# $TRAC \hbox{ Theoretical Roman} \\ Archaeology \hbox{ Conference} \\$

www.trac.org.uk

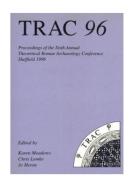
## **Paper Information:**

Title: Samian: Beyond Dating

Author: S. Willis Pages: 38–54

DOI: http://doi.org/10.16995/TRAC1996 38 54

Publication Date: 11 April 1997



#### Volume Information:

Meadows, K., Lemke, C., and Heron, J. (eds.) (1997) TRAC 96: Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Sheffield 1996. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

# **Copyright and Hardcopy Editions:**

The following paper was originally published in print format by Oxbow Books for TRAC. Hard copy editions of this volume may still be available, and can be purchased direct from Oxbow at <a href="http://www.oxbowbooks.com">http://www.oxbowbooks.com</a>.

TRAC has now made this paper available as Open Access through an agreement with the publisher. Copyright remains with TRAC and the individual author(s), and all use or quotation of this paper and/or its contents must be acknowledged. This paper was released in digital Open Access format in April 2013.

# 6. Samian: Beyond Dating

#### S. Willis

#### Introduction

Samian pottery, being widely found on excavated Roman sites in Britain and North-West Europe, constitutes one of the best quality data sources available for Roman studies. The use of this familiar pottery for dating sites and deposits is one of the corner stones of Roman archaeology. Its rich potential for addressing a wide range of questions is an exciting prospect. We have, however, been under-exploiting this resource. Whilst our knowledge of certain specifics of samian has been well advanced by concerted studies, at a number of levels we know little about this pottery. The crucial and dedicated work of those few specialists who identify and date the material has not been followed up by archaeologists and broadened out into general studies. Instead, the established practice of focusing upon samian as a dating tool and as a field of specialist typological study has endured, whilst the specialists themselves have had little time to systematically pursue the wider questions of, for instance, distribution. We have therefore neither been synthesising the available data nor (with few exceptions) has this information base been employed in addressing social and economic questions in Roman archaeology. Consequently, samian research has lacked the momentum which has characterised other fields of Roman artefact research in recent decades (e.g. work on amphorae). Hence samian data has remained a relatively uninterrogated resource, and so the pottery about which we know most has, paradoxically, been subject to only limited archaeological study. In this paper I want to briefly illustrate some ways in which we can employ samian data to examine a range of aspects of society and economy.

A number of attributes of samian ware, not least the fact that it is easily identified and can be closely dated, make it a highly useful class of material for developing methodologies for studying individual sites, regions and provinces (cf. Millett 1980). Samian data is readily amenable to numerically based studies (cf. below); equally, useful results can be gained from straight-forward approaches such as basic distribution and incidence analyses (which have, to date, remained few and far between). For this paper I will use the example of first century South Gaulish Samian ware (SGSW) in Britain. I hope to demonstrate two features: first, how the incidence of samian can be seen to be patterned in a number of ways; and secondly, that social explanations may be proposed to account for much of the patterning.

## How was Samian Regarded?

Surprisingly little work has systematically explored whether samian was treated differently from other pottery types in Britain or how it may have been regarded by different cultural and status groups.

A traditional unquestioning approach has prevailed, involving a related set of assumptions that this pottery was perceived of as a high status commodity, was used as a table ware, and was valued across the cultural spectrum. It is prerequisite that the validity of these assumptions be explored. In the absence of existing large scale evaluations these questions may be approached by looking at a range of types of evidence which come from specific studies. As will become clear below, these demonstrate that at least in some cases samian, and often decorated samian in particular, was treated differently from other pottery types and suggests that it was a valued or status item. Evans' study of graffiti on Roman pottery (Evans 1988) found that samian was treated differently from other pottery types. It displays an above average tendency to be marked in some way, with such inscribing presumably expressing a concern to sign ownership. Similarly, samian shows above average tendency to be repaired, as evidenced by lead riveting, than other pottery types (e.g. Ward 1993:19–20; pers. comm. Jeremy Evans; cf. Dickinson 1996:591; Bellhouse 1958:25–6). (There are regional and temporal variations in the frequency of such repair).

## Samian in the Vanguard of Imports.

Arretine and early provincial Terra Sigillata are rare in Britain prior to the conquest, Gallo-Belgic imports, for instance, being much more common (Rigby 1986; Willis 1993, 1996). However, for the period immediately following AD 43, distribution studies of samian in southern Britain show that this pottery was in the vanguard of imports arriving at indigenous settlement sites not previously in receipt of continental imports (Millett 1980). Moreover, this is a pattern which we see repeated at a later date in northern and upland Britain with the advance of the Roman military (Millett 1985). Hence samian begins to appear at indigenous sites in Yorkshire (details below) and northeast England, such as Thorpe Thewles (Millett 1987a) and Catcote (Long 1988:27) around the time of the conquest of northern Britain. At rural sites in North Wales, samian was often either the only Roman pottery to arrive in the early period or was amongst a very select range of types (e.g. Evans forthcoming a & b). A similar picture is evidenced, to some degree, amongst the finds from sites in Northumberland investigated by George Jobey and others (e.g. Jobey & Jobey 1987), as well as in southern Scotland where Robertson's detailed survey indicates that early samian is very prominently represented amongst assemblages from indigenous sites yielding Roman material (Robertson 1970). No social restriction per se was therefore operating in terms of access to the ware, and this was so whether the vessels were plain or decorated.

# Decorated Samian Disproportionately Represented at Some Sites

Of particular interest, detailed study reveals that *decorated* samian is disproportionally well represented at certain small scale and rural indigenous sites during the first century AD. Intriguingly, this hitherto unrecognized pattern actually appears to be a very wide phenomenon in Britain and one which research is beginning to suggest may well be common.

At most Roman military sites and larger civil settlements the ratio of plain to decorated samian is usually of the order of 3:1 or 4:1 in favour of plain ware (table 1). A markedly different pattern, however, is discernible at some indigenous settlement sites in northern and upland Britain during the early Roman period. This is evidently so in the case of East Yorkshire. Here SGSW is known from twelve native/indigenous sites comprising: Brantingham, Elmswell, Faxfleet 'B', Garton Slack,

Site	Ratio - Decorated:Plain	Method
Great Casterton Forts (Todd 1968:42)	1:6	By number of sherds
Kingsholm (Hurst 1985: 56)	1:4.5	By number of vessels
Longthorpe II (Wild 1987:124)	1:5	By number of vessels
Thorpe (Nottinghamshire) (J. Roman Studies 1964:54, 159; Data: author)	1:2 1:3	By number of vessels By EVE

Table 1. Ratios of Decorated to Plain South Gaulish Samian Ware at Roman Military Sites

Greylees Ave. Hull, North Cave, Redcliff (North Ferriby), Rudston, Shiptonthorpe, Staxton Quarry, Welton Wold and Park Grange Farm, Woodmansey (table 2). At these sites this SGSW mainly dates to around the time when this region was being absorbed into the Empire (the Flavian period) with some earlier examples, as at Redcliff-North Ferriby (Hartley 1976; Willis forthcoming). Excluding Shiptonthorpe, for which no details are currently available, eleven of these sites have decorated samian (the bowl forms Dragendorff 29 and 37). However, only three have also yielded plain ware (Redcliff, Rudston and Staxton Quarry).

Site	Decorated South Gaulish Samian Present	Plain South Gaulish Samian Present	References
Brantingham	Form 29 (1 vessel)	None	Yorks. Arch. J. 1950:37, 429.
Brough-on-Humber fort	Forms 29, 30 & 37	Yes	Corder 1934:5-8; 1935:18-24; Corder & Romans 1936; Oswald 1936; 1937; 1939; Hartley 1969.
Elmswell	Form 37 (2 vessels)	None	Oswald 1938:24 & Figure 4b No.2; Stanfield 1940:38.
Faxfleet 'B'	Forms 29 (1 vessel) & 37 (2 vessels)	None	Sitch 1987: 24-6 & Appendix 6.2.
Garton Slack	Form 37 (3 vessels)	None	Brewster 1980: 333, 335, Figure 203 Nos 5 & 7.
Hayton fort	Forms 29, 30 & 37	Yes	Pengelly 1978.
Hull, Grevlees Ave	Form 37	None	Didsbury 1990: 92.
North Cave 1986-7	Form 37 (2 vessels)	None	Pers. comm. Peter Didsbury; Dickinson forthcoming a.
Redcliff (North Ferriby)	Form 29	Yes	Corder & Pryce 1938; Corder et al. 1939:243, Figure 3; Willis forthcoming.
Rudston	Forms 29 & 37	Yes	Pengelly 1980.
Shiptonthorpe	No details available	No details available	Pers. comm. Jeremy Evans
Staxton Quarry	Form 37	Yes	Brewster 1957.
Woodmansey, Park Grange Farm	Form 29 (1 vessel)	None	Pers. comm. Peter Didsbury
Welton Wold	Present	No details available	Pers. comm. Rod Mackey

Table 2. The Incidence of South Gaulish Samian in East Yorkshire

The amounts present are small but the pattern is borne out by the better sized sample from Rudston where thirteen decorated SGSW vessels are represented, out-numbering the plain SGSW vessels by more than 2:1 (Pengelly 1980). Provisional study suggests there is a similar emphasis amongst the material from the Welton Wold site (pers. comm. Rod Mackey). Significantly the Roman fort site at Hayton in East Yorkshire displays a ratio of 3:1 in favour of plain SGSW (Pengelly 1978), thereby conforming to the normal pattern for a first century fort and in contrast to the surrounding rural indigenous sites. Hence the evidence shows a consistent but highly selected supply of decorated samian bowls to these indigenous East Yorkshire sites.

A similar situation is apparent at the contemporary Dalton Parlours site, West Yorkshire, where decorated South Gaulish bowls (Drag. forms 30 and 37) are represented, but no plain ware (Sumpter 1990:130), as well as at sites in North Wales (Evans forthcoming a & b; Going & Marsh forthcoming). Similarly, Robertson's (1970) documentation of the Roman finds from native/indigenous sites in Scotland evidences a high ratio of decorated bowls to plain ware in the case of catalogued South Gaulish Samian. Moreover, an analogous pattern can be seen in Millett's (1980, table 3) data for Sussex sites. Here decorated ware as a percentage of total SGSW from sites is proportionally as common on the smaller rural sites as at villas. The West Sussex data also show that decorated ware is relatively more frequent within SGSW assemblages from small sites than it is at the major centres of Fishbourne and Chichester, (leading Millett to conclude that "The idea of a simple relationship between sites status and the proportion of decorated materials is thus not upheld by these figures" (1980:66)). This evidence implies that the prominent showing of these decorated bowls at smaller sites is not limited to the upland zone of Britain. Further work is now required to establish whether this remarkable pattern is common<sup>1</sup> or even perhaps the norm!

We must be wary of conventional assumptions but it is difficult not to see this differential distribution as indicating a demand at these sites for decorated samian bowls (or that they were selected for supply to them). A further point to consider is that we should not assume that it was primarily the decoration of these vessels that was most significant for these consumers; it may well have been the fact that they were fairly large bowls which made them desirable. This raises topical questions of form and function.

#### South Gaulish Samian at Stanwick, North Yorkshire

The character of the early samian assemblage from the late Iron Age centre at Stanwick (Millett & Willis forthcoming) provides further indication of the special status of this pottery. At this site South Gaulish Samian is the most common of all Roman pottery types (by sherd count and, with amphorae excluded, by weight) which, given that the Roman pottery assemblage from the site is both varied and sizeable, is extraordinary. Moreover, decorated ware is strongly represented, amongst which occur examples of the jug form Hermet type 15 (Millett & Willis forthcoming) which is very rare in Britain. Given the context of this site these items, together with the other Roman ceramics and imports present, appear unlikely to be the product of normal trade and could be diplomatic gifts (Haselgrove 1984:21; Evans 1995a:54–5; Haselgrove et al. forthcoming). The association of these rare items with this large scale and unusual Iron Age complex adds further weight to the suggestion that there was something special about samian.

To summarise, a range of evidence indicates that samian vessels, and especially decorated forms, were frequently, and probably generally, treated differently from other pottery. There were probably various reasons why this was so rather than there being a single factor. Nonetheless the pattern

of the evidence firmly indicates that samian forms were particularly valued items. Similarly the quantity and character of samian at sites, together with the percentage of an assemblage which it forms, may be regarded as an approximate index of site status and identity, as will be outlined below. (This must not be taken as given in all instances, especially since the archaeology of the North-West provinces presents us with so many spatial, cultural and chronological differences in material practice.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, evidence presented in this paper demonstrates that there may be other variables which complicate the picture (see below)).

#### How Common is Samian?

To answer this question it is necessary to look at a wide sample area. Taking only SGSW, current in the first century AD, one can examine its occurrence in eastern England<sup>3</sup>. When its incidence is listed (appendix 1) and mapped (figure 1) it becomes apparent that this pottery is actually a very widespread find, both socially and geographically, occurring at all types of site even during this early period of importation. Figure 1 shows that SGSW is recorded from ninety sites and find-spots in this area (to this author's knowledge). However, it is better represented at some types of site rather than others.

One approach exploring the nature of supply and consumption is to consider the number of South Gaulish vessel form types present per site. Obviously this type of data is influenced by a number of variables (Millett 1980; Willis 1993), such as the fact that larger excavations (or numerous investigations at one site) are likely to result in bigger samples, meaning a larger variety of types; similarly the number of types present at a site will be related to the length of period of supply, which, in this case, probably explains the difference in totals between Leicester and York (i.e. certain pre-Flavian forms such as Drag. 24/25 and Ritterling 8 and 12, are less likely to occur at Northern British sites for chronological reasons). In fact, systematic study reveals that the number of form varieties present per site appears to be a fairly reliable index of site identity and status (table 3; c.f. Millett 1980). Large 'Romanized' centres and Roman military sites, subject to extensive investigation, have yielded the widest ranges of SGSW forms (table 3). In addition, all forts subjected to some concerted excavation have produced around six or more forms. Even allowing for the fact that Roman military sites have received a generally disproportionate amount of archaeological attention (cf. Evans 1995b), forts and fortresses demonstrably received a greater diversity of forms than other types of site. Clearly Roman military sites were unequivocally prominent consumers of samian (cf. Willems 1981:132). Only three sites without Roman military connections in this region have produced a wide range of forms in SGSW: Stanwick (North Yorkshire), twelve or thirteen forms; Redcliff, eight forms; and Dragonby, eleven forms. Significantly these three sites are known to be important late Iron Age centres. Small indigenous sites such as Thorpe Thewles and Catcote in the Tees Lowlands (see above), Whitwell in Rutland (Todd 1981; Bird 1981) and Norton Disney, Lincolnshire (Oswald 1937), typically have less forms represented, c. four or five or less (table 3).

# How Frequent is Samian?

The prominence of samian (including SGSW) in site reports often gives a disproportionate impression of its frequency at sites, and, indeed, *vis-à-vis* other types of finds. This becomes clear from establishing the percentage of a pottery group or assemblage which any samian present comprises.

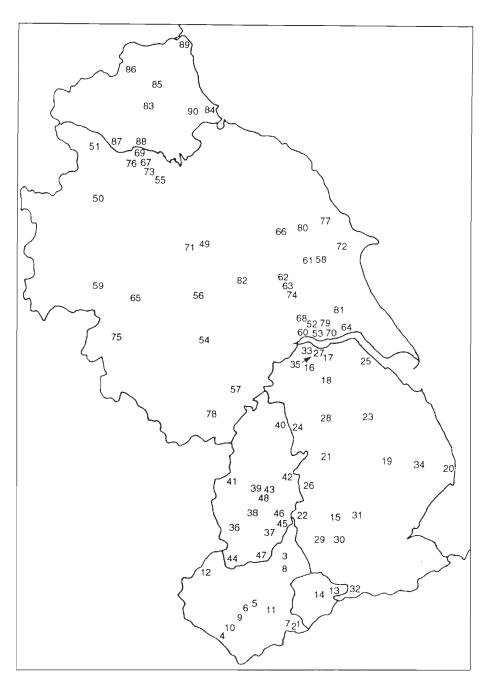


Figure 1. The Incidence of South Gaulish Samian in Eastern England (see appendix 1 for site names)

	Number of SGSW
Site	Form Types
	Recorded to date
Leicester	24
East Bridgford (Margidunum)	24
Lincoln	22
Old Winteringham	15
Brough-on-Humber	14
Ilkley	14
York	13
Stanwick	12
Dragonby	11
Binchester	11
Thorpe	10
Doncaster	10
Great Casterton	9
Aldborough	9
Hayton Fort	9
Ebchester	9
Redcliff (North Ferriby)	8
Slack	8
Broxtowe	7
Malton	7
Templebrough	7
High Cross	6
Sapperton	6
Osmanthorpe	6
Willoughby-on-the-Wolds	6
Bainbridge	6
Whitwell	5
Ferriby Sluice	5
Norton Disney Villa site	5
Rudston	5
Catcote	4
Thorpe Thewles	4

N 1 6606W

Table 3. The number of form types in South Gaulish Samian recorded from sites in Eastern England (see appendix 1 for fuller details).

In the first century AD these percentages are, in the great majority of cases, very small indeed. Again taking eastern England as the sample area, by sherd count SGSW usually forms less than seven percent of the pottery group in which it occurs and on average, forms only c. three percent (e.g. table 4). By weight it forms even smaller proportions amongst site pottery groups. For the first century AD this pattern of infrequency seems to be generally true, though it is not entirely independent of site type, since detailed study (Willis 1993) has shown a tendency for it to be slightly more frequent at Roman military sites and the larger centres known to be fairly well 'Romanized' by an early date — as might be predicted; this concords with the evidence of the form range examined above. During the second century and probably into the third a somewhat higher frequency of samian amongst groups from military sites and towns has been recorded, of around ten percent, as at Segontium (King & Millett 1993) and Catterick (Dickinson forthcoming b) respectively.

Site	Date of Group	Samian as % of Group
Redcliff 1986-9, Pit Groups	Claudian	0.7%
Scotch Corner 1995	Mid First Century AD	1.7%
Old Winteringham 1964-5, Ditch AA/AB	Claudian to Neronian	5.3%
Leicester, Blackfriars St 1977, Phases 2 & 3	Claudian & Neronian	1.9%
Dragonby 1964-73, Ditch 1682	Claudian-Flavian	0.5%
Lincoln, East Bight 1964-6 (Darling 1984)	Neronian-early Flavian deposits	4.4%
Leicester, Bath Lane 1968, Phase 2	Neronian to early Flavian	6.2%
Lincoln, East Bight 1980-1	Neronian to Flavian deposits	2.3%
Havton Fort 1975, Area S	Flavian	1.7%
Lincoln, East Bight 1980-1	Late Flavian to early Trajanic deposits	12.6%

Table 4. Samian as a percentage component of some first century AD pottery groups from Eastern England by sherd count (including amphora). Quantified by author except Lincoln, East Bight, 1964–5.

Returning to the first century data (table 4), the general pattern is clear: Samian occurs fairly regularly within groups but almost invariably in modest proportions. Its distribution, therefore, may be characterized as widespread, but also thinly spread. It is comparatively infrequent at all types of site during the first century (so against this general background its incidence at Stanwick is exceptional). A corollary of this comparative rarity of SGSW is that if, indeed, the ware was particularly prized its sustained scarcity through the period examined here will presumably have contributed to the maintenance of this status.

# The Relative Frequency of Early Samian versus Gallo-Belgic Fine Ware

At the major eastern England centres of Leicester, Dragonby, Redcliff, Sleaford and Old Winteringham, all with Iron Age origins, Gallo-Belgic table-wares are a more common component of groups than samian ware at least until the mid-Neronian period. This is clearly demonstrated by an analysis of the relative proportions of these wares amongst stratified mid-first century groups from these sites (table 5); these data again identify the assemblage from Stanwick as exceptional. Evidently it is only after the mid-first century AD that SGSW becomes the more prominent fine ware component of groups at these large centres. This corresponds with the decline in importation of Gallo-

Site	South Gaulish Samian Ware	Gallo-Belgic Fine Ware
Dragonby	7%	93%
Leicester	36%	64%
Old Winteringham	10%	90%
Redcliff	1%	99%
Stanwick	75%	25%

Table 5. The relative proportions by weight of Gallo-Belgic and Samian pottery amongst stratified groups of the mid-first century AD from sites in Eastern England. Quantified by author.

Belgic wares into Britain during the Neronian period.

The quantitative data demonstrate that these contemporary wares were circulating differently during the mid-first century. Compared to SGSW the distribution of Gallo-Belgic wares is 'lumpy' in so far as it occurs at fewer sites than SGSW, but where it is present, it tends to occur both in a variety of form types and in relative quantity (Willis 1993). SGSW, in some ways, of course, an analogous fine ware, is more widespread but, as noted above, where it occurs it tends to form only very small percentages of groups and assemblages. Significantly, this pattern appears to highlight something of the character of exchange relationships and perhaps cultural preferences in eastern England during this period. That Gallo-Belgic pottery is disproportionately well represented on the major sites with Iron Age origins perhaps reflects both the nature of exchange connections and ethnic identifications (cf. Millett 1990:33; Willis 1994). The contemporary cemetery evidence displays a similar and perhaps related pattern of discrimination with samian on the whole absent from burials of the mid-first century AD in Gallia Belgica and southern Britain and, contrastingly, Gallo-Belgic vessels being well represented (e.g. Tuffreau-Libre & Jacques 1985:143; Stead & Rigby 1989; Millett 1993; Wallace forthcoming).

# Exceptional Deposits of Early Samian

Whilst looking at SGSW distribution it becomes apparent that there are a number of unusual early deposits of this pottery, comprising large stratified 'dumps'. These occur at the following sites: Carlisle, Tullie House 1990; Cirencester, Leaholme Garden 1961; Inchtuthil 1952–65; Leicester, Redcross St 1962–3; Vindolanda 1991–2; and York, Blake St, 1975–6 (appendix 2); (the two Colchester pottery shop groups (Hull 1958; Millett 1987b) are not included since they seem to represent different types of contexts and events and, unlike the others, both are associated with fire destruction). As appendix 2 demonstrates, these deposits are principally from Roman military sites. Conventionally these samian deposits have been interpreted in functional and practical terms as representing material broken in transit or relating to site evacuations or clearance (e.g. Rhodes 1989). This might well be the case. However, they are a surprisingly frequent phenomenon and this being so it might be worthwhile considering alternative interpretations for their existence.

From a number of perspectives these early samian groups are odd. Several points are worth noting. Firstly, this seems a phenomenon curiously unique to samian, for there is an absence of comparable deposits of other contemporary types, for instance, flagons, Lyon ware, Gallo-Belgic wares, rusticated jars or flanged bowls. The Cirencester group apart, the samian in these deposits is not reported as being mixed with similarly large quantities of other pottery. Secondly, except in the case of the group from Inchtuthil which has suffered from chemical weathering (Hartley 1985) this samian appears always unused or unworn; with Inchtuthil it could not be established if this was so or not (Hartley 1985). In a number of cases complete vessels occur amongst these deposits. Third, and significantly, if these deposits do represent accidental breakage in bulk or 'decamping' it would mean that this pottery was not being carefully curated - at least not by the Roman army. This seems to starkly conflict with other indices of its value and frequency during this period, as outlined above. Fourth, the representation and relative proportions of specific forms amongst these deposits differs in all cases to what is 'normal' amongst site assemblages of samian of this date. In other words they are 'odd' deposits when compared with (to employ Orton's (1989) terminology) 'death assemblages' of samian from excavated site deposits. This difference may be noted but cannot be pressed, partly because a 'death assemblage' is a highly specific residue of activity and practice which we would expect to contrast with the assemblage in use or in circulation (cf. Barrett 1988, 1994; Orton 1989). Additionally, the variables determining the composition of these groups may be complex and are not readily intelligible whether a conventional interpretation is followed or not (cf. Hartley 1985:316). Finally, and perhaps most germane, from their contexts all these deposits can be seen to relate to structural changes, site refashioning and 'endings' (i.e. of occupation and activity phases). Could these big samian groups therefore represent ritual/votive deposits of valued or significant material culture and constitute the depositional equivalent of the well attested infant burials not infrequently found associated with the inauguration and structural reorganization of military and other buildings in this period (cf. Crummy 1992; Luff 1984; Scott 1990, 1991; Struck 1993). This may or may not be the case but in principle it is important that we in Roman studies are open to conceiving such possibilities rather than assuming the conventional and 'most practical' line of explanation. Indeed, careful study may discern similar patterns amongst items less obvious than infant burials and large 'dumps' of samian.

#### Conclusion

This paper, focusing in particular on the early Roman period, has shown that the distribution of South Gaulish ware is patterned in a number of ways. It was distributed widely and evidently without social restriction. Despite this it forms relatively small percentages of stratified groups, even at forts and larger, high status, centres. Comparative analysis suggests a cultural preference may have been operating during this early period of importation, with at least some indigenous communities consuming larger quantities of Gallo-Belgic fine wares than samian in the mid-first century. This evidence seems also to indicate the operation of a specific and discriminating 'grammar' in the use of these two categories of pottery. The data further suggest that decorated samian bowls were relatively more frequent at rural sites (including proto-villas and small scale indigenous settlements) than at forts and the larger civil centres which one would think were of higher status and important nodes in distribution networks. This interesting phenomenon warrants further investigation. I hope the approaches explored here demonstrate how we might begin to employ samian in ways that are more adventurous than hitherto and which do better justice to the great potential of this material to address a wide range of archaeological questions.

#### Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to Jeremy Evans and Martin Millett for kindly discussing with me various points made in this paper and to Colin Wallace who provided several references. I also wish to thank Jill Willis.

#### Notes

- The pattern is obviously not universal. Catcote, for instance, has a ratio of one decorated vessel to seven plain (Long 1988:27) and Maxey, Cambridgeshire, a ratio of 1:4 (Wild 1985:123).
- Whether, for instance, decorated samian generally continues to be preferentially valued over plain ware
  at British sites throughout the period of samian importation (i.e. into the second and third century) or if,
  or to what extent, 'the novelty wears off', is not yet satisfactorily established.
- This region is taken here to comprise the historic counties of Leicestershire, Rutland, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire and Durham.
- 4. Even if such mundane explanations are correct this is not without interest in itself.

Appendix 1: The Incidence of SGSW in Eastern England by Historic County (Source: Willis 1993, Appendix 5.1, with additions)

Site	Site Number on figure 1	Number of SGSW Form Types Recorded to date *
Leicestershire:		
Drayton I Villa site	1	11
Drayton II Villa site	2	1
Goadby Marwood	3	2
High Cross	4	6
Humberstone Farm	5	"Several"
Leicester	6	24
Medbourne	7	"Several"
Melton Mowbray,	8	1
Scalford Brook		
Narborough Villa site	99	Present
Sapcote Villa site	10	Present
Skeffington	11	<u> </u>
Staunton Harold	12	Present
Rutland:		
Great Casterton	13	9
Whitwell	14	5
Lincolnshire:		
Ancaster	15	2
Dragonby	16	11
Ferriby Sluice	17	5
Hibaldstow	18	Present
Horncastle	19	1
Ingoldmells Point	20	2
Lincoln	21	22
Long Bennington, Al Bypass	22	2
Ludford	23	1
Marton	24	Present
North Killingholme Haven	25	Present
Norton Disney Villa site	26	5
Old Winteringham	27	15
Owmby	28	1
Saltersford	29	1
Sapperton	30	6
Sleaford	31	1
Tallington 37	32	Present
Thealby Mine 'North'	33	1
Ulceby Cross	34	Present
Winterton Villa site	35	2
Nottinghamshire:	_	
Broxtowe	36	7
East Bridgford (Margidunum)	37	24
Farnsfield, Camp Hill	38	Present
Goldhill	39	3
Littleborough	40	Present
Mansfield Woodhouse	41	1
Meering	42	1

Site	Site Number on figure 1	Number of SGSW Form Types Recorded to date
Nottinghamshire (continued):		
Osmanthorpe	43	6
Ratcliffe, Red Hill	44	1
Staunton-in-the-Vale	45	1
Thorpe	46	10
Willoughby-on-the-	47	6
Wolds	47	0
Woodborough, Fox Wood	48	1 (?)
Yorkshire:		
Aldborough	49	9
Bainbridge	50	6
Bowes	51	1
Brantingham Villa site	52	1
Brough-on-Humber	53	14
Castleford	54	Present
Catterick	55	4
Dalton Parlours	56	2
Doncaster	57	10
Elmswell	58	1
Elslack	59	4
Faxfleet 'B'	60	2
Garton Slack	61	1
Havton Fort site	62	9
Hayton, Grange Farm	63	Present
Hull, Grevlees Ave	64	1 I
Ilklev	65	14
Malton	66	7
Melsonby	67	Present
North Cave	68	1
Piercebridge, Holme	69	Present
House	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	1100011
Redcliff (North Ferriby)	70	8
Roecliffe	71	Present
Rudston	72	5
Scotch Corner	73	2
Shiptonthorpe	74	Present
Slack	75	8
Stanwick	76	12
Staxton, Newham's	77	2
Quarry	78	7
Templebrough		·
Welton Wold	79 80	Present
West Hesierton		1
Woodmansey, Park Grange Farm	81	1
York	82	13
County Durham:		
Binchester	83	11
Catcote	84	4
Durham City	85	2
Ebchester	86	9
Greta Bridge	87	1
Piercebridge	88	Present
South Shields	89	5**
Thorpe Thewles	90	4

<sup>\*</sup> For several sites these totals will represent the minimum number of form types present. Note that for this exercise Dragendorff forms 18 and 18R are here grouped as one form, as are examples of 15/17 and 15/17R.

<sup>\*\*</sup> The South Gaulish Samian ware from South Shields presumably represents imported survivals.

Appendix 2: Large, Abnormal, Deposits of South Gaulish Samian in Britain. (The two Colchester Potters' shops are excluded for reasons stated above).

### The Groups in Date order:

Cirencester, Leaholme Garden 1961 (Wacher & McWhirr 1982; Hartley & Dickinson 1982). Date of Deposit: c. AD 60–65; Context: Fort Ditch; Quantity: c.85 samian vessels; Unused.

York, Blake St, 1975-6 (Monaghan 1993; Dickinson & Hartley 1993).

Date of Deposit: c. AD 71; Context: Military Levels; Quantity: 100+ samian vessels; Unused.

Carlisle, Tullie House, 1990 (Caruana 1992; Dickinson 1992).

Date of Deposit: c. AD 84; Context: Fort Annex Ditch; Quantity: 1.8kg from small sondage; Unused.

Inchtuthil, 1952-65 (Pitts & St. Joseph 1985; Hartley 1985).

Date of Deposit: c. AD 83–7; Context: Fortress Gutter & Sill Beam Slot; Quantity: 150+ samian vessels; ?Unused.

Vindolanda, 1991-2 (Birley 1994; Hartley 1994).

Date of Deposit: c. AD 85-92; Context: Fort Ditch; Quantity: "Substantial"; Unused.

Leicester, Redcross St 1962-3 (Clay & Pollard 1994; Dickinson 1994).

Date of Deposit: Flavian-early Trajanic; Context: three pits filled contemporaneously; Quantity:22.2 EVE; Unused.

#### Bibliography

Barrett, J. C. 1988. Fields of discourse: reconstituting a social archaeology, *Critique of Anthropology*, 7/3:5–16. Barrett, J. C. 1994. *Fragments from Antiquity: An Archaeology of Social Life in Britain*, 2900–1200 B.C. Oxford: Blackwell.

Bellhouse, R. L. 1958. Roman sites on the Cumberland Coast, 1956, *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, New Series, 57:18–26.

Bird, J. 1981. Samian ware. In *The Iron Age and Roman Settlement at Whitwell, Leicestershire* (by. M. Todd). Leicestershire: Museums, Art Galleries & Records Service Archaeological Reports Series, 1, pp. 25–6.

Birley, R. 1994. Vindolanda 1: The Early Wooden Forts, Vindolanda Research Reports, New Series 1 Hexham: Roman Army Museum Publications.

Brewster, T. C. M. 1957. Excavations at Newham's Pit, Staxton, 1947–48, *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 39:193–223.

Brewster, T.C.M. 1980. *The Excavation of Garton and Wetwang Slacks*. Malton: Prehistoric Excavation Reports 2.

Caruana, I.D. 1992. Carlisle: Excavation of a Section of the Annexe Ditch of the first Flavian Fort, 1990, Britannia, 23:45–109.

Clay, P. and Pollard, R. 1994. Iron Age and Roman Occupation in the West Bridge Area, Leicester. Excavations 1962–1971. Leicester: Leicestershire Museums, Art Galleries & Records Service Archaeological Reports.

Corder, P. 1934. Excavations at the Roman Fort at Brough-on-Humber. Hull: Hull Museum Publications, 182.

Corder, P. 1935. Excavations at the Roman Fort at Brough, E. Yorkshire 1934. Hull: Hull Museum Publications, 185.

Corder, P. and Pryce, T. D. 1938. Belgic and other early pottery found at North Ferriby, Yorks. with comments on pre-Claudian Romano-Gaulish influence in Britain. *The Antiquaries Journal*, 18 (3):262–77.

- Corder, P. and Romans, T. 1936. Excavations at the Roman Town at Brough, E. Yorkshire 1935. Hull: Hull Museum Publications, 189.
- Corder, P. and Romans, T. 1939. Excavations at the Roman Town at Brough, E. Yorkshire 1937, Hull: Hull Museum Publications, 206.
- Corder, P., Wright, C. W. and Wright, E. V. 1939. The pre-Roman settlement of the Parisi at North Ferriby, The Naturalist, September 1939:237–43.
- Crummy, P. 1992. Excavations at Culver Street, the Gilberd School and Other Sites in Colchester 1971–1985, Colchester Archaeological Report 6. Colchester: Colchester Archaeological Trust & English Heritage.
- Darling, M. J. 1984. *Roman Pottery From the Upper Defences*, The Archaeology of Lincoln, 16/2. London: Council for British Archaeology.
- Dickinson, B.M. 1992. Samian ware. In Carlisle: excavation of a section of the annexe ditch of the first Flavian fort, 1990 (by 1.D. Caruana). *Britannia*, 23:45–109 (51–8).
- Dickinson, B. M. 1994. Discussion of the stamped Samian from site 5, phase 2a. In *Iron Age and Roman Occupation in the West Bridge Area, Leicester. Excavations 1962–1971* (by P. Clay and R. Pollard). Leicester: Leicestershire Museums, Art Galleries & Records Service Archaeological Reports, pp. 64.
- Dickinson, B. M. 1996. Samian pottery. In *Dragonby. Report on Excavations at an Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement in North Lincolnshire, Vol. I. & 2* (by J. May). Oxford: Oxbow Monograph 61, pp. 591–7.
- Dickinson, B. M. forthcoming a. The Samian. In Excavations at North Cave, East Yorkshire, 1986–7 (ed. J. Dent)
- Dickinson, B. M. forthcoming b. The Samian, In Pottery from the CEU excavations (by A Bell and J. Evans). In *Excavations at Catterick 1956–1988* (by P. R. Wilson). HBMCE Monograph.
- Dickinson, B. M. and Hartley, B. R. 1993. Samian ware. In *Roman Pottery from the Fortress: 9 Blake Street* (by. J. Monaghan). The Archaeology of York, 16/7. York: York Archaeological Trust, pp. 722–5.
- Didsbury, M.P.T. 1990. Aspects of Late Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement in the Lower Hull Valley, University of Durham M.Phil. thesis. Unpublished.
- Evans, J. 1988. Graffiti and the evidence of literacy and pottery use in Roman Britain, *The Archaeological Journal*, 144, for 1987:191–204.
- Evans, J. 1995a. Later Iron Age and 'native' pottery in the North-East. In *Moorland Monuments: Studies in the Archaeology of North-East Yorkshire in honour of Raymond Hayes and Don Spratt* (ed. B. E. Vyner) London: CBA Research Report, No. 101, pp. 46–68.
- Evans, J. 1995b. Roman finds assemblages: towards an integrated approach? In *Theoretical Roman Archaeology: Second Conference Proceedings* (ed. P. Rush). Aldershott: Avebury, pp. 33–58.
- Evans, J. forthcoming a. The Roman pottery from Bryn Eryr, Anglesey. In *Report on excavations at Bryn Eryr, Anglesey* (by D. Longley).
- Evans, J. forthcoming b. The Graeanogg pottery. In *Report on Excavations at Graeanogg, Gwynedd.* (by R. Kelly).
- Going, C. and Marsh, G. Forthcoming. The Roman Pottery. in *The Excavations at Cefn Graeanogg, Clynnog, Gwynedd*, by R.B. White 1977–9 (Eds. M. Mason & P. Fasham)
- Hartley, B.R. 1969. The Samian pottery. In *Excavations at Brough-on-Humber1958–1961* (by J. S. Wacher). Leeds: Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 25. pp. 107–32.
- Hartley, B.R. 1976. Samian ware found at North Ferriby. In Excavations at Winterton Roman Villa and other Roman Sites in North Lincolnshire 1958–1967 (by I. M. Stead). London: Department of the Environment Archaeological Reports, 9, HMSO, pp. 134.
- Hartley, B.R. 1985. The Samian ware. In *Inchtuthil: The Roman Legionary Fortress, Excavations 1952-65* (by L. F. Pitts and J. K. St. Joseph). London: Britannia Monograph Series, pp. 314-22.
- Hartley, B.R. 1994. The Samian stamps in the Period 1 ditch.. In Vindolanda 1: The Early Wooden Forts 1994 (by R. Birley). Vindolanda Research Reports, New Series 1. Hexham: Roman Army Museum Publications, pp. 23–4.
- Hartley, B.R. and Dickinson, B.M. 1982. The Samian. In Early Roman Occupation at Cirencester (by J. S. Wacher and A. D. McWhirr). Cirencester Excavations 1. Cirencester: Cirencester Excavation Committee, pp. 119–46.

- Haselgrove, C.C. 1984. The later Pre-Roman Iron Age between the Humber and the Tyne. In Settlement and Society in the Roman North (eds P. R. Wilson, R. F. J. Jones and D. M. Evans). Richmond, pp. 9–25.
- Haselgrove, C.C., Fitts, R.L, Willis, S.H. and Turnbull P.Forthcoming. Excavations in the Tofts Field (Site 9), Stanwick, North Yorkshire, 1984–9. *The Archaeological Journal*.
- Hull, M.R. 1958. Roman Colchester. Oxford: Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries, 20.
- Hurst, H. R. 1985. Kingsholm. Cambridge: Gloucester Archaeological Publications.
- Jobey, I. and Jobey, G. 1987. Prehistoric, Romano-British and later remains on Murton High Crags, North-umberland, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 15:151–97.
- King, A. C. and Millett, M. J. 1993. Samian ware. In Excavations at Segontium (Caernarfon) Roman Fort, 1975–1979 (by P.J. Casey and J. L. Davies with J. Evans). London: Council for British Archaeology Research Report 90, pp. 234–49.
- Long, C. D. 1988. The Iron Age and Romano-British settlement at Catcote, Hartlepool, Cleveland, *Durham Archaeological Journal*, 4:13–35.
- Luff, R. 1984. Appendix 1: Human remains from Lion Walk and Balkerne Lane. In Excavations at Lion Walk, Balkerne Lane, and Middleborough, Colchester, Essex (by P. Crummy). Colchester Archaeological Report 3. Colchester: Colchester Archaeological Trust, pp. 232–7.
- Millett, M. J. 1980. Aspects of Romano-British pottery in West Sussex. Sussex Archaeological Collections, 118:57–68.
- Millett, M. J. 1985. Roman pottery in the North of Britain in the first and second centuries A.D. Paper presented at the first meeting of 'The Impact of the Romans on the Peoples of North Britain' Research Seminar, University of Durham, November 1985. Unpublished.
- Millett, M. J. 1987a. The Romano-British pottery. In *The Excavation of the Iron Age Settlement at Thorpe Thewles, Cleveland, 1980–82* (by D. H Heslop). London: CBA Research Report 65, pp. 73–6.
- Millett, M. J. 1987b. Boudicca, the first Colchester potters' shop, and the dating of Neronian Samian. *Britannia*, 18:93–123.
- Millett, M. J. 1990. The Romanization of Britain. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Millett, M. J. 1993. A cemetery in an age of transition: King Harry Lane reconsidered. In Römerzeitliche Gräber als Quellen zu Religion, Bevölkerungsstruktur und Sozialgeschichte, (ed. M. Struck). Archäologische Schriften des Instituts für Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz, Band 3.pp. 255–82.
- Millett, M. J. and Willis, S. H. Forthcoming. The Samian Pottery. In Excavations in the Tofts Field (Site 9), Stanwick, North Yorkshire, 1984–9 (by C. C. Haselgrove, R. L. Fitts, S. H. Willis and P. Turnbull). The Archaeological Journal.
- Monaghan, J. 1993. Roman Pottery from the Fortress: 9 Blake Street. The Archaeology of York, 16/7. York: York Archaeological Trust.
- Orton, C.R. 1989. An introduction to the quantification of assemblages of pottery. *Journal of Roman Pottery Studies*, 2:94–7.
- Oswald, A. 1937. A Roman fortified villa at Norton Disney, Lincs. *The Antiquaries Journal*, 17:138–78. Oswald, F. 1936. Decorated Samian ware. In *Excavations at the Roman Town at Brough, E. Yorkshire 1935*
- (by P. Corder and T. Romans). Hull: Hull Museum Publications, 189, pp. 28–31.
- Oswald, F. 1937. Decorated Samian. In Excavations at the Roman Town at Brough, E. Yorkshire 1936 (eds P. Corder and T. Romans). Hull: Hull Museum Publications, 194, pp. 35.
- Oswald, F. 1938. The decorated Samian. In *A Roman and Saxon site at Elmswell, East Yorks.* 1937 (by A. L. Congreve). Hull: Hull Museum Publications, 198, pp. 24–5.
- Oswald, F. 1939. Decorated Samian. In *Excavations at the Roman Town at Brough, E. Yorkshire 1937* (by P. Corder and T. Romans). Hull: Hull Museum Publications, 206, pp. 48–55.
- Pengelly, H. 1978. Samian ware. In Excavations at Hayton, Roman fort, 1975 (by. S. Johnson). *Britannia*, 9:57–114. pp. 88–90.

- Pengelly, H. 1980. Samian ware. In Rudston Roman Villa (by I. M. Stead). Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, pp. 37–9.
- Pitts, L. F. and St. Joseph, J. K. 1985. *Inchtuthil: The Roman Legionary Fortress, Excavations 1952–65*, London: Britannia Monograph Series.
- Rhodes, M. 1989. Roman pottery lost *en route* from the kiln site to the user a gazetteer. *Journal of Roman Pottery Studies*, 2:44–58.
- Rigby, V. 1986. Gaulish fine-ware imports. In Baldock. The Excavation of a Roman and Pre-Roman Settlement, 1968–72 (by I. M. Stead and V. Rigby). London: Britannia Monograph Series 7, pp. 223–34.
- Robertson, A.S. 1970. Roman finds from non-Roman sites in Scotland. Britannia, 1:198-226.
- Scott, E. 1990. A critical review of the interpretation of infant burials in Roman Britain. *Journal of Theoretical Archaeology*, 1:30–9.
- Scott, E. 1991. Animals and infant burials in Romano-British villas: a revitalization movement. In Sacred and Profane (eds P. Garwood, D. Jennings, R. Skeats, and J. Toms). Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph. Oxford: Oxford University, pp. 115–22.
- Sitch, B. J. 1987. Faxfleet 'B'. A Romano-British Site Near Broomfleet, North Humberside, University of Durham M.A. Dissertation. Unpublished.
- Stanfield, J. A. 1940. Decorated Samian ware. In *Excavations at Elmswell, East Yorkshire 1938* (by P. Corder). Hull: Hull Museum Publications, 207, pp. 36–9.
- Stead, I. M. and Rigby, V. 1989. Verulamium: The King Harry Lane Site. London: English Heritage Archaeological Report 12.
- Struck, M. 1993. Kinderbestattungen in romano-britischen Siedlungen der archäologische Befund. In (ed. M. Struck). Römerzeitliche Gräber als Quellen zu Religion, Bevölkerungsstruktur und Sozialgeschichte, Archäologische Schriften des Instituts für Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz, Band 3, pp. 313–8.
- Sumpter, A. B. 1990. Iron Age Pottery. In *Dalton Parlours Iron Age Settlement and Roman Villa* (eds S. Wrathmell and A. Nicholson). Yorkshire Archaeology 3, West Yorkshire Archaeological Service, pp. 128–30.
- Todd, M. (ed.) 1968. The Roman Fort at Great Casterton, Rutland. Excavations of 1960 and 1962. Nottingham: University of Nottingham.
- Todd, M. 1981. The Iron Age and Roman Settlement at Whitwell, Leicestershire. Leicestershire Museums, Art Galleries & Records Service Archaeological Reports Series, 1.
- Tuffreau-Libre, M. and Jacques, A. 1985. La céramique Gallo-Romaine du 1er siècle dans le sud de l'Atrébatie. Gallia 43:127–45.
- Wacher, J. S. and McWhirr, A. D. 1982. Early Roman Occupation at Cirencester. Cirencester Excavations 1. Cirencester: Cirencester Excavation Committee.
- Wallace, C. forthcoming. The pottery from the DCS/DFS cremation cemetery. In Landscape Development in North-West Essex: the Stanstead Project 1985–1991 (by H. Brooks, and R. Havis). East Anglian Archaeology Report Series.
- Ward, M. 1993. A summary of the Samian ware from excavations at Piercebridge. *Journal of Roman Pottery Studies*, 6:15–22.
- Wild, F. C. 1985. The Samian. In The Fenland Project, No.1: Archaeology and Environment in the Lower Welland Valley, Vol.1 (by F. M. M. Pryor, C. A. I. French, D. R. Crowther, D. Gurney, G. Simpson, and M. Taylor). East Anglian Archaeology Report 27, pp. 123–4.
- Wild, F. C. 1987. The Samian Ware. In Longthorpe II. The Military Works-Depot: An Episode in Landscape History (by G. B. Dannell and J. P. Wild). London: Britannia Monograph Series 8, pp. 124-7.
- Willems, W. J. H. 1981. Romans and Batavians. A Regional Study in the Dutch Eastern River Area, 1. Ber Rijksdienst Oudh B 31:7–217.
- Willis, S. H. 1993. Aspects of Pottery Assemblages of the Late Iron Age/First Century A.D. in the East and North-East of England, University of Durham Ph. D. Thesis, Unpublished.

- Willis, S. H. 1994. Roman imports into late Iron Age British societies: towards a critique of eexisting models. In *TRAC 94: The Proceedings of the 4th Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference* (eds S. Cottam, D. Dungworth, S. Scott and J. Taylor). Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 141–50.
- Willis, S. H. 1996. The Romanization of pottery assemblages in the east and north-east of England during the first century A.D.: A comparative analysis. *Britannia*, 27:179–221.
- Willis, S. H. forthcoming. The pottery. In Excavation and Survey at Redcliff (North Ferriby), North Humberside 1986–9 (by J. D. Creighton, S. H. Willis and D. R. Crowther) *The Archaeological Journal*.