the Roman-era roads into three categories: those built by the state, usually originally for military purposes; those built by local government bodies (*coloniae* or *civitates*); and those built by smaller communities or individuals. Roads in the first two categories tended to be well-constructed, with stone foundations and gravel surfaces, while those in the third category were less official and were often unmetalled trackways which, in some cases at least, followed the course of earlier prehistoric ridgeways (as may have some of the more formalised routes). The extent of these pre-Roman routes is less well-understood. Jones and Mattingly (*ibid.*, map 5:23) mark several on their map of main Roman roads; one long road wends from Avebury east and north through East Anglia to the Wash, while another can be seen to reach from a point near Dover across southern England as far as the Salisbury Plain. The first of these is known in its southern stretch as the Great Ridgeway, and joins with the Icknield Way north-east of the Thames crossing at Goring Gap (Hindle 1993, 20-23); the second is known in its eastern section as the Pilgrims' Way, and in its western section as the Harrow Way (Bright 2010, 3).

Aside from the major ridgeways such as those described above, most routes and tracks used in Iron Age Britain existed on a much smaller, more local scale. These kinds of route took the form of simple pathways between settlements and fields, worn into the ground through continued use, and occasionally visible today as crop marks but more often destroyed or obscured through later activity (Taylor 1979, 22). The relationship between terret distribution and local, unmarked Iron Age paths is likely to be difficult to establish. The remainder of this section will instead focus primarily on the relationship between terrets and major Roman roads, on the grounds that the distribution of material in comparison with these clearly-defined routes can be more reliably identified.

9.2.2   *The relationship between terret distribution and roads*

In their 1976 study of spatial analysis in archaeology, Hodder and Orton found a correlation between Iron Age inscribed coins and Roman roads in central and southern England, revealed through quantitative recording of coin distribution. The land area within the region was divided into "zones", ordered at a series of distances from the nearest Roman road. Within these zones, the cumulative frequency of coin finds was compared with the cumulative density of the land area (*ibid.*, 226-229; fig.7.1). This approach made it possible to see proportionally how many coins were found along the lines of Roman roads, at a range of distances, and therefore to assess the strength of the relationship between road and coin distribution.

The present study takes a simplified approach to the distribution of terrets in relation to Roman roads. Here, terrets have been recorded as "roadside" when they were found within 250 metres of the course of a Roman road. Analysis of the location of terrets in the landscape differs from analysis of the location of artefacts in a particular site, or from cluster analysis, where material has often remained *in situ* and where the precise spatial relationship between artefacts is of vital importance. Terrets lost or deposited in open country can easily be disturbed by slippage or by agricultural activity, while the courses of roads themselves can wander over time. The distance of 250 metres is intended to encompass variables of this sort, although any distance is inevitably arbitrary.

Using the Ordnance Survey (2011) map of Roman Britain, it was possible to calculate approximately how much of the land covered by the present project study area falls within 250 metres of a Roman road. The tables below express this "roadside" land as a percentage of the total study area, and allow this to be compared with the percentage of "roadside" terrets.

Total area of study region (km²)	99373
Land within 250m of a Roman road (km²) (approx.)	2964
Roadside land as % of total area (approx.)	3%

Table 9.1a: Land within 250m of a Roman road, in the study area

Total terrets from study area	596
Terrets within 250m of a Roman road	93
Roadside terrets as % of total	16%

Table 9.1b: Terrets within 250m of a Roman road, in the study area

Although only roughly 3% of the study area falls within 250 metres of a certain or probable Roman road, we can see from this analysis that 16% of known terrets were recovered from land of this nature. This appears to show an immediate correlation between terret deposition and Roman roads, although it may be more accurate to say that the correlation is between terret *finds* and Roman roads. Hodder and Orton's study was carried out before metal-detecting was as popular as it is today. According to research by Katherine Robbins (2012, 92), although 68% of metal detectorists surveyed denied that they targeted particular kinds of site, disproportionately high numbers of PAS finds are recorded close to modern roads (*ibid.*, 147). This is in part because detectorists tend to "drive to their sites and start detecting once they leave their vehicle" (*ibid.*, 147). Many modern roads, of course, follow historic routes. Where respondents to Robbins's survey did express a preference for certain types of site, route-ways were the third most popular, identified by 14% of respondents (*ibid.*, 92-93).

Only two early-form terrets were found within 250 metres of a Roman road: DORS04, a lipped terret from Badbury Rings Iron Age hillfort, and LINC17 (North Kesteven), a ribbed terret recorded through the PAS. Two Roman roads meet at Badbury Rings; the terret's exact findspot is not known, but the context may well pre-date the roads. The general lack of early-period terrets alongside Roman roads is perhaps surprising when we take into account the fact that Roman roads were sometimes laid along pre-existing routes: recent excavation of a four-kilometre stretch of Roman road at Sharpstone Hill, Shropshire, revealed multiple phases to the road's construction, the earliest of which – a

brushwood foundation – was radiocarbon-dated to *200-5 BC*, at *95% probability* (Malim and Hayes 2011). The Great Ridgeway, which in combination with the Icknield Way runs for some 310 kilometres within the study area, has yielded only two early-period terrets from along its length, both of which – WILT18 and WILT22 – are ribbed terrets found within Barbury Castle Iron Age hillfort[5].

40 later-form terrets were found within 250 metres of a Roman road:

TP: Transverse wings	5
TP: Parallel wings	17
TP: Knobs	8
TP: Platforms	4
TP: Other	4
Crescentic	2

Table 9.2: Later-form terrets found close to a Roman road, by type

In addition to those in table 9.2, four D-shaped terrets of unknown type are known from within 250 metres of a Roman road, none of which can be reliably dated on either contextual or stylistic grounds. Also from within 250 metres of a Roman road are a further 18 simple terrets for which either no secure dating evidence exists, or where dating evidence is not specific enough for the terret to be allocated either to the "early" or "later" period.

The presence of D-shaped terrets alongside Roman roads does not, however, indicate that vehicles with "native"-style fittings were necessarily being driven along these roads in great number, or that large quantities of these artefacts were lost *en route*. Of the 62 D-shaped terrets recovered from roadside locations, two are from hillforts and 23 are from Roman-era military or settlement sites. 24 are from the Polden Hills hoard. Two are from the large but dispersed assemblage from Sudbrooke, Lincolnshire (PAS: LIN-F0FAB4), which although declared "not Treasure" under the Treasure Act on the grounds that there was insufficient evidence to relate the material together (Treasure

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[5] The Great Ridgeway was in Iron Age times not a formal path, but a vaguely-defined route in some places up to a mile wide. With this in mind, land falling within 1.5 kilometres, or slightly less than a mile, of its modern-day route has been counted as "along its length".

case no.: 2006 T187), can nevertheless arguably be read as evidence that the locus was in some way distinct. These are all locations that, although roadside, do not in themselves imply motion or passage through the land: they might be described as "static".

When all of these terrets from static locations are taken out of the equation, we find that only 11 D-shaped terrets come from roadside locations unassociated with any known archaeological activity. Whilst some of these 11 terrets might well have been lost during use, they might equally relate to archaeological activity that has not yet been recognised. If we perform the same analysis on imported-form terrets, we find that of the 26 terrets recovered from alongside Roman roads (see table 9.3, below), 21 are from Roman or Romano-British military or settlement sites, and one is from the Sudbrooke assemblage. Only four are unassociated with known archaeological activity.

Dropped-bar	8
Skirted	15
Plain shanked	3

Table 9.3: Imported-form terrets found close to a Roman road, by type

The loss of terrets during travel is not as common as the numbers of "roadside" terrets at first seem to imply. The numbers of later- and imported-form terrets associated with Roman roads – and not with other known archaeological activity – are surprisingly small, and do not create an impression of heavy vehicular traffic along these route-ways. Imported-form terrets are likely to have been used with carts and wagons carrying goods and equipment, by the Roman army and perhaps by civilians as well (**8.3.4**). The relatively low number of imported-form terrets found along Roman roads without other archaeological associations might suggest that utilitarian wagons and carts were used more typically over short distances in urban or military settings. From table 8.8 we can see that 28 imported-form terrets are found in Roman-era settlements or military sites: seven times the number found along apparently open roads.

Of those "roadside" terrets not connected to any known archaeological activity, D-shaped terrets outnumber imported-form terrets by almost three to one; however, this could be an indication of trends in depositional practices, not necessarily road-use. The deliberate deposition of artefacts at liminal points in the landscape is a well-recognised phenomenon, discussed further in the following section. This might sometimes have occurred along route-ways (Colin Haselgrove pers. comm., conversation 11th September 2014); it is quite possible that roads might have been perceived as liminal in their capacity to facilitate transition from one place to another. Clearly, it is not only in the use of roads that we see evidence for travel through the landscape in Iron Age and Roman Britain: people's movement through the land is marked physically by other kinds of activity.

9.3   Terrets in the landscape

9.3.1 *Ritual deposition*

Patterns of lengthy occupation and land-use suggest, in at least some parts of Iron Age Britain, an engagement between people and land that continued through several generations, and which may well have been felt as a sense of rootedness both social and environmental. The lake villages at Meare, for instance, were probably founded during the second century BC, and survived into the Roman era when they seem to have been abandoned due to rising water levels (Coles 1987, 247-248). A univallate hillfort was constructed during the Early Iron Age at Maiden Castle, and expanded throughout the following centuries until occupation declined towards the end of the first century AD (Sharples 1991, 48).

Wait (1985, 265-266) makes an association between the concept of sacral leadership, territory, and political stability. Control of the land was, in Iron Age Britain as in any society, undoubtedly related to control of the social order; where the social order is legitimised by religious principle, regulation of the land might also be effected through a framework of religious ideology. Altering the physical environment through the deliberate deposition of artefacts can be understood as a means of claiming human control over the landscape, of imbuing it with particular meaning. At the same time,

where practices of environmental alteration are motivated by deeply-held religious belief, these behaviours can be understood as expressions of devotion or submission: human agency is employed in order to acknowledge subservience to higher powers. Journeys through the landscape might have required navigation of both physical terrain and spiritual order.

With this in mind, the votive deposition of metalwork, bone and other material in watery and boggy locations (as at La Tène and at Llyn Cerrig Bach), as well as in ritual pits (as at Bury Hill and Burrough Hill), can be understood as an attempt to communicate with the gods through certain liminal points in the landscape: those places described by Wait (*ibid*., 3) as "a threshold between the ordinary profane world and the supernatural world". As artefacts closely associated with travel across the land, it is interesting to consider the deposition of terrets in this light. 92 terrets from within the study area appear at least reasonably likely to have been deliberately deposited in hoards or ritual assemblages, and are presented in Appendix 10. The 92 terrets represent 26 separate findspots (25 if the Stanwick/Melsonby and Aldbrough St. John assemblages are treated as one).

Pits

We can see from Appendix 10 that only early-form and simple terrets were deposited in pits. The simple terret from Sigwells comes from a Late Iron Age context (Randall 2006), and although secure dating evidence has not yet been obtained for the assemblage from Burrough Hill, the inclusion of lipped terrets makes an Iron Age date probable. The moulds from pit 209 at Gussage (for simple, ribbed and lipped terrets) date probably from the second century BC (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 271-276). Rubbish-filled pits are a common feature in hillforts from central Britain (from the south coast as far north as Yorkshire) throughout the Early and Middle Iron Age (Cunliffe 1992, 80; Hill 1995), and are generally thought to have been dug as grain storage pits in the first instance. 1700 pits were recorded at Danebury hillfort, Hampshire; of these, roughly 40% were found to contain regularised layers of fill, which Cunliffe (1992, 73-77) describes as "special deposits". These deposits consist of material such as human and animal bone, carbonised wood and grain, quern stones,

loomweights, iron tools, and vehicle and harness fittings (*ibid.*, fig.5), and could be interspersed with layers of silting and erosion indicating periods of inactivity. Sporadic but apparently systematic phases of deposition are interpreted by Cunliffe as evidence of a rite in which propitiatory offerings to chthonic deities were made into pits which had ceased to be used for storage, in acknowledgment of the protection given to the grain whilst it was entrusted to the deities' underground world (*ibid.*, 77-79). Hill (1995, 114) argues that we cannot quite so neatly allocate this behaviour to a preoccupation with "fertility", but rather with the "reproduction and ordering" of an amalgam of domestic, craft and farming concerns that can collectively be understood as "culture" or "cultivation".

As well as three lipped terrets and one simple terret, the pit from inside Burrough Hill hillfort contained linchpins, mini terrets, strap fittings, an iron implement resembling a handled scraper, a reaping hook, a knife, rivets and other fittings (Taylor *et al* 2013). The simple terret was not directly associated with the lipped terrets, but higher up the pit in a later fill (John Thomas pers. comm., e-mail 17th December 2014). Non-metal finds from the same pit included a bone pin, an antler terminal, a shale or jet bead, and a clay loomweight. These artefacts present a mixture of harness equipment, agricultural and domestic tools and personal ornaments although, as Hill (1995, 108) points out, it is not necessarily useful in societies like those of Iron Age Britain to distinguish between spheres of domesticity, agriculture and other work. The terret at Sigwells came from the uppermost layer of a pit which, in its earlier layers, included a whetstone fragment, a brooch, and possible kiln furniture or loomweight remains (Randall 2006). As well as terret moulds, pit 209 from Gussage included – in different layers – moulds for other items of harness-gear. The three lobed terrets from Hagbourne Hill are said to have been associated with horse bits, a bronze ring-headed pin, a socketed axe, a looped spear-head and some coins, the artefacts a mixture of Bronze and Iron Age in date. Some doubt has been expressed about whether all of these artefacts are from the same pit, or were dispersed across the site (Hingley 2009, 147, 150, 164), but the original account of the find states clearly that all were found together (King 1812).

Beyond the study area, we again see terrets deposited in pits with other items of horse-harness. At Bury Hill, two pairs of pits were excavated 30 metres apart, each pair comprising a main pit and an inter-cutting secondary pit. Each main pit included a base

layer with charred timbers, items of harness-gear and other metal items, a middle section with few finds, and an upper section with more horse-gear. Between them, the two main pits produced five simple terrets, all with decorative crests or Mill Plain-style embellishment; one of the secondary pits produced a lipped terret. Garrow and Gosden (2012, 283-284) suggest that the material deposited between the two main pits represents a single complete set of chariot equipment, and raise the possibility that the burnt timbers could be the remains of a chariot. The finds listed by Cunliffe and Poole (2000) do not seem to bear this out, however, including as they do six terrets (all copper-alloy), three bridle bits (one copper-alloy and two iron) and three linchpins (one copper-alloy and two iron), all non-matching.

Watery or wetland contexts

The simple terrets from Llyn Cerrig Bach were almost certainly deposited in the pre-Roman Iron Age (**1.3**); however, the votive deposition of terrets into watery contexts appears to continue into the Roman era, if we accept the Seven Sisters hoard as ritual in nature. Davies and Spratling (1976, 139) argued against a votive interpretation of Seven Sisters on the grounds that the stream from which the hoard was recovered is too slight (**1.3**). It might be countered that a marshy site run through by flowing water would be inappropriate for the concealment of a hoard which was intended for later recovery; both arguments are speculative, but a votive interpretation is at least plausible. This assemblage includes two terrets with triple projections (knobs) and a skirted example. The latest date we have for the deliberate deposition of terrets within the study area into a wetland or watery context is provided by the possible association of a simple terret from Silverdale, Lancashire, with a hoard of Roman coins dating from between 32/31 BC and AD 152-154, or possibly as late as AD 161 (Treasure case no.: 2010 T616; Dot Boughton pers. comm., e-mail 17th December 2014), along with several other items of harness-gear. This site lies between the foot of Warton Crag and the marshy edge of Warton Sands in Morecambe Bay.

The association we saw at Burrough Hill and Hagbourne Hill between terrets, other harness-gear and agricultural and domestic implements is echoed at Llyn Cerrig Bach, where the items recovered include nave hoops, tyre fragments, bridle bits and other

pieces of harness- or chariot-gear, as well as a sickle, a reaping-hook, tongs, and cauldron fragments (Macdonald 2007, appendix 1). The items recovered from the Seven Sisters assemblage – which, like that from Llyn Cerrig Bach, is almost certainly incomplete – consist mainly of horse-gear, along with some personal military ornaments and metal-working debris, and tankard handles (Davis and Gwilt 2008, appendix 1). A terret with platforms was found in possible – but not certain – association with brooches, a knife or key handle and probable Roman furniture fittings at Penllyn, Vale of Glamorgan (Evan Chapman pers. comm., conversation 21st May 2012). In watery contexts we also see an affiliation between harness-gear and martial equipment: the Llyn Cerrig Bach assemblage includes swords, spear-heads and a dagger (Macdonald 2007, appendix 1) while the personal ornaments and much of the horse-gear from Seven Sisters is of Roman military character (Davis and Gwilt 2008, appendix 1). At Netheravon, Wiltshire, a terret of unrecorded type was deposited with a strap union and a helmet-stud (Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum collection records: accession no.: SBYWM:1991.63). Weaponry is not generally so common in pit deposits but does sometimes occur: a martial flavour is brought to the material from Hagbourne Hill by the probable inclusion of the spear-head (King 1812; Hingley 2009).

Unlike pit deposits containing terrets, which occur mostly on or close to Iron Age settlements, terrets are deposited into watery contexts within different kinds of wider environment, sometimes at apparently remote locations. The deposit at Llyn Cerrig Bach, for example, was made into a marshy lake on a flat plain, whereas that at Seven Sisters was made into a stream on the side of a valley in a mountainous landscape. That at Netheravon was made close to a riverbank in gently hilly country. Votive deposits made into watery locations *can* be in association with occupied sites – a Late Iron Age sword was found, for instance, in the waterlogged entrance-ditch at Stanwick (Haselgrove forthcoming) but, within the study area, none of the terrets deposited in watery contexts are associated with known settlements.

Dryland hoards

Ritual elements may also have been present in the deposition of artefacts in dryland hoards. Some dryland hoards will consist of valuables buried for safe-keeping, with the

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intention of later recovery, but it is not always easy to distinguish between practical and votive deposits. Moreover, if chthonic gods featured in some Iron Age belief systems, then there might have been a spiritual aspect to even the most pragmatic concealment of goods in the earth, if the goods were considered to have been placed in the temporary trust of otherwordly forces. Just as single objects were deposited into watery contexts for ritual purposes, it is probable that single artefacts were similarly deposited in dryland sites, but it can be difficult to discern between deposits of this kind and casual loss. This difficulty is arguably greater than in the case of watery contexts, often perceived as liminal in character. Like hoards, single metalwork finds increase considerably in the Late Iron Age and Roman period (*ibid.*), but this might relate as much to increase in the production and use of metal artefacts as it does to an intensification of ritual deposition. The deliberate breaking, burning or damage of artefacts is a common feature of ritual deposition (**2.1.2**), and can possibly be seen in single terrets such as SOMR07 (Bawdrip), a stray rural find with evidence of burning, and NEWP07 (Caerwent), an excavated find from a house in the Roman settlement of Venta Silurum, in which one leaf of the skirt has been bent down over the loop. However, where no contextual evidence exists to support the possibility of ritual behaviour, it is generally not possible to establish whether damage was deliberately inflicted, or in some cases whether or not the damage occurred in antiquity. For these reasons, no single dryland deposits are listed in Appendix 10.

According to the account of the discovery of the Polden Hills hoard (Harford 1803), the material was found in a round hole "about the size of a bushel" (roughly 36 litres), the base of which was formed from a layer of burnt clay or brick reduced to cinder. This could arguably be counted as a "pit deposit", but would seem to be of a different character from those found on Iron Age settlements: it is located in the countryside unconnected with any known settlement, and was probably buried around the mid-first century AD, by which point the practice of "special deposits" had largely died out (Cunliffe 1992, 80). It is therefore treated here as a dryland hoard, but the burnt layer hints at a ritual aspect.

Those deposits listed in Appendix 10 as dryland hoards include both later- and imported-form terrets. The simple terrets from the Polden Hills hoard, although probably deposited around the mid-first century AD, could well be pre-Roman in terms

of manufacture: the seam of pseudo-stitching along the spines of SOMR32, 35 and 36 recalls that of ANGL03 from Llyn Cerrig Bach, almost certainly deposited in the pre-Roman era. An association with other harness-gear, agricultural and domestic implements and personal ornamentation is again seen with those terrets deposited in dryland hoards, notably at Pentyrch (Cardiff), Little Orme (Conwy), Fremington Hagg (North Yorkshire; but direct association between the terrets and other items in this assemblage is not certain – see Webster 1971), the Polden Hills hoard (Somerset), Stanwick/Melsonby and Aldbrough St. John (North Yorkshire), and Bilbrough (North Yorkshire). Again, in dryland hoards, we also see some association between harness-gear and martial equipment. The Polden Hills hoard includes a chape and a shield boss, and there are several chainmail fragments and fittings amongst the Stanwick/Melsonby and Aldbrough St. John material (MacGregor 1976; Farley *et al* 2012). Some dryland hoards within the study area are made into low-lying land – e.g. those at Skellingthorpe (Lincolnshire) and Bilbrough – but most are made at relatively high locations, a point developed below.

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Within the broader context of Iron Age hoarding practices, it has been observed that deposits consisting mainly of iron artefacts tend to be made in settlements, or in wet locations, while most finds of decorated metalwork are made in dryland locations out in the landscape (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 162-163). This, Garrow and Gosden (*ibid.*) suggest, relates to a distinction between the kinds of "social and political discourse" in which items of "Celtic art" and iron objects "participated". The distinction does not, however, hold particularly true for the deposition of terrets within the study area. Whilst those buried in a pit at Burrough Hill are indeed iron, those from Hagbourne Hill are bronze (with iron bars). The moulds deposited in pit 209 at Gussage All Saints were for terrets cast in bronze, and the major hoard of decorated copper-alloy horse-gear from Stanwick/Melsonby was recovered from a site for which there is evidence for Late Iron Age occupation. Decorated bronze terrets were deposited into watery contexts at Llyn Cerrig Bach and Seven Sisters.

Where terrets are concerned, trends in depositional behaviour seem to relate to chronological factors more than to distinctions between the *kinds* of terret being deposited. It is obvious that early-form terrets – of which iron components are a relatively common feature (**4.6**) – will dominate pit deposits, as pit deposits are a phenomenon in general decline by the middle of the first century BC (Cunliffe 1992, 80). (The high frequency of terrets with iron components found in chariot burials is similarly self-evident.) More widely, deposition of artefacts into both wet and dryland (non-pit) contexts continues into the first century AD, and the range of artefacts included in hoards becomes greater (Haselgrove forthcoming); where terrets are concerned, we see this diversity reflected in the inclusion of both D-shaped and imported-form terrets in the Seven Sisters hoard, and in the association of a D-shaped terret with Roman cavalry equipment at Silverdale. The Fremington Hagg hoard, which includes three D-shaped terrets, consists mainly of Roman-style cavalry equipment, and is datable – on the basis of both British and Continental parallels for various items in the hoard – to around AD 60-70 (Webster 1971). There is no obvious pattern in the *types* of terret being deposited into particular contexts within the landscape, or in association with particular other kinds of material.

Much has been made of the symbolic association in Iron Age Britain between the horse and between fertility cults and the notion of sacral leadership or governance. Some weight is added to this association by the relatively regular inclusion of harness-equipment in special pit deposits which, as we have seen (Hill 1995, 112-114), can be interpreted as representing the conceptual inter-relation of farming, craft and industry and "the home". That weaponry and fine metalwork are comparatively rare inclusions has led Hill (*ibid.*, 65-66, 74, 114) to suggest that pit deposits emphasise "culture", in opposition to "wild worlds", in which he includes "individuals" and their "discourses". Although this thesis has argued against the separation of *culture* and *nature* in Iron Age Britain (**5.2.1**), the distinction Hill raises between *social* and *individual* is intriguing, and can perhaps help us make sense of the problems in associating terrets with personal identity (**7.1**), and the rarity of terrets in burials (**9.3.3**). If harness-gear in Iron Age Britain was conceived as essentially social rather than individual, this would tie in with the conclusion ultimately reached in **5.2.1**: that the artistic character of terrets indicates a cultural preoccupation with physical, spiritual and – we might add – *social* fluidity and interaction. The association posited by Creighton (2000), Cunliffe (1995) and

others between "the horse" and rulers or élites can perhaps be viewed in the context of social governance and political stability, rather than individual leadership or status.

One way in which harness-gear differs from other kinds of material frequently encountered in ritual deposits is its specific association with motion. Harness-gear represents a particular means of asserting control over the land, through travel and movement: it is through movement that the landscape is experienced and territories are claimed, and it is through the restriction of movement that the integrity of territories is maintained. **7.3.2** explored the idea of chariotry as a partially formalised activity through which social relations and identities could be communicated; it is, of course, only through movement across different territories that this communication can take place, and that different peoples can work out their positions in the wider social world. *Motion* is the defining condition of a chariot, but terrets found at ritual sites have been deliberately placed at a point of stasis, an action which we can choose to read as loaded with a particular finality. On the other hand, if we accept that the ritual deposition of artefacts is a means by which Iron Age peoples sought to influence the fertility and security of their land and community, then the terrets deposited in this way are, perhaps, continuing to perform as artefacts through which control over land and territory can be effected. Terrets deposited in this way can, in fact, be said to remain in motion, as they enter into and perpetuate cycles of cosmological, agricultural and social rejuvenation.

9.3.2 *Terrain*

Throughout the period under study, terrets are largely restricted to areas of lower ground, especially terrets of early form. Later-form terrets are mainly found on lower ground but occasionally at the edge of highland areas such as the Pennines and the Brecon Beacons, and while imported-form terrets are also mainly found on lowland areas, odd examples do appear on higher ground: in Snowdonia, the Yorkshire Dales, the Peak District and the Brecon Beacons. Massive terrets have a particularly close correlation with highland areas, both within the study area (five of the 12 massive terrets recorded within the study area are from hilly or upland locations) and beyond its boundaries: massive terrets occur in some number in upland Aberdeenshire (**6.2**, Map 11).

That is not to say that terrets are predominantly found in *flat* areas: much of lowland Britain is characterised by undulating or gently hilly land. As Loades (2001, 32-33) reports in his account of the reconstruction of the Wetwang chariot, the chariot performs well on rough surfaces over flat or slightly inclining ground. Terrets are also found in terrain that appears distinctly unsuitable for chariotry: at the Somerset lake villages of Glastonbury and Meare (SOMR03-06, 09-10, 12-15 and 48), for example, and on marshy ground in the Lincolnshire fens (e.g. LINC12, 13, 15 and 22). Coles and Minnitt (1995, 188-189) state categorically that the swampy lake surrounding Glastonbury Lake Village would have been unsuitable for wheeled transport, and that "the idea of driving chariots through the west entrance needs to be abandoned". Copper alloy-working was carried out at Glastonbury, evidenced by crucible fragments and by analysis of associated amorphous non-ferrous dross (droplets spilled from the metal during casting) (Mortimer 1995, 140-141); it is possible that terrets were made on the site for distribution elsewhere, but the bone terret from Glastonbury (SOMR06) shows distinct wear inside the lower portions of the ring, as do several of the terrets from Meare (e.g. SOMR10 and SOMR12). Perhaps not all the inhabitants of the Somerset lake villages lived there all year round, but spent some of their time in places more suited to chariotry; or perhaps the terrets found in Glastonbury and Meare were items no longer intended to be used with vehicles, but retained because they possessed some other kind of value or usefulness.

Those terrets recovered from upland locations within the study area are recorded, by type, in table 9.4 below. For the purposes of this review, findspots are defined as "upland" where they are at a height of at least 200 metres. In addition, table 9.4 lists a number of terrets found at hilltop sites which are below 200 metres. These have been included on the grounds that, whilst a blanket definition of "upland" at 200 metres – or any other height – is unavoidably arbitrary, hilltops are by their nature distinct, and on any scale can be viewed as *relative* high ground. The terrets found at these locations have been divided into those found in association with known settlement sites, and those not.

	Height >200m	Hilltop (open)	Hilltop settlement	Total
Ribbed	1		4	5
Lipped			4	4
Lobed			5	5
Simple		7	6	13
Triple projections (transverse wings)		2		2
Triple projections (parallel wings)		15		15
Triple projections (knobs)	1			1
Triple projections (platforms)	2			2
Triple projections (other)	1			1
Crescentic	1			1
Skirted	2	1		3
Massive	1		4	5
Unknown/other			2	2
Questionable	1		3	4

Table 9.4: Terrets from upland locations

The 63 terrets listed in table 9.4 come from 19 findspots. Items from the Polden Hills hoard account for seven of the simple terrets, 15 of those with parallel wings and two of those with transverse wings: all, in fact, of the D-shaped terrets from "open" hilltops. (Although the exact findspot of the Polden Hills hoard is not known, it is said to have been "near the top of Polden Hill" in "Somersetshire" (Harford 1803, 91), a spot generally accepted to be on the range of Polden Hills above the village of Edington (Brailsford 1975; Davis forthcoming).)

These 63 terrets make up 11% of all terrets from the study area. Of these 63 terrets only 10, or under two percent of all terrets from the study area, have been recovered from land higher than 200 metres. This low figure is probably due in part to historically low population density in upland areas, and is also likely to be influenced by metal-detecting practice. Arable, ploughed land is generally good for metal-detecting: ploughing constantly brings new finds up to the surface, and removes "air pockets" in the ground, thereby improving signal depth (Robbins 2012, 94). 80% of PAS finds are recorded from land below 100 metres (Katherine Robbins pers. comm., e-mail 18th December 2014); at higher altitudes, ploughed land is often replaced by pasture.

It is notable how many terrets recovered from upland areas appear to have been deposited deliberately: in pits, or in association with other material (see figure 9.1). Of the 63 terrets listed above, 40 show at least reasonable evidence for deliberate deposition (these are indicated on Appendix 10). There is one obvious practical explanation for this statistic: if hoards were in some cases buried for safe-keeping, it makes sense that they were often concealed in remote, sparsely inhabited areas, where they might be less likely to be discovered. In addition, it is significant that a number of those terrets from "upland" locations were placed in "special deposits" in pits within settlements; their deposition relates to human habitation of high points within the landscape. Moreover, assemblages buried in lower, arable land are more vulnerable to disturbance from ploughing, and their contents more likely to be discovered by metal-detectorists as separate, apparently single finds (Colin Haselgrove pers. comm., e-mail 30th November 2014).
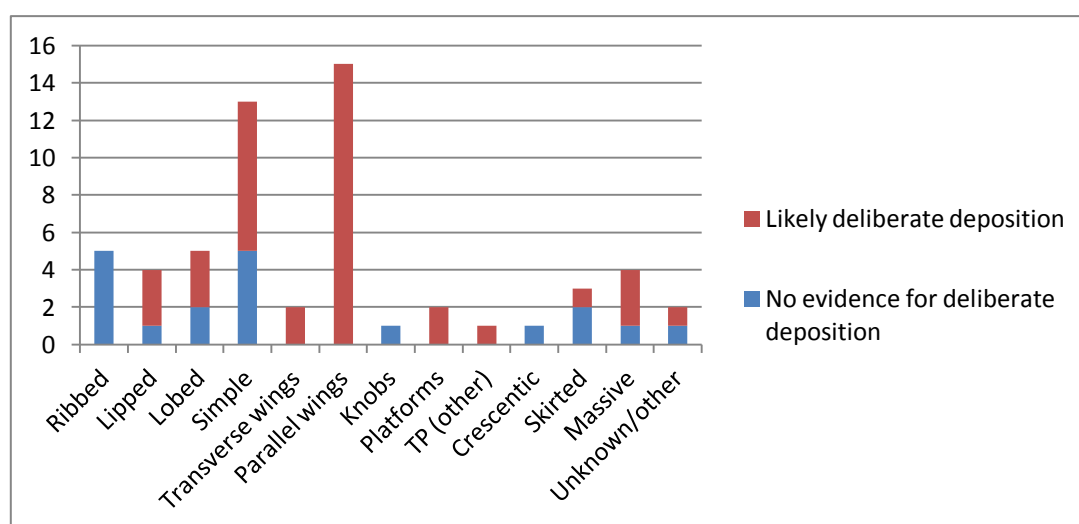
Figure 9.1: Terrets recovered from "upland" areas

Outside settlements, high places might sometimes have been seen as suitable for acts of ritual deposition. In his study of religion in the Severn Valley region from the Iron Age to the Early Medieval period, Yeates (2006) catalogues known religious sites in his study area – both built sites such as temples, and non-built sites such as votive deposits – and notes an emphasis on natural loci including hill-tops, valley-heads, springs and mineral deposits (*ibid.*, table 2.1; 28). Drawing on a mixture of archaeological,

historical, onomastic and literary evidence, Yeates concludes that during the Iron Age and Roman periods, larger upland features in the region – hill ranges and high forests, which he identifies as *silva*, distinct topological zones – were often deified, associated with local "presiding spirits" or "*genii* of the place" (*ibid.*, 17, 28, 95). Yeates's conclusions here follow those of Derks (1998), who argues that in northern Gaul we can associate certain Iron Age cult places with natural features. For example, Derks (*ibid.*, 136-137) shows that in the northern foothills of the Vosges mountain range (located in eastern France, along the western side of the Rhine valley), five stone inscriptions – four of which are on altar stones – have been found dedicated to the god Vosegus. These altar stones from the foothills, Derks suggests, may have been erected at thresholds between the lowland areas of human habitation and the highland domains of the god. Although beliefs and practices from specific regions and periods of Iron Age Europe will not necessarily have applied elsewhere, the sanctification of high places is nonetheless a widespread phenomenon, and deserves to be considered.

We cannot assume that those terrets without evidence for deliberate deposition, which are unassociated with any known archaeological activity, were in all cases casual losses or lost during use. In at least some cases, however, this will be the case, and it may therefore be significant how few finds of this nature – six – have been made in upland locations. From this observation, it seems reasonable to infer that every-day use of terrets – as equipment for the driving of vehicles, as opposed to as inclusions in hoards or votive deposits – mostly took place on lower country. This is likely to be in part due to lower population levels in upland areas, as well as the less suitable terrain.

9.3.3 *Burials*

Aside from wetland, dryland and pit deposits, there is one further kind of context in which terrets were deliberately placed: burials. Within the study area, 45 terrets come from 10 definite chariot burials in East, North and West Yorkshire. Chariot burial as a social and religious activity was discussed at length in **9.1.2**; this section is concerned specifically with the presence in chariot burials of terrets.

Table 9.5 records those terrets from within the study area recovered from chariot burials. It does not include the terrets from Hunsbury hillfort. This is because seven terrets are known from Hunsbury, more than would usually be expected from a chariot burial, and it is not certain *which* of the Hunsbury terrets were recovered with the alleged chariot.

Plain	7
Ribbed	9
Lipped	8
Simple	5
Studded	16

Table 9.5: Terrets from chariot burials within the study area, by type

We can see from table 9.5 that chariot burials contain only early and simple terret forms; this is unsurprising, as the rite seems to disappear from Britain by around the mid-second century BC. Ribbed, lipped and simple terrets are also encountered as stray finds and as finds in settlements, but plain round terrets and studded terrets are at present only known from burials. In the case of plain terrets, this is largely because it is their location in chariot burials – specifically, in the case of Ferry Fryston, their position along the yoke – that enables them to be recognised as terrets, rather than as harness rings of indiscriminate use.

There is very little evidence for the inclusion of terrets in burials other than those which also involve chariots. Two terrets of apparent Iron Age or Romano-British date are included in Saxon graves within the study area (GLOU11 and GLOU24, from Butler's Field, Lechlade and Fairford, respectively: both in Gloucestershire), but these are presumably antiques. One D-shaped terret (ERDI46) is known from Walkington Wold Bronze Age burial mound, which later saw a Late Roman phase of occupation followed by a period of use as a Saxon execution cemetery (Bartlett and Varley eds. 1973, no.124). The terret was associated with coins and pottery dated to the fourth century AD (*ibid.*), but it does not seem to have been connected to a burial. It has been suggested that the Stanwick/Melsonby terret assemblage could have accompanied a cremation burial containing a large wooden vessel, similar to that at Folly Lane (Fitts *et*

al 1999, 48); while plausible, there is no certain evidence to support the theory. No contextual evidence for the terrets survives from Melsonby/Stanwick; it is not known precisely where they were found within the site, although on the basis of the further finds made in 2011 and 2013 it seems likely that they come from within the area of a prominent D-shaped enclosure (Colin Haselgrove pers. comm., conversation 11th September 2014; Fitts *et al* 1999, 3-4), which could indicate a burial or site of formal ritual activity. Although, as Fitts *et al* suggest (*ibid.*), fragments of burnt bone could easily have been overlooked – and the terrets themselves have been burnt – there is no positive evidence to suggest that the terrets were ever associated with human remains.

In the case of the Folly Lane (Hertfordshire) cremation, items of harness-gear were included in the burial pit separate from the main wooden chamber (*ibid.*; Foster 1999a, 133), but no terrets were among them. Foster (1999b, 176) points out that the strap junction and bit from Folly Lane are for a ridden pony, rather than for a chariot. Two mini terrets were found in association with a cremation burial near Brecon (Powys), around 400 metres from the Roman fort at Y Gaer (Davis and Gwilt 2008, 166-167), but no other items of harness-gear. Wilson (1851, 454) describes the opening of a tumulus in 1836, near the Clyde Iron Works, Lanarkshire, which was allegedly found to contain two urns filled with ash, two bronze bridle bits, and various other items of horse-gear. None of these artefacts survive, however, and there are no descriptions that could indicate their likely date. Two massive terrets are said to have been recovered from within a cairn on the farm of Hillock Head, Towie (Aberdeenshire), which also included a "short cist" containing bones and an urn (Innes 1865, 341).

As regards date, both the Folly Lane and Brecon cremation assemblages contain a mixture of artefacts in both the British and Roman/Continental tradition. The Folly Lane burial included a junction ring of Tiberio-Claudian style (Foster 1999b, 176), while the Brecon burial contained a ceramic vessel of Flavian form (Davis and Gwilt 2008, 166-167). The terret assemblage from Stanwick/Melsonby dates to around the mid-first century AD: to the very latest Iron Age in northern England. If it is correct that massive terrets were introduced to Britain by the Roman army or through broader Roman influence, then the alleged cist burial from Towie is unlikely to be much earlier than mid-first century AD. We can see that inhumations including items of harness-gear, and especially terrets, are rare during the period of Iron Age/Roman transition; *no*

earlier burials containing terrets are known at present, apart from chariot burials. When we consider that hundreds of graves have been opened in the Iron Age cemeteries of East Yorkshire, 34% of which have been found to contain durable grave goods (Giles 2012, 131), it seems to be of some significance that horse-gear is restricted to the handful of local chariot burials. One possible interpretation is that, at least among the Late Iron Age populations of East Yorkshire, harness-gear did not fall into the same category of personal possession as jewellery, for example, or ceramic ware. Harness-gear may have been viewed as social rather than individual in character (**9.3.1**): perhaps chariots and their equipment were in some sense communal property, of too great a value to wider society to be buried in any other than exceptional circumstances.

9.4　Terrets, travel and the changing landscape

In this and the previous chapter, terrets have been considered in terms of their association with warfare, ritual and ceremony, everyday transport, roads, different kinds of topography and terrain, votive deposits and burials. We have seen that terrets are both functionally and symbolically connected to ideas of motion and transit. How, then, might the various meanings of terrets and the purposes for which they were employed during the Late Iron Age have been affected by those changes to the British landscape brought about by the Roman invasion, and to the experience of travel across it?

It was argued in **8.5** that the decline of chariotry during the Iron Age/Roman transition in Britain is likely to have contributed to the breaking-down of established social codes and frameworks of identity. As we saw above, social identity in Late Iron Age Britain was probably related not only to membership of a particular "tribe", or "social group", but to that group's territory: a territory over which its inhabitants sought to assert control through the performance of various rituals in which the landscape was altered, imbued with meaning, and its gods placated. Roman political dominance of Britain occurred at different rates and to different degrees across the country, but by the last quarter of the first century AD, Agricola was pursuing a programme of civil works which within the study area saw the establishment of *civitas* capitals for the tribes of south-western England and the Midlands – at Exeter, Dorchester, Cirencester, Wroxeter

and Leicester – as well as the resumption of large-scale military incursions into Wales and northern England (Jones and Mattingly 1990, 155, map 5.11). Once-independent tribal territories were subsumed into the province of Britannia; urbanisation was encouraged, and roads built to connect the new urban centres to each other and to Roman military posts.

This was a time in which the landscape and built environment was changing not only on a physical level, but on a conceptual level. As their territories fell to Roman control, whether through defeat in battle or through political negotiation, there may have been a sense among some British peoples that their relationship with the land and its deities had failed. Movement across the land can no longer have been experienced in quite the same way: people now lived and travelled as subjects across a landscape which they had previously controlled. (Less change may have been felt by those classes of people bound to particular land, if the early medieval Irish and Welsh models of serfdom (see Wade-Evans 1909; Thurneysen 1973; Kelly 1988, 11, 35-36) alluded to by Cooney (1999) can be applied to Iron Age Britain.) The distribution and deposition of imported terret forms might indicate the transport of goods connected to Roman military activity (**8.3.4**); the character of vehicular transport in Britain would have become increasingly dominated by prosaic wagons and carts as chariots began to fall out of use.

As Macfarlane (2012, 21-23) has discussed, paths and routes are made through repeated activity over time; whenever we follow a pre-existing route, we are aware of those who have passed before us, and – consciously or otherwise – we connect imaginatively with past presences. The disappearance of chariots from their old route-ways, and their replacement by military-affiliated vehicles, must have emphasised to witnesses the social changes taking place around them, as well as the passage of time, as chariots and charioteers moved into memory. Those terrets and other pieces of chariot-gear which survived, remaining for a while in circulation, may have taken on the quality of relics. Terrets are, as we have seen, first and foremost artefacts created for purposes of travel and motion, but in the archaeological record we encounter them in stasis, where they have come to rest. Likewise, as the end of the first century AD approached, and as traditional chariotry declined, the circumstances in which D-shaped terrets were encountered by Britain's contemporary populations would increasingly have been those in which the artefacts were static: buried in hoards, lost or discarded. Outmoded and no

longer of currency in the context of transport or travel, if they were nonetheless meaningful to some of the individuals who found them or kept them, it would have been as souvenirs of an overtaken way of life.

CONCLUSION

The present project was prompted partly by the huge volume of terrets reported through the Portable Antiquities Scheme since its inception in 1997, and since the initial pilot scheme was expanded to cover the whole of England and Wales in 2003. Although the project's study area is limited to Wales and to western and central England, it has recorded 596 terrets compared to the roughly 300 recorded in the last major assessment by Palk (1992), who studied the whole of Britain. Not only a result of PAS data, this increase is partly due to the decision taken to include "imported-form" terrets in the corpus, rather than merely D-shaped and massive terrets as in previous studies. Imported-form terrets count for 23% of all terrets on the database. One of the key arguments of the thesis is the importance of viewing the D-shaped series alongside Continental-influenced forms, both in terms of stylistic inter-development and in terms of relative distribution patterns and trends in deposition.

Drawing on contextual data from the now considerably expanded body of known terrets, as well as detailed analysis of the different stylistic attributes of terrets within the database, a revised typo-chronology has been devised (**Chapter Four**). Terrets are divided into three main typo-chronological groups, although there is some chronological overlap:

- **Early-form**: Iron Age terrets in use until around the end of the first century BC, including earlier simple terrets
- **Later-form**: Iron Age and Roman-era D-shaped terrets – including later simple terrets – in use from around the early first century AD until the early or mid-second century AD
- **Imported-form**: Non-D-shaped Roman-era terrets in use in Britain from around the mid-first century AD until at least the mid-second century AD, influenced by Continental Roman and La Tène types.

A significant break from previous typologies is, within the "later-form" phase, the inclusion of a broad category termed "terrets with triple projections": D-shaped terrets embellished with moulded features, sometimes enamelled, at three points around the

ring. Terrets with wings, knobs and platforms, which have in most previous typologies each been accorded their own distinct category, are all included in this broad group, along with terrets with rarer forms of triple projection. This decision was taken in order to emphasise the underlying uniformity to the design of most later D-shaped terrets, despite diversity in the stylistic details of individual examples.

Chapter Four also explores the origin of the British D-shaped series. It is proposed that the series emerged in the Middle Iron Age from a meeting of earlier Bronze Age harness equipment, particularly D-shaped copper-alloy buckles, and a tradition of plain iron terret rings introduced from the area of present-day Belgium. It is suggested that, like the chariot burial rite, this was initially an eastern-British development which gradually spread west, a theory supported by the relatively low numbers of terrets recovered generally from most of Wales, the West Midlands and the far south-west of England, and the conventional or conservative nature of most of the D-shaped terrets found in those regions (**7.2.1**, **8.1.2**). The northern parts of the study area and the East Midlands are the regions which demonstrate most innovation in terret design, producing unusual localised forms throughout the Mid-Late Iron Age and the Iron Age/Roman transition. It is acknowledged, however, that trends in archaeological practice – such as a preference among metal-detectorists for low-lying, arable land, mainly found in eastern Britain – will have some bearing on these apparent distribution patterns.

Analysis of the distribution of D-shaped terrets (**Chapter Six**) has revealed a broadly consistent trend over time. Generally, D-shaped terrets of both early- and later-form are shown to be most common and most densely distributed in the north-east of the study area (Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire), the East Midlands, and the eastern half of south-west England (Somerset, Dorset, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire), a pattern which appears to emphasise the traditional view of north-east and south-west England as centres of Iron Age horse-gear (**8.2.3**). When PAS data alone is taken into account there is a greater emphasis on the East Midlands than on the north-east of the study area, and a reduced emphasis on south-west England (**7.2.3**). To a lesser extent, PAS finds have increased the number of terrets known from Wales and the West Midlands. The impact of PAS data is greatest on our understanding of the distribution of later- and imported-form terrets: of those recorded on the database, not counting simple terrets, 48% and 60% respectively are PAS finds, compared to eight percent of early-form

terrets. The majority of early-form terrets have been recovered through archaeological excavation of recognised Iron Age sites, such as hillforts, the Yorkshire chariot graves and the Somerset lake villages. Throughout the study area, later- and imported-form terrets outnumber early-form and simple terrets, indicating a probable increase in terret use over time until the late first century AD.

The thesis argues for a Continental La Tène stylistic origin for most of those terrets from Britain commonly described as "Roman" (**4.7**). Broadly contemporary with later-form terrets, the distribution patterns of these "imported-form" terrets differ somewhat from those for the distribution of the D-shaped series (**6.2**), although the north-east of the study area and the East Midlands continue to produce finds in large quantity. Particularly notable is the strongly northern distribution of dropped-bar terrets, and the relative popularity of imported-form terrets in Wales (**8.2.2**). No imported-form terrets are known from pre-Roman contexts in the study area, but their distribution reveals no particular relationship with Roman military artefacts; nor is a close association with Roman military sites demonstrated by analysis of their depositional contexts. It is suggested that, while these forms are likely to have been introduced – and perhaps mostly used by – the Roman army, this need not have been for overtly military purposes. Rather, they were probably used with general goods vehicles and wagons (**8.3**). Imported-form terrets appear to have remained in use for longer than D-shaped forms – although examples from securely-dated contexts are few – which, together with their different distribution patterns, is an indication that they were not used for the same purposes as D-shaped terrets; if they *were* adopted by some in the "native" population, it is suggested that this was for use with agricultural or goods wagons and carts, rather than with chariots (**8.5**).

The social relationships and inter-regional connections implied by the manufacture and distribution of terrets – and other items of harness-gear – are addressed in **Chapter Seven**. Local innovation and, perhaps, the expression of distinct local identities can be inferred from clusters of rare terret forms in certain areas; this is shown to happen particularly in areas where terrets are historically most common, such as around the Humber Estuary (**7.3.2**, **8.1.2**). The existence of far more widespread terret forms can, on the other hand, be taken as evidence for the communication of ideas, trends and materials between regions, and for the management of long-distance trading contacts

and social relations. Beyond this, the juxtaposition in the archaeological record of both widespread and rare, localised D-shaped varieties suggests a working-out of social identities and relationships through a formalised system of expression. Most localised forms are shown to be essentially conventional variations on the "terret with triple projections". This, it is argued, demonstrates that local innovation in the D-shaped series took place within accepted formal constraints; this itself allows chariotry to be understood as an arena of cultural engagement in which the social identities of participants were communicated visually in mutually intelligible terms (**7.3.2**). The receptivity of the British D-shaped series to Roman-introduced technologies and styles from the mid-first century AD can be understood, similarly, to have allowed experimentation to take place within the security of a conventional stylistic framework (**8.4**). From the latter half of the first century AD, occasional terrets cross the divide between D-shaped and imported forms; these are discussed in **Chapter Eight**. These artefacts can be understood as challenges to the formal constraints to which British terret design traditionally adhered; arguably, they herald the eventual decline of the D-shaped series, and of chariotry itself.

With regard to the visual properties of terrets, a case is made in **Chapter Five** for the essentially artistic, aesthetic quality of D-shaped terret design. Of all early-form or D-shaped terrets of discernible type recorded during the project, over four fifths demonstrate some kind of decoration. Elements of floral and equine imagery are relatively common within the D-shaped series, both as decorative and integral features. It is proposed that equine imagery in terrets does not symbolise the horse in a totemic sense, but indicates a cultural perspective of inter-relation and fluidity between people, animals and material, supported by the preoccupation with shape-shifting evident in much La Tène art and Celtic mythology (**5.2.1**). This significance of terrets is likely to relate to their relatively frequent inclusion in deliberate deposits of metalwork and other matter throughout the Iron Age and Early Roman era: they are found in hoards and apparent votive assemblages in both wet and dry land, and in "special" pit deposits, as well as in chariot burials during the Mid-Late Iron Age. Ritual deposition is well understood as a practice concerned with the propagation of cycles of agriculture and fertility. It is put forward that, given their association with travel over the land and – in battle – with the protection of political power, the ritual deposition of terrets and other harness-gear can be seen also in terms of the maintenance of territory and social

stability (**9.3.1**). Aside from in the exceptional rite of chariot burial, terrets never occur as grave-goods; they cannot easily be connected to the expression of personal identity (**7.1**; **9.3.3**). Ultimately, it is argued that rather than see D-shaped terrets as objects through which individual wealth and status were transmitted, we can best understand them as social artefacts: possibly communal property, and certainly material manifestations of both local and long-distance social relations, and of concepts of environmental, social and territorial integration.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

There are two main areas in which the present project would benefit from expansion. Firstly, it would be useful to extend the project to cover the whole of Britain. Although a basic comparison has been carried out between terrets in the study area and the areas beyond its borders, this is limited to the distribution of different types (**Chapter Six**). Detailed exploration of the contexts from which terrets have been recovered outside the study area would allow the typo-chronology to be refined further, and might help to support – or disprove – the theory proposed here of an eastern British genesis for the D-shaped series, influenced both by Continental (especially Belgian) developments in harness-gear, and by the Bronze Age British tradition. A second important step would be to include other types of harness-gear: bridle bits, linchpins, strap unions and mounts. Again, a basic comparison of distribution patterns – based entirely on PAS data – has been carried out here (**7.2.3**), but again, no contextual information is taken into account. An in-depth comparison would reveal whether different kinds of harness-gear were subject to different depositional trends, and whether the areas in which localised terret forms are most common are similarly focuses of local innovation in other kinds of harness equipment. It is suggested here (**5.1.1**, **7.2.3**) that metal-workers might have specialised in the manufacture of different kinds of harness-gear, at least for certain periods – did this extend to the level of regional specialisation?

The relationship between British harness-gear and the Continental tradition is a pressing issue, not just from a stylistic perspective, but with regard to depositional contexts.

What similarities and differences can be seen between the ways in which terrets, and harness-gear in general, were curated and deposited in Britain and on mainland Europe? Are the same cultural concerns and behaviours evident? An extension of the project to take European material into account might also provide more evidence for the transition of chariotry, chariot equipment and the chariot burial rite from Continental Europe to Britain, or perhaps – as is hinted at by the presence in the British archaeological record of possible Bronze Age dropped-bar and skirted terrets (**4.6**, **4.7**) – for an early influence of British harness-gear on the Continental tradition.

As more data becomes available, it will become possible to enhance our understanding of the social significances of harness-gear to Iron Age peoples. Horse-gear has often been discussed in terms of conspicuous consumption – the expression of personal wealth and status – and sometimes considered the preserve of a chariot-driving élite; however, as suggested here (**9.3.1**), it might have been used to express social rather than personal identity, and its deposition have reflected societal rather than individual concerns. Future research could take harness-gear as a starting point from which to investigate the dynamics between individual and group in Iron Age Britain, and to re-assess the notion of a hierarchical social model.

"Chariotry" in Iron Age Britain can be understood as a phenomenon which shaped communities: the manufacture and exchange of chariots and equipment connected groups over long and short distances, bringing both social and economic benefits; social identities could be expressed through the skilful use of chariots in war and through the display of fine harness-gear, the creation of which encouraged artistic and technological innovation; the deposition of harness-gear through ritual and ceremony emphasised the bond between peoples and their land. The decline of chariotry from the late first century AD is likely to have been keenly-felt, and its impact is an important avenue for future research. Can any evidence be seen for economic disruption in those regions where chariot-gear appears to have been made, and most heavily used? Do we see changes to ritual behaviour? How did communities where chariots had commonly been used preserve their identities? – was chariotry replaced by any comparable cultural phenomenon?

Terrets remain one of the most frequently-discovered types of artefact from Iron Age Britain, with around 30 reported through the PAS from the study area alone since 31st December 2013, the formal cut-off date for the project's data collection phase. There is every likelihood that new varieties will continue to be found. With this in mind, the typology has been designed in a way intended to be able to accommodate new forms, particularly those with "triple projections": the broad category within which most local innovation in the D-shaped series appears to occur. In the meantime, it is hoped that this project has helped to refine our understanding of the origin and development of terrets as an artefact class, to organise the dispersed mass of information relating to terrets currently contained in archaeological literature and on the PAS database, and to focus attention on the relationship between the D-shaped series and imported forms. More than this, it is hoped that the thesis has helped to shape an impression of the social context in which terrets were made, used and deposited during the Iron Age and Early Roman era, of the cultural significances attached to D-shaped terrets in particular, and of the circumstances under which they eventually fell out of use.

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APPENDICES

Appendices 1 and 2 can be found in the accompanying files

APPENDIX 3

Glossary of terret terms

This illustrated glossary explains some of the most commonly-used terms in the thesis and database relating to the constituent parts of terrets. D-shaped terrets are addressed first, then imported forms. Terret *types* are described and illustrated in **4.1** and **4.2**.

D-shaped series

Ring

The central body of the terret: the large main ring through which the rein passes. Together with the attachment bar, it forms a sub-circular "D-shape". Made from a curved length of metal – typically copper alloy – or occasionally worked bone.

SOMERSET HERITAGE CENTRE, E8. COURTESY OF SOUTH WEST HERITAGE TRUST (MUSEUMS SERVICE)

Terminals

Pair of roughly disc-shaped mouldings at the bottom of the ring at each end of the attachment bar.

SOMERSET HERITAGE CENTRE, E8. COURTESY OF SOUTH WEST HERITAGE TRUST (MUSEUMS SERVICE)

Collar-form terminals

Terminals set roughly perpendicular to the line of the yoke. May be wholly upright or inclining, and are usually solid.

Bell-form terminals

Terminals set roughly parallel to the line of the yoke. Tend to be larger than collar-form terminals, and are often hollowed underneath.

Attachment bar

Flattened or occasionally circular- or square-sectioned bar between the two terminals. This was bound or slotted in to the yoke.

Vertical attachment bar	Attachment bar set at a right-angle to the line of the yoke (higher than it is wide).

LEICESTERSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL COLLECTION RESOURCES CENTRE, X.A191.2005.0.0. WITH THANKS TO LEICESTERSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL MUSEUMS

Horizontal attachment bar	Attachment bar set parallel to the line of the yoke (wider than it is high).

SOMERSET HERITAGE CENTRE, E8. COURTESY OF SOUTH WEST HERITAGE TRUST (MUSEUMS SERVICE)

Saddle-form attachment bar	Horizontal attachment bar which is raised at each end, and which grows broader in the middle. Often hollowed underneath.

IMAGE (C) TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, 1846,0322.94

Lips	A series of bivalvular mouldings around the ring: a decorative feature of some earlier terrets.

YORKSHIRE MUSEUM, 902.2.48. WITH THANKS TO YORK MUSEUMS TRUST

Triple projections

A set of three moulded embellishments set around the ring: a decorative feature of many later terrets. Common forms of triple projection include knobs, platforms and wings (paired discs).

NATIONAL MUSEUM CARDIFF, 04.128. BY PERMISSION OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF WALES

Imported forms

Ring

The central body of the terret: the large, roughly circular main ring through which the rein passes. Typically copper-alloy.

NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE MUSEUM SERVICE, SCUNM:1969.149.215. BY PERMISSION OF NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE MUSEUM SERVICE

Attachment loop

Smaller rectangular or U-shaped loop projecting beneath the main ring. This was bound or slotted in to the yoke.

Shelf

Moulded ridge found on some dropped-bar terrets which separates the main ring from the attachment loop.

Skirt

Substantial moulded feature which defines "skirted" terrets. The main ring sits on top of the skirt. The skirt is typically composed of two or four "leaves", which stretch outwards or downwards to shelter the attachment loop or shank.

Shank	Single pin-like projection, often made of iron, which extends down from the main ring of plain shanked terrets, and some skirted terrets. This was driven into the yoke.
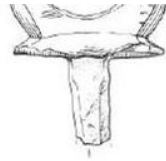
(BISHOP 1998, NO.298, FIG.26)

Concealed attachment bar	Found in massive terrets and occasional crescentic terrets: a very short, slim attachment bar concealed within the base of the terret and visible only through an opening in the underside. Typically made of iron.

NATIONAL MUSEUM CARDIFF, 37.319. BY PERMISSION OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF WALES

Central protrusion	Found in massive terrets, a substantial moulded projection which rises from the base of the ring into its centre.

NATIONAL MUSEUM CARDIFF, 37.319. BY PERMISSION OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF WALES

All photographs by A. Lewis unless stated otherwise. Images not to scale.

APPENDIX 4

English counties and unitary authorities excluded from the study area

Bedford

Berkshire

Bracknell Forest

Brighton and Hove

Buckinghamshire

Cambridgeshire

Central Bedfordshire

Cumbria

Darlington

Durham

East Sussex

Essex

Greater London

Hampshire

Hartlepool

Hertfordshire

Isle of Wight

Kent

Luton

Medway

Middlesex

Milton Keynes

Norfolk

Northumberland

Portsmouth

Reading

Slough

Southampton

Southend-on-Sea

Stockton-on-Tees

Suffolk

Surrey

Thurrock

Tyne and Wear

West Berkshire

West Suffolk

West Sussex

Windsor and Maidenhead

Wokingham

APPENDIX 5

Regions of the study area

For purposes of statistical analysis, counties within the study area have been divided into geographical regions as follows:

North-west England

Blackburn with Darwen *

Blackpool *

Cheshire East

Cheshire West and Chester

Greater Manchester

Halton *

Lancashire

Merseyside *

Warrington

West Yorkshire

North-east England

City of York

East Riding of Yorkshire

Kingston upon Hull *

Middlesbrough *

North Lincolnshire

North-east Lincolnshire *

North Yorkshire

Redcar and Cleveland *

South Yorkshire

West Midlands

Herefordshire

Shropshire

Staffordshire

Stoke-on-Trent *

Telford and Wrekin

Warwickshire

West Midlands

Worcestershire

East Midlands

Derby *

Derbyshire

Leicester *

Leicestershire

Lincolnshire

Northamptonshire

Nottingham *

Nottinghamshire

Peterborough

Rutland *

South-west England

Bath and North-east Somerset *

Bournemouth *

Bristol *

Cornwall

Devon

Dorset

Gloucestershire

Isles of Scilly *

Oxfordshire

North Somerset *

Plymouth *

Poole *

Somerset

South Gloucestershire

Swindon *

Torbay *

Wiltshire

North Wales

Anglesey

Conwy

Denbighshire *

Flintshire *

Gwynedd

Wrexham

South Wales

Blaenau Gwent *

Bridgend *

Caerphilly *

Cardiff

Carmarthenshire *

Ceredigion *

Merthyr Tydfil *

Monmouthshire

Neath Port Talbot

Newport

Pembrokeshire

Powys

Rhondda Cynon Taff *

Swansea

Torfaen *

Vale of Glamorgan

* Those counties and unitary authorities from which no terrets are known at present are indicated by an asterix.

Any division of administrative counties into geographical regions is to an extent arbitrary; some counties, such as Powys, do not lie neatly within any one of the above regions. In these cases, the distribution of terrets within the county has been used to determine the most suitable region. Most currently-known terrets from Powys, for example, have been found in the southern half of the county, and so for the purposes of this analysis the county has been included as part of South Wales rather than North.

APPENDIX 6

Fields used to construct the database

- **TerretID**

  Each artefact listed on the database has its own unique identification code. The code is made up of four letters which represent the county in which the terret was found (or the collection in which it is held, if its provenance is unknown), along with a number from 01 onwards.

- **OSGridRef**

  Ordnance Survey grid references for each terret are listed. In some cases, as in the case of certain finds from unexcavated sites recorded through the PAS, this information is sensitive and is protected. Where the grid reference of the exact findspot is not known, the reference is given for the nearest named location or for the centre of the parish.

- **Type**

  Each terret is allocated to a particular type, following the new typology. Where a fragment is clearly of a D-shaped terret, but where not enough survives to establish the type, it is recorded as "D-shaped, unknown".

- **TPDescription**

  Following the new typology, some terrets are recorded as being of the type with "triple projections". For these terrets, the projections are briefly described in the "TPDescription" field.

- **County**

  County in which the terret was found.

- **Locality**

  Name of the site or settlement in which the terret was found.

- **ArtefactDate**

  This field gives the likely date-range for the terret in question within the study area, where dating evidence exists either for manufacture or deposition. Evidence for the date given is noted in the "Description" field.

- **DatingEvidence**

  This indicates how secure the dating evidence is for both manufacture and deposition. "Secure" depositional evidence is for terrets found in closed contexts; "moderately secure" depositional evidence is for terrets found in non-closed contexts for which broader dating evidence exists. Evidence for manufacture is only ever "moderately secure", and is based on metallurgical/technological analysis and very occasionally on stylistic grounds. Stylistic dating is only attempted in conjunction with other evidence.

- **Measurements**

  All dimensions are in millimetres, and all weights in grams.

- **Description**

  This is a discursive field, written out in full prose. The text describes the terret's appearance, style and condition, and notes the circumstances in which it was recovered. Any dating evidence is also noted here, and comparisons are drawn with other artefacts where relevant.

- **Context**

  A discursive field in full prose. Contextual information, where known, is recorded here. A brief description of the landscape and physical environment in which the terret was found is also included, with any significant nearby sites or landmarks highlighted.

- **Associations**

  A discursive field in full prose. Any artefacts found in association with the terret are noted here.

- **IronAgePhase?**

  This field simply contains the word "Yes" if the artefact was found on a site for which an Iron Age phase of occupation/use is known (defined as before the arrival of the Roman army locally). It is primarily of use for filtering.

- **RomanPhase?**

  This field contains the word "Yes" if the artefact was found on a site for which a Roman-era phase of occupation/use is known (defined as after the arrival of the Roman army locally). It is primarily of use for filtering.

- **RomanRoad?**

  This field contains the word "Yes" if the artefact was found on or within 250 metres of the known course of a Roman road. It is primarily of use for filtering.

- **Hoard?**

  This field contains the word "Yes" if the artefact was found as part of an apparent hoard or ritual assemblage. It is primarily of use for filtering.

- **Burial?**

  This field contains the word "Yes" if the artefact was found in a burial. It is primarily of use for filtering.

- **Enamel?**

  This field contains the word "Yes" if the artefact contains traces of enamel, or bears cells likely to have been originally filled with enamel. It is primarily of use for filtering.

- **Publications**

  Any publications are listed here, and refer to the bibliography included in the thesis.

- **ReferenceNumbers**

  This field includes any reference numbers under which the artefact is recorded elsewhere, such as museum accession number, PAS record number, catalogue number (if published), or small finds number (if excavated).

- **PAS?**

  This field contains the word "Yes" if the artefact was recorded through the PAS.

- **Excavated?**

  This field contains the word "Yes" if the artefact was recovered through formal archaeological excavation.

- **CurrentLocation**

  If known, the artefact's current location is recorded here. In the case of many PAS finds, the artefact has been returned to the finder and is listed here as being in "Private hands".

- **ImageCredit**

  This field credits all images included in the entry.

- **ImageLink**

  As far as possible, images are included for each terret. Where the terret has been viewed first-hand and where permission has been granted by the holder of the artefact, the author's own photographs are included. Other images are taken from the PAS database, museum collection records, and published sources. Permissions and copyrights are recorded in the "Image Credit" field. Images are not held in the database itself, but in online cloud storage, to which links are provided.

APPENDIX 7

List of stylistic and contextual variables used to construct the new terret typology

All terrets: form and style

Iron core

Iron ring

Bone ring

Flat ring

Undecorated

Moulding

Basic decoration on ring

Ornate decoration on ring

Curvilinear decoration

Geometric decoration

Recessed spine on ring

Peaked spine on ring

Crest on ring

Concealed bar

Red enamel

Polychrome enamel

Enamel – colour unknown

Coral inclusions

Bone inclusions

Protrusion into ring

Arched projection

Early and D-shaped terrets: form and style of ring

Ribs

Lobes

Closed lips

Open lips

Lips – unknown

Studs

Transverse wings – single pairs

Transverse wings – double pairs

Parallel wings – single pairs

Parallel wings – double pairs

Wings – unknown

Knobs

Platforms

Discs

Bands

Clustered knobs

Triplet projections

Other projections

Acorn-cup mouldings

Early and D-shaped terrets: form and style of terminals and bar

Collar-form terminals – straight

Collar-form terminals – inclined

Bell-form terminals

Grooved terminals

Lip-like terminals

Disc-like terminals

Vertical bar

Horizontal bar

Saddle bar

Square/circular sectioned bar

Figure-of-eight bar

Lozenge-shaped bar

Peaked bar

Tang

Iron bar

Slot

Dropped-bar terrets

Ring: bottom-heavy

Ring: even thickness

Rectangular attachment loop

U-shaped/rounded attachment loop

Shelf

Decorative knob

Horns or ears

Embellished ring

Skirted terrets

Horns or ears

Two-leaf skirt

Four-leaf skirt

Plinth-like skirt

Flat skirt

Decorated skirt

Decorated neck

Embellished ring

Double-ring

Shank

Triple projections

Massive terrets

Stumpy protrusion

Fishtail protrusion

Protrusion – unknown

Plain shanked terrets

Iron shank

Shelf

Embellished ring

The above list has been presented here in sections for clarity, but it should be noted that while some variables apply to just one type of terret, others apply to multiple types. In some cases, attributes typically associated with later forms – such as transverse wings – are encountered on individual terrets of imported form.

It should also be noted that while some variables are mutually exclusive, others overlap. The list was designed to allow as much flexibility as possible in the designation of attributes to particular terret types.

APPENDIX 8

Dating evidence for simple terrets in the study area

Terret ID	Site	Date of deposition	Evidence	Reference
ERID57-60	Garton Station	Mid-C3rd BC – C2nd BC	Excavated. Dating based on recent radiocarbon dating and re-assessment of the East Yorkshire chariot burials; radiocarbon dating carried out on both human and animal bone.	Jay *et al* 2012
ANGL01-03	Llyn Cerrig Bach	C4th or 3rd BC to mid-1st AD	Recovered from the boggy Llyn Cerrig Bach during the removal of peat. Exact location within the lake is unknown. Dating is based on Macdonald's (2007) assessment: stylistic and metallurgical analysis, in addition to radiocarbon dating of associated animal bone.	Fox 1946; Macdonald 2007
GLOU14	Leaholme, Cirencester	Pre-c.AD 45	Excavated. From context AM I 42, Leaholme Gardens, in the upper levels of the Inner Ditch, in a pre-building phase. Must have been deposited before the fort was established c.AD 45.	Webster 1982, 112, fig.36 (103)
DORS07	Hod Hill	Early C1st AD	Excavated. Found on floor of hut 56 in Iron Age settlement in centre of the hillfort. Context dated by associated pottery to EIA 'C', considered by Richmond to begin in early C1st AD at Hod Hill.	Richmond 1968, 20, 39, 147-148
DORS05	Mill Plain, Christchurch	Pre-Roman	Excavated. From the pre-Roman Iron Age settlement, but exact context is not known.	Palk 1992, no.57; Spratling 1972, no.25
SOMR20, 22-24, 32, 35-36	Polden Hills	From c.43 AD	All from Polden Hills hoard. Some artefacts in the hoard show evidence of likely Roman stylistic influence, notably the "dolphin" brooches. Possible Roman influence can be seen in the geometric design on certain terrets e.g. SOMR30.	Brailsford 1975
NYOR51-52, 56	Stanwick / Melsonby	Mid-late C1st AD	All from 'Set C' of the Stanwick/Melsonby hoard, dated stylistically by MacGregor (1962) to AD 60-65. XRF analysis (Fitts *et al* 1999) confirms that a mid-C1st AD date is likely, and Set C probably the latest in the hoard.	MacGregor 1962; Fitts *et al* 1999
WARW05	The Lunt, Baginton	c.70 AD onwards	Excavated. From the Lunt Roman fort, trench 11 layer 1, three feet west of the clay and carbon scatter on intervallum road. Hobley (1969) suggests a date-range of AD 70-90 for the building of the fort, based on coins and pottery from the site.	Hobley 1969
DORS17	Maiden Castle	Roman era	Excavated. From trench VI, context 7023, phase 8b: a "late Roman mound" (Palk in a note in Laws *et al* 1991, 156). A rectangular enclosure identified within the hillfort suggests that Maiden Castle may have been used as a Roman military base at some stage (Sharples 1991).	Laws *et al* 1991; Sharples 1991

LANC03	Silverdale	From mid-C2nd AD	From a hoard of copper-alloy horse-gear and Roman coins, although association is not certain. Earliest coin is a denarius issued under Mark Antony (dated 32-31 BC), latest coins a sestertius of Antonius Pius (dated AD 152-154) and a denarius of Faustina II, which could have been issued as late as AD 161.	PAS (individual): LANCUM-701EE1; PAS (hoard): LANCUM-009B63; Treasure case: 2010 T616
WARW12	Salford Priors	C3rd – late C4th AD	Excavated but unstratified. From context C3/3 (3019), dated by means of coins and pottery to C3rd – late C4th AD.	Palmer 1999, table 1

APPENDIX 9

Contextual dating evidence for the deposition of terrets with triple projections

Terret ID	Site	Decorative projection	Date of deposition	Contextual evidence	Reference
WYOR12	Castleford	Knobs	c.AD 71/4-86	Excavated. Context 328/4, trench 12, in northern annexe of the fort. Phase Ib of the site, dating to c.AD 71/4-86.	Bishop 1998, no.297
CHES22	Chester	Knobs	After c.79 AD	Excavated. Found on top of a concrete floor within an area of Roman structural remains.	Newstead 1939, 58-59
NLIN11	Dragonby	Knobs	C2nd – 3rd AD	Excavated. Site DR 66 3C, level FN 334: C2nd – 3rd AD context in drainage ditch of the Roman road.	May 1996, 278, no.85
MONM01	Caerwent	Knobs	C2nd – 4th AD	Excavated. From the basilica, built in C2nd AD, then re-built in late C3rd and continued in use until 350s or 360s.	Unpublished. NMW accession no: 2007.35H/2.81
SHRP12	Wroxeter	Transverse wings	AD 60-90	Excavated. From south-east corner of courtyard in Wroxeter Roman city, in an early deposit, below pavement level. Context dated to AD 60-90 on basis of the paving stone layer above it.	Atkinson 1942, 82-83, 210
MONM03	Usk	Transverse wings	Before AD 96	Excavated. From a pre-Flavian or Flavian context in a ditch of the fort's North-South Road 1.	Manning *et al* 1995, no.10
OXFD07	Watts Wells, Ditchley, Enstone	Transverse wings	Late C1st – late C2nd AD	Excavated. From burnt fill layer within a room of the Roman villa. Layer contained pottery fragments of Trajanic and Antonine date (AD 98-161), and a fragment of C2nd AD date. The earliest layer, on the natural clay, contained pottery fragments of Flavian date (69-96 AD).	Radford 1936; Jope 2000
WARW09	Mancetter	Parallel wings	AD 50-70	Excavated. From Roman fortress (area 3A, Punic ditch), in use from AD 50-70.	Scott 1998, no.14
WILT24	Wanborough	Platforms	C1st – 4th AD	Unstratified, but recovered during excavation. Romano-British settlement developed from C1st – 4th AD.	Hooley 2001, 96
ERID46	Walkington Wold	Platforms	C4th AD	Excavated. Bronze Age burial mound and subsequent Saxon execution cemetery. Terret recovered from Roman phase of occupation, associated with coins and pottery dated to C4th AD.	Bartlett and Varley eds. 1973

Note: This summary excludes GLOU12 (Lechlade), a terret with platforms recovered from a Saxon depositional context.

APPENDIX 10

Terrets with evidence for deliberate deposition

Simple and D-shaped (unknown form) terrets are included as "early" if at least moderately secure dating evidence exists for their deposition before the end of the first century BC, and as "later" if at least moderately secure dating evidence exists for their deposition after the end of the first century BC. Those without at least moderately secure dating evidence are listed in their own category.

Questionable terrets are not included.

Terret ID	Site	Early-form	Simple / D-shaped unknown	Later-form	Imported-form	Unknown / other	Landscape context	Associations

WETLAND / WATERY

Terret ID	Site	Early-form	Simple / D-shaped unknown	Later-form	Imported-form	Unknown / other	Landscape context	Associations
ANGL01-03	Llyn Cerrig Bach	3					Lake	Major assemblage of harness-gear, weaponry and tools, some bone
NEAT01-03	Seven Sisters			2	1		Stream	Large assemblage including other harness-gear, personal ornaments and tools
VALE03	Penllyn			1			Riverside	Assemblage including brooches and probable Roman furniture fittings. Association not certain
WILT09	Netheravon					1	Riverside	Helmet stud and strap union
NLIN24-25	South Ferriby		2				Riverbank	Two fragments found together (appear to be from different terrets)
LANC03	Silverdale			1			Marshland, crag foot	Large assemblage of Roman copper-alloy coins and horse-gear. Association not certain

ID	Name						Context	Description
LEIC14, 16-17, 26	Burrough Hill **	3	1				Pit within hillfort	Group of base metal artefacts including chariot equipment and tools, plus other material. Evidence for *in situ* burning. Simple terret separate from lipped terrets
OXFD10-12	Hagbourne Hill **	3					Hilltop	Terrets deposited in pits. Association not certain
SOMR16	Sigwells		1				Pit	LIA pit with structured deposition. Earlier layers included animal bone, a human tooth, a whetstone fragment, a Nauheim derivative brooch and possible kiln furniture or loomweight remains

DRYLAND

ID	Name						Context	Description
CARD01	Pentyrch			1			Hillside	Dispersed assemblage including other chariot equipment
GWYN01, 03-04	Dinas Emrys **				3		Hilltop fortified settlement	Loose association with charcoal, portions of quern stones and animal bone
CNWY01	Little Orme **				1		Hilltop, coastal	Scattered assemblage/s including Roman coins, mounts and brooches. Association not certain
NYOR43-44	Fremington Hagg *				3		Moorland, high ground	Large assemblage of harness-gear including numerous roundels, studs, mounts, strips and strap-ends, and a dress-fastener. Mostly Roman in style. The only items certainly found together are those now held in the British Museum; it is uncertain whether all of those in the Yorkshire Museum – including

							the terrets – were part of the original assemblage (Webster 1971).
POWY01	Talgarth *				1	Hillside	Arched terret found in two pieces, close to an IA and a Roman brooch and a Roman coin. Association not certain
SOMR20-38, 40-44	Polden Hills *		24			Hillside, roadside	Major assemblage of harness-gear, personal, martial and miscellaneous metalwork
WMID03	Wychbury Ring **				1	Hillfort	Found with a small bronze ring
CHES04-05	Tattenhall		2			Lowland	Two terrets found together
LEIC22	Burton and Dalby				1	Hilly	Found in association with two "Polden Hill" type brooches, said to be pre-AD 69
LINC06-09	Sudbrooke	2	1	1		Lowland	Scattered assemblage including a brooch, copper-alloy bar and possible belt-loop. Association not certain
LINC30-31	Thonock	2				Raised land	Two terrets found together
LINC49	Skellingthorpe				1	Lowland	Assemblage including brooch, finger ring and 15 Roman coins
NYOR03-08, 16	Aldbrough St. John	1	5		1	Moorland	Large assemblage of IA material, probably part of same assemblage as Stanwick/Melsonby hoard
NYOR45-62	Stanwick / Melsonby		18			Moorland	Large assemblage consisting of four sets of horse-trappings. Extensive recently-found material also likely to be associated
NYOR25-27	Bilbrough	1	1			Lowland	Assemblage including other chariot equipment
VALE05	Cowbridge	1				Lowland	Possible association with a bronze rein-ring

CHES22	Chester			1			Roman town	Stuck together with various bronze fragments and scraps

* Terrets found above 200 metres

** Terrets found on a hilltop or hillfort site

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