



# Nero and Britain: the Palace of the Client King at *Calleva* and Imperial Policy towards the Province after Boudicca

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## ABSTRACT

*The evidence for a major, post-Boudiccan Neronian building campaign in Calleva is set out and discussed and its wider context considered. It is suggested that there was deliberate investment in the civil development of the client kingdom south of the Thames in contrast to the re-establishment of direct military control to the north and in East Anglia where revival of the towns was slow to take off.*

Both Revd Joyce, excavating in the Roman town at Silchester in the 1860s, and the Society of Antiquaries between 1890 and 1909 reported numerous finds of architectural fragments in the form of columns, capitals and bases, as well as slabs of marble, some inscribed and usually described as of Purbeck type, in a number of locations.<sup>1</sup> The Society of Antiquaries pursued a consistent methodology of excavation throughout their twenty-year project: systematic trial-trenching at regular intervals across each insula followed by the clearance of soil to expose the remains of all the masonry buildings thus encountered. It follows that concentrations of finds of particular types of material, such as architectural fragments, are likely to be representative. Among the find locations were the public buildings, notably the forum basilica and the public baths, where the architecture required some provision of this kind. Sometimes the precise context of these fragments is clearly reported, particularly if they were found *in situ* or obviously re-used in the fabric of a building, but for the most part their provenance and stratigraphic association within an insula are unclear. Except for the surviving column stumps and bases associated with the early portico of the public baths,<sup>2</sup> no fragment was found in an obvious primary position. The majority of records are confined to five insulae in the west-centre of the town: IX, II, III, I and IV (forum basilica), with outliers associated with the public baths, the temples in Insula XXX, and at the entrances to the town, particularly at the north, west and south gates (FIG. 1). Unlike most of the pieces noted by the early excavators which cannot be attributed to particular buildings, those from the gates included fragments of Corinthian capitals and column fragments of matching diameters. These compare closely with the fragments found in the forum basilica and are assumed to have derived from the colonnade running the length of the nave.

<sup>1</sup> Joyce's excavations reported in *Archaeologia* vols 40 and 46; The Society of Antiquaries' excavations reported in *Archaeologia* vols 52–62; their work synthesised in Boon 1974.

<sup>2</sup> Hope and Fox 1905, fig. 2.

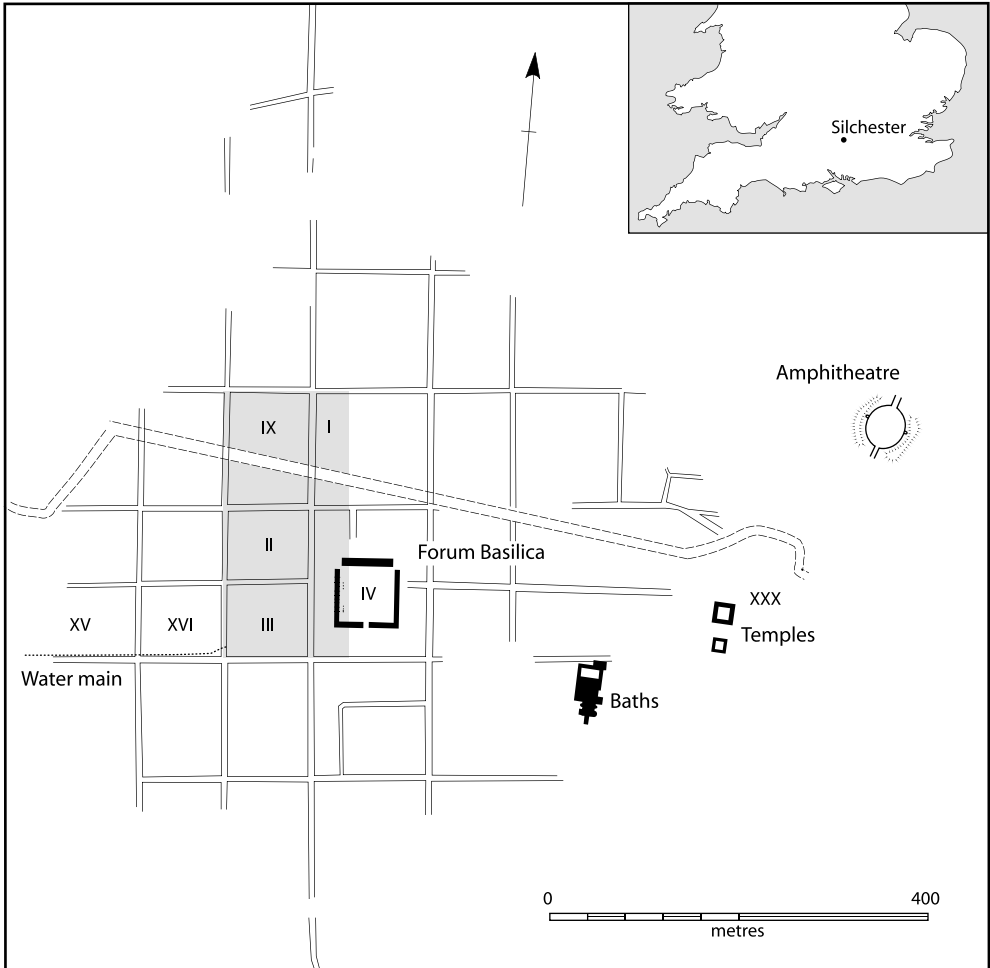


FIG. 1. Plan of Silchester showing the street-grid, the area in which architectural fragments are concentrated (shaded), the course of the early water-main, and the location of certain and probable pre-Flavian public buildings.

The dating of the carving and primary use of these architectural fragments is a major problem, not least because the majority were not found associated with a particular structure, but were loose pieces. Apart from dating by their style and their association, as for example the Corinthian capitals and dimensionally-associated column and base fragments with the Period 6, masonry forum basilica, which has now been dated to the Hadrianic–early Antonine period,<sup>3</sup> or the columns forming part of the early portico of the public baths, which were sealed by the development of the adjacent east–west street, and thereby assumed to be early (see below), none of the reported fragments and their contexts are dated. Even in the case of these two examples, only the columns and bases associated with the portico of the baths were actually discovered *in situ*.

<sup>3</sup> Fulford and Timby 2000, 68.

However, excavation of the forum basilica in 1977 and 1980–86 produced a significant number of architectural and decorative stone fragments from stratified contexts.<sup>4</sup> Two pieces are of particular interest. First, half a Tuscan base was found amongst material dumped over the robbed-out foundations of the Period 5, timber forum basilica (5.27). At the time this was interpreted as debris from the carving of material in preparation for the new, masonry forum basilica in the same way that pieces of Purbeck marble and other decorative stone<sup>5</sup> from the make-ups for the floor of the Period 6 forum basilica were regarded as waste from the latter project, even though, at the time of loss, it had not advanced beyond the stage of laying foundations. Second, a small fragment of a Corinthian capital was also recovered associated with a *construction* trench of the Period 5, Flavian forum basilica (5.1). The possibility that either piece, or the Purbeck marble, might have related to any building other than the masonry forum basilica was not considered. Altogether the analysis of the context of the finds of architectural and decorative stone from the excavation of the basilica revealed that the majority were associated as loose finds with the late Roman occupation of the building, but that significant quantities were associated with Period 5 and Period 6, with some pieces attributed to pre-Flavian Period 4. Only one piece, a possible threshold, was found in the fabric, but re-used, of the Period 6 basilica.

The continuing excavations since 1997 in Insula IX have also discovered fragments of monumental masonry, a significant number of which have been found re-used in association with two timber buildings which date from the Flavian period, probably from the A.D. 80s.<sup>6</sup> These include two weathered half-capitals and column fragments as well as squared blocks of monumental masonry, the majority of which are identified by Hayward as originating from quarries close to Bath.<sup>7</sup> One group of fragments was found embedded in the clay foundations of Room 6 at the south-west end of the town-house, Early Roman Timber Building 2, while the other group comprised a row of pad-stones. The latter are interpreted as forming the base of a portico which fronted a second, rectangular, timber building enclosing a circular structure associated with several ritual deposits (Early Roman Timber Building 3). This building, possibly a temple, was located immediately alongside at the south-west end of the town-house. The Antiquaries also found a capital (much worn) and base re-used in the foundations of the western jamb of the southern opening of House 2, immediately to the south of the area currently under excavation.<sup>8</sup> Like the Flavian timber buildings, this house was constructed at an oblique angle to the Roman street grid. If its construction history matched that of the buildings to the north of the insula, it was probably constructed in masonry in the early to mid-second century.

The continuing Insula IX excavations have also produced several fragments of Purbeck marble, including moulded slabs and two with the remains of inscriptions, pieces of imported *campan vert* marble, and unworked pieces of burnt Kimmeridgian mudrock, also from the Isle of Purbeck.<sup>9</sup> These pieces are residual and mostly from second- and third-century contexts in the southern half of the area under excavation. Large numbers of tesserae, mostly of lithologies with a Purbeck or south Dorset provenance, have also been recovered from the same area and contexts.<sup>10</sup> Possibly relevant as an indication of the original location of at least some of this material is the existence of a masonry wall foundation of flint and chalk, running on a north-east/south-west alignment in the south-east of the area under excavation. While associated contexts have yet to be excavated, this wall clearly pre-dates overlying timber buildings which are of

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, 90–2, fig. 84.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, 93–9.

<sup>6</sup> Clarke *et al.* 2007.

<sup>7</sup> Hayward 2007.

<sup>8</sup> Fox 1895, 442–3, fig. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Allen *et al.* 2007.

<sup>10</sup> Allen and Fulford 2004.

late first/early-second-century date and contemporary with Early Roman Timber Buildings 1–3 to the north.<sup>11</sup> As yet there is no further indication of the nature of the larger structure to which this wall relates.

While the contextual evidence from Insula IX shows the *re-use* of monumental masonry from the Flavian period onwards, that from the forum basilica points to the early to mid-second century. Although there was difficulty in deciding whether the fragment of Corinthian capital was associated with the construction phase of the Flavian basilica as opposed to its demolition and the subsequent make-up for the masonry forum basilica, the assumption at the time was to attribute it to the later rather than the earlier period. However, several fragments of Bath Stone were also recorded from contexts definitely associated with the life of the Period 5, Flavian basilica.<sup>12</sup> One question not addressed in the publication of the forum basilica excavations was how so much material thought to derive from the preparation of both architectural stone (columns, capitals, bases, etc.) and the decorative finishing (Purbeck Marble mouldings, etc.) for the Period 6 forum basilica came to be deposited at such an early stage in its construction. In the light of the Insula IX finds an alternative interpretation would be that some or all of this material derived from the disturbance of earlier remains through site preparation and the excavation of wall-foundation trenches. Insula IX also provides a parallel for the finds of Bath Stone, including the fragment of Corinthian capital, in construction and occupational contexts of the Period 5 basilica from *c.* A.D. 80–85, as well as the few from Period 4. Further evidence for a major pre-Flavian building close to, or partly beneath, the west range of the forum basilica is provided by three pieces of tile stamped with the name and titles of the emperor Nero.<sup>13</sup> One came from the fill of a wall-trench of one of the Period 4 timber buildings which had two phases of construction, the second of which is dated from *c.* A.D. 65; the tile is probably associated with this secondary phase. A second fragment came from the make-up of the Period 6 forum basilica, while the third was found in a fourth-century context.

Combining the evidence from early, recent and continuing excavations we can, perhaps, outline a little more precisely a central area of the town in which the remains of one or more monumental buildings have been located (FIG. 1). A northern limit appears to be provided by the pre-Flavian wall from the south-east corner of the current Insula IX excavation, while a southern limit may well be the course of the deep-lying water-pipe trench discovered in 1896, which runs eastwards from the site of the south-west gate to Insula III.<sup>14</sup> Although described by the excavators as trending in ‘an east-north-easterly direction’, the trench is plotted as running parallel with the north side of the east–west street on the south side of Insulae XV and XVI, finally diverting north-eastwards into the south-west corner of Insula III. In tracing the course of the pipe, remains of ‘an important building’ were discovered in Insula III ‘at a much lower level than any other in this part of the city, and it had been entirely overlooked when we excavated in insula iii in 1891’. The report then goes on to note that the building ‘appears to contain at least two well-made drains built of tiles, as well as one or more hypocausts, and a chamber with a tile floor’. The remains of these buildings had been sealed by ‘a hard layer of gravel’ and they also extended beneath House 1 of Insula III. Difficult weather conditions prevented more work. No interpretation was offered of these remains but, as Boon suggested, they presumably represented part of a bath-house served by the water-pipe.<sup>15</sup> While the lack of any evidence for a pre-Flavian masonry foundation beneath the foundations of the Flavian and the Hadrianic-Antonine forum basilicas indicates the eastern limit lay to the west of that excavated area, the presence of so much stonework from

<sup>11</sup> Clarke and Fulford 2006, fig. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Fulford and Timby 2000, 92, table 6.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*, 118, fig. 95; *RIB* 2482.

<sup>14</sup> Hope 1897, 422–7.

<sup>15</sup> Boon 1974, 88–9.

Periods 5 and 6 suggests that it lay not far away, perhaps beneath the west range. No extensive deep excavations have been undertaken which might indicate a western limit, but the behaviour of the water-pipe might indicate that the building or buildings did not extend beyond the western limit of Insulae II and III. This would give an area measuring approximately 240 m north–south by 110 m east–west, some 2.64 hectares (the proto-palace complex at Fishbourne extended over at least 2.8 ha; the Flavian palace over some 2.2 ha).

What building or buildings occupied this area? Apart from the indications of a bath-house at the southern end and a single wall-foundation at the northern end, we only have the fragments of architectural and decorative stonework and of inscriptions to go on. This collection clearly points to one or more buildings of considerable architectural pretension but, apart from the stratified fragments, it is difficult to know how much weight to attach to the unstratified pieces from the five insulae in question. While a significant proportion might have derived from pre-Flavian building, we cannot be certain that all the material can be thus assigned. The picture is complicated by the Hadrianic-Antonine forum basilica which may well be the source of some of the pieces. In the past it has been assumed that all architectural and decorative stonework, as well as other finds, found in the basilica derived from the masonry forum basilica which can now be dated to the early to mid-second century. However, in the light of our reconsideration of material stratified in contexts either pre-dating that building or associated with its construction, real doubt must now attach to the attribution of all architectural fragments, inscriptions, etc. to the Hadrianic-Antonine forum basilica rather than to any pre- or early Flavian building. This is particularly pertinent given how much material from the various phases of excavations was recovered from the basilica rather than from the forum. Allowing for the possibility of pre-Flavian building would overcome the difficulty of so much architectural material of differing type and size, as recorded by Blagg, otherwise being attributed to the Hadrianic-Antonine building.<sup>16</sup> Drawing on the stratified evidence from Insula IX and the forum basilica in Insula IV, we have, in addition to undecorated fragments and blocks, an engaged Tuscan base (to support a column of c. 280 mm diameter), and a fragment of a Corinthian capital from the latter, and two engaged capitals, very weathered, but probably of the Tuscan order, from Insula IX, as well as fragments of column drum of c. 0.4 m diameter. All the material identified by Dr Hayward is attributed to quarries in the Bath region.<sup>17</sup> The recent basilica excavation also produced pieces of Purbeck marble wall-veneers and moulded slabs and cornices from Periods 4–6, as well as Kimmeridgian tesseræ from Period 5.<sup>18</sup>

The assemblage of stonework which emerges, both in terms of the architectural forms and the types of stone used, is reminiscent of that from both the pre-Flavian 'proto-palace' and the Flavian palace at Fishbourne.<sup>19</sup> Except for the material in the Tuscan order at Silchester, everything else is to be found associated with the pre-palatial phase. Together, it certainly hints at one or more buildings of considerable elaboration which, in addition to a bath-house, might have included a private residence on a palatial scale and a temple. All the stratified fragments as well as those more generally derived from our five, central insulae could have derived from such building types. In its almost exclusive preference for material from the Bath quarries, the Silchester assemblage differs from Fishbourne, where there was a greater use of imported stone from northern France as well as more locally obtained Upper Greensand. On the other hand there is a close correlation between the two sites in their use of lithologies from the Isle of Purbeck/south Dorset for decoration — mosaics, *opus sectile*, veneers, corning, etc. The quality of the (private?) building which is implied at Silchester contrasts strongly with that of the adjacent and

<sup>16</sup> Blagg 2002, 127; 144.

<sup>17</sup> Hayward 2007; Hayward pers. comm.

<sup>18</sup> Fulford and Timby 2000, 93–9.

<sup>19</sup> Cunliffe 1971a and b; Cunliffe *et al.* 1996; Manley and Rudkin 2005.

contemporary, (public) pre-Flavian forum of timber construction. This tends to reinforce the idea that the priority in high-status building at this time was to benefit an individual and his family, rather than the inhabitants of *Calleva* as a whole.

The most likely explanation for quality building of this character is that it provided accommodation and facilities appropriate to the status of an individual of high rank, in this case, presumably, the client king. Although there is no explicit reference to Cogidubnus and Silchester, it is reasonable to assume that *Calleva* fell within his kingdom. Of our two written sources for the king, one is the celebrated, but undated inscription from Chichester commemorating the dedication of a temple to Neptune and Minerva,<sup>20</sup> the other the passage of Tacitus in his *Agricola* referring to the establishment of a client kingdom during Aulus Plautius' governorship with the granting of 'quaedam civitates Cogidumno regi donatae (is ad nostrum usque memoriam fidissimus mansit)'.<sup>21</sup> Given the relative antiquity of *Calleva*, with its foundation in the later first century B.C. and its association with the Atrebatas through the coinage of successive late Iron Age dynasts descended from Commius, as well as its Roman name in the Antonine Itinerary, *Calleva Atrebatum*, it was likely to have been a focal point of the kingdom. Indeed, with the possible exception of Canterbury, and in the absence of persuasive evidence from Chichester and Winchester, it was the only major nucleated settlement south of the Thames at the time of the Roman invasion of A.D. 43.

We can be reasonably confident of a pre-Flavian date for our high-quality building at Silchester on stratigraphic grounds on the basis of the combined evidence from Insula IX and the forum basilica. It is therefore very tempting to link construction with the stamped tiles of Nero, of which three examples were also found in the basilica excavation. The production of the tiles implies a project or projects of some scale and, while we cannot be certain without much more extensive excavation, it would be reasonable to attribute a large proportion of the building to a programme initiated by Nero. Given the Boudiccan rebellion and its causes, an association with Nero raises interesting questions of timing and ownership. If we are correct in interpreting the *Calleva* palatial complex as a gift from the emperor to the client king, is this more likely to have happened before A.D. 60 or afterwards? On the one hand Nero's generosity could be seen as building on the achievements of his predecessor, but this seems hard to square with the enthusiasm with which the kingdom of the Iceni was taken over on the death of Prasutagus. On the other hand the gesture could be seen as a generous, but politically sensible gift to one who had given assistance, or remained loyal to the emperor, most obviously during the rebellion of A.D. 60/1.<sup>22</sup> Even if the passage in question occurs in the *Agricola* in association with the description of the achievements of Ostorius Scapula, sustained loyalty is implied by 'is ad nostrum usque memoriam fidissimus mansit'.<sup>23</sup> Securing Cogidubnus' continued loyalty in the aftermath of the rebellion would have been a wise precaution to help ensure stability in the south of the province. Interestingly, a dedication of loyalty to Nero, but on the part of an unnamed dedicatee, is represented by the now lost inscription from Chichester, *RIB* 92, dated to A.D. 60. Frere has commented that, given Nero sent a large donation to Lyon following a disastrous fire in A.D. 65, 'it is curious that no such steps appear to have been taken in Britain'<sup>24</sup> where there is little evidence of restoration in the cities of Colchester, Verulamium and London in the immediate aftermath of the destruction at the hands of Boudicca (see below).<sup>25</sup> Strategically, it could be argued, the priority for Nero was to demonstrate his gratitude to those who had given

<sup>20</sup> *RIB* 91; Bogaers 1979.

<sup>21</sup> *Agricola* 14.

<sup>22</sup> cf. Salway 1981, 752 takes an opposite view to Barrett 1979, 234.

<sup>23</sup> *Agricola* 14.

<sup>24</sup> Frere 1999, 80.

<sup>25</sup> The situation summarised most recently by Crummy (1997, 85–9) for Colchester; Milne (1995, 48–50) and Perring (1991, 22–43) for London; and Niblett (2001, 68–9) for Verulamium.

him support, and on whose continued loyalty he depended to ensure the security of the province, rather than to the devastated cities.

The association of the tiles — and associated building project — with the emperor Nero's name has no parallel from the Western provinces, which adds weight to the thought that the project was of exceptional character. What further might be inferred from the use of the imperial tile-stamp? Minimally, it would suggest that the brickworks, which, it is believed, were located close to *Calleva* at Little London, were imperial property, but it is hardly likely that the imperial *patrimonium* was thus circumscribed. But how extensive was it? Frere's suggestion that the brickworks were part of an estate belonging to a *princeps* of the Atrebatas which came into imperial ownership as a result of the forcible recall of loans under Decianus Catus, or earlier when the supporters of Caratacus were eliminated, is entirely plausible.<sup>26</sup> Rather than supposing that the gift of building in *Calleva* represented part of a larger transfer of former Atrebatian land to the control of the client king as one of the *civitates* mentioned by Tacitus in his *Agricola*, it would seem more likely, given the context of the passage, that control of all lands associated with the Atrebatas in former times was passed over to Cogidubnus by Claudius.

Other building at Silchester associated with Nero is represented by the public baths in the south-east of the town. This attribution is based on the discovery in 1903–4 of a Nero tile which came not from the structure itself, but from a pit close by the latrine, so the dating is far from secure.<sup>27</sup> The received interpretation is that the portico of the baths was demolished to accommodate the rectilinear street-grid, which on the evidence from Insula IX also appears to be pre-Flavian, thus implying that the bath-house is likely to be earlier rather than later in the sequence of pre-Flavian construction at *Calleva*.<sup>28</sup> The same is likely to be true of the street-grid as a whole, given that it shares the same orientation as the Period 4 timber forum complex, whose first phase dates from the end of the 40s or early 50s.<sup>29</sup> However, it can also be argued that what the excavators found in 1903–4 was the evidence for the continued raising of street levels such that they eventually buried the lower levels of the portico. This would explain why the demolition of the portico did not include the lowest sections of the columns and their associated bases. Rather the portico was only demolished down to the latest Roman street level. Such an interpretation thus overcomes the awkwardness whereby a significant change to a building appeared to have taken place within a very short period of time following its erection. Without further investigation of the relationship with the earliest levels of the street, we cannot be certain whether the baths were earlier or later than the laying out of the streets, but, given that their location coincides with a major east–west street of the grid, it is likely that they were constructed after the grid was laid down, albeit at a slight angle to the street frontage.

More secure is the evidence for the date of the first construction of the amphitheatre of earth-and-timber construction at the eastern edge of the settlement. A *terminus post quem* is provided by sherds of Neronian and Neronian-Flavian samian as well as pre-Flavian coarse wares sealed beneath the *cavea*.<sup>30</sup> Interestingly the north-east/south-west orientation of the amphitheatre is also shared by the pre-Flavian wall foundation mentioned above and located in the south-east corner of the current area of excavation of Insula IX. The north-east/south-west/north-west/south-east orientation has its origins in the late first century B.C. with the earliest settlement on the site of the later forum basilica<sup>31</sup> and it is interesting to note that, in varying degrees of consistency, it is perpetuated in at least three significant pre-Flavian building projects.

<sup>26</sup> Frere 1999, 283.

<sup>27</sup> Hope and Fox 1905, 366.

<sup>28</sup> e.g. Boon 1974, 46–7.

<sup>29</sup> Fulford and Timby 2000, 42–3; 568.

<sup>30</sup> Fulford 1989, 14.

<sup>31</sup> Fulford and Timby 2000, 8–37, fig. 3.



FIG. 2. Location of places mentioned in the text.

Obviously a great deal was happening at Silchester over a relatively short period of about two decades at most, from the late 40s to the late 60s.<sup>32</sup> If it were not for the Nero tiles it would not be easy on the basis of coin and pottery evidence to distinguish between the work carried out under Claudius' rather than Nero's reign (though dendrochronology of the piles beneath the baths may eventually provide an answer there). Suffice it to say that some, or all of the proposed palatial complex to the west of the forum and the baths (probably) were projects supported by Nero and his procurator. The amphitheatre, though, with its modest construction of earth and timber, perhaps originating in the latter part of Nero's reign, may have relied on more local support.

South and south-west of the Thames beyond *Calleva* the best known civilian projects which can be assigned, at least in their initial phase of construction, to the latter part of Nero's reign are the 'proto-palace' at Fishbourne with its lavish evidence for the employment of exotic building materials, including imported marble,<sup>33</sup> and the temple of Sulis Minerva and the associated spa-complex and sacred spring at Bath (FIG. 2).<sup>34</sup> Work on the former started in the early/mid-60s,<sup>35</sup> while the latter is assigned on stylistic grounds to the Neronian-early Flavian period<sup>36</sup> with only one datable piece of evidence from Period 1, a pre-Flavian samian sherd.<sup>37</sup> Neither location has produced any evidence of the sources of patronage which led to their construction. There is also evidence from Chichester (*Noviomagus Reginorum*) itself for development contemporary with the construction of the 'proto-palace'. The evidence consists of fragments of marble, *opus*

<sup>32</sup> Fulford 2003.

<sup>33</sup> Cunliffe 1971a, 58–61.

<sup>34</sup> Cunliffe 1969; 1985.

<sup>35</sup> Cunliffe 1971a, 69, 71; re-stated in Cunliffe 1991; 1998, 39–47, though Black (1993) continues to assert a later date.

<sup>36</sup> Blagg 1979.

<sup>37</sup> Cunliffe 1985, 65.



*sectile*, patterned flue-tiles, two fragments of an inscription, and pottery recovered from a pit associated with the initial construction of the Tower Street baths. The associated pottery includes Flavian samian as the latest material, but the implication is that the material largely derives from a pre-Flavian structure.<sup>38</sup> The date of the temple to Neptune and Minerva (*RIB* 91) can only be defined as being within the lifetime of Cogidubnus, which cannot preclude an early Flavian rather than a Neronian date. However the dedication to Nero (*RIB* 92), referred to above and dated to A.D. 60, may relate to a building rather than a statue. Although there are striking parallels with the street-grid of *Calleva*, both in orientation on the cardinal points and in approximate extent, it is assigned a late first/early second-century date, but the evidence is far from secure.<sup>39</sup> It seems highly unlikely that a building programme, which included at least a suite of public baths, would have taken place without reference to the makings, at least, of a street-grid. Given the consistency of orientation of buildings from the Periods 1–2 pre-Flavian timber buildings onwards in the north-west quadrant of the town,<sup>40</sup> it would not be surprising if a pre-Flavian date were established for the origin of the grid, even if it developed further in the later first and second centuries. Outside of Chichester and its immediate environs we may note that, without detailing the evidence, a pre-Flavian date is suggested for the origin of the masonry temple on Hayling Island,<sup>41</sup> and similarities between the pre-Flavian baths at Fishbourne and those attached to the villa at Angmering to the east argue for a similar date for the latter.<sup>42</sup> Even if the dating evidence is not as strong as we would wish, there is sufficient to suggest a considerable focus of development towards the coast and the southern limits of the Atrebatian territory. Although there is pre-Flavian occupation in Winchester,<sup>43</sup> the only project possibly attributable to the late 60s is the construction of a defensive earthwork enclosure. An unworn *as* of Nero was found at the base of one of the post-holes of the timber-framed south gate.<sup>44</sup> To the north, but on the south bank of the Thames, dumps of building material at the Winchester Palace site, fragments of limestone column shafts from 15–23 Southwark Street, and pieces of Kimmeridgian stone from Borough High Street provide tantalising evidence for significant pre-Flavian, probably pre-Boudiccan buildings in Southwark.<sup>45</sup>

All of this contrasts markedly with the lack of evidence for comparable, civil development north of the Thames, particularly in Colchester, London and Verulamium. At Colchester the only significant civilian work that is attested in the post-Boudiccan period is the city wall to defend the *colonia*.<sup>46</sup> Dating evidence gives a broad range, A.D. 65–80, which suggests a strong probability, but not certainty, that work started under Nero. Presumably a start was also made in the 60s on the repair of public buildings damaged or destroyed by the fire, but there is no certainty of this. At Verulamium, where a 15-year gap has been identified before *Insula* XIV was redeveloped,<sup>47</sup> with a similar interval noted before rebuilding in *Insulae* XVII and XXVII, the south-east frontage of *Insula* XXVIII was not redeveloped before c. A.D. 120.<sup>48</sup> Elsewhere, remains of a first-century bath-house employing limestone columns were found in *Insula* XIX.<sup>49</sup> Initially believed to be

<sup>38</sup> Down 1978, 143–4.

<sup>39</sup> Down 1978, 66.

<sup>40</sup> e.g. compare Down 1978, fig. 7.2 (Periods 1 and 2) with fig. 7.3 (fourth century).

<sup>41</sup> Downey *et al.* 1980, 296.

<sup>42</sup> Cunliffe 1971a, 63, 65, 67, 75; Black 1993.

<sup>43</sup> e.g. Cunliffe 1964, 23.

<sup>44</sup> Biddle 1975, 110.

<sup>45</sup> Cowan 1992, 14; Yule 2005, 25; Drummond-Murray *et al.* 2002, 48–53 (the Wealden shale on p. 53 is Kimmeridgian stone); cf. Pritchard (1986) for possible pre-Flavian finds of ornamental stonework from London.

<sup>46</sup> Crummy 1992, 14–15, 62–4.

<sup>47</sup> Frere 1972, 40.

<sup>48</sup> Frere 1983.

<sup>49</sup> Niblett and Thompson 2005, 85, 147–8.

pre-Boudiccan in date, it has subsequently been suggested to be later.<sup>50</sup> Niblett also argues for a date of A.D. 75–80 for the defensive enclosure known as the ‘1955 ditch’, rather than in the 60s when it was interpreted as a protective measure taken in the immediate aftermath of the Boudiccan destruction.<sup>51</sup> Finally, it is to the year A.D. 79 that the dedicatory inscription found close to an entrance to the forum is dated.<sup>52</sup> It is likely to celebrate the completion of either the first phase of the main forum basilica, or the otherwise undated proto-forum, an undertaking which would have started some years earlier, perhaps in the early 70s rather than the mid-70s, when the other, private reconstruction work is documented.<sup>53</sup>

The situation in London seems to have been similar to that in Verulamium, with little evidence for development in the years immediately following Boudicca.<sup>54</sup> However, there was a strategic priority to secure the port and river-crossing and it is not surprising that evidence has now emerged of a post-Boudiccan fort north of the bridgehead.<sup>55</sup> There is also a dendrochronological date of A.D. 63 for the felling of an oak beam used in the building of a substantial quay structure on the north bank.<sup>56</sup> The brand of an auxiliary regiment of Thracians impressed into one of the associated beams implies a military involvement in this work.<sup>57</sup> Elsewhere it seems that the start of *significant*, post-Boudiccan construction belongs to the 70s, even with building close to the heart of the settlement, where at No. 1 Poultry, immediately on the west side of the Walbrook, dendrochronology indicates a date after A.D. 70 for the construction of new roadside timber buildings.<sup>58</sup> Dendrochronology, too, gives a *terminus post quem* of A.D. 74 for the initial construction of the amphitheatre,<sup>59</sup> while a coin of A.D. 71 gives a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the first forum.<sup>60</sup> South of the river, too, while there is some evidence for timber building dating to the 60s, major reconstruction work does not begin until after A.D. 70.<sup>61</sup> The felling dates of the piles used in the foundations of the possible *mansio* at 15–23 Southwark Street give a *terminus post quem* of A.D. 72–74.<sup>62</sup>

Although it is likely that evidence will eventually emerge for more activity in these towns in the 60s, such as the construction after A.D. 63 of the well in London which contained the remains of the bucket-chain,<sup>63</sup> there is no indication yet of rapid re-investment in civil building until after A.D. 70, perhaps initiated by the arrival of Vespasian’s governor, Petillius Cerealis, in A.D. 71. If evidence for significant reconstruction in the towns in the 60s is so far lacking, there is plenty of evidence for the establishment of new forts north of the Thames, in addition to that in London.<sup>64</sup> Assuring security with direct military control was clearly the priority north of the Thames.

Across and to the west of the Thames the evidence collectively makes a case for active, financial intervention in the territory which we assume coincided in part at least with that of the client kingdom in the 60s. If we are right about Chichester, its emphasis seems to have been on the development of the two cities, the historic centre at *Calleva* and the eponymous *Noviomagus*, and associated palatial accommodation for the king. The tile stamps from *Calleva*

<sup>50</sup> Niblett 2001, 65.

<sup>51</sup> Niblett 2001, 72.

<sup>52</sup> Frere 1983, 69–72.

<sup>53</sup> Niblett and Thompson 2005, 82–3.

<sup>54</sup> Summarised by Milne 1995, 48–9.

<sup>55</sup> Burnham *et al.* 2001, 365.

<sup>56</sup> Burnham *et al.* 1996, 427.

<sup>57</sup> Hassall and Tomlin 1996, 449.

<sup>58</sup> Rowsome 2000, 24.

<sup>59</sup> Bateman *et al.* forthcoming.

<sup>60</sup> In fact actual construction is argued to be later, *c.* A.D. 75–85, Marsden 1987, 73.

<sup>61</sup> Drummond-Murray *et al.* 2002, 54–81; Yule 2005, 84–5.

<sup>62</sup> Cowan 1992, 28–9.

<sup>63</sup> Blair *et al.* 2006, 10.

<sup>64</sup> As summarised by Frere 1999, 77.

give a particular association with Nero. Although we have no firm evidence for the boundaries of Cogidubnus' kingdom, there is no reason why it could not have included Bath, although the main beneficiaries of the temple and spa-complex, as attested by inscriptions, were soldiers. Ptolemy assigns the hot springs to the Belgae,<sup>65</sup> whose territory is assumed to have formed part of the kingdom. Altogether this evidence supports the idea of a two-fold policy to control Britain in the aftermath of the rebellion: direct military control to the north of the Thames and massive cash subsidies to promote the client king and ensure security to the south. Some independent evidence for increased expenditure in the province in the 60s comes from the observation that the period A.D. 64–67 saw a 'massive' injection of *aes* coins into the province, probably from the mint at Lyons.<sup>66</sup> Prior to that *aes* coinage had not been introduced on a regular basis and much that circulated in the Julio-Claudian period consisted of irregular copies, a high proportion of which were produced in Britain.

Part of our confidence that elements, at least, of two sets of buildings can be attributed to the time of Nero lies in the evidence for their destruction. At Silchester monumental masonry was being re-worked into timber buildings in Insula IX by the 80s, while at Fishbourne the proto-palace was demolished only to be replaced by its compact successor from the mid-70s. There is further tantalising evidence in the form of the remains of a 'grand' building being incorporated into the Flavian phase of the baths in the centre of Chichester. Unlike the other 'public' buildings attributed to Nero's reign in Silchester, or the temple and spa-complex at Bath, the two, or three, sets of buildings demolished in the early Flavian period would appear to have been private residences. Presumably the event which triggered their destruction was the death of Cogidubnus, when some, or all, of his kingdom would have passed to the emperor. While at Silchester the palatial complex was replaced in part by a comparatively modest forum basilica constructed of timber, at Fishbourne a new, richly adorned palace arose on the site. We can only speculate as to whether the Fishbourne estate remained in the hands of the descendants of the king, but it is tempting to associate the new build with a new owner, perhaps the procurator or the governor investing some of the revenue of the kingdom into an appropriately lavish seaside retreat.

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<sup>65</sup> Ptolemy 2.3.13.

<sup>66</sup> Walker 1988, 281–2, 285–6.

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