

The Roman temple at Wanborough, excavation 1985-1986

M G O'CONNELL AND JOANNA BIRD

with a report on the coins by

CLIVE CHEESMAN

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Summary

A coin hoard was deposited at the site in the period following the Claudian conquest of southern Britain. The first conclusive evidence of the religious nature of the site was in the form of a dedicatory deposit preceding the construction of a Romano-Celtic type temple in stone after the middle of the 2nd century. The temple, together with at least one ancillary building, probably continued in use into the second half of the 4th century when demolition took place.

Preface and acknowledgements, by D G Bird

Surrey archaeologists had known of the existence of a Roman site in Green Lane, Wanborough for many years before it became possible to arrange a small-scale excavation, in 1979, to test the character and survival of the site (O'Connell 1984). The excavation and subsequent resistivity survey established the existence of at least one Roman building. It was not possible to arrange further work, so there was insufficient evidence to make it possible to schedule the site as an ancient monument, and therefore any publicity for the site was avoided.

In late 1983 metal detector users working along Green Lane found a few gold and silver Iron Age and Roman Republican coins which were declared to Guildford Museum, at whose request the site location was kept secret. Unfortunately more unscrupulous people made it their business to find out the position of the site by attending the subsequent treasure trove inquest and this led to further detecting. There were more discoveries of coins which were deliberately publicized and this led to more and more people being attracted to the site. Digging by treasure seekers became increasingly extensive, spreading from the lane into the adjacent field (even though it was under crop), literally cutting through the ancient hedge bank, in places destroying the hedge itself. Local residents became very worried by the night-time activities and the police made many attempts to catch the vandals. At times there were said to be as many as 30 people on site.

Rumours about these activities and the appearance of a flood of coins on to both British and foreign markets raised the alarm for Surrey archaeologists, who became increasingly concerned about the scale of the damage to the site. Holes several feet deep could be seen and the ground was littered with discarded Roman pottery and tile. There seemed to be no way of stopping the destruction and so it became clear that a rescue excavation would have to be mounted. For various reasons the Society had to take the lead role in making the arrangements. Unfortunately it took several months for the necessary permissions to be gained and for sufficient finance to be obtained. The Society's then President, Rosamond Hanworth, Secretaries, John and Marian Gower, and Legal Adviser, Stephen Fortescue, played vital roles in this process, and many others helped.

It was clearly essential to employ a full-time team, and Martin O'Connell of the County Planning Department archaeological team was seconded to direct the excavation. The team arranged to be on site every day and even overnight; as a result there were only two minor raids on the excavation trenches. It should be noted here that Martin was on site almost every day for the whole of the four months of excavation, and that the team's morale remained amazingly high in the cold, wet and very muddy conditions. Considerable assistance was provided by a small army of volunteers, mostly at weekends, and Ken Peters kindly provided metal detecting expertise to rescue coins from the spoilheaps and pinpoint others during excavation.

The process of excavation was difficult because of the London Clay subsoil and the effects of the treasure hunting which had churned up large parts of the site. It was necessary to treat the whole area archaeologically but it became clear that a great deal had been totally destroyed by treasure hunters working across the area and backfilling one hole as they dug the next. Surviving sections made clear how much archaeological evidence had been lost in this way. It even proved possible to join freshly broken pottery from treasure

hunter backfill with material still *in situ*, and one sceptre handle and fragments of a chain head-dress were found where they had been thrown aside. The main tragedy was that the area destroyed would have given the archaeological evidence for when and how the coins were initially deposited on the site, a classic example of how treasure hunting destroys archaeological information.

It is obvious that many objects were removed from the site and sold. Some details emerged in the various court cases; it should be noted here that the late Joan Wakeford put in many hours making records of these cases which have provided valuable information. Conversely it is sad to note that one well-known prehistorian (from outside the area) felt able to appear in court in support of treasure hunters who admitted going on to the land without permission and described how they dug through archaeological layers, even though the only outcome of his intervention would have been to ensure that coins from the site would be given to the finders.

Sober estimates now indicate that over 9000 coins and several bronze objects (including sceptre handles and at least one possible head-dress) were lost to the treasure hunters. Where possible the bronzes have been included in the catalogue, but no attempt has been made to trace the coins. It is, however, clear that the treasure hunters took the majority of the larger coins from the site. As a result of their activities coins recovered during the excavation came almost entirely from treasure-hunter spoil or were found only in later contexts.

The scale of the destruction of archaeological evidence and the loss of important material was amply documented and it is obvious that highly important archaeological information has been lost for ever as the direct result of the actions of a few greedy people. No-one who claims an interest in the past could possibly view the destruction at Wanborough with anything but horror, or fail to recognize that there is a need for changes in the law. On a brighter note it is evident that most of those known to have been involved in the devastation of the site came from outside the County or were already known to be treasure hunters who showed little respect for archaeological sites. Most local users of metal detectors kept away from Wanborough and this was undoubtedly a hopeful sign on which archaeologists and responsible metal detectorists in Surrey are building. Problems remain, however; as these lines were being written information was becoming available about serious damage being caused to the scheduled site of the Farley Heath temple. Once again, people from outside the County are thought to be involved.

Many people contributed to the success of the Wanborough excavation and the completion of this report. The Society would particularly like to acknowledge the support of Lord and Lady Taylor of Hadfield, who very kindly agreed to allow the excavation in an area close to their home and subsequently generously donated the finds to the Society. The tenant farmer, David Jones, was always helpful and interested.

As noted above, Rosamond Hanworth and John and Marian Gower played vital roles in the setting up of the excavation. Hugh Nicol and Stephen Fortescue sorted out the legal requirements, Alf Sargent controlled finances and Audrey Monk co-ordinated the large fund-raising appeal. Major grants came from Conoco (Jeff Tetlow and Frank Taylor were particularly helpful and interested), Surrey County Council, Surrey Archaeological Society, English Heritage and the Robert Kiln Trust; many others, local firms, Society members and ordinary members of the public, supported the appeal. The Society is very grateful to them all for making the excavation possible. English Heritage then provided the necessary funds for the post-excavation work and publication.

Support of various kinds came from a wide variety of people and organizations. The police were always helpful, especially Alan Bridgman and Michael Tapp. Lord Hanworth and Guildford Boat House provided battery charging and other facilities; Guildford Borough Council donated a site hut; British Telecom loaned a mobile phone (through the kind offices of Peter Ferguson); John Milne provided a water tap and field for car parking and the site caravans (before these had to be moved to the site); English Heritage arranged

conservation for the finds; Ann Watson looked after tools and gave general assistance including the arrangement of much-needed baths generously provided by local people for the excavation team. More general assistance came from David and Audrey Graham, Guildford Museum and the late Jac Cowie (whose fudge was a noted morale-booster). Members of the County Planning Department's Text Preparation Services, especially Pam Southern, Celia Judd, Audrey Morris and Chris Hoare, coped marvellously with the various texts.

Martin O'Connell wishes to thank the professional team, not only for their skill and dedication throughout the excavation but for their stoicism in the face of difficult and often unpleasant working conditions. Particular mention should be made of Joanna Bird who co-ordinated the recording and processing of the finds from the site; David Williams who was responsible for on-site planning and photography; and Julian Gascoigne who acted as Site Supervisor. Other members of the team were David Egan, Gillian Folkes, John Gould, Sarah Minett, Sean Standley and Elspeth Stewart.

Many amateur archaeologists helped on the site, especially at weekends, when a rota system was introduced to keep numbers manageable. In particular, groups from Farnham, Haslemere and Guildford took part in this way. It is not possible to thank everyone individually but special mention should be made of Graham Berton, Malcolm Clabby, Audrey Graham, David Graham and Chris Quinn, who put in many hours of work.

Joanna Bird is grateful to all those who have contributed, in writing or discussion, to the study of the finds. Particular thanks are due to Miranda Green and Martin Henig, who have generously shared their wide knowledge of Celtic religion and iconography, and to Karen Webster, for her detailed notes made during the conservation of the sceptres and head-dresses. She would also like to thank Phil Jones, Stuart Needham, Val Rigby and Ian Stead, who kindly commented on the prehistoric material, and Justine Bayley, David Bird, Tom Bird, John Boas, Andrew Burnett, Mike Cowell, Jan Kees Haalebos, Rosamond Hanworth, Kathryn Knowles, David Peacock, Jennifer Price and Martin Read. The staff of Guildford Museum generously made their earlier Wanborough acquisitions available for study and illustration.

A special debt is due to the late Joan Wakeford whose meticulous transcripts of the trials at Kingston Crown Court, made on behalf of the Society, have enabled several objects to be located more precisely than would otherwise have been possible.

Mike Fulford, Rosamond Hanworth and Paul Tyers discussed aspects of the pottery, particularly its dating, and their comments have been most helpful. Thanks are also due to Brenda Dickinson, Kay Hartley and Mike Fulford for their specialist reports. While some of the pottery was washed and marked on site, the greater part of this work was heroically undertaken by Di and Tom White after the excavation.

An essential part of any finds report lies in its illustrations, and we are most grateful to David Williams, for his fine and careful drawings of the pottery and other finds, and to Chris Phillips, for photographs of the regalia items.

Clive Cheesman acknowledges with pleasure his gratitude to Andrew Burnett, Dr J P C Kent and the Surrey Archaeological Society; to Mike Cowell for the analysis of the coins; to Chaz Howson and Janet Larkin for the photographs; and to Amanda Chadburn for Icenian die identifications and enlightening information about coin no 913.

Pat Nicolaysen would like to thank Dale Serjeantson for her advice and encouragement, and Mark Bracegirdle for his help with information on oyster shells. Thanks are also due to Birkbeck College Centre for Extra-mural Studies and to Kingston upon Thames Heritage Centre, for allowing her to identify and check the bones with modern reference specimens.

It is appropriate to finish by acknowledging Martin O'Connell's dedication on site and in completing the report when no longer employed as an archaeologist, and Joanna Bird for her own work on the finds and for co-ordinating all the other finds work.

Chapter 1: Introduction (MGO'C)

1.1 SETTING AND GEOLOGY (fig 1)

The topography and geology of the site have been discussed elsewhere (O'Connell 1984, 185-6) so that only a few points need to be added here. The temple occupied a noticeable ridge from which the ground sloped gently away. It was on the sloping ground to the north of the temple that evidence of ancillary buildings was detected.

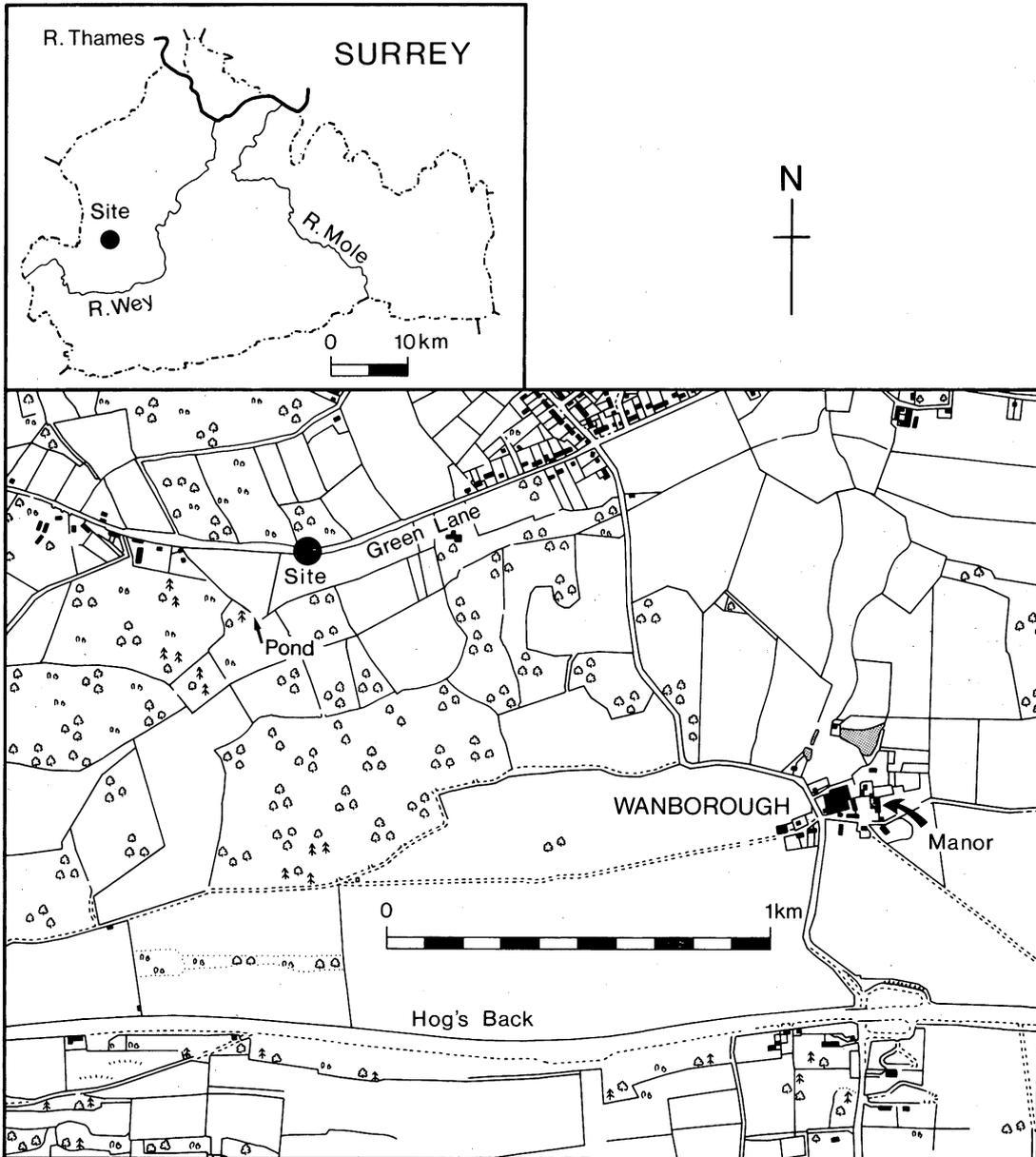


Fig 1 Wanborough. Location of the site

Within Trench 2, below the temple, sealed by context (148) and overlying the natural clay subsoil (London Clay) were several layers of mottled brown/grey clay (see 1.1). These were identified (pers comm Dr J Penn) as the weathered natural subsoil while percolation of elements from the upper layers of the site must have contributed to variations, such as colour and texture, noticeable in those layers.

It should be noted here that in the report on the 1979 excavations (O'Connell 1984, 185) it was stated that 'the remains of a Roman building were allegedly found in Major Tredcroft's garden' in 1793. The date of discovery should have read *1893* but due to a typographical error the wrong date appeared in the text.

1.1.1 *Catalogue of contexts: Disturbed natural subsoil*

See table 2 (microfiche 2-4)

1.2 DISCOVERY OF THE SITE

The events preceding excavation in 1979 have already been adequately documented (O'Connell 1984, 185) while the plundering of the site between 1983 and 1985 by metal detector users has been discussed in the preface to this report (see above). Although geophysical surveying of the arable field (where the temple building was subsequently found in 1985) was not allowed in 1980, the former existence of a stone-built structure was suspected within that general area on account of the quantity of building debris visible on the surface of the ploughed field. It is interesting that fieldwalking of the remainder of the field and the adjoining one following ploughing towards the end of 1985 failed to produce finds of any consequence.

1.3 EVIDENCE FOR THE LATER HISTORY OF THE SITE, by Shirley Corke

The site of the 1985-6 excavation lies just inside the northern boundary of the parish and manor of Wanborough, in an area that was common land until the Inclosure of Wyke and Wanborough in 1805. This 'Long Common' is still called 'Common' in 1828, when it is number 7 on the estate plan (map 1).¹ Green Lane, which is up to 30 feet wide in some places (as in Ash), was formerly an important thoroughfare and is marked as such in 1607² and in 1762³. In 1538 it is described as 'the highway from Ash to Guildford Park'.⁴

From 1130 to 1536 Wanborough was the principal Surrey estate of Waverley Abbey, a large mixed farm run by a Bailiff whose officers included a Keeper of the Woods.⁵ Since Wanborough was within the Forest of Windsor the Abbot could not cut his own trees without royal permission; in 1231 he was allowed to cut timber for building works in his church at Waverley.⁶ This would have been large oaks.

The north side of Green Lane was in the parish of Worplesdon and the manor of Wyke. Both Wanborough and Wyke were united tenurially and economically with the manors to the west of them: Tongham, Poyle, Cleygate and Ash. The Abbot held a quarter of the manor of Wyke and land in Tongham. This means that, quite apart from the excavations of 1979 and 1985-6, the Wanborough site cannot be considered in isolation historically. From the early 17th century the estate of the Woodroffe family of Poyle House in Tongham wrapped round the western end of Wanborough, where their name appears on the 1828 estate map (map 1). Writing in 1776 William Stukeley stated that vast quantities of antiquities were found on George Woodroffe's estate 'at Tongham'.⁷ Unfortunately there is no indication of which part of the estate.

The most notable feature of this area, Wyke and Wanborough in particular, is still the amount of woodland. Place-names show that it was formerly of greater extent than today. By 1828 a large area formerly called Inwood is part fields and part copse, while Wanborough Wood itself is largely divided up into copses and groves: Forty Acre Copse, Howman's

Grove and Tile-hurst Row. In 1870⁸ the New Barn Copse of 1828 had reverted to an older and more revealing appellation: Grubground Copse. Some of these names have a long history in title deeds: the Horse Copse of 1828 is Horseinhames in 1581.⁹ It looks as if the customary mixture of timber combined with coppice or wood pasture was gradually encroaching on what may have been a very long established oak timber wood. In 1353 the pasture in one 20 acre wood in Wyke was of little value because of the magnitude of the trees, and two other woods of 15 acres, called Lyghegrof and Garston, were worth nothing because they had been entirely cut down two years before and would not yield anything until ten years had elapsed from that cutting.¹⁰

The longest to survive as an undisturbed wood appears to be Wanborough Wood itself, close to the site of the excavation. A grant of 1603 included 60 acres of 'woodlands and wood grounds set with great oaks and other woodlands parcel of Wanborough Wood adjoining the Great Coppice of Wanborough on the west'.¹¹ In 1613 a 35 year lease included 'the New Coppice of Wanborough, 200 acres of woodground and coppice ground parcel of Wanborough Wood, on the west side of the standing wood the residue of Wanborough Wood.'¹² The relaxation of royal control over forests and the wood hunger of the later 16th century led to the cutting of much timber, though it was often replaced by coppices.

It looks likely that before the coming of the Anglo-Saxons this area of clay land north of the Hogs Back was covered with extensive areas of undisturbed oak wood, gradually eaten into by clearance during the early middle ages. The system of trackways in existence in the 17th century would thus have been developed to link early medieval settlements in the forest.

Notes

See abbreviations at front of volume

- 1 SyAS Library M14/WAN/3
- 2 Norden's map of Windsor Forest, BL Harley MS 3749
- 3 Rocque's map of Surrey
- 4 GMR 97/13/2. All the GMR 97/13 references are to Onslow deeds of Guildford Park and land in Wanborough
- 5 Account of the Bailiff of the Abbot of Waverley at Wanborough 1530-1531. GMR LM 917
- 6 *VCH Surrey*, 2, 81
- 7 Stukeley, W, 1776 *Itinerarium curiosum* . . . 2nd ed, 202
- 8 OS 1st ed 6" maps 1870
- 9 GMR 97/13/2
- 10 Deed transcribed by Richard Symmes in the 17th century. BL Add MS 6167, fol 479
- 11 GMR 97/13/1
- 12 GMR 97/13/4

Chapter 2: Excavations in 1985-86 (MGO'C)

2.1 EXCAVATION METHOD AND RECORDING (fig 2)

The excavation was essentially a rescue operation, intended to retrieve information related to specific areas of the site before illicit treasure hunting activities totally destroyed what remained of the archaeological evidence. A number of constraints, apart from purely financial considerations, governed the scale of the investigation. One half of the site was part of an arable field where work was only permitted between completion of harvesting in late August 1985 and the beginning of 1986. The other half of the site occupied a section of Green Lane, a footpath in constant use which had to remain accessible to the general public.

Under these circumstances, large scale stripping of the temple and its immediate environs was not possible but instead a number of trenches (Trenches 2-7) of varying dimensions were opened at points where answers to specific questions were expected to be found.

Trench 2 (approximate area 360 sq m) was designed to examine the area most severely damaged by treasure hunting activity, where most of the coins and other metalwork stolen from the site are presumed to have been located. It was hoped to identify a context for that material and to determine the nature of the Romano-British structure thought to have existed in the same general area on account of the large quantities of scattered building debris. A partial outline plan of the structure had been proposed on the basis of the geophysical survey (site archive) by Dr A J Clark and the trench was laid out to take into account those findings.

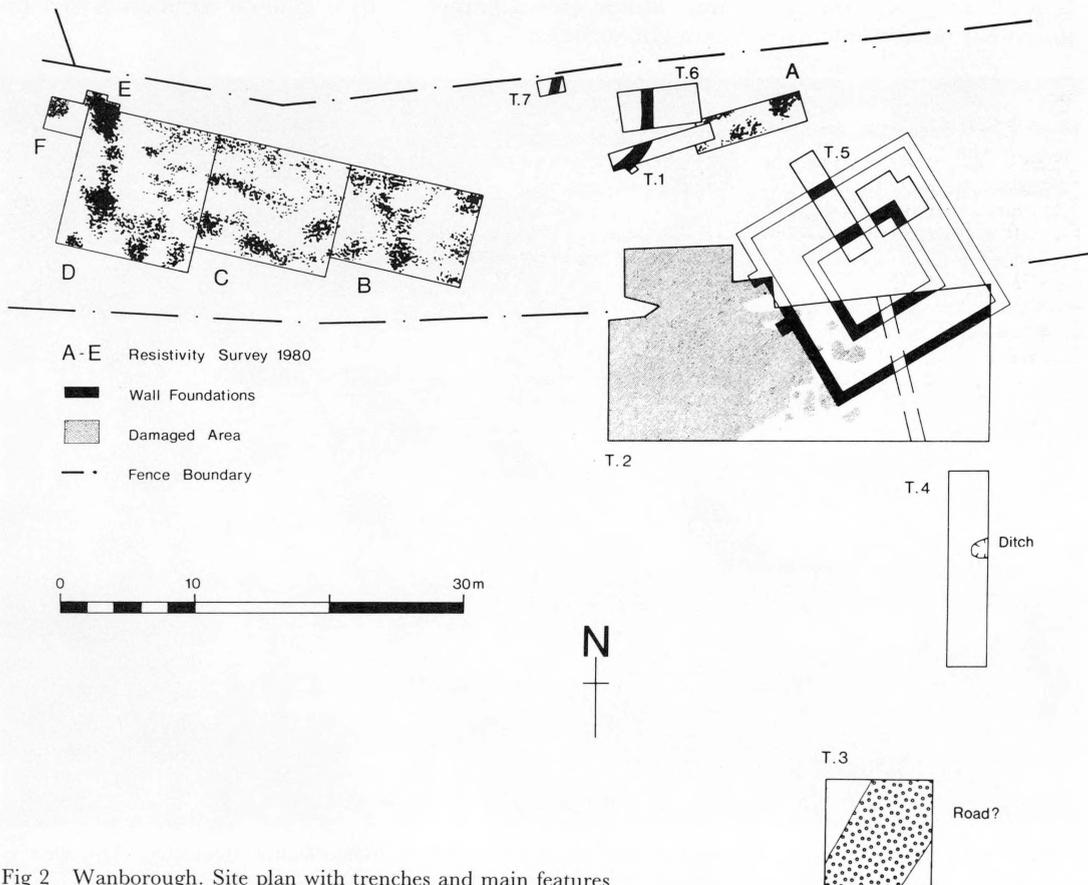


Fig 2 Wanborough. Site plan with trenches and main features

Trench 3 (approximate area 45 sq m) also produced evidence from the same survey of a wide linear feature, such as a road or trackway, in this part of the site.

Trench 4 (approximate area 16 sq m) was opened where a rather faint cropmark feature, resembling a penannular enclosure, had been noticed on aerial photographs held by Surrey County Council.

Trenches 5-7 were excavated with the intention of determining the extent of known features and at the same time creating the minimum amount of disturbance to the footpath. Consequently most of the features uncovered were not fully excavated.

Trench 5 (approximate area 34 sq m) provided a section across the north walls of the cella and ambulatory of the temple and confirmed the dimensions of the structure.

Trench 6 (approximate area 18 sq m) and Trench 7 (approximate area 3 sq m) were intended to test the results of the earlier geophysical survey in relation to the apsidal building located in Trench 1 in 1979 (O'Connell 1984, 192).

The nature of the subsoil (see Chapter 1.1) made careful examination of each context essential in case any finds should be missed. Excavation was undertaken entirely by hand while metal detectors were used at each stage of the operations, that is, before the excavation of a context or part of a context, during the 'digging' process and immediately after the dumping of any part of that context on the spoil heap. Regular checks were made on the spoil heap using metal detectors not only during the course of the dig but also during the backfilling of the site. Shortly after the area had been restored an intensive survey was conducted to ensure the recovery of any remaining metal artefacts.

Three dimensional recording of all coins and other small finds was adopted but where such material was obviously unstratified (see Chapter 2.10) a general location based on horizontal measurements was thought sufficient.



Pl 1 Wanborough. The most disturbed part of the site seen before archaeological excavation. This view is inside the field; damage to the ancient hedge is also apparent. Scale in 50cm

Contexts and small finds were numbered from 100 to take account of the results of the 1979 excavation. Detailed description of the individual contexts can be found in the Catalogues following each section and needless repetition has been avoided in the text as far as possible.

2.2 POSTULATED PHASING OF THE SITE

Nine principal phases of activity have been identified (table 1). Because of deficiencies in the stratigraphical evidence and, or, due to the absence of associated dateable artefacts, a number of contexts could not be conveniently categorized and accordingly have been allotted to a particular phase solely on the grounds of probability.

No	Phase of Activity	Context
1	Earliest use of the site - Deposition of the Hoard	
2	Pre-Temple deposits	?145; 148; 231; 510
3	Temple - construction	198; 238; ?206; ?207; 227
4	Temple - construction	147; 202; 203; 212; 214; 215; 216; 218; 224; 226; 228; 197/229; 232; 233; 234; 237; 512; 514; 515; 516; 517; 503; 509; ?213; ?508
	Ancillary buildings - construction	603; 604; 605; 606; ?608; 610; 703; 704; 705; 706
5	Temple - occupational activity	
	Ancillary buildings - occupational activity	?607; ?611; 701
6	Temple - demolition	135; 177; 178; 179; 190; 194; 195; 501; 505; 518
	Ancillary buildings - demolition	602
7	Temple - final robbing of ambulatory wall	180/186; 181/187/183/185; 199; 506; 507
	Construction of linear trackway	184
8	Later Use of the Site	
	Accumulated soil	134; 134/177
	Ditch	410; 411
	Postholes	408; 409; 414; 415
	Trackway	301
	Ploughsoil	103; 300; 400
	Topsoil	204; 208; 500; 600; 700
8	Plough/root disturbance	210; 211; 239; 240; 139; 149; 140; 175; 141; 174; 150; 151; 163; 164; 168; 169; 170; 171; 172; 173; 401; 402; 406; 407; 412; 413
	Modern field drains	191; 192; 200; 201; 235; 236; 404; 405
	Modern (C20) waterpipe	502; 504
9	Treasure hunting activity	
	Accumulated Spoil	100; 101; 104; 142; 158; 157; 182
	Pits	102; 106; 107; 108; 109; 110; 111; 112; 113; 114; 115; 116; 117; 118; 119; 120; 121; 122; 123; 124; 125; 126; 127; 128; 129; 160; 130; 131; 132; 133; 136; 137; 166; 176; 138; 146; 143; 144; 162; 152; 153; 155; 156; 159; 161; 165; 167; 188; 189; 220/221; 222/223

TABLE 1 Postulated phasing of the site



Pl 2 Wanborough. The most damaged part of the site after archaeological excavation of all material disturbed by treasure hunters. Most of the pits are dug into the natural subsoil. Traces of a general scatter of Roman period building material survive on occasional 'islands' and in section along the hedge bank where this itself survives. The trench extends into the disturbed area in the lane following removal of the hedgerow where this had been killed by treasure hunters undermining it from both sides. Scale in 50cm

2.3 PHASE I: EARLIEST USE OF THE SITE (fig 3)

Material evidence for human activity on the site prior to the Romano-British period is, at best, inconclusive, consisting only of a small quantity of unstratified sherds, possibly prehistoric in origin (see 3.2.4), and a number of worked flints which were not considered diagnostic enough for dating purposes (see 3.2.9). Although the majority of the coins discovered were Iron Age, it has been convincingly argued on the basis of numismatic evidence (see Chapter 3) that cumulatively these formed part of a hoard, deposited either during the early 50s AD or perhaps slightly later at the time of the Boudican crisis. No depositional spot was located for such a hoard, however, nor could a contemporary context be ascribed to the burial of the coins, although perhaps this is not surprising in view of the extent of the damage perpetrated by recent treasure hunters (see 2.10). Virtually the entire stratigraphy of the site to the west of the temple in Trench 2, that is within the area where most of the coins had been unearthed, had been destroyed (fig 3) and what little remained made a negligible contribution to our understanding of this phase. It is clear, though, that at least part of the original hoard had been scattered as a result of later activity during Phase 2 (see 2.4 below).

2.4 PHASE 2: PRE-TEMPLE ACTIVITY (figs 4, 5)

Phase 2 provided the first tangible proof of the practice of religion on the site. During this time, a layer (2.148) had been deposited, consisting of grey to brown clay with fragments

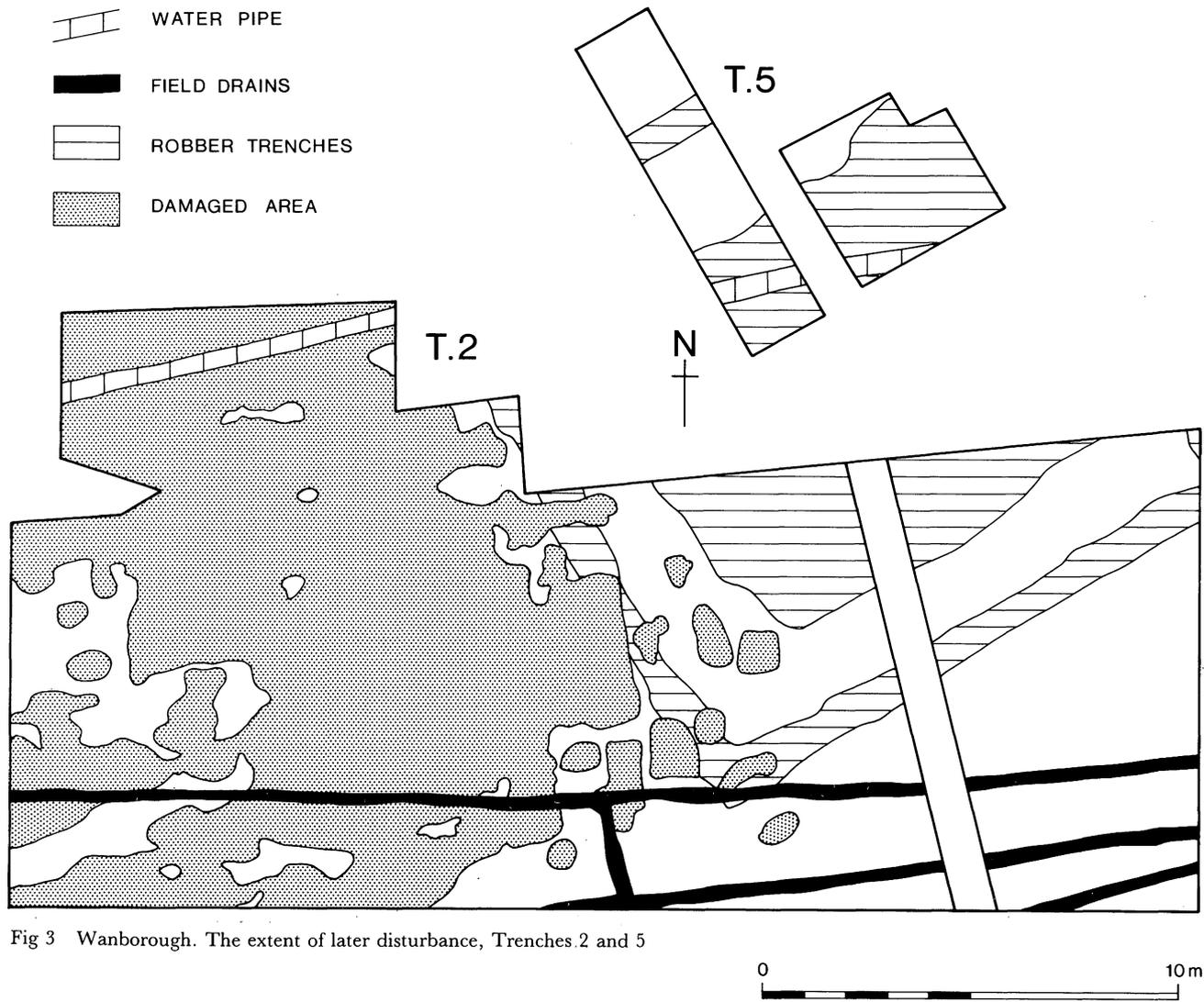


Fig 3 Wanborough. The extent of later disturbance, Trenches 2 and 5

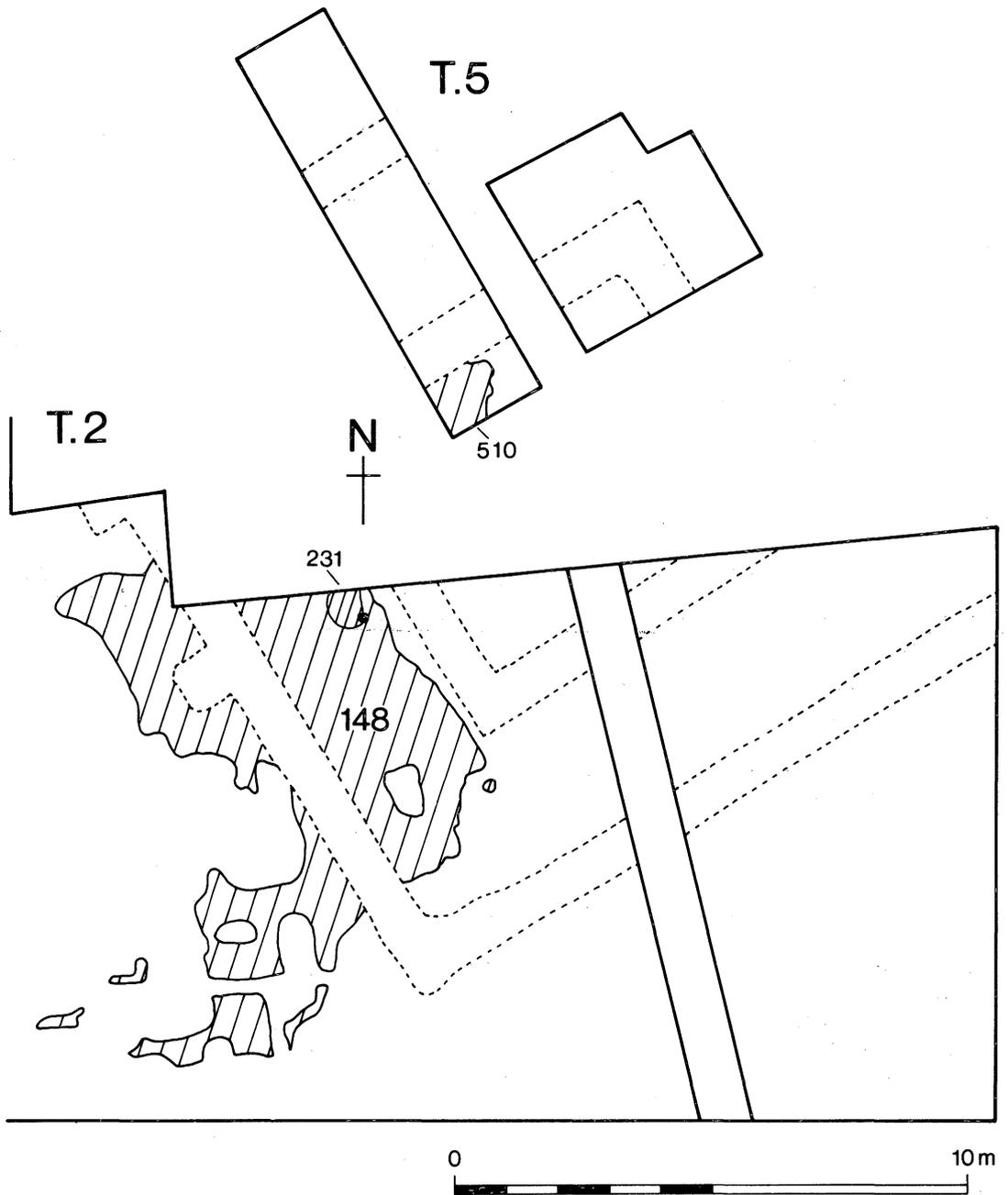


Fig 4 Wanborough. Phase 2 features in Trenches 2 and 5

of charcoal and containing material of a religious nature, including priestly regalia and votive offerings (see 3.2.1). The interface of 148 and 230 as well as the uppermost level of the weathered natural subsoil (Contexts 196, 230, 225 and 205) produced similar evidence although in smaller quantities. Iron Age coins, which have been identified as constituent elements of a hoard (see 2.3 above and 3.1.1) were also found in the same context, indicating the votive nature of their redeposition at this time. No particular pattern emerged

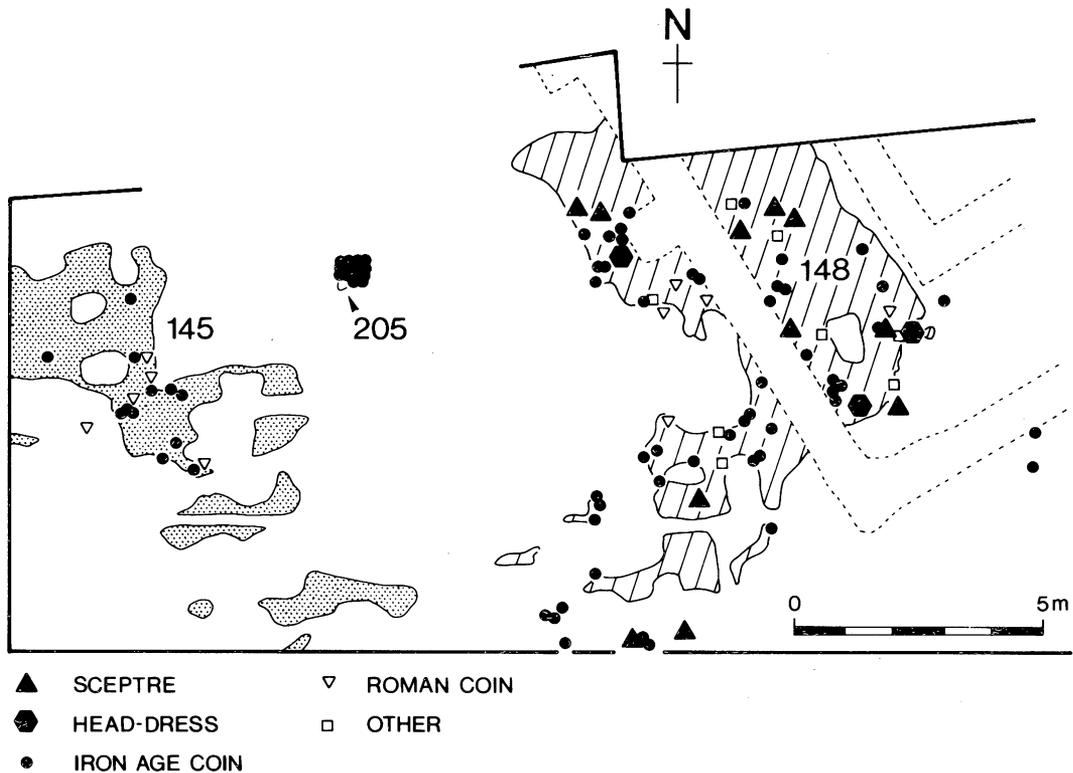


Fig 5 Wanborough. Trench 2: the distribution of sceptres, head-dresses, coins and other finds in the disturbed natural subsoil and Phase 2

from the plotting of these finds (fig 5) and their positioning appears to have been fairly haphazard. It is unfortunate that only a small part of 148 had survived the attention of treasure hunters because, clearly, it originally extended much farther to the west (see 2.10). The relationship of the former to 2.145 is impossible to resolve because of disturbance (see 2.10) but it may have belonged to the same phase of activity. Context 145 was a layer of brown clay with small concentrations of pebbles, forming a surface of some kind. A small number of Iron Age coins were located in this deposit (fig 5) although it should be noted that later material (table 3, see 2.4.1) was also identified, indicating a degree of disturbance.

The interpretation of Phase 2 is inseparable from a discussion of the finds and for a detailed analysis of the latter the reader is referred to the conclusions drawn by Joanna Bird (3.2.1). There is nothing in the stratigraphical record to question the identification of 148 as a dedicatory deposit, dating to *c*AD 160/170, and its connection with some form of religious ceremony to mark the foundation of a new temple structure (Phase 3 and 4) is a plausible explanation. However, it is not clear what significance lies in the fact that the foundations for the temple were cut through 148, if we are to suppose that the two events (ie the deposition of 148 and the construction of the temple) were intimately connected.

2.4.1 Catalogue of Contexts: Phase 2

See table 3 (microfiche 5-6)

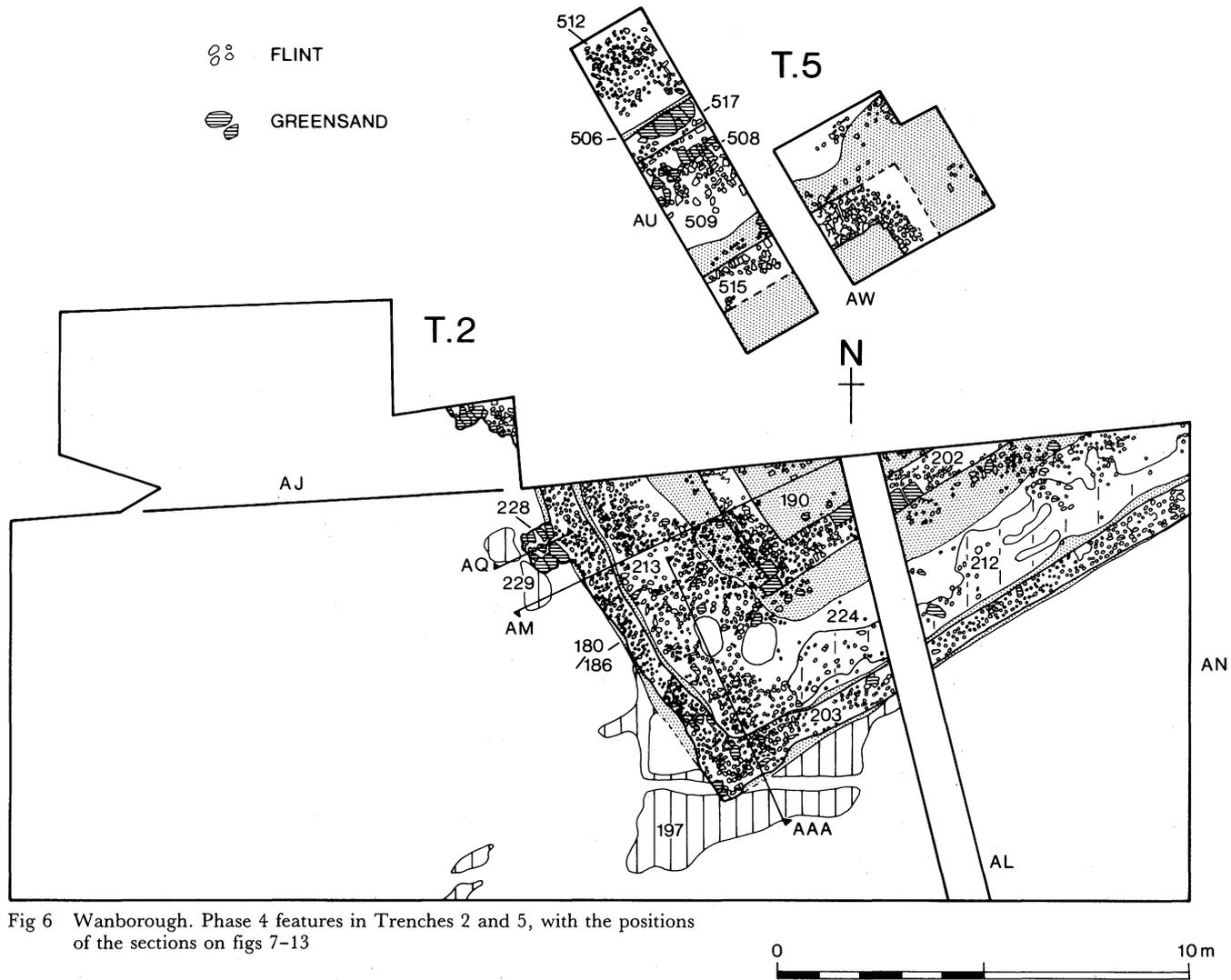


Fig 6 Wanborough. Phase 4 features in Trenches 2 and 5, with the positions of the sections on figs 7-13

a minor degree, overlay the former indicating that at least some of this clay layer had been deposited after the foundations had been laid. A similar constructional technique was noted in the 1979 excavation of the apsidal building in Green Lane (O'Connell 1984).

[In Trench 2, it was initially assumed that (212) – a layer of mortar and building debris, partially infilling a gap between the southernmost ambulatory wall and clay bank (224) (figs 6–13) – was constructional in origin. This supposition has been revised because of the discovery of building debris from the destruction of the temple in that layer. Accordingly (212) would be better accommodated in Phase 6.]

Two rectangular features abutted the exterior of the ambulatory foundation. The complete example (228, 233) consisted of a series of large greensand blocks set into clay with mortar.

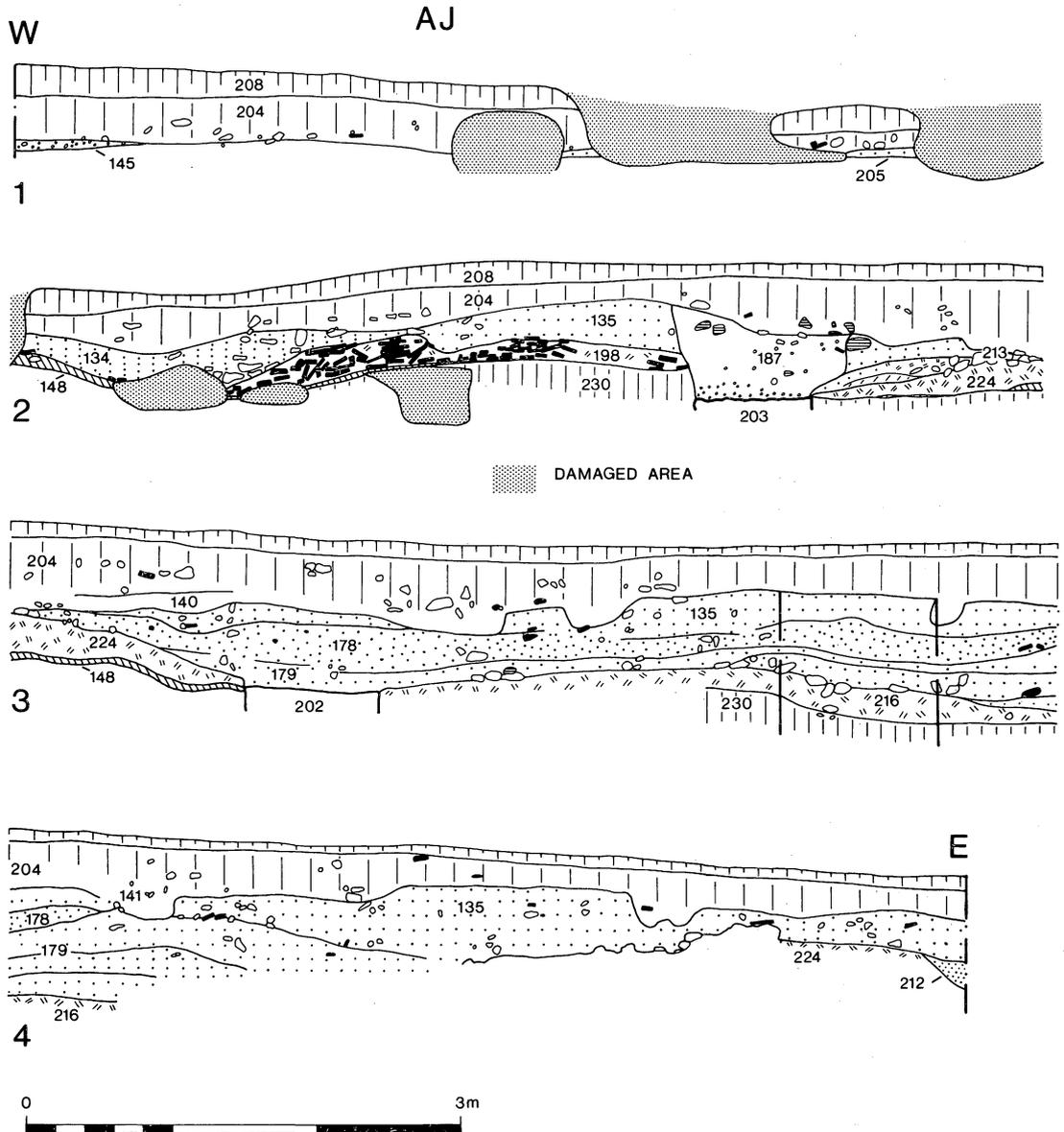


Fig 9 Wanborough. Trench 2, section AJ (position shown on fig 6)

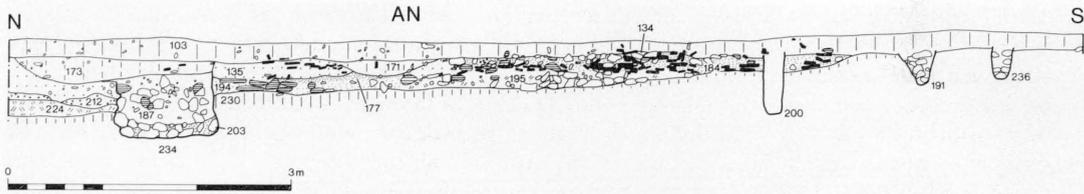


Fig 10 Wanborough. Trench 2, section AN (position shown on fig 6)

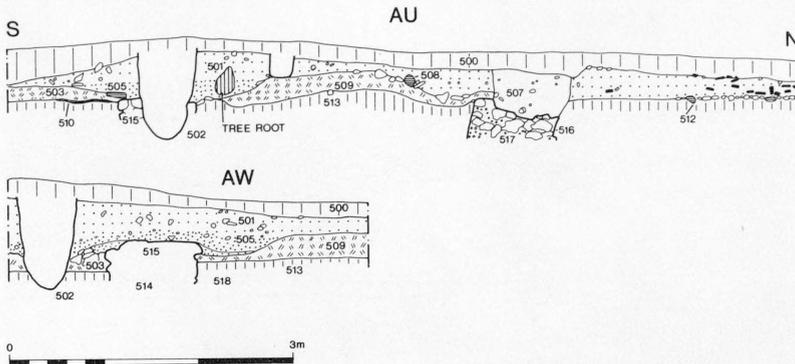


Fig 11 Wanborough. Trench 5, sections AU and AW (positions shown on fig 6)

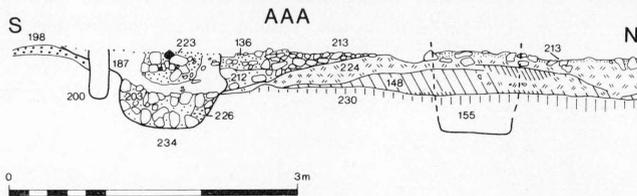


Fig 12 Wanborough. Trench 2, section AAA (position shown on fig 6)

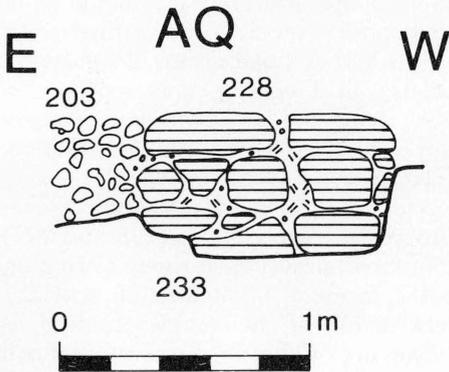


Fig 13 Wanborough. Trench 2, section AQ through possible altar base (position shown on fig 6)



Pl 3 Wanborough. The eastern end of Trench 2 following removal of topsoil. Visible pits are treasure hunter damage. Scale in 50cm

It was impossible on the available evidence to ascertain when they were added to the wall. On the basis of similar examples identified elsewhere (Lewis 1966, 43–44), they are best explained as pedestals or altar bases.

No floor level had survived within the cella, although the scattered fragments of a tessellated pavement were found scattered through later deposits (see 2.7). For a discussion of the pavement and evidence of possible resurfacing, see 3.4.1. A small group of sandstone slabs in Trench 2, (237), and a layer of brown clay, (503), in Trench 5, may represent a small part of the original floor make up (see 3.4.1). Overlying the clay bank between the cella and ambulatory were the remains of a single layer of flints (213, 508) which may have served as foundation material for the floor of the latter.

Part of an exterior surface – (177, 229) gravel set into brown clayey loam – was identified to the south and west of the ambulatory. This sealed two contexts (198 and 227) containing building debris, one of which, (198), was composed almost exclusively of roofing tiles. (Contexts 206 and 207 may be associated with the former). Contexts 198 and 227 are, perhaps, building debris associated with the construction of the temple, re-used as bedding material for the hard standing outside the structure. (The above contexts form Phase 3 (fig 14) which now appears to have been closely connected with Phase 4). A cobbled surface was also discovered (512) to the north in Trench 5.

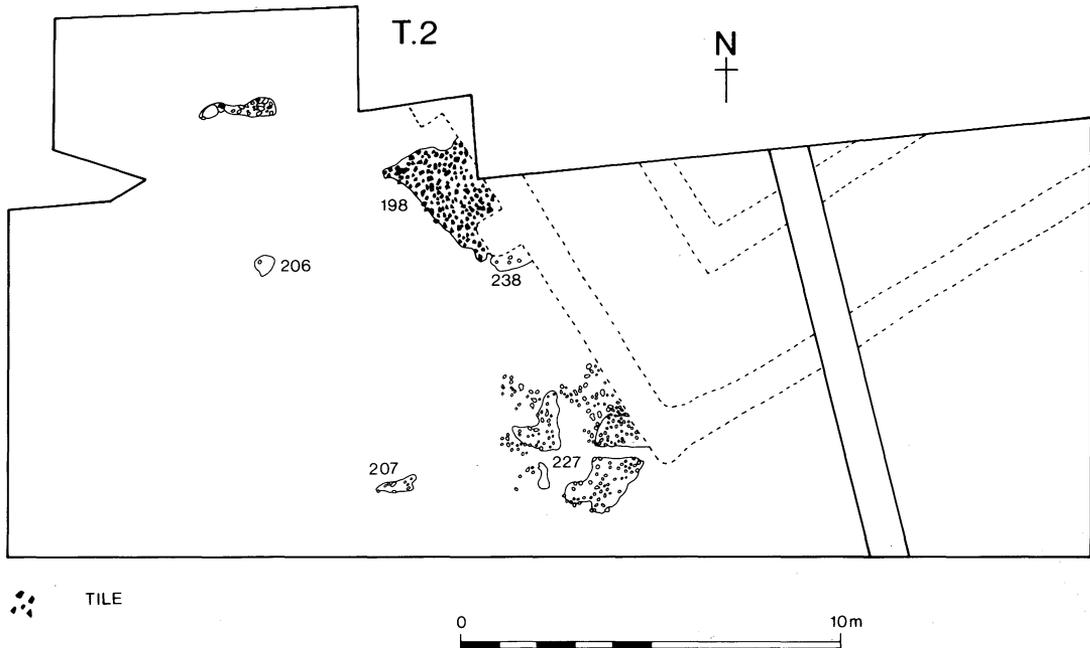


Fig 14 Wanborough. Phase 3 features in Trench 2

Ancillary Building(s) (figs 15-17)

The curving wall of the apsidal building sectioned in Trench 1 (O'Connell 1984) continued in the line estimated from the geophysical survey of the footpath area. The wall itself (606) was not excavated in Trench 6 but the foundations (603, 604, 605) of a short spur wall (2.20m in length; 0.60m wide and 0.55m in depth) abutting the former were investigated. The spur wall was at an oblique angle to (606) and its relationship to the latter could not be ascertained within such a small area.

Systematic auguring at regular intervals along the fence boundary failed to locate the western return of the wall, belonging to the apsidal building, at the point indicated by geophysical surveying (Poulton 1984, 192) but instead led to the discovery of a hitherto unsuspected wall where Trench 7 was subsequently opened. (It should be noted that this part of the footpath is densely overgrown which made a conventional survey of the area impossible in 1980). The wall (703), (0.77m wide; foundations (704, 705, 706) 0.48m in depth), appeared to be at a different alignment to (606) and although certainly Romano-British in origin could not be readily explained as part of the same building on the limited evidence available.

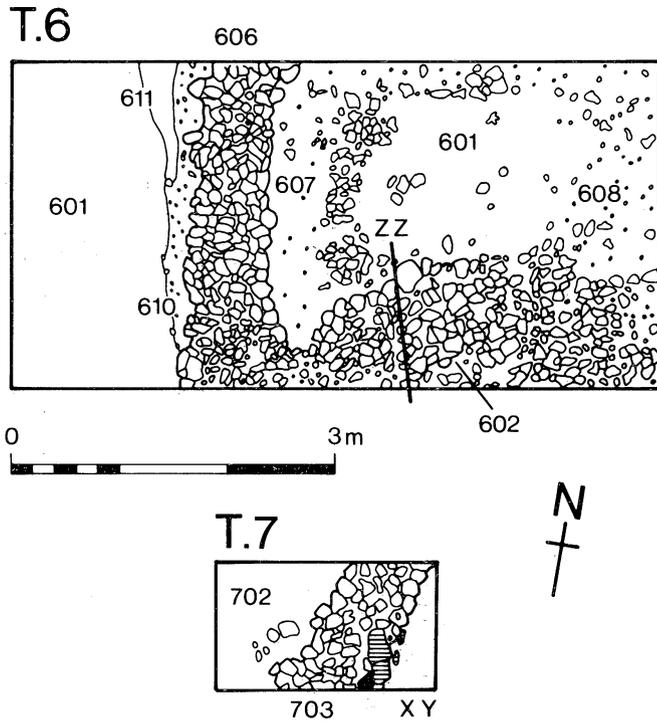


Fig 15 Wanborough. Phase 4 features in Trenches 6 and 7, with the positions of the sections on figs 16-17

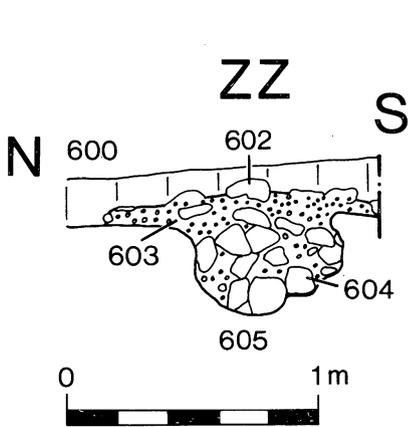


Fig 16 Wanborough. Trench 6, section ZZ (position shown on fig 15)

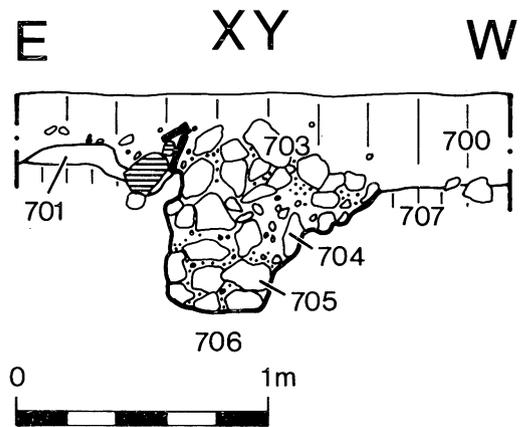


Fig 17 Wanborough. Trench 7, section XY (position shown on fig 15)

2.5.1 *Catalogue of contexts: Phase 3*

See table 4 (microfiche 7)

2.5.2 *Catalogue of contexts: Phase 4*

See table 5 (microfiche 8-12)

2.6 PHASE 5: OCCUPATION OF THE TEMPLE AND ANCILLARY BUILDINGS

The active life of the site (2.6.1), following construction of the temple and ancillary building(s) is very poorly represented in the archaeological record, largely owing to events described in phases 6-7 (see 2.7 - 2.9) and the limited area available for examination in Green Lane (see 2.1). What material there was (see 3.3.1), indicated only that occupancy of the site continued into the latter half of the 4th century.

2.6.1 *Catalogue of contexts: Phase 5*

See table 6 (microfiche 13)

2.7 PHASE 6: TEMPLE - DEMOLITION AND ROBBING OF BUILDING MATERIAL

The temple and the ancillary building(s) were demolished and a deliberate attempt was made to level the site. Only fragments of the bottom course of the cella walls had remained (see 2.5) while much of the foundation material for the ambulatory walls was removed by later activity (see 2.8). Although excavation yielded large quantities of building debris, (eg 194, 195, 179), only comparatively few examples of worked slabs or blocks were located, suggesting that much of the finer building stone associated with the superstructure of the temple was taken away to be reused. The demolition process was comprehensive and included the destruction of all floor levels. The levelling layers are distinguished by the greater proportion of crushed and fragmented material within the fill (note 135 and 501). The deliberate removal of the cella walls left a large hollow which required a considerable amount of infilling (178 and 179).

The examination of Trenches 6 and 7 added little to the picture of demolition and levelling provided by the results of the 1979 excavation (O'Connell 1984, 191).

2.7.1 *Catalogue of contexts: Phase 6*

See table 7 (microfiche 14-15)

2.8 PHASE 7: TEMPLE - ROBBING OF AMBULATORY WALL AND TRACKWAY CONSTRUCTION (fig 18)

At some stage following the levelling of the site a robber trench was dug (180/186; 506) to remove building material from the foundation trench of the ambulatory wall and any remaining elements of the bottom course that had outlived the previous phase of demolition (2.7). The trench had then been infilled with crushed and fragmentary debris with occasional larger pieces of greensand and flint (181, 187, 183, 185). This phase was most noticeable in Trench 2 where, as in Trench 5, it was difficult to distinguish (507), the fill of (506), from the levelling layer (501). The only dateable evidence consisted of residual material from earlier levels.

A concentration of building debris, (184), mainly stone, tile and flint fragments, formed an apparent linear feature, aligned in a north-easterly/south-westerly direction, to the south of the temple (fig 18). Metalling from the uppermost surface and the general character of the feature suggest that it may have served as a trackway, created from demolition material



Fig 18 Wanborough. Phase 7 features in Trench 2

from the temple, perhaps even provided by the last stage of robbing from the ambulatory wall (see above). Despite the attractiveness of such a neat equation, it must remain hypothetical in view of the lack of definitive evidence.

2.8.1 *Catalogue of contexts: Phase 7*

See table 8 (microfiche 16-17)

2.9 PHASE 8: LATER USE OF THE SITE (figs 19-21)

Excavation did not yield any sign of the crop mark feature, (see 2.1), which could, conceivably, have been a relatively modern one confined to the plough soil layer. The rounded terminal of a shallow ditch or gully (410/411), (maximum width 1.0m; maximum depth 0.45m), was located in Trench 4 in the same general area as the southern extremity

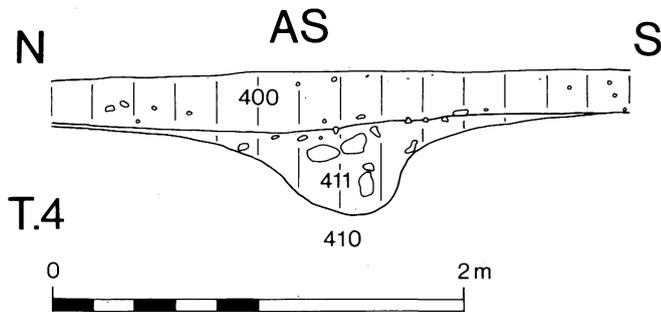


Fig 19 Wanborough. Trench 4, section AS across possible ditch (see fig 2)

of the crop mark feature but the expected return of the former within Trench 2 was not forthcoming. Two small postholes (408, 409; 414, 415) were also examined in Trench 4. The dating evidence was inconclusive although a post-Roman origin was certain.

Another feature of uncertain antiquity was the trackway (301) found in Trench 3, consisting of a linear spread of flints, interspersed with small pebbles to form a metalled surface (fig 20). The trackway or road was aligned in a north-easterly/south-westerly direction but must presumably have turned further to the east, if it indeed continued northwards, because no trace of it was evident in Trench 4.

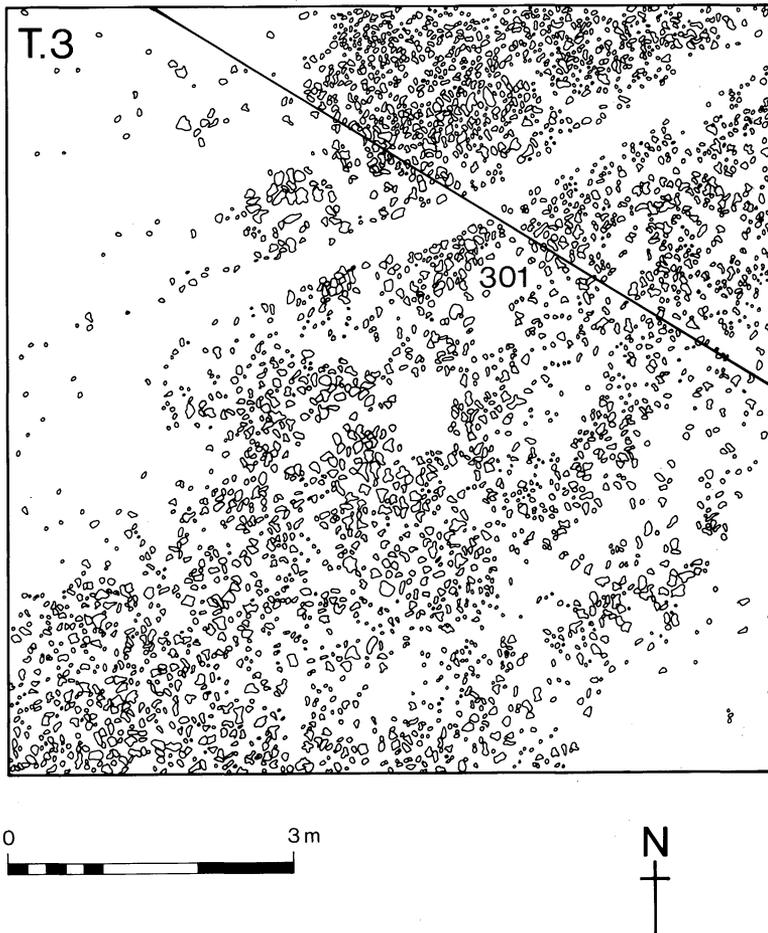


Fig 20 Wanborough. Phase 8 trackway in Trench 3

The majority of the remaining contexts in this phase require little comment as they are either natural, or largely natural, in origin or the result of post-medieval agricultural activity (see 2.9.1). The majority of the shallow irregular depressions noted in Trench 2 (eg 163, 174, 175) were probably tree hollows (fig 21) left after clearance of woodland to make way for pastoral usage (see 1.3) while it is fairly clear that the linear gulleys noted were, for the most part, caused by modern ploughing. It is sufficient to observe that four

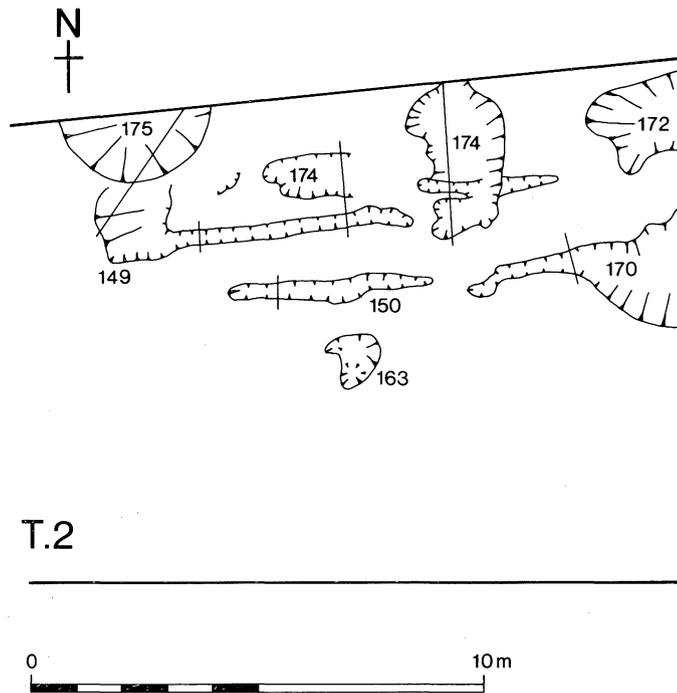


Fig 21 Wanborough. Phase 8 features in Trench 2

field drains came to light in the course of examination (191; 200; 236 and 404) and it was also necessary to expose partially a modern water pipe (502, 504) in order to record the outline and position of the north wall of the cella in Trench 5.

2.9.1 *Catalogue of contexts: Phase 8*

See table 9 (microfiche 18-24)

2.10 PHASE 9: TREASURE HUNTING ACTIVITY

The destruction caused by the treasure hunters is amply demonstrated in the confused stratigraphy and series of irregular pits or hollows left as a result of their depredations. The most extensive damage occurred to the west of the temple although several deep pits had also disturbed the interior. The history of these operations has already been discussed (1.2) and details of the contexts can be found in the catalogue (2.10.1, microfiche 25-32). Initially it was possible to recognize individual pits and assign context numbers accordingly but as the excavation proceeded it became progressively more difficult to separate the features because of the haphazard manner in which they had been dug by the treasure hunters.

The known stratigraphy partially destroyed by treasure hunting can be summarized as follows:

- 1 Phase 2: Pre-temple deposits, in particular context 148
- 2 Phase 3 and 4: Temple construction, in particular contexts 197; 229; 224; 213
- 3 Phase 6: Temple demolition, in particular context 135

In view of the extent of the area destroyed it is likely that a large amount of stratigraphy has been totally lost. It is very probable that information relating to the deposition of the hoard (see 2.3) formerly existed in this part of the site when it is remembered that it was here that most of the stolen coins were found.

2.10.1 *Catalogue of contexts: Phase 9*

See table 10 (microfiche 25-32)



Pl 4 Wanborough. The eastern end of Trench 2 showing the partially cleared robber trench of the ambulatory wall (the figure is at the far end) and the traces of temple walls, after removal of the mortary layer which filled this area. Scale in 50cm

Chapter 3: The Finds (JB)

3.1 THE COINS, by C Cheesman

3.1.1 *Discussion of the Hoard*

The circumstances of discovery and the looting of the site will be too familiar to the reader from the rest of this volume to need repeating here. Evidence of a hoard of course predated any systematic excavation of the site: in March 1984, fourteen Celtic and Roman coins from the area of Wanborough were brought for identification to the British Museum; and before that, in January of the same year, Seaby's had offered for sale two silver units, one of Epaticcus and one of Caratacus, from 'an old drivers' trail on the Hogs Back at Wanborough near Guildford'. As Dr J P C Kent, in adducing these details, has noted (1990), this implied the existence of a hoard, since large numbers of Epaticcus' relatively common coinage can be expected before one of Caratacus' rare types turns up.

Within a year of these events, coins which in all probability derived from illicit excavations at Wanborough were advertised for sale in Switzerland and elsewhere on the Continent. Occasionally there is almost explicit evidence that a coin was from Wanborough. Appendix A below (after the catalogue) lists possible Wanborough coins now in the National Museum of Wales. It has not been considered worthwhile to integrate even the likelier candidates from this list into the main catalogue, because none of them is certain, and because it would lead to attempts to include other such cases, a never-ending task: it should also be noted that Wanborough has certainly on occasions been falsely cited as a provenance.

Estimates of the true size of the hoard have varied greatly. Van Arsdell (1989, 543-4) opts for a figure closer to 20,000 than to 30,000. The types he lists as definitely found at Wanborough, however, only add up to 9,642, so the larger estimates must involve a high degree of surmise. The totals he gives for separate types do indeed roughly accord with the proportions in that part of the hoard now housed in the British Museum, which is the subject of this report. This even applies to the gold, which one would reasonably expect to have reached the BM in lower proportions than it was dug up in: gold coins listed in Van Arsdell's estimated analysis of the hoard account for 8.38% of the whole, while among the coins listed in the present report, the figure is not much lower, at 5.21% (or 5.97% if only coins of the Atrebatas and Cunobelin are included, as in Van Arsdell's list - presumably since the provenance of Icenian, Durotrigan and Dobunnic coins on the market was much harder to guess).

This does not however warrant much optimism with regard to the selection of coins which did reach the British Museum, and which are treated of below. It seems unlikely that the gold would not have been pilfered in greater quantities than the silver: and the same, of course, can be said for the rarer silver types, thus preventing any arguments regarding the status of the coins as a hoard on the basis of the lack or presence of rare types. It is suggested by reports of the treasure-hunting activities of certain individuals that some recognition of gold and/or interesting types did take place at the site (eg *Farnham Herald*, 14 Sep 1984; Brown's evidence in the trial of Christopher John Martin for receiving stolen coins, at Kingston Crown Court, 15-16 Dec 1986). Furthermore, one would expect dealers to have been more eager to receive such types, suspecting that they were illicitly excavated, than run-of-the-mill silver varieties: which latter would then have been among those recovered from the treasure hunters by the police. This is partly borne out by the high proportion of looted and recovered coins amongst the gold in the hoard as it now stands. Finally, Van Arsdell's estimate of 5,000 for the admittedly very common Epaticcus bust/eagle silver unit, clearly a less secure projection than some of the others, swells the proportion of silver in the hoard considerably, and possibly incorrectly.

But it is simply by sheer diminution, rather than the possibility of altered proportions, that the dispersal of coins from the site most seriously affected the hoard. Many of the issues which might have been subject to serious investigation - die-studies, consideration of relative wear and thereby chronological interpretation - have been denied this by the small number of the coins which have come into public hands. In most cases, this hoard has not altered drastically the slant of the existing corpus of Celtic coins, nor the feasibility of basing large-scale theories on the existing evidence: it is still difficult to take a line through the few examples we have and make reliable statements about Celtic coinage as a whole.

The status of the coins from Wanborough as a hoard is of course bound up inextricably with their legal status as treasure trove. The practical difficulty of deciding in certain cases whether to ascribe this status to a find should not obscure its theoretical discreteness (as was frequently done in official and unofficial discussion of the present case). In this case, the evidence points to the coins constituting a hoard. The chronological span of issue of the Celtic coins is less than a century even on the widest interpretations: no more than the span of many indubitable hoards from Ancient Britain, and certainly much less than the ill-informed claims in the earlier press reports. In addition, there is greater wear on coins

normally considered earlier (eg those ascribed to Commius, nos 17 to 35 in the catalogue), while the later ones are much fresher (in particular those of Epaticcus, of whose bust/eagle issue – nos 565 to 781 – there are some fine examples, and whose silver unit no 804 is perhaps the best-preserved coin in the hoard). Furthermore, the time-span of the coins ceases fairly abruptly after the reign of Epaticcus, a time of great upheaval when hoard-burying must have been common, and a relatively precise period for deposition can be suggested on the evidence of the Roman denarii found with the Celtic coins. Discussion of this will be found below, under ‘The Roman Coins and the Deposition of the Hoard’. Finally, a negative point: the presence of large numbers of well-known coins in the selection recovered does not, as sometimes claimed, suggest that they were more likely to be votive offerings: selective treasure-hunting, as stated above, has ruled out arguments of this sort. Thus internal evidence implies the deliberate burial of the coins with the intention of recovery, which, as implied above, classes those which are gold or silver as treasure trove.

It would be foolish to deny that such an interpretation of the coins is extremely convenient, since it brings about their declaration as Crown property. However the internal evidence does not stand alone, and the matter is clinched by two external points. First, and less spectacularly, comparison with other finds confirms the existence of hoards with roughly the span and termination date attributed to the Wanborough coins. The closest parallel is undoubtedly the Waltham St Lawrence hoard, a catalogue of which has very recently been published (Burnett 1990): this contains just over 200 coins, starting with some Gallo-Belgic gold, but then running in the same sequence of British Uninscribed, the ‘dynasty’ of Commius, and finally Epaticcus and Cara[tacus], with a selection of Roman coins. Its exact date of deposition is complicated slightly by a denarius from the Civil Wars of AD 68–9 and another from the reign of Vitellius, but the similarity of its structure otherwise is striking. The greater proportion of gold coins among its Celtic issues (30.27%) is doubtless due in part to the less disparate excavation of the coins (though the question of the hoard’s provenance is not uncomplicated – cf Burnett 1990). Other, smaller hoards also serve as parallels: the gold coins from Wallingford (cf Seaby 1938); the 1873 finds from Selsey (Aldsworth 1987); the 1986 hoard from the same place (Bone & Burnett 1986); the 1857 hoard from Savernake Forest (Robinson 1975). It can perhaps be predicted that hoards of this general type will in the future become relatively familiar.

The second external argument in favour of the Wanborough coins’ status as a hoard is now well-known, and relates to the likelihood of finding such a hoard in such a place, that is near or in a temple. This argument rests upon the common practice in antiquity of using temples as banks. For the Ancient World in general, the attendant literature is vast: cf, to start with, Dio Chrysostom XXXI 54–6; Rostovtzeff 1941, 1278–80; Préaux 1939, 293–5; Andreades 1933, 180–2; Laum 1924, esp 139. For Israelite society, biblical references will serve: I Kings 7, 51; II Kings 16, 8; 18, 15; Jer 38, 11; Esther 3,9; 4,7. At II Macc 3, 10 we see that the practice continued into the Hellenistic era. In short, there is no lack of evidence for the custom across the Oikoumene. Coinage and the form of economic life it entails were themselves imports from the Classical world, and – it is argued – methods of safeguard of funds, and the development of common treasuries is likely to have been inherited as well. It may also be pertinent to note other similarities in nature and function between Romano-Celtic and Classical temples. Piggott (1975, 62–3) remarks on the similarities between Gaulish grove-sanctuaries (*nemeton* in Brythonic, *nemed* or *fidnemed* in Old Irish) and that sort of classical temple found in a *nemus* and indeed the general classical concept of a *fanum* or *τέμενος*. This is not as much of a digression as it may seem, for it is this sort of temple which is most readily associated with public activity and business. Strabo (567) talks of the *Drynemeton* or sacred grove of the Galatians (either the Celts of Asia Minor or, just possibly, the Gauls) as a meeting-place – cf Loth 1915, 193–4; and Salway (1981, 674–6), adducing that piece of evidence, goes on to draw more parallels between the roles of classical and Celtic sanctuaries, based on their operation as a focus of community feeling, and a stage for the enactment of drama. We may note in conclusion

that it was precisely the sanctuary-type of temple in the Hellenistic world which cultivated business and banking as sidelines, such as Delos or Ephesus (cf eg Rostovtzeff 1941, 1278–80); in the cities themselves the task of guarding funds was presumably carried out by the secular banks. All this may imply a similar function for the grove temple at Wanborough.

Discussion of this phenomenon leads to a closely relevant matter. All the secondary sources on temples-as-banks named in the last paragraph make clear the overlap in situation and effect between funds lodged for safety in the temple, and pious donations to the temple's own funds. This is not in itself surprising. Since the banking competitors of temples were without doubt commercial enterprises, surely charging administration fees and using the funds entrusted to them, they would not have survived in business if the temples had been philanthropical organizations which simply guarded other people's money for them: everybody would have used the temples. Rostovtzeff (1941, 1280) mentions the temple at Delos distinguishing between its clients' money, which it kept available on deposit, and its own, which it deposited with the city bankers: but this is surely a sign of the peculiar set-up on that supremely commercial island, where the temple itself was not beyond making use of the good rates offered by the businessmen. Here, as elsewhere, it surely remains the case that we can expect the *ἱεροποιοί* or temple accountants to have made use of money entrusted to them.

This means that we can expect no difference in the surviving evidence between money offered to a temple as a religious gesture and money kept there for safety's sake. There is of course a real sense in which even a donation to a temple may have been, functionally, a 'disguised' investment: a gesture made in the time of prosperity to ensure return kindness – patronage whether influential or financial – if the situation is reversed. A 'functionalist' view like this may be insensitive of a distinction in behaviour that was perfectly clear at the time, but it does correctly describe the situation that will be apparent to archaeologists. Furthermore, there is evidence that even small-scale donations were not abandoned in the sense that a coin in a wishing-well is, but more in the way of a contribution to the church collection. At Lambaesis, for instance, we have a neat indication that among the ancients there was both the popular compulsion to throw money into any standing water and the authoritarian desire to stop this and make use of the money which we know today: a sign on a cistern reads *Religiosi qui stipem ad Aesculapium ponere volunt, in thesaurarium mittant, ex quibus aliquod donum Aesculapio fiat* (*AE* 1908), and at Delos again we find that some of the temple income came from donations to the *θησαυροί* or collection boxes (Rostovtzeff 1941, 234 with note). The result of this for archaeology is that there is a tenable view in which votive offerings not put beyond human reach (as were coins thrown into ritual shafts, such as the 13,000 at Coventina's Well) have not been abandoned: they now belong to the temple, and form part of its funds.

This is not directly relevant to the coins found at Wanborough since, due to the internal and external factors already given, their hoard-like nature appears beyond doubt. However, it does suggest that 'votive offerings' need not be seen as lost either to the economics of the Ancient World or, indeed, to archaeology. In cases, furthermore, where a temple had apparently operated for only a short period (so that older coins given as votive offerings would be more worn than coins minted in the period of operation, thus presenting in this respect the appearance of a hoard) it would be unnecessary to attempt the impossibility of establishing the exact status of the coins, since – hoard or not – they were not abandoned permanently.

The contents of the hoard are summarized in table 11.

	Mack	VA		TOTAL
Early British	[60/61	212/4]	Imitation <i>A</i> Stater	1
	-	-	<i>A</i> Unit	15
?Commius	-	352	<i>A</i> Stater	1
	446B	355-3	<i>A</i> Unit	18
Tincommius	81	366	<i>A</i> <i>Q</i> -Stater	7
	97	378	<i>A</i> <i>Q</i> -Stater	2
	99	379	<i>A</i> <i>Q</i> -Stater	3
	100	385	<i>A</i> Stater	2
	104	390	<i>A</i> <i>Q</i> -Stater	1
	105	397	<i>A</i> Unit	24
	106	396	<i>A</i> Unit	2
	-	381	<i>A</i> Unit	11
	-	381-3	<i>A</i> Unit	4
	108v	370	<i>A</i> Unit	3
	-	372	<i>A</i> Unit	16
	-	371	<i>A</i> Unit	32
	-	383-7	<i>A</i> Minim	1
	Eppillus	107	407	<i>A</i> <i>Q</i> -Stater
-		408	<i>A</i> <i>Q</i> -Stater	2
-		409	<i>A</i> <i>Q</i> -Stater	3
302		435	<i>A</i> <i>Q</i> -Stater	1
108		415	<i>A</i> Unit	40
[108		415]	Imitation <i>A</i> Unit	1
305		417	<i>A</i> Unit	27
-		416	<i>A</i> Unit	?7
-		421	<i>A</i> Minim	3
-		422	<i>A</i> Minim	4
-		420	<i>A</i> Minim	2
Verica	121	500	<i>A</i> Stater	2
	125	520	<i>A</i> Stater	1
	112	466	<i>A</i> <i>Q</i> -Stater	8
	113	467	<i>A</i> <i>Q</i> -Stater	3
	114	468	<i>A</i> <i>Q</i> -Stater	2
	115	470	<i>A</i> Unit	25
	[115	470]	Imitation <i>A</i> Unit	1
	115v	470-3 etc	<i>A</i> Unit	50
	-	471	<i>A</i> Unit	19
	123	505	<i>A</i> Unit	20
	123v	505v	<i>A</i> Unit	4
	-	506	<i>A</i> Unit	29
	128	530	<i>A</i> Unit	18
	129	531	<i>A</i> Unit	24
	131	533	<i>A</i> Unit	19
	-	484	<i>A</i> Minim	2
	-	cf 485	<i>A</i> Minim	2
	-	510-5	<i>A</i> Minim	3
	-	511	<i>A</i> Minim	2
	-	512	<i>A</i> Minim	4
	-	550	<i>A</i> Minim	1
	-	551	<i>A</i> Minim	6
	-	552	<i>A</i> Minim	3
	-	553	<i>A</i> Minim	3
	-	555	<i>A</i> Minim	15
	-	556	<i>A</i> Minim	5
-	557	<i>A</i> Minim	3	
-	558	<i>A</i> Minim	4	
-	563	<i>A</i> Minim	6	
-	564	<i>A</i> Minim	1	

	Mack	VA		TOTAL
	-	384	℞ Minim	1
	-	-	℞ Minim (boar's head/eagle)	3
	-	-	℞ Minim (bust/sphinx)	3
	-	-	℞ Minim (panels/bull)	1
				303
Epaticcus	263	580	℞ Unit	215
	[263	580]	Imitation ℞ Unit	2
	263A	581	℞ Unit	22
	-	582	℞ Unit	1
	-	583	℞ Unit	1
	264	585	℞ Minim	14
	[264	585]	Imitation ℞ Minim	4
	-	560	℞ Minim	6
	-	-	℞ Minim (bust/horse)	7
				272
Cara[tacus?]	265	593	℞ Unit	7
	-	595	℞ Minim	3
				10
Cunobelin	[203]	2010-2	Imitation A/ Stater	1
	209	1297	A/ Q-Stater	4
	-	-	A/ Q-Stater (cross/capricorn)	1
				6
Kent Uninscribed	[297	184]	Imitation A/ Stater	1
				1
Iceni	407	655	℞ Unit	1
	413	790	℞ Unit	3
	420	711	℞ Unit	2
	424	730	℞ Unit	2
	426	764	℞ Unit	1
	uncertain		℞ Unit	3
				12
Dobunnic	[374	1005]	Cores of imitation A/ Staters	3
	[376	1020]	Imitation ℞ Units	4
				7
Durotrigan	318	1290	Æ stater (struck)	38
				38
Uncertain Celtic Coins	-	-	℞ Unit	54
	-	-	Imitation ℞ Unit	5
	-	-	Æ scraps or cores for plating	9
				68
Roman Coins	-	-	Republican Denarii	31
	-	-	Imitation Republican Denarius	1
	-	-	Legionary Denarii of Mark Antony	9
	-	-	Uncertain pre-Imperial Denarii	3
	-	-	Denarii of Augustus	9
	-	-	Imitation Denarius of Augustus	1
	-	-	Denarii of Tiberius	5
	-	-	Imitation Denarii of Tiberius	2
	-	-	Imitation Denarius of Claudius	1
	-	-	Uncertain Imperial Denarius	1
				63
Total Coins				1041
Roman Bronze Coins (not part of the hoard: listed in Appendix B)				34

VA = Van Arsdell 1989. As in the text generally, the suffix VA no is given only when it is other than 1, or for clarity's sake. Thus VA 352, below, is in full VA 352-1. In the catalogue, the VA no is given complete.

The order in which the coins appear above is that in which they are catalogued, and generally follows Van Arsdell within each denomination. Explanation for some of the exceptions to this rule of thumb will be found in the following discussions, which tackles general issues as well as the composition of the hoard, though tries to put them in the new light (if any) which it sheds.

TABLE 11 Contents of the Coin Hoard

The Early British Coins

The hoard begins with an imitation British Q (in Allen's classification), Mack 60 or 61, Van Arsdell 212 or 214. Despite being of relatively high quality this 'Remic' Stater is not of as much interest as the silver units listed as nos 2 to 16 in the catalogue below. These coins are apparently of a type new to numismatics: a design on the obverse which, if sufficient imagination is used, can resolve itself into a right facing head, and a horse on the reverse which resembles those of early Atrebatian staters, except in having a single tail, surrounded by suitable ornaments. Their only legend is an obscure EX on the obverse, which evades interpretation: it does not appear to be the remnant of the word REX, since no coin seen shows any sign of an initial R. All that can be said about their attribution is that they are strongly Celtic in style, and fairly well-worn, and so imply an early date, and that the horse on the reverse and the general nature of the hoard imply that they are Atrebatian. However, as shown by spectrographic analysis carried out in the British Museum (see Appendix C), the silver used in these coins appears to be considerably less fine than is usual with Atrebatian coins: a major problem is the difficulty of finding sufficiently uncorroded specimens to test, since corrosion tends to bring about the 'leaching out' of base elements, but the two good examples so far analysed show silver percentages of 67 and 53 respectively, as opposed to the normal Atrebatian figure of 95% or more. This factor may account for their relatively low weight, which averages 0.81g, as opposed to the 0.91g of Commius' silver units in this hoard, and the 1.19g of those of Tincommius. Whereas the silver units ascribed to Commius may be worn enough to account for their low weight, the same cannot be said for the unattributed EX coins: they are thinner and certainly well-worn, as stated above, but in most cases the types are still visible, while those of the silver units of Commius are frequently obliterated.

Who or what EX may be is a question we cannot at the moment answer: it may be a mint rather than a king, if our assumption that the legend CALL on the coins of Eppillus refers to the mint of Calleva is correct. It may be a fuller prototype of the E found on the coins attributed to Commius, in which case it may be a tribal name. Theories based on separate mints may well be sanctioned by the low silver content of the coins.

Coins Attributed to Commius

The origin and nature of the EX coins is clearly of some import for the coinage attributed to Commius (nos 17 to 35 in the present hoard), but the exact implications are by no means clear. As already suggested, it may be that the E ornament which appears on most Commian coins is a version of EX, and both indicate a distinct mint. Apart from legend, however, the reasons for associating the two coinages are slim, given that the coins normally attributed to Commius were issued in relatively fine silver, commensurate with the main run of Atrebatian coins. It may therefore be the case that the symbols E and EX are connected, but do not signify a mint. But whatever their significance in that situation – the name of the King, the tribal name – it is hard to explain why they are not universally applied either in Atrebatian or even in Commian issues.

In the light of the failure of the contrary hypothesis to yield anything conclusive, it thus remains quite likely that the E has no connexion with the EX legend at all. Its status as a letter is in any case far from clear. This in turn should make us recall that this symbol is the sole reason for ascribing many Commian coins (including all those in this hoard) to a king of that name, there being no type which combines his name with the E ornament, only a common style. If interpretations of this sign other than as a royal cipher present themselves, the attribution is not to be clung to for its own sake.

The situation is not relieved by anything the present hoard has to offer on Commius: one stater (VA 352, no 17), and eighteen silver units (VA 355-3, nos 18 to 35). The compensation is that the silver coins are of a previously rare type, and though worn are still in better condition than the examples usually seen. On all, the E lies horizontal,

whereas on other similar types (VA 355-1, eg Waltham St Lawrence nos 19 to 22 it stands upright.

Tincommius

Turning to the eldest 'son' of Commius, we find much more scope for comment. Van Arsdell is right to see, at least with reference to the gold, considerable alterations in style and content during Tincommius' period in authority. With the sole exception of a unique and remarkable stater of Eppillus (VA 405), Tincommius was the last Atrebatian king to strike gold in the old, Celtic style, bearing disjointed heads of Apollo and horses (VA 362, 363) or abstract, linear, distinctly unclassical patterns (VA 365). But these types – none of which is represented in the current hoard – seem to be superseded, for most of the later coins in his name bear classical or pseudo-classical types. In fact, it is possible to claim that the coinage of Tincommius in this phase sets the pattern for much that followed, especially under Verica: in particular, on the gold coins, the pairing of a name in a cartouche with a mounted warrior. The proposed derivation of the latter, soon to become common, type from the denarii of the moneyer P Crepusius is by now well known: the suggestion by Van Arsdell that this was part of a general classicizing trend, represented in the main (he implies) by his 'Second Coinage', seems well-founded.

The so-called 'Third Coinage' in his schema, however, seems to display a slight return to Celtic traits. The reverse of the stater VA 385 (no 48 in the current hoard) illustrates Celtic influence on the type that was purely classical in the staters of the 'Second Coinage'. The same can be said of the obverse of the silver unit VA 396 (nos 75 and 76 below). This apparent stylistic drift backwards should not, however, be jettisoned in favour of an intermediate stage of classical types treated in Celtic manner. As a general principle, one can easily understand that the adoption of classical types for a coinage would involve new dies, perhaps cut by craftsmen from abroad, as was suggested with regard to the gold coinage of Verica by Allen & Haselgrove (1979, 2); and that it was only after the new types were established that local aesthetics had some effect on them, ie when replacement dies were cut by native workers. This would therefore explain a step 'forward' followed by a drift 'backward' as we see in Van Arsdell's reconstruction of Tincommius' coinage. The phenomenon can be seen, furthermore, in operation at quite a small scale: eg nos 77 to 91 below, the silver units VA 381-1 and 383-3. These two issues are differentiated by length of legend, but also (as was not apparent to Van Arsdell, but emerges clearly from the present hoard) by the degree of Celtic influence on the obverse, the latter type being further removed from the classical ideal.

Van Arsdell's division of Tincommius' coinage, however, into rigidly defined sections on the grounds of these trends can only cause dissatisfaction, both in detail and in principle. For example, the reverse of VA 370 (nos 92 to 94 below), which he places in the 'First Coinage', seems too similar to that of the units just mentioned, VA 381-1/3, which are in the 'Second Coinage', to sustain such separation. The obverse type of VA 370 is admittedly strongly celticized in all examples seen (including those from Wanborough), but so, we now see, is that of VA 381-3. This, for the general reasons given in the last paragraph, is no bar to inclusion in this 'classically influenced' section. The reverse type in question is also similar to that of the gold staters of the 'Third Coinage', on which we find a horse (rather than a bull) jumping over part of the legend. Even stronger similarity is found with the 'Third Coinage' silver unit, VA 396 (nos 75 and 76 below), whose only real difference from VA 370 and 381-1/3 is the orientation of the head on the obverse. For this reason, VA 396, 381 (both varieties) and 370 have been listed adjacently in the catalogue below.

The other two silver units ascribed to the 'First Coinage' are also present in the current hoard: VA 371 (nos 111 to 142) and 372 (nos 95 to 110). There is between them a certain, vague similarity in style and content, which perhaps caused this classification: a simple

geometric pattern on the obverse, and a slightly more picturesque reverse than normal, though undeniably classicizing – a boy on a dolphin, a lion leaping over a bucranium. Additionally, both are very weakly struck, and surviving coins are often difficult to make out, especially VA 371 (nos 111 to 142), of which the large number of examples published here has failed to furnish a clear-cut specimen. Of particular and enduring interest here is the question of the possible letters on the obverse, either around the centre, between the ‘spokes’ of the flower, or across the die. The former is very faintly suggested on no 117; the latter suggested almost (but not quite) conclusively on nos 119 and 141. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that coins struck from the same obverse die often do not display the same signs of letters thereon: it may be that the letters, if present at all, were simply scratched on to one or two of the dies after casting, and their chances of being seen today depend even more than usual on the age of the die at the time each coin was struck. One very common obverse die can be discerned which sometimes illustrates the signs of lettering, sometimes not, viz that of nos 119, 122, 125 etc: its apparently great usage may well account for the uncertain quality of any letters on it. Unfortunately, in general this issue does not yield easily to a die study, due to the bare nature of the obverse designs.

Van Arsdell doubtless had in mind the low quality of the surviving coins of these types when classing them amongst Tincommius’ earliest issues. However, an argument in favour of greater age because of greater wear will not work, simply because (as the present hoard shows) there is no discernible drop in weight amongst them compared with the rest of this king’s silver units (note especially an average of 1.21g for VA 371, compared with 1.19g for Tincommius’ silver units as a whole). Therefore, in the light of what has already been said, a later date may be more in keeping with the pseudo-classical nature of the types. The worse state of these coins would then be due not to greater age but to poorer workmanship.

The last silver unit in Van Arsdell’s classification (VA 397, nos 51 to 74 below) is surely correctly dated after the classical influence had begun. It would seem to mark the first appearance in Atrebatian coinage of the eagle and snake so readily associated with Epaticcus. The apparent descent of the type from Augustan predecessors is a tangible case of the main phenomenon of Tincommius’ coinage. Some of the obverse dies of this issue are of great delicacy, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that it was the first classicizing type issued, so free is it from Celtic elements.

Wanborough throws into sharper relief the patterns which we have been discussing, as much as anything else by increasing the number of cases to examine. But it also alters the details. For example, nos 45 to 47, all quarter-staters and VA 379, illustrate the variety within that classification, namely the appearance of a star below the animal on the reverse. No 43 (VA 378, also a quarter-stater) is of interest too, being the subject of a minor mystery. As Mack (1975) reports, there is a variety of this coin with the letters C and B above and below the obverse cartouche, rather than the usual C and A, and this is borne out by two specimens in the British Museum (BM 1919-2-13-147 & 148). Neither of these, however, is as clear as the very fine C – B coin known only from a photograph in the BM. The significance of the letters C B is extremely hard to guess, but it does seem to rule out taking C A as an abbreviation for Calleva (despite Mack’s near certainty on the point). Lack of anything similar on any other Atrebatian coins seems however to prevent us interpreting it as an officina device.

Wanborough does not revolutionize our understanding of Tincommius’ coinage. It seems, in fact, to back up the basic implications of Van Arsdell (which he himself did not emphasize enough) that this period saw a change from Celtic to classical types. However, the hoard does suggest that the extent of Tincommius’ early, pre-classical coinage has been greatly exaggerated. In place of Van Arsdell’s reconstruction one would rather suggest a small, early celticizing coinage (consisting of the gold types absent from Wanborough, VA 362, 363 and 365, without any obvious silver except, possibly, VA 473, which (as revealed by Symons 1990a, 48, no 17) is wrongly attributed to Verica by Van Arsdell); then a long

classicizing period, not diminished in importance by a slight and natural reassertion of Celtic aesthetics, in which one sees the emergence of many familiar types – horsemen, legends in cartouches, animals on the reverse with the legend split about them, eagles – which we can regard as trademarks, possibly of the main mint at Calleva, but definitely of Atrebatian coinage.

Eppillus

By comparison with the preceding coinage – and even more so with the following one – that of Eppillus is simple to discuss. Van Arsdell sensibly eschews division into ‘coinages’ in favour of the undeniable distinction between coins issued at Calleva and those in Kent. Though none of the latter is found in the present hoard, it is worth pointing out the immediately noticeable stylistic differences between the two groups which back up the distinction made on the basis of circulation area. A glance at silver units such as VA 441, 443 or 452 will convince one that a different mint is in operation: the cruder heads, not celticizing in the same abstract manner as early Atrebatian types, but certainly not classicized, the rather childish figures, both human and equine, with different proportions from those we are used to from Tincommius and Verica (larger heads, short legs – cf also the stater VA 431) were clearly conceived outside the main Atrebatian tradition. Another notable difference is that of the fabric, harder to explain but still quite unmistakable: so-called Calleva types are more bun-like in shape, and more ‘dumpy’ in matter than the fairly broad, thin flans of the Kent issues.

In one attribution, however, Van Arsdell is wrong – as suspected before but now confirmed by the Wanborough hoard. The quarter-stater VA 435, which he classes as Kentish, must be considered part of the Calleva group, partly on stylistic and material grounds (the pegasus-type creature on its reverse displays unkentish proportions, and the fabric of the coin is quite dumpy) but mainly because of its appearance in large numbers at Wanborough (so Van Arsdell informs us – only one example reached the British Museum, sc no 157) and elsewhere in Atrebatian territory (eg five instances at Waltham St Lawrence).

That various other details in Van Arsdell need adjustment will be evident from the catalogue. Note especially the obverse legend of the quarter-stater VA 407, which Van Arsdell read incorrectly as CALLEVA, Mack correctly as CALLEV. Two or perhaps three coins in the present hoard (nos 149 to 151) read CALLE. Variants of another quarter-stater, VA 409 (nos 154 to 156), were also found at Wanborough. Furthermore, the existence of the shorter obverse legend REX CALL on varieties of the silver unit VA 415 is confirmed by four instances below (nos 195 to 198), all from the same die. Slight variations in legend occur on the other silver units.

Little more can yet be done towards detailed classification of the Calleva issues, but this is no great loss, as it is sufficiently interesting to witness the consolidation of classical types, and the development of the material inherited from Tincommius into an Atrebatian style, with some distinctively Eppillan elements (the most obvious being the crescent of VA 409 and 415, and the use of a bearded head on VA 417 and 416), and at least one input which lasted, namely the boar on the reverse of VA 416, which looks like the prototype of the similar types in the coinage of Verica and Epaticcus. Eppillus seems also to have been the king under whose authority the minim became a widely used coin; for though three minims are attributed to Tincommius, they are all very rare, represented by only one coin in the current hoard (although Van Arsdell reports that some of type VA 383 were found at Wanborough). Three of the four Calleva minims of Eppillus, however, are represented by nine coins in this hoard (nos 253 to 261). They already make one aware of the trickiness of classifying minims, a factor which will become obvious in Verica's coinage: some with old-style geometric patterns (eg VA 421), some with newer classicizing types (eg VA 422); the diversity due no doubt to the difficulty of designing such tiny dies. All that need at

present be said about the Eppillus minims is that they meet the requirements of style and circulation pattern for inclusion with the Calleva issues.

Finally, a brief word about the attribution of the main (ie non-Kentish) mint to Calleva. Despite the appearance of the legend CALLE on one of the types, it should be kept in mind that interpretation of this as the mint name is far from certain. There are other reasons for putting place names on coins (cf ROMA). It also seems odd that Eppillus should want to distinguish the established mint by name, and leave his new mint in Kent unsignalled, especially if the Kentish period followed (or at least started later than) his reign over the Atrebatas. It is not a matter for certainty. However, the Kentish coinage of Eppillus shows us the sort of stylistic difference to expect when dealing with coins from a different mint: and it appears that apart from those coins themselves a consistent style characterized the general run of Atrebatian coinage from Tincommius to Epaticcus, probably being struck at one mint, and it is convenient to refer to it, wherever it was, as Calleva.

Verica

With this king we encounter greater complexities. The brief mention by Dio (LX 19.1) of one Βέρικος apparently the same man, taking refuge in Rome, gives rise to attempts to match the coinage with history, and indeed there are openings, as we shall see, for such a reconstruction. But problems almost immediately arise, causing one to review one's premises regarding what constitutes evidence of (for example) pro-Roman sympathies on coins. Since these problems are historically more interesting, and there has already been published and unpublished work on the subject, a relatively long discussion follows, in which a tentative reconstruction is attempted. Its real point is considered to be a statement of the somewhat complex alternatives, looking for the simplest possible understanding on the basis of the coins alone (and for that reason, the reconstruction is not followed in the catalogue, where strict Van Arsdell order is observed even when directly disagreed with in the discussion; nor should it be taken as contradicting work which may use external evidence, or a principle other than the desire for simplicity employed here).

Allen & Haselgrove (1979) produced a detailed die-study and discussion of the gold coinage of Verica, based on examples known at the time, including those in the Waltham St Lawrence Hoard. The result was a division of the coinage into series of staters and quarter-staters, pairing where possible a stater series with a quarter-stater series, primarily on the basis of legend but also on that of type. A more tentative suggestion for the chronological organization of the series was made, without dividing the various series or pairs of series into 'issues' or 'coinages' as Van Arsdell does throughout. Such caution is to be applauded, due to the scarcity of examples – even including the Wanborough hoard – and the lack in particular of finds with deposition dates in Verica's reign.

Allen's and Haselgrove's die-study is largely reliable, and their notation for identified dies (upper case letters for obverse, lower case for reverses) has been adopted where relevant in the catalogue below. Some exceptions must be noted, however:

- 1 In Quarter-stater Series β , in their notation (represented by Wanborough nos 265-272), obverse die E reads COM·F rather than COM·FI. The four coins stated in the article to be struck from this die are all in the British Museum (BM 983, 984, 985, and Waltham St Lawrence no 62), and are indeed struck from the same obverse die as each other; but in terms of legend this die does not differ from all other Series β Quarter-staters. [Note that in Burnett 1990 the comment on coin no 63 in fact relates to no 62.]
- 2 In the same series, the reverses of BM 983 and Waltham St Lawrence no 62 (ie dies g and h) read VI, rather than VIR. Furthermore the latter die does not possess the three dots in triangle on the reverse attributed to it. However the reverse of BM 982 (ie die d) does possess these dots.
- 3 In Quarter-stater Series ϵ , three coins from Waltham St Lawrence are attributed dies

Aa, and one Ab. These are nos 50, 51, 55 and 54 respectively in that hoard. However the die-links of these coins can only be described as dubious (cf Burnett 1990 for a different appraisal).

Of these points, the first is of direct relevance to the Wanborough hoards, as obverse die E in Quarter-stater series β appears in the catalogue below (nos 265–8 and 272). Table 12 provides a summary of the A & H series, organized with each stater series above the corresponding quarter-stater series.

Staters	A	B	C	D
Obv.	COM·F	COM·F	COM·F[II]	VIRI
Rev.	VIR	VIR	VIR REX	C O F
Mack	110	109	121	125
Van Ars.	461	460	500	520

Q.-staters	α	β	γ	δ	ϵ	ζ	η	θ
Obv.	COM·F	COM·F	COM·F	COM·FILI	VERIC COM F	VERI	COM	COM
Rev.	VIR	VI[R]	VI	VIR	REX	[C] F R X	VERICA	VIRI[...]
Mack	111	112	113	114	122	124	126	127
Van Ars.	465	466	467	468	501	525	526	527

TABLE 12 Verica: gold coinage (after Allen & Haselgrove)

Though, as stated above, Allen & Haselgrove fight shy of large chronological grouping of the coinage, they are inclined to interpret the above in a chronological way, with Stater Series A and Quarter-stater Series α the earliest of each denomination. Indeed, they are relatively certain of the justification of treating the staters so, and acquiesce to a similar interpretation of the quarter-staters because, as they say, Series α looks the earliest.

Van Arsdell groups the coins of Verica into three 'coinages'; table 13 shows the gold coins tabulated by his organization.

	1st Coinage		2nd Coinage		3rd Coinage	
	Van Ars.	Mack	Van Ars.	Mack	Van Ars.	Mack
Staters	460	109	500	121	520	125
	461	110				
Q-Staters	465	111	501	122	525	124
	466	112			526	126
	467	113			527	127
	468	114				

TABLE 13 Verica: gold coinage (after Van Arsdell)

Van Arsdell thus agrees with the implied chronology of Allen & Haselgrove. In particular, he seems to consider the appearance of REX in the legend of Stater Series C (Mack 121, Van Arsdell 500) enough to class it with Quarter-stater Series ϵ even though its types point to a link with the earlier staters, which he places in his 'First Coinage'. In fact, which of these two links is stronger is for the moment unimportant: if one takes a properly fluid view of his somewhat rigid division into coinages, the claim is that coins bearing REX followed those without it, Stater Series C bridging the gap.

The progression of legends implied by this chronology is hard to ignore. To start, there is a highly abbreviated inscription, COM F(I) VIR, which is found on Series A, B, α , β , γ , and perhaps δ , that is Van Arsdell's 'First Coinage'. There is then the fuller COM F(I) VIR REX or VERIC COM F REX of Series C and ϵ , Van Arsdell's 'Second Coinage'. It is clear that of these two legends the first preserves strong links with the earlier wording, thus putting the connexion between Series C and Series A and B beyond doubt. Series D and ζ , which are the vine-leaf coinage, supposedly issued in opposition to Cunobelin's ear of corn type and included in Van Arsdell's 'Third Coinage', possess even more abbreviated legends than the earliest coins: VIRI C O F and VERI [C] F R X. Finally, a fuller version is resumed, on the other gold coins of the 'Third Coinage', Series η and θ , viz COM VERICA and COM VIRIC, which latter Allen & Haselgrove plausibly suggest may have been longer.

To a certain extent, a similar progression can be detected in the types portrayed on these coins. Series A, B and C Staters, and Series, α , β , and γ Quarter-staters, seem to share similar types, namely on the obverse a legend in a cartouche, and on the reverse a barely celticized horseman, for the staters, or horse, for the quarter-staters. This matches the pattern of legends, except for Series C, which is paired by legend with Series ϵ , as we have seen: no type-similarity here, for as Allen & Haselgrove admit, apart from legend 'there is little connection'. But the next group-by-legend - Series D and ζ , the vine-leaf issue - is self-evidently linked by type as well. This leaves Quarter-stater Series η and θ , with similarities in legend, and also in type, with an identical horsemen on the obverse and different but similarly classical types on the reverse (a seated female deity on η , and a head of Tiberius on θ): indeed, as Allen & Haselgrove indicated, the only known examples of these coins share an obverse die. What they did not point out, however, was that, stylistically, the horseman on this die bears great similarity to the shield-bearing horseman on the reverse of the vine-leaf stater, Series D, and is almost identical to the spear-bearing version on the reverse of the vine-leaf quarter-stater, Series ζ .

This tends to point in the direction of a fairly simple chronological interpretation of the coins, which we shall tabulate thus (table 14), looking for the happy medium between Allen & Haselgrove's caution and Van Arsdell's certainty.

	'Early' Group	REX Group	Vine-leaf Group	'Later' Group
Staters	VA 461, 460	VA 500	VA 520	-
Q Staters	VA 465, 466, 467	VA 501	VA 525	VA 526, 527

TABLE 14 Verica: gold coinage chronological groupings

Before further discussion of this question is attempted, it would be appropriate to introduce Verica's silver to the arena. Table 15 gives a summary of Van Arsdell's division of the silver issues, with those represented in the present catalogue (to which we shall largely confine comment) marked by an asterisk.

Turning to the legends of Silver Units in the current hoard, we see a certain amount of similarity between them and those of the gold coins we have already considered (table 16).

It will be seen that Van Arsdell's categorization, surely correctly, puts silver units with gold of both denominations by similarity of legend. In particular, the simplicity of the supposed earliest version of the legend is preserved in COM F VIRI; a phase of fuller legends, with VERICA in full and REX appended, is seen; as is a legend, full enough but lacking REX.

	1st Coinage		2nd Coinage		3rd Coinage	
	Van Ars.	Mack	Van Ars.	Mack	Van Ars.	Mack
Æ Units	*470	115	*505	123	*530	128
	*471	—	*506	—	*531	129
	472	—			532	130
	474	443			*533	131
				534	131a	
Æ Minims	480	115	*510	120b	*550	—
	482	119	*511	120d	*551	132
	483	120	*512	—	*552	120a
	*484	120 a, c			*553	—
	*485	—			554	—
	486	—			*555	—
	487	—			*556	—
					*557	—
					*558	—
					559	—
					561	316
					562	—
				*563	—	
				*564	117	

(Note the exclusion of VA 473 - now attributed to Tincommius - and VA 560, confirmed by the Wanborough examples - nos 824 to 829 - as an issue of Epaticcus).

TABLE 15 Verica: silver coinage (after Van Arsdell)

Obv. legend	COM F	VERICA COMMI F	VERICA REX	COMMI F
Rev. legend	VIRI	REX	COMMI F	VERICA
Van Arsdell	470; 471	505	506	530; 531; 533
Mack	115; —	123	—	128; 129; 131

TABLE 16 Verica: silver coinage in the Wanborough hoard by legend

Sorting by type produces a similar result. Consider the supposedly earliest group of gold and their types: Stater Series A, B and C, and Quarter-stater series α , β , and γ - legend in a cartouche on the obverse, and a relatively realistic horseman on the reverse. This pattern seems to extend to the silver units as well: both VA 470 and 471, and their variants, have obverse legends disposed across the field, in a cartouche in the case of VA 471; and, though there is no sign of horses or of horsemen, both display fairly naturalistic wildlife on the reverse - a boar and an eagle respectively. Though this seems at first a fairly wide set of descriptive parameters, into which much of Celtic coinage might fall, it is not as common a combination as one might think, at least under Verica.

There is no equivalent of the vine-leaf coinage amongst known silver units of Verica. Nor is there total success with the silver units bearing the word REX when treated by type: as we shall see, the styles of VA 505 and 506 are somewhat different. But the legend may for the moment be treated as sufficient grounds for classing them together.

The remaining silver units however invite grouping with the gold Series η and θ . VA 530, 531 and 533 are the last three series of silver units from the Wanborough hoard to be examined, and all three bear similarity to the gold series in question. First, and most strikingly, VA 530 (nos 436-53 in the catalogue below) combines the two varieties of

horseman seen in Series D, ζ, η and θ, that is to say with the shield-bearing horseman of Series D on the obverse, and the spear-bearing version of Series ζ, η and θ on the reverse. This has the double effect of linking this silver unit issue to the last two quarter-staters in the Allen & Haselgrove schema, and binding those two quarter-stater series even more closely to the vine-leaf issue, Series D and ζ, than was suggested above on the basis of stylistic similarity between the two. VA 530 and 533 are not quite so productive, but still promising. The former, with a classically proportioned thyrsus between two cornucopiae on the obverse, has on the reverse the same type as the reverse of Quarter-stater Series η, to wit a female deity seated on some kind of three tiered seat (or perhaps three cushions), with a shield at her side on the ground: an early example of Britannia. Both also have the same legend, disposed identically: VERI - CA. Finally, VA 533 may well belong with the group: a slightly celticized figure with a lituus on the obverse, and a head of Tiberius on the reverse, the latter suggesting a link with Quarter-stater Series θ, which has a similar reverse. So, with the exception of the group bearing the word REX in the legend, groups of gold coins and silver units defined by legend seem to be equivalent to groups defined by type.

Examination of the legends of the Verica minims is much less satisfactory. This is doubtless due in part to the extremely restricted space they offer for lettering. In general, abbreviation is used much more; some examples, however, use familiar versions, so a summary of those in the current hoard is included for the sake of completeness (table 17).

Obv. legend	none	VIRIC	VIR VAR	C [O] F	C F	C F	C F
Rev. legend	VI CO	CO	CO	VERICA	VERIC(A)	VER REX	VERCA
Van Arsdell	484; 510	cf485	511	550	551; 552	553	556
Mack	—; 120b	—	120d	—	132; 120a	—	—
Obv. legend	CF	REX	VIR	C O F	C FI	COMI F	none
Rev. legend	VERI	VERCA COMMI F	none	VERI	VE	VERI	VI CO
Van Arsdell	557	563	564	384	—	—	—
Mack	—	—	117	—	—	—	—

TABLE 17 Verica: minims in the Wanborough hoard

To this already confusing picture must be added the legendless minims (VA 512, 555 and 558), represented by 23 coins in the Wanborough hoard (nos 506-9, 523-37 and 546-9).

The minims as tabulated above do bear a little comparison with the silver units and gold of the same reign. Most noticeably there is a vine-leaf minim, VA 550, whose legend and types recall its gold counterparts immediately. The reading of the letter O on the obverse of this minim is based partly on this analogy, and partly on the similar coin in the Waltham St Lawrence hoard (no 110) where the letter may just be visible. But beyond this, assignment of the minims is hard. Van Arsdell's categorization of this denomination is the weakest point in his work on Verica. Most of the newly discovered types seem to have been ascribed to the 'Third Coinage' without hesitation, including VA 553 which, by its full legend and inclusion of the title REX, surely suggest a link with the silver units and gold coins of his second grouping. This is surprising because, as stated above, his 'Second Coinage' seems in other respects to treat inclusion of the word REX as the vital criterion. (Note also that VA 553 [C F VER REX] and 487 [V REX - not in this hoard], the only other Verica minims with REX, are assigned to his third and first coinages respectively. VA 560-8 does not read REX but ER.)

It is doubtless the case that attempts to categorize minims by legend alone constitute a lost cause, due to the necessary compression of any inscription on them, and passing

similarity between them and larger denominations on this basis should be treated warily. If type is brought in as a criterion, some progress can be made. The following items strike one as plausible matches with higher denominations. VA 555, with a thyrsus between two cornucopiae on the obverse, strongly suggests a link with VA 530, the silver unit bearing the same type, and thus with the classically orientated later group. This minim's reverse – an eagle – is far from damaging to this theory. VA 551 may also belong to the same group, as its reverse – a laureate bust of Tiberius – recalls more than fleetingly that of Quarter-stater Series θ (VA 527) and the silver unit VA 533.

Others, however, are more recalcitrant, and the following observations are all that can be said on the implications of their respective types. VA 384 (Wanborough no 557), VA 485 and its variant in the Wanborough hoard (nos 499 & 500), VA 564 (Wanborough no 556) and the strangely inscribed VA 511 (Wanborough nos 504–5) all bear obverse legends in cartouches or across the field: but their reverse designs are somewhat diverse, and conviction does not really attend any attempts at categorization one may make.

But despite the difficult nature of the minims, considerable progress can be made towards a loose classification of Verica's silver by working along the same lines by which we grouped the gold. The results of such a treatment can be tabulated as in table 18 (adding all units in the hoard, but only those minims which admit of easy classification, to our earlier table).

	'Early' Group	REX Group	Vine-leaf Group	'Later' Group
Staters	VA 461, 460	VA 500	VA 520	—
QStaters	VA 465, 466, 467	VA 501	VA 525	VA 526, 527
Units	VA 470, 471	VA 505, 506	—	VA 530, 531, 533
Minims	?VA 510	VA 563	VA 550	VA 555, ?551
[where poss.]				

TABLE 18 Verica: suggested classification of all Verica coinage

This, then, can be taken as the simplest interpretation of the evidence discussed, and is largely backed up by what Van Arsdell and Allen & Haselgrove say or imply.

The problems with this reconstruction surround the so-called REX Group. In short, as we saw above, the stater VA 500 links this group strongly with the coins of the apparently 'Early' Group, suggesting that the one immediately followed the other. But the assumption and later abandonment of the title REX that this implies is difficult to accept. While even on the coins of much more clearly understood authorities the political significance of changing titulature is justifiably questioned, it is perhaps hard to imagine the laying aside of such a resonant title except in a situation where the solidarity of the kingdom is under great pressure, rather as Parthian kings are supposed to have relinquished the supreme title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ when it could not be maintained. Such conditions did, of course exist for Verica, pressure from Epaticcus eventually forcing him, it seems, to Rome. But the very fact that he took refuge in Rome indicates his allegiances: and even without the hard-line idea that use of the title REX indicated a treaty with Rome, it seems difficult to accept that he would have abandoned it when he was looking to the Romans for salvation.

If so, is it any more likely that Verica assumed the title just at that point when he looked towards Rome, rather than earlier in his reign? This would clearly fit with the political assumptions made about the use of the title in the last paragraph; but the numismatic evidence seems to preclude this idea. As we have seen, the 'Early' Group of coins merits that description on stylistic grounds, a stronger criterion than it sounds; and it seems inextricably linked with the REX group by virtue of the Stater VA 500, which in style and content resembles the 'Early' Group much more than it does the rest of the

REX-bearing coins. If this seems to point to a modified solution, let us first consider more evidence which may do the same.

This evidence consists of the two silver units ascribed to the REX Group. VA 506, represented by nos 407-35 in the Wanborough hoard, has on the obverse a bull, depicted naturalistically, and on the reverse the well-known god standing beside a head on a stake, classically treated but nonetheless obscure in meaning. But VA 505 (Mack 123, nos 383-402 in this hoard, with variants nos 403-6) has on its obverse a large-scale version of the ubiquitous pellet-in-ring motif, with the legend round the outside; and on the reverse a lion in roughly the same degree of realism as the bull of VA 506. The similarly treated fauna might imply a common issue of these two coins: but two things militate against this. First, the widely differing nature of the non-animal side in each case (the reverse of VA 506 and obverse of VA 505); and second, the great difference in weight of the representatives of each coin in the present hoard. While all the other Verica silver unit issues in the hoard average between 1.15g and 1.21g, nos 383-402 (VA 505) average only 1.02g.

Does this, along with the points made in the previous paragraph suggest a dichotomy within the REX Group? The two gold issues included in this group - VA 500 and 501, respectively A & H Series C and ϵ - were also very different from each other in type; and, as we now see, the silver units are also disparate. However, there is no obvious equivalence between the two distinctions, for the following reason: neither VA 505 nor VA 506 recalls by its type the silver (or gold) of the supposedly earlier group in the same way that A & H Series C does recall the staters of that group. Nonetheless, it may be the case that two distinct REX groups should be considered, one (including VA 500 and the unit VA 506) directly following the 'Early' Group, the other (certainly including VA 505, and possibly the quarter-stater VA 501), coming at the end of the reign, when Verica was seeking support from Rome. The separation of the REX coins into two groups does not of course necessarily entail their being placed at opposite ends of the region, but the political and numismatic considerations which led to the separation themselves suggest it.

However, one may bridle at the complex sequence of events - and coinages - that this reconstruction implies, even more than at the theories that preceded it. Can it be preferable to believe that Verica adopted the title REX early in his reign, abandoned it when under pressure from Cunobelin or for other motives, and finally resumed it in the hope of winning support from Rome? To use the sort of argument guaranteed to annoy historians, the drop in weight of the silver unit VA 505 might reflect the growing pressure on the kingdom, necessitating economies at the mint: but the same issue's simple obverse design as described above does not sit well after the distinctive, classicizing coins of the 'Later' Group. If there is a REX coin which recalls that group at all, it is the other silver unit, VA 506, with its pseudo-classical type of the god and head on a stake: but this coin seems to have been struck to the normal standard of a gram and a quarter.

With regard to this it is worth pausing for a moment to realize that we have all along accepted F and FI in Celtic coin legends as the abbreviation for 'filius' without arguing thereby in favour of particular political stances. In other words, the adoption of Latin on Celtic coins means nothing since it was the written language most readily available to the die engravers in particular and the Atrebatian administration as a whole: apart from the occasional obscure word or two on coins, we have no sign that the idea of writing the Celtic tongue ever occurred. However it does remain possible that the appearance and disappearance of REX was significant: and anyone who feels that it was can find support in the undoubted evidence of careful apportionment of the title with Roman backing in other parts of the world even before conquest, or in the same part of the world after conquest.

Another factor remains to be discussed. It was first remarked in print by Allen & Haselgrove (1979, Appendix V), and borne out by the Waltham St Lawrence hoard and the current hoard, that two weight standards seem to be in operation for Verica's quarter-

stater: to be precise, VA 468 and 501 appear consistently to be struck on a larger module, and to a weight of about 1.32g, as opposed to 1.20g or so. Wanborough however has contributed only two of the former issue and none of the latter, so changing the situation very little indeed, and the significance of the difference to the sequence within the coinage remains as obscure as when Allen and Haselgrove wrote. In particular, there is no obvious correlation between the higher standard of these quarter-staters and the lower standard of the silver unit VA 505.

If indeed the aim is to establish a single sequence for the supposed groups within Verica's coinage, it is likely to remain unfulfilled for the time being. The variations in style, titlature and weight are too complex to allow easy interpretation in this manner. Thus the apparently simple classification which we have been developing should not be seen as such an interpretation. While, for stylistic reasons, the links between the 'Early' Group and the 1st REX Group, and between the Vine-leaf Group and the 'Later' Group are strong, and that the first of these two pairs preceded the other is likely, the doubts concerning the 2nd REX Group throw the whole thing into confusion. However, as a clarification of the discernible groups, it remains valuable.

About the only form of interpretation not tried so far – that Verica used two mints – now calls for attention. It has been, and will remain, general policy to resist the invocation of a second mint on the basis of imperfectly understood differences within one king's coinage: and it may seem particularly odd to yield to the temptation when the differences in style, weight and legend are multifarious rather than bifocal. However, a convenient division into two mints does suggest itself. In this schema, the 1st and 2nd REX issues could be considered to emanate from the same mint as the 'Early' Group, that is the 'main' mint (perhaps Calleva), due mainly to the common but unexplained heavy standard of VA 468 and 501; and it would therefore be at this mint that the drop in weight evident in VA 505 occurred. The Vine-leaf Coinage and the 'Later' Group would have been produced at the new mint, which for some reason did not make use of the title REX. That title, however, would have remained in use at the main mint up to the end of the reign. Advantages of this theory are that the notion of the title being dropped, let alone dropped and then resumed, can be abandoned; that the two pairings of groups named above as almost certain ('Early' and 1st REX; and Vine-leaf and 'Later') are preserved; and that the overall chronology ties in with what was assumed on stylistic grounds. Drawbacks include the still inexplicable rise in the standard employed for the quarter-staters VA 468 and 501, and the lowering of that used for the silver unit VA 505: both would have been produced at the same mint, furthermore, by this account, which if anything accentuates the oddness.

It is therefore this reconstruction that is tentatively proposed for Verica's coinage. However, as stated at the outset, the shakiness of any conclusions drawn from such sparse evidence rules out adoption of this reconstruction for cataloguing. Nothing other than a desire for convenience indicates the existence of a second mint: in particular, the usual Celtic lack of mint or officina marks fails to support it. It seems facile to propose secondary mints when classification is otherwise difficult; in the case of every other Atrebatian ruler, it is an unnecessary step. Nonetheless, this over-long discussion will close with what seems the only currently possible reconstruction (table 19).

It hardly needs to be pointed out that even terms such as 'mint', let alone their being labelled 'Main' and 'Second', are purely conjectural: the important thing is the suggestion of two concurrent strains. It will be noticed that the so-called 'Second Mint' is defined by issues coherent in style, a style distinct from that of the main run of Atrebatian issues.

Historical interpretation of this reconstruction would therefore be extremely insecure: but it is permissible to anticipate suggestions that may be made by others. If a secondary mint, rather than another 'officina' type of subdivision within the main mint, is preferred, the question of its location will inevitably arise, and there will of course be a temptation to link the choice of its site with notions of Verica retreating before a Trinovantian incursion represented by Epaticcus. In the face of this incursion Verica may well have retained

	MAIN MINT [? Calleva]			SECOND MINT	
	'Early' Group	1st REX Group	2nd REX Group	Vine-leaf Group	'Later' Group
Staters	VA 461, 460	VA 500	—	VA 520	—
QStaters	VA 465, 466 467, 468	?VA 501	?VA 501	VA 525	VA 526, 527
AR Units	VA 470, 471	VA 506	VA 505	—	VA 530 531, 533
AR Minims [if poss.]	?VA 510	VA 563	—	VA 550	VA 555, ?551

TABLE 19 Verica: hypothetical reconstruction (after Cheesman)

control over part of the kingdom for a while before fleeing to Rome: having yielded Calleva, it is argued, he is likely to have set up another mint somewhere else – in the south, perhaps, or the west. However, it must be borne in mind that our reconstruction, and the arguments used in it for the existence of a second mint, do not facilitate this linking. This is because the reconstruction places the use of the title REX at the main mint rather than at the second one, and it is one of the central premises that use of this title would not have been abandoned when the kingdom was under pressure: and if the second mint were a foundation of Verica's last years in Britain, one would expect to find the Latin title in use there; and one does not.

There is still reason to seek the site of a secondary mint, however: partly for its own interest, but also with some historical relevance, since 'decentralisation' may well have been a factor before a Trinovantian incursion – indeed it may have been one of the factors which brought it about. The claims of two oppida are well worth considering in this respect, namely Winchester and Selsey. At the former, there is the evidence of 'coin-moulds' found near the town (see the map in Cunliffe 1974, 95). In addition, archaeologists have already identified the western portion of the Atrebatian realm as an area distinct from the main block, possibly even requiring separate subjugation by Vespasian (cf Salway 1981, 93, drawing on Suetonius, *Div Vesp* 4). Against this, it must be pointed out that Epaticcus' coins are found in the western part of the realm (cf the Savernake Forest hoard, with several Epaticcus coins but none of Verica – see Robinson 1975). So, if the conclusion from this is that Epaticcus controlled a united Atrebatian kingdom, the later resistance of the western portion must stem from phenomena in his reign or later, rather than in Verica's. This would seem to undermine the points made in favour of Winchester on the basis of any later autonomy in that region. At Selsey, there is no direct indication of a mint other than large numbers of coins washed up on the beaches, though this was enough to suggest a mint to Frere (1967, 46); but the concept of a southern sector forming in the kingdom at this stage may seem more natural than that of a western one, given that pressure was likely to come from the north, and that nearby Chichester was throughout the period an important site. If the apparent fortification of the region, notably the Chichester Dykes, are, as Frere (1967, 46) suggests, to be dated to the end of Verica's reign, this does not mean that any minting activity in the area cannot precede the final evacuation of the kingdom by many years.

There remains little to say about the coins of Verica in the Wanborough hoard: most have been referred to already. Several new insights of a minor sort can be gained, however. The best-represented issue of Verica in the hoard is M 115 (VA 470-1), and its variant type (VA 470-3, 5, 7), represented by nos 278-313 and 314-363 respectively. It becomes clear from these examples that any future catalogue of Verica's coinage will have to distinguish these two types by separate numbers, since the differences between them are greater than previously thought. The obverse of the variant type differs only in lacking pellets-in-rings, but the reverse dies of 314-363 are much more crudely modelled (with

one exception) and two at least of these dies were used for a very long time. Needless to say, there are no die-links with nos 278–313, not even in the case of the exception, no 327, the only one of the variant coins struck from a well modelled reverse die. The upshot of this is not clear. Having accepted the possibility of a secondary mint we might be ready to see another one in operation here. But the secondary mint suggested above was of course posited on the grounds of distinctive legends and types, rather than distinctive treatment of the same types and legends. So perhaps the 'backward drift' in style and quality should be invoked again, with native die modellers taking over from 'foreign experts'; which leads to conclusions about the length of Verica's reign rather than his mints.

One minim ascribed to Verica by Van Arsdell, and present in the hoard, has been reascribed to Epaticcus. This is VA 560 (nos 824–9). On the obverse, Van Arsdell and many others misread the TA of Tasciovanus as VI, for Virica; and on the reverse V – E – R instead of the correct E – P – A. As stated below, additional support for the new attribution comes in the similarity of design between this minim and some Trinovantian issues.

Epaticcus

There is no Epaticcus gold in the hoard as catalogued – and precious little elsewhere – but in 1985 the National Museum of Wales obtained a specimen of the stater VA 575 which the finder, on oath, claimed to have found at Wanborough (presumably the VA 575 listed by Van Arsdell (1989, 544) as a possible Wanborough find): cf Appendix A below.

The coinage of Epaticcus actually in the hoard is dominated by the bust/eagle silver unit, Mack 263, VA 580–1/3. Of the 272 coins attributed to him in the catalogue (nos 565–836), the first 217 are of this issue. In his list of hoards, Van Arsdell estimates that 5,000 of this type were recovered at Wanborough. Thus, though the variety of silver is very small in comparison with that of Verica, this large number of type-identical coins enables a detailed study that is not normally possible with Celtic coins.

All except six of the Wanborough examples are in fact VA 580–1, and read EPATI on the obverse rather than EPAT (580–3), which would seem to undermine Van Arsdell's description of the latter as common (180). Furthermore, all examples of 580–3 seen in this hoard or elsewhere (e.g. Waltham St Lawrence no 145, the photograph in Van Arsdell) are from the same dies. These dies are crudely worked in the extreme, compared with the rest of this issue, and both obverse and reverse are instantly recognizable. They were evidently used for a great length of time, despite their artistic crudity, since their decline in quality can be easily traced in the coins that they produced. On the obverse the back of the head swelled as the depression in the die grew, and the T of the legend spread, eventually meeting the forehead of the bust. In the present hoard this process can be observed in the six coins, in apparent order of production, 565, 604, 643, 703, 763, 735 and 762; WStL 145 was probably produced about the same time as Wanborough 643. The reverse die, by comparison, deteriorates little, and is found in the present hoard linked on one coin (no 631) with a different obverse die, reading EPATI and thus classed VA 580–1; this might suggest that it survived longer than the EPAT die. What is noticeable is that the new obverse die it is teamed with is similarly crude in its artistry. There is just one other pair of dies displaying equally rough workmanship, namely that of Wanborough nos 666, 697 and 712. These dies were also used for a long time – witness the deterioration evident between nos 697 and 712.

This small group of coins does not, needless to say, help much towards an understanding of the mint structure. It is much too small to imply a separate mint, even if the other crudely worked coins are included: 5.1% of the issue in the current hoard. This is echoed in the Waltham St Lawrence hoard, where there is only one coin (145) classed 580–3, and only one (117) struck from the crude dies of Wanborough nos 666, 697 and 712: two out of 45, or 4.4%.

Nor can one argue on this evidence alone for a separate officina within the main mint, at least as we normally understand the term. It is difficult to see anywhere in the field of Celtic numismatics signs of the system of officinae, each with its distinctive reverse, the obverse dies being returned each night to the central authority, to be redistributed in a different pattern the next day. It might have been hoped that discovery of a relatively large number of type-identical coins would amend this situation. The coins of Epaticcus in the current hoard have not, however, had this effect. If the classical officina system had been employed, and the crude dies identified above, as argued, were in use at the main mint, one would expect to see links between them and other dies. This is conspicuously absent: nonetheless, an entirely separate mint is rendered unlikely by the proportional arguments already given.

Thus, some strong subdivision within the mint seems likely – pairs of obverse and reverse dies held separately, presumably, and only replaced when worn out – though completely unprovable at present. In fact, the general impression given by the die-linking of the bust/eagle issue is that most dies were linked with several others: they form large groups, rather than the small ones implied by this method; and, apart from the one example given, there is no other so obvious example of a die or pair of dies deteriorating until the point of replacement – which would be a very noticeable feature of such a system. The nearest cases are those of two obverse dies: (i) that of nos 588, 598, 605, 611, 614, 669, 688, 707, 723, and three coins from Waltham St Lawrence, which develops a crack around the back of the head (though all coins viewed are at roughly the same stage of deterioration); and (ii) that of nos 583, 691, 693 and 779, which exhibits damage above the head's upper lip, just about where the moustache would be. Neither case, however, can really be used in arguing for the form of subdivision outlined, since they are both parts of much larger groups of dies than implied by this.

Thus the die-linking of this issue offers little solid assistance to understanding the mint structure current in Epaticcus' reign. A more percipient eye may perhaps be able to detect trends in the evidence given in the catalogue below: but, as it stands, the delineation of large, stylistically similar die-linked groups, with a small, stylistically distinct group, is curiously unhelpful.

One final suggestion will just be mooted: a fairly obvious one, namely that the crudely worked dies identified above are simply chronologically distinct, as has been proposed for stylistic developments in other reigns. However, the 'crudeness' of the dies in question does not appear to be akin to celticization as seen elsewhere: it seems, for once, fair to say that these dies represent a poor attempt at the standard type rather than a vigorous native reinterpretation of them. Thus one cannot argue along the lines of the progression of styles used above for, say, VA 381-1 and 381-3 (nos 77 to 91). But this does not, of course, rule out a chronological interpretation, and it may well be the one which arises.

A die study of such a (relatively) large issue does however give a rare chance for a statistical analysis, based on the number of visible dies. The full possibilities will not be pursued here, partly due to the great variety of the methods available, but mainly due to the fact that the final step towards estimating the size of the coinage from the number of dies remaining still rests upon evidence which we just do not have, namely the lifetime of a Celtic die. Without this we cannot make the leap from an estimate of the total number of dies in use to the number of coins minted, and the information remains of use only in making relative statements (which will, of course, be a considerable use when similar large issues exist for statistical treatment).

Nonetheless, the method using Good's coverage estimator, as explained and recommended by Esty (1986), can be applied with interesting results. The formula $C = 1 - (N_1/n)$ is used to find the 'coverage' of the sample (ie the proportion, expressed as a fraction, of the number of all coins struck by dies visible in the sample, to the total number of coins struck), and $x = C \pm (2/n)[N_1 + N_2 - (N_1^2/n)]^{1/2}$ to obtain the upper and lower limits of

a 95% confidence interval for C , where n is the number of coins in the sample and N_x is the number of dies appearing precisely x times in the sample.

The obverse dies of the bust/eagle issue are in the main much easier to study, so it is sensible to submit them to this form of analysis. Forty-seven of the 217 coins in the hoard have obverses too worn to be of use, leaving a sample of 170. These exhibit 92 different obverse dies, of which 67 appear once only, and six appear twice. Substituting these figures in the above formulae, we get figures of 0.606 for the coverage, and 0.691 and 0.521 as the upper and lower limits of the 95% confidence interval. This means that the 92 dies in the sample are estimated to have produced 60% of the coinage, with a confidence interval of between 52 and 69%. If all other dies produced a similar number of coins, the number of obverse dies used to mint this issue is estimated to have been 150, and within a 95% confidence interval of 130 and 175 (these figures being rounded).

Due to the statistical nature of this sample (quite a few large die groups), the 95% confidence interval is actually relatively small. But this method, as is obvious, assumes a random selection in the sample, though as Esty shows (1986, 212-14), it holds up quite well in computer-simulated non-random hoards. It also assumes that dies had similar 'lifetimes'. Neither of these assumptions is very wise with Celtic coins at present. Furthermore, it gets us little nearer, as stated above, to the actual size of the issue. If a 'sensible' figure for the production capacity of a Celtic die is suggested - say 25,000 coins - a total issue of three and three-quarter million is reached. We have no way yet of telling if this is outrageously high, or quite feasible. It would seem safer for the moment to err on the side of underestimation: we have seen that there appear to be a few long-lived dies in our sample, while most do not show signs of decay; and it has been shown that such a situation can result in a mean lifetime which many more than half of the dies fall short of (G F Carter, cited in Esty 1986, 189, 195, 203-4). So, if a production capacity of 10,000 is estimated, a total issue of one and a half million is obtained. Allen's estimate (1975, 4-6) of a million staters of Cunobelin may perhaps be cited as independent support for figures of this sort.

Apart from the bust/eagle issue, Epaticcus is poorly represented. Van Arsdell estimates (though the exactitude of the figure suggests certainty) that the hoard contained 261 of the next type in the catalogue (581-1 by his numbering, ie Mack 263): twenty-one reached the British Museum (nos 782 to 803 below). The types recall those of the supposedly later units of Verica: a pseudo-classical obverse, namely Victory seated on a sella, and a wildlife reverse, namely a boar which strongly resembles the creature on Verica's common silver unit, Mack 115, VA 470-1 (nos 278 to 313 below), and before that the one on Eppillus' unit, VA 416 (nos 226 to 252). One difference in the reverse type, however, may be instructive, to wit the branch hanging over the boar, which is not unlike similar features on three minims, VA 512 (nos 506 to 509 below), VA 558 (nos 546 to 549), and the new minim represented in this hoard by nos 830 to 836. The last of these issues has been ascribed to Epaticcus, the others to Verica, following Van Arsdell: however, these two are notable for lacking legends. It may well be that they too should be classed with Epaticcus' coinage, though beyond the branch motif there is little to impel one to overturn Van Arsdell's decision - which has therefore been followed in the catalogue below.

There follow two different silver units, nos 804 and 805, the former being in some ways the most attractive coin in the whole hoard. It is an extremely fine example of the very rare VA 582, with a bearded head on the obverse which, though different from that of the bust/eagle issue, and from those of Eppillus' issues VA 416 and 417, in no way resembles the strongly celticized heads on Tasciovanus' coins (eg VA 1816, 1818). The quatrefoil above the lion on the reverse, which otherwise is Atrebatian in style and content, suggests a token adaptation of a type taken over by Epaticcus with his new kingdom. The other unit, no 805, is more 'Trinovantian' in style, despite also having a lion on the reverse - and indeed its worse state of wear might indicate greater age: but it is futile to argue from single examples.

Only three types of minims are ascribed to Epaticcus in the catalogue below. The first (VA 585; nos 806 to 823) is firmly Atrebatian in design: the third (the new type mentioned above; nos 830 to 836) is slightly less derivative in that way. The second (VA 560, wrongly attributed there to Verica – see above, under that king for an explanation of its reattribution) combines a reverse of straightforward Atrebatian style, including the placing of the legend, which partly led to its wrongful attribution, with an obverse of Trinovantian style: compare in particular the three bronze units of Tasciovanus, VA 1808, 1810 and 1812, for the developing geometric pattern which appears on this minim. Thus, notwithstanding the aforementioned possibility that the minims normally ascribed to Verica, VA 512 and 558, purely Atrebatian in style, are really Epaticcan issues, one is made aware of distinctive elements appearing in the coinage of the region which may well be put down to Epaticcus' alien origin.

It is however the similarity to, rather than the difference from, preceding Atrebatian coinage which strikes one. This is perhaps surprising, when one bears in mind that Epaticcus is regarded as an interloper in Atrebatian lands. A case for his operating from a different mint from that of Verica (? Calleva) can be built on the appearance of Λ instead of A on his coins (ie a dot instead of a crossbar); and indeed small things like this may be of greater importance than changes in types, which are presumably imposed from above. But, apart from this extremely rare stater (VA 575 – not in this hoard, but see Appendix A), on which is depicted Cunobelin's ear of corn, and which may therefore date from an earlier, more turbulent period, the type and style of Epaticcus' coinage resembles that of Verica in its later phases: though there is some artistic input from Trinovantian coins, as stated above, the predominant impression is that horses, heads and classical figures descend from Atrebatian prototypes.

The good condition of most of Epaticcus' coins found at Wanborough suggests furthermore that they were removed from circulation fairly soon, and thus that they had not been minted far afield, nor early in Epaticcus' own period of issuing coins: in other words, that they date from after his take-over (if such it was) of Atrebatian territory, and emanate from a mint therein. Boon (1974, 42) argues for a Trinovantian domination at Calleva on the grounds of coin-moulds found there containing residues of an alloy more akin to the billon coinage of that tribe rather than to that of the Atrebates. The relevance of this to the main series of Atrebatian coinage is of course dependent on the degree of certainty with which we believe Calleva to have been the main mint at all. But even without this it seems perverse to argue for the existence of a different mint for Epaticcus.

Cara[tacus?]

Wanborough's contribution of ten pieces to the corpus of coins bearing the legend CARA[.] is quite a significant one, such was their rarity. Of the ten, seven (837-43) are VA 593, the well-known variety of silver unit identical except for legend to the bust/eagle issue of Epaticcus, while the other three (844-6) are poorly preserved examples of VA 595, the minim.

The silver units, although not yet displaying a definite reverse die-link with the similar coins of Epaticcus, are clearly a much smaller issue from the same mint. The obverse dies are generally slightly poorer stylistically than those of Epaticcus, perhaps suggesting a certain amount of haste in the making: but the reverse dies, despite the tantalising absence – so far – of a link, are pretty much similar in quality. If we accept, as seems likely, that the king who minted them was the last ruler of these lands before Roman control of the region, we must grant that there is unlikely to have been either the time or the opportunity to develop a distinct coinage of his own: and that therefore one cannot argue from the similarity of the coins to a necessary relationship, of any sort, between him and Epaticcus. Furthermore, the brevity of this king's reign is to a certain extent required by the normal interpretation of the Claudian invasion as to some extent a response to

appeals made by Verica: though this response may have been far from immediate, it would not do to pack too much into the intervening period.

The attribution of these coins to Caratacus, Epaticcus' nephew, is still not certain. Caratacus' early power-base, before he obtained control in south and central Wales, is just not known. It may be that he was involved in the Trinovantian incursion (whatever form it took) into Atrebatian territory, and that his role here was always subsidiary to that of his uncle – thus explaining the much smaller issue of identical coins in his name. However the notion of a junior co-ruler is not paralleled by anything else we know from Celtic affairs in Britain. It may, then, be that he actually ruled briefly after Epaticcus, at a time when Rome was already doubtless planning her successful invasion. It may on the other hand simply be that Epaticcus' successor was not Caratacus at all but a king who fell in the Roman invasion itself, or who is not heard of again for other reasons.

Nonetheless, Caratacus' later vehement opposition to Rome may well suggest a link with this king who seems to have suffered an early defeat at the hands of that power. We may recall the notion mentioned above, in discussion of the possible site of a second mint of Verica, that the western part of the Atrebatian territory resisted the Romans more resolutely than the rest of it: if Caratacus did succeed to his uncle's kingdom, this may be the sign of his gradual movement westwards into Wales, where he regrouped his forces to greater effect. If so, as noted above, the motive for locating Verica's second mint at Winchester would be considerably lessened, since the coherence of a western sector in the kingdom would be due entirely to events taking place in Caratacus' reign. However, this reconstruction would not necessarily imply that the mint used by Caratacus (and therefore Epaticcus as well) was in the west, for two reasons: Boon's point, referred to at the end of the last section, in favour of Trinovantian control at Calleva still stands; and the resistance which Vespasian met is generally taken to be later than the Claudian invasion. Therefore even in this reconstruction one could still see a brief 'reign' for Caratacus over much or all of the Atrebatian kingdom, before the invasion, during which time the coins would have been minted, presumably at Calleva.

It is evident that some of these points could still stand if the authority named on the coins is not Caratacus; but generally it is vital to keep in mind the fact that much rests upon the extremely doubtful interpretation of the abbreviated legend, and the possibly equally dubious feeling that Caratacus must have ruled somewhere before turning up in Wales. What is more pertinent to the Wanborough hoard is that the CARA coins clearly stand in the same stylistic tradition as those of Epaticcus, and therefore, by implication of the previous section, as the main Atrebatian trend.

Coins of Outlying Tribes

Comment about these coins will be kept to a minimum, partly due to their peripheral relation to the main part of the hoard, but also to the fact that the selections in the hoard are quite likely to be decidedly non-random, even more so than the coins of the area in which the hoard was buried.

The coins of Cunobelin in the hoard (847–52) are included in this section. The sparseness of his coins in this hoard seems in line with the lack of any Eppillus Kent issues, and indeed of any other genuine coins from directly east of Atrebatian regions. The significance of this is hard to gauge, especially in the light of the relative abundance of Durotrigan, Dobunnian and even Icenian issues, which suggests that trade or some other mechanism did bring large numbers of coins from far afield. Deliberate suppression of certain coinages, either by Celtic or by Roman authorities seems hard to envisage.

Of greatest interest among Cunobelin's coins in the hoard is no 852, a previously unknown quarter-stater, peculiar in that it has the king's name (CVNO) on both sides. It is not, perhaps, impossible that one of the two is a blunder for CAMV, the obverse legend on some of his other issues.

One forgery of an uninscribed Kentish stater survives, viz no 853. Its interest lies mainly in its peculiar state of preservation: the plating has come away almost entirely on the reverse, the side bearing the design, and is badly damaged on the obverse. It is an effective illustration of the method of forging, and of the size of the core within a forged stater.

The selection of Icenian coins (nos 854-65), is small but still perhaps more than would have been expected from such a distant region, especially in the light of the complete lack of inscribed Kentish issues. Nonetheless all is not well with the Wanborough specimens, as one glance at the weights will reveal: they are all considerably lighter than the expected gram and a quarter standard for Icenian (and other) silver units. The twelve coins average 0.63g, or 0.70g if the three very worn coins listed as uncertain are discounted. The nine that remain are not particularly badly worn, however, certainly not appreciably worse than the mysterious EX coins discussed near the outset which are on average more than a tenth of a gram heavier. Metal analysis has not been carried out on these Icenian coins, but it may well be that, if it were, considerable debasement in the silver used would be found. This is a question for the future.

One coin listed as uncertain is quite possibly Icenian, namely no 913. As stated in the catalogue below, its strange reguardant animal on the reverse, with a circle and a beak for a head, and the cross pattern on the obverse, strongly suggest the early issues of the Pattern/Horse A Series in Allen's classification (1970). These have an odd distribution pattern generally, having turned up in Shropshire, Lincolnshire, East Anglia and Sussex, and Van Arsdell classifies Allen's 108A, an example of this issue, as a coin of Addedomarus (VA 1611). The animal's harness, if such it is, recalls very closely certain Icenian issues (eg Allen's Normal Face/Horse Series). The pentagram on the reverse, though, is very unusual: cf Symons 1990a, 50 no 53, for an example on a coin of Verica, and VA 163, 164 and 167 for similar stars on coins of Dubnovellaunus.

All of the seven Dobunnic coins in the hoard (nos 866-72) are forgeries, some incomplete. Whether this indicates that the forgers operated in Atrebatian territory, perhaps immune from prosecution, is an open question.

The Durotrigan coins make up the bulk of this section of the hoard (nos 873-910). All are struck bronze staters, VA 1290, rather than the multifarious cast versions. Many are very well worn, and though this is to be expected with bronze coins to a certain extent, it should also be remembered that these issues appear to have remained in some form of circulation until the mid-2nd century AD: thus those in the Wanborough hoard - which, as we shall see in the next section, was probably buried in the mid-1st century AD - are likely to have been in circulation right up until the time they were buried: it is in any case unlikely that bronze coins would have been hoarded for their metal value alone.

The Roman Coins and the Deposition of the Hoard

None of the Roman coins in the hoard has much intrinsic interest: the 63 denarii exhibit a predictable range from the mid-2nd century BC to the reign of Claudius, with a smattering of imitations of varying quality. As always when Roman coins are found with a Celtic hoard, their interest is mainly in determining the date of deposition. The latest Roman coin in the hoard is no 1040, a high-quality contemporary forgery of a denarius of Claudius dated to his tenth year of Tribunicia Potestas, ie AD 50-51. This, then, is the technical *terminus post quem* of the hoard's deposition. It may well, however, have been deposited up to fifteen years later, for the simple reason that denarii of Caligula, Claudius and Nero are notably rare in all Romano-British hoards, and the lack of any or all of them should not be taken as binding upon the deposition date of a hoard - cf for example the Beck Row Hoard (*CHRB* IV 15-24), deposited in the time of Titus, which contains no denarii between the reign of Tiberius and the last years of Nero; and the three instalments of the Howe Hoard (*CHRB* IV, 24-8; VI, 13; VIII 22), buried in the reign of Domitian, but with a similar gap.

This fifteen year period of grace has enabled the suggestion to be made that the hoard was buried at the time of Boudicca's revolt in AD 61 (or 60 – there is little point in discussing the question of the revolt's exact date here). This is possible because a Celtic temple would seem a sensible place to keep something safe from Celtic marauders (though the possibility – and later the reality – of Roman reprisals would have been a worry). As to why Celtic coins were considered valuable enough to safeguard after seventeen years of Roman occupation, two obvious answers suggest themselves: they may have been kept purely for their bullion value; or the collector of the hoard may have optimistically believed that a Celtic state was soon to be instituted, just as the Iceni themselves omitted to sow any crops the season before their revolt, believing that victory, and therefore the Roman granaries, would be theirs. A third suggestion has also been made, which develops from an argument deserving discussion for its general relevance.

Since almost the only thing universally inferred from the words of Tacitus, *quaedam civitates Cogidumno regi donatae* (*Agricola* 14), is that Cogidubnus was made or confirmed as king before AD 52; and since it is assumed from the inscription at Chichester (*RIB* 91) and the palace at Fishbourne that he was king of at least part of formerly Arebatic territory, we can assume that the Wanborough hoard was deposited in the reign and possibly in the kingdom of Cogidubnus (on whose career cf Barrett 1979; Bogaers 1979; Salway 1981, 784–52). Therefore it represents another confirming instance of the well-established theory that Cogidubnus did not mint coins, since none are present, as they surely would be if he had done so. The relevance of this to the Roman coins lies in the suggestion of J P C Kent (1973, 10) that the kingdom of Cogidubnus might in fact be defined (archaeologically) by the locations of hoards with both Celtic and Roman contents: since, there being no native coinage in production, Roman coinage was used alongside the native issues of the recent past. Little can be said at present to confirm or deny this hypothesis. However, the fact that Cogidubnus could not mint under the Romans makes it unlikely that any other native authority could, and thus a similar phenomenon would be seen elsewhere. Mixed Icenian and Roman hoards, such as the one from Eriswell (cf *CHRB* IV, 6–13), would indicate the extent of the territory accorded that tribe. The argument is that, in these areas, there was a legitimate mixed currency of Roman and Celtic coins: elsewhere, only Roman coins were current. This, then, gives us a third possible answer for the question why a hoard buried as late as 61 – if that is indeed its deposition date – contains so much Celtic coinage.

Hoards indicative of the phenomenon of joint currency, however, would only be discernible from earlier (immediately post-invasion) ones which contained a perfectly natural element of Roman coins from the invading forces by the respective proportions of Roman and Celtic coins: that is to say, they will have large Roman and small Celtic elements, representing recent and old issues. In view of this it may perhaps be wise to see the Wanborough hoard, with its small Roman element, as having been deposited at an earlier period (say the mid-50s), when Celtic coins were still the predominant currency, rather than later, when Roman coinage would have become more evident, such as in the hoards from Lakenheath (Briscoe, Carson & Dolley 1959: 67 Denarii to AD 37, with 409 Icenic and two Cunobelin coins); Scole (*CHRB* VI, 7–12: 87 Denarii to AD 60 or 61, with 202 Icenic coins); and perhaps Norton Subcourse (*CHRB* VIII, 19–21), which has a very similar quantity and range of denarii to the Wanborough selection, with three Icenic coins (which may be intruders). Such small samples are far from reliable, but it is notable that the one which definitely has a late date (Scole) has a much higher proportion of Roman to Celtic issues than we find at Wanborough.

The idea of an earlier hoard containing 63 Roman coins is not at all strange. The proportion of denarii here is low enough not to be affected by the general view that infiltration of Roman coinage into Britain before the Claudian conquest was very small indeed. A deposition date of soon after AD 51 surely allows enough time to account for the presence of all the Republican denarii as well as the Imperial ones: military pay and

other necessities of invasion would have brought a flood, relatively speaking, of Roman coins, and the time span of the selection does not prevent this being its method of arrival.

Nor should one be swayed by the notion that plated forgeries of Roman coins will not have been produced until a few years after their originals were minted. This would prevent us dating the hoard soon after 51. This argument has been undermined, if not actually disproved, by the hoard of plated denarii from St Swithin's Lane in London (Lawrence 1940), which shows how quickly counterfeiting got under way in Britain after the invasion - well within the reign of Claudius.

It is therefore quite possible to propose an earlier date than 61 for the hoard, without of course discounting a late date of that sort out of hand: the ingenious suggestion related above regarding continued, sanctioned use of Celtic coins in certain parts of Britain does not so much necessitate the late date for mixed hoards as emphasize its possibility, and, as stated above, it is difficult to see how the characteristics of a later hoard in one of these regions could in practise be discerned except by exhibiting proportions of Roman to Celtic coins which the Wanborough hoard does not have (in the selection which reached the British Museum - an important point to remember). This means that the second Icenic revolt would be removed as a factor in its deposition, but there was probably enough unrest in the interim to account for it nonetheless. In any case, arguments such as this are far from conclusive: nor are they meant to be, being intended rather to show that the alternative view is equally unprovable.

It is therefore proposed that the hoard was deposited in the early years of the 50s AD, but accepted readily that a date up to the early 60s is possible.

Connected with the topics encountered here is the basic question of why Cogidubnus did not mint: is the phenomenon linked to the decline of minting throughout the West (discussed by Kent 1973) or is it indicative of his individual status; a question outside the scope of this discussion but related to some of the general historical points in the next section.

Some General and Historical Conclusions

'Conclusions' is too optimistic a word. If there is one form of coinage which deserves cautious treatment, and which is difficult to connect with historical events, it is that of the Celtic tribes. But these connexions have often been made, and are often plausible, though lacking the basis they are implied to have. Nonetheless, the commonplace that numismatics is the chief source for Celtic political history holds true, at least as regards identifying rulers and their areas of 'influence'. Allen (1944) made the definitive statement of the reconstruction that emerges from the coins, and this has changed very little since. The Wanborough hoard is an eloquent confirmation of much that has been presumed since then. However, the nature of the coinage, now that it is seen in relatively large quantities, calls for a review of some of the additions made to the basic version.

One of these additions is to see the Atrebatian 'dynasty' of the sons of Commius as consistently adopting a pro-Roman stance - after the death of Commius himself, whose engagement with Caesar in the Belgic campaign shows his political orientation - and even possessing close diplomatic links with Rome similar to those of Eastern client kings. The literary evidence is sparse and well-known: Tincommius possibly mentioned as a suppliant in the *Res Gestae* (32.1), under the fragmentary name of TIM[. . .]; Verica, called Βέρικος by Dio (LX 19.1), taking refuge with Claudius; some unnamed British princes in Strabo (200) sacrificing on the Capitol and obtaining Augustus' friendship (φιλία) - the island becoming through the passage of embassies and the like virtually Roman (οἰκείαν σχεδόν τι . . . τοῖς Ρωμαίοις). Many have taken this evidence and combined it with the numismatic source material to draw a picture of solid agreements between the sons of Commius and Rome, complete with Roman advisers at the Atrebatian court, and Roman bestowal of the title Rex: possibly even education in Rome for the king's sons and the other trappings of

a typical Asiatic style *clientela* (cf esp Frere 1967, 42–6; Boon 1974, 38; Cunliffe 1974, 119; Cunliffe 1971a, 13; Barrett 1979, 229–30; the last two seeing Cogidubnus as a child of the Commian dynasty). The plausibility of this picture on the basis of the literary evidence is not a matter for discussion here: but, in the light of the Wanborough hoard, and the review of questions of style and minting methods it has provoked, one may doubt whether this plausibility is increased very much by the numismatic material.

It is however easy to see how the picture has developed. As emphasized by the Wanborough hoard, the first signs of classicization in Atrebatian coinage appear in the reign of Tincommius; three of his types descend more or less directly from Republican or Augustan originals, and it seems fair to suppose that the general politics of this king were pro-Roman. It is important to remember, of course, that the connexion between coin types and what we see of his politics is at this stage hardly a causal one: most obviously because Augustus makes no mention of having restored Tincommius, and we must suppose that he ended his days in Rome, therefore unable to influence the choice of types any more.

Nonetheless, as we noted in discussing his coinage in detail, the types introduced in his reign did set trends for his successors. Eppillus' Calleva types are strongly reminiscent in detail and general style of those of Tincommius. Verica's reign, as we saw, witnessed considerable input in new and interesting types, and to a certain extent in style as well: but the new types were also in most cases copies of or derivations from Roman models; and it is notable that, if the double mint theory proposed above is correct, the stylistic input is most obvious at the subsidiary mint. And when Epaticcus superseded Verica in terms of coin circulation, as possibly in terms of power, many of the Atrebatian types remain, new input possibly consisting of the addition of a branch to some of the existing types.

This cuts both ways. In the first place, one is presented with a 'dynasty' almost universally using classical types and classical style on its coins; and since the last of the 'sons' of Commius, Verica, also appears to have fled to Rome, it is easy to assume that the family's political orientation was likewise unchanging. But the consistency of style in Atrebatian coinage could simply mean that no more interest was taken in the medium as an item of Celtic culture. One almost has the impression of Roman models being adopted because that was what coins were 'supposed' to be like, in Celtic eyes. Familiarity with the full workings of Roman minting would have included knowledge of the *Monetalis* system, and at least an awareness of the great diversity of possible types. But passing familiarity with the few Roman coins that circulated in Britain before the Claudian invasion would be more likely to engender the sort of adoption and slight adaptation of Roman types which we see (this point is hinted at in her last paragraph by Scheers, 1979, who includes a full list of Celtic coins thought to be adapted from Roman models). Furthermore, as we see in the cases of Eppillus and Epaticcus, the stylistic distinctiveness of the coinages of southern Britain in this period seems to rely on area rather than ruler: thus Eppillus, a son of Commius whose coins circulated in Atrebatian lands and in Kent, and whose 'power-base' is therefore thought to have shifted accordingly, minted coins of distinctly Atrebatian style in the former region, but notably different in style and fabric in the latter; while the coins of Epaticcus, which claim that he was a son of Tasciovanus (and thus a brother of Cunobelin), show some signs of Trinovantian input, but mainly sit in the Atrebatian quasi-classical tradition, as if the invading king took over mint and style when he came. And, the most basic point to remember when proposing a continuously pro-Roman outlook on the grounds of a continuously classicizing coinage, Tincommius presumably fled to Rome under pressure from his brother Eppillus: the dynasty, even if it was really one family, appears to have been far from united.

The flight of Verica and Claudius' invasion are easy to see as at least partly a reaction to what we call the incursion of Epaticcus: and in this way one could see the installation of Cogidubnus as a restoration of Atrebatian territory to the older dynasty or a new version thereof. Of course actually to view it thus would be facile: we do not know whether

Cogidubnus really was installed, or just confirmed as king; if the latter, he may in fact have been a member of the opposing, Trinovantian dynasty (as various points of nomenclature may also suggest); these and other points generally putting scholars off attempts to trace Cogidubnus' origins (cf Barrett 1979, Salway 1981, 784-52). But even if the facile view were adopted, for the sake of argument, it would fail to convince one of an Atrebatian tradition of close involvement with Rome. The fact remains, as indicated before, that there is no evidence of Cogidubnus minting coins, normally a common practice amongst client kings. Such a lack seems inexplicable if he really is to be considered in the same mould as eastern counterparts such as Ariarathes and Polemo, as one feels from much that is written. This suggests that whatever position he was in with regard to Rome, interpretations of it should not be imported directly from the East. For a while, one sees the attraction of a view such as that of Salway (1981, 784-52), namely that he was an outsider brought in to administer Atrebatian lands, and the splendour of Fishbourne is that of a retirement home for a man paid off. Fortunately it is not our problem, but the dilution of the image of Cogidubnus as a full-blown, Asiatic, client king would be a timely warning against seeing his Atrebatian predecessors that way.

Nor can the technical details of coin-production and design be taken to point inevitably to close links with Rome. One of the principles occasionally used in the preceding discussion of the hoard and the coinage represented in it was that when new, classicizing types were introduced into a coinage, the first dies would be the most purely classical, and the later ones would be more obviously celticizing. This process would result - if one sees a general, overall trend towards classicization - in a series of steps 'forward' (inverted commas so as not to do down Celtic art), with slight drift 'backwards' in between. This was suggested with regard both to individual issues (eg the silver unit of Tincommius VA 381) and to whole coinages, in which the later dies would not attempt to copy the earlier ones directly, but would use themes from it to produce new types (eg the later silver of Tincommius, VA 371 and 372). A suggestion of several others (eg Allen 1944, 6; Scheers 1979, 622-3) was then adopted, namely that in these cases the early dies were cut by Roman or Roman-trained engravers, the later ones by native craftsmen. In fact, this idea was never used above without a faint sense of unease, partly because of the historical conclusions that are inevitably drawn from the idea of Roman craftsmen in a Celtic kingdom, an idea which gradually becomes one of Roman 'advisers' at the court, and connects all too easily with the reconstruction discussed above (cf especially Scheers 1979, 622-3). It is not that it is implausible that Roman engravers were used, and that this was a manifestation of the close links between the Celtic kings and Rome: but the 'backward drift' referred to above is not strong evidence in favour of it. After all, it would be hard to interpret the changing standard of the dies in other than a backward progression of this kind: surely, whoever made the original dies, and whatever tradition they were modelled in, they are more likely to have been more stylistically 'pure' than the replacement ones. The reverse progression is unlikely in such a short timespan: that is, we are not dealing with a long enough period (or a grand enough art-form) to think in terms of craftsmen gradually feeling for the classically ideal type, and only reaching it after passing through primitive, celticizing versions. Thus, in a situation where we find a classical design represented by some dies of pure classical style and others betraying Celtic influence, we either see no progression at all (just a chronologically indistinct jumble) or a progression from the classicizing to the celticizing. Our preference for the latter is on the basis of the probability of direct Roman influence on Celtic coinage, and therefore there is an element of circularity about arguing from this phenomenon to heavy Roman involvement in Celtic affairs.

Nonetheless, as stated, there is nothing implausible about such involvement, and coins certainly cannot rule it out. After all, the use of the title REX by Atrebatian kings, which has led to suggestions of treaties with or recognition by Rome - often enough rebuffed (eg Salway 1981, 56) - was an important factor in the discussion of Verica's coinage above. This is not because it was believed that it had any genuine political significance,

but because it was not believed that a king who fled to Rome could have abandoned a symbol – potent or not – of his allegiance at such a time. In the case of Cunobelin, on whose coins the title also appears, it cannot be used in such a manner, since his political sympathies are not by any means certain. But when it is used by a king whose allegiance, at any given point, is known, arguments may be made about the time or manner of its use without circularity.

Numismatic evidence has not played such a large part in accounts of the end of the Commian dynasty as it has done in those just given for the dynasty's heyday. This can be seen from a resumé of the suggestions encountered on preceding pages. One proposition was that the pressure from Epaticcus in the north eventually squeezed Verica into the south (where the Chichester Dykes may represent his last stand before his flight to Rome): Trinovantian control of the Calleva region being assured by certain coin-moulds found there. The reconstruction of Verica's coinage offered above suggests that that king had a secondary mint and that it was in operation before the end of Verica's reign: thus, even if it was at Selsey, by Chichester, it must be dissociated from the period of retreat and refuge. Coins are similarly low-key in what follows. Epaticcus, it is suggested, was succeeded by his nephew Caratacus, who was the king who minted the coins reading CARA: but his reign was brief, as suggested by the rarity and uniformity of his coins, and he was pushed towards the west (where evidence suggests the spirit of opposition remained to give trouble to Vespasian), until he reached Wales, whence he launched his better known campaign. A lot of this is pure conjecture, made only to illuminate aspects of the coinage: but, by virtue of that fact, it does not rely on interpreting the style and nature of the coins in what is argued above to be a misleading manner.

Iconography is another topic that can be misleading. The general trend towards classical types was not universal. The obverse of Epaticcus' bust/eagle issue (VA 580, nos 565–781) for example eludes precise identification, though it is classically portrayed: is the headgear definitely a lionskin? Maybe the significance is religious: such a solution would suit in a way, since Epaticcus was of the house of Tasciovanus, an interloper in Atrebatian lands, and therefore presumably (on the most simplistic reconstruction) anti-Roman. But Verica also minted a silver unit which could be linked with Celtic religion (VA 506, nos 407–35): the head on a stake on the reverse recalls the so-called severed head cult of the Celts (described by Salway, 1981, 691–2), which would certainly have met with Roman disapproval. But, as Van Arsdell (1989, 42) says regarding another coin with a severed head on it, there is little to connect the design with the cult, which was after all fairly rare. So far, the general implication of this section is that historical conclusions from Celtic coins are few and far between. This is perhaps too pessimistic, especially in the light of the head-dresses from Wanborough itself which resemble so strongly those on the Petersfield coin (see plate 10). Evidence that showed a link between the depiction of Celtic religious or royal symbols on coins with the assertion of anti-Roman feelings would be an impressive and valuable coup.

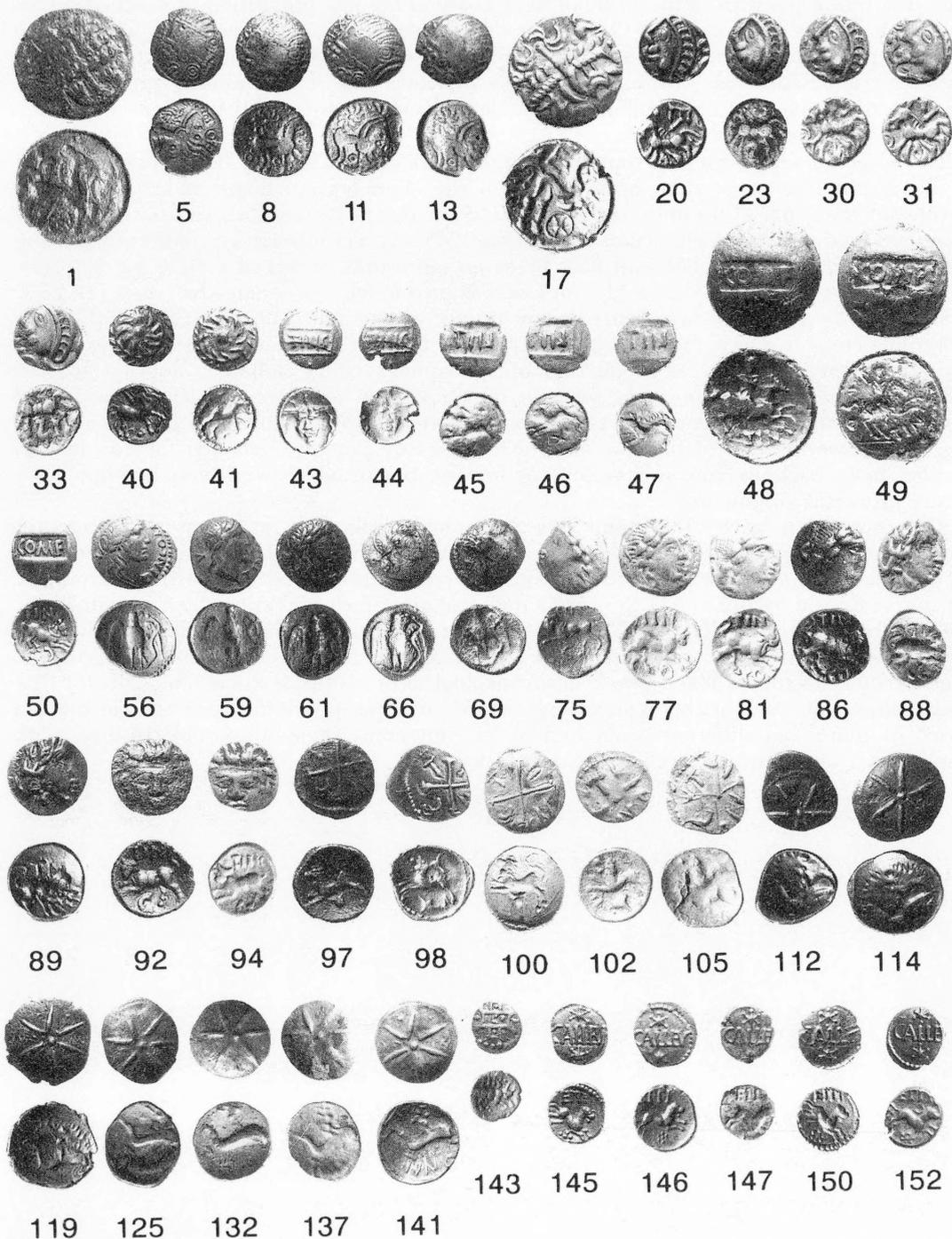
Finally, it is worth pointing out that even such a simple question as where the coins were minted is not beyond doubt. Calleva is perhaps almost certain, being famous as a town of the Atrebates, and apparently being named on the coins of Eppillus. But, as stated in the discussion of that king's coinage, there are other reasons for putting a place-name on a coin. Nonetheless, it seems a sensible conclusion. Secondary mints, if there were any, are much harder to place. As fleetingly and hardly at all confidently suggested above, under Verica, Winchester (Venta) is a possibility, perhaps more likely than Chichester but nonetheless insecure in the extreme.

In the light of all this it is perhaps safest to fall back on the internal evidence of the coins, such as it is. This presents a steadily growing picture of a reasonably intricate coinage in southern Britain, minted in large numbers, but with widely varying standards of die-production, and therefore probably of general minting techniques. The spectrographic analysis of the coins carried out at the British Museum indicates a high degree of fineness

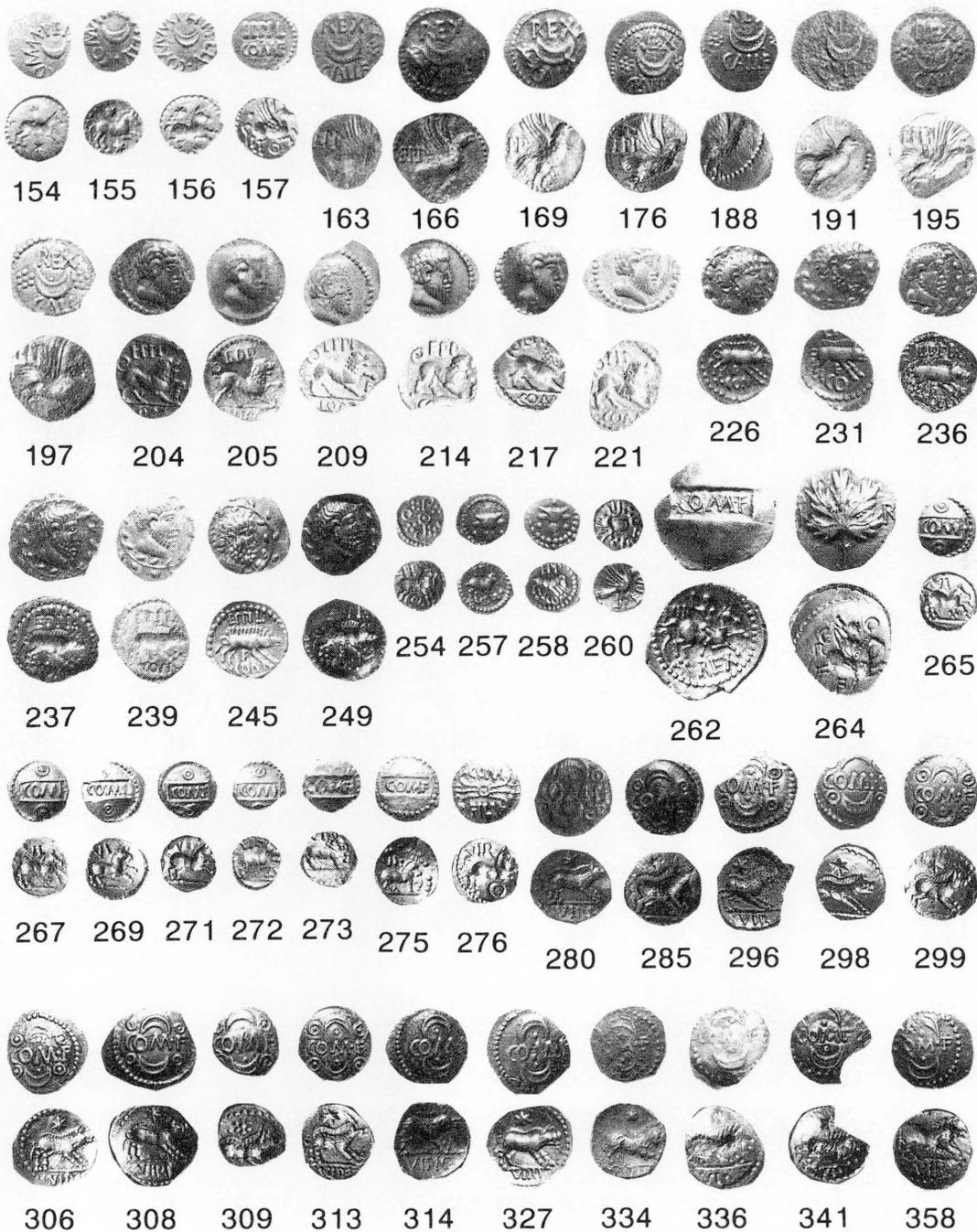
in the silver used in the coins, maintained over a considerable period (see Appendix C). One interesting point from the Wanborough hoard is the low proportion of botched pieces (ie double strikes or brockages). Only three definite cases have been seen, nos 97, 100 and 671. In particular it is of interest that only one double-struck example of Epaticcus' bust/eagle issue survives. This simultaneously indicates care in the minting process and a low rate of production, by comparison with later Roman mints, for example, where such instances are much more common.

The forgeries also present a topic for further work, which has not been gone into here at all. Again, the proportion to the whole in the Wanborough hoard is low, but more significant than that of the misstruck coins: 2.29%, that is twenty forgeries out of the 872 identified gold or silver Celtic coins in the hoard. Plenty of cores survive, either displaying their intended design (eg 867 and 868) or as no more than scraps of bronze (eg 926-33). Nor surprisingly, it seems that gold issues were copied much more than silver ones (12.28% against 1.59% - but the first figure cannot in any way be relied on). The fact that all the Dobunnic coins in the hoard are forgeries perhaps indicates that most counterfeiting went on outside the true area of production of the coinage being imitated: but not too far outside, since all the Icenic coins seem to be genuine, if underweight. More specialized comment on this matter is doubtless possible, but it will not be attempted here. This area remains, however, one of the few on which the coins can give grounds for conclusions without hefty back-up from archaeology or history, but in which work may prompt more secure historical judgments.

The problem is partly that coins have a limited application in a historical vacuum. though they end up dictating much of what is written on the period concerned, they cannot be provided with a detailed historical background without some sort of bootstrap technique. Of course Britain 54 BC to AD 43 is not a total vacuum. Two factors brighten the situation. Archaeology is an important key, providing more explicit evidence than numismatics can about a way of life; and the existence of a large, diverse, relatively sophisticated coinage itself becomes in time a token to use in archaeological or historical discussion. It is for that reason that finds such as the Wanborough hoard are vital, providing evidence not only in terms of more and different coins to look at, but coins in an important setting, with implications for cultural as well as political history.



Pl 5 Wanborough. Coins: Early Atrebatian - Commius - Tincommius - Eppillus. Scale 1:1 (Photographs by Chaz Howson and Janet Larkin)



Pl 6 Wanborough. Coins: Eppillus - Verica. Scale 1:1 (Photographs by Chaz Howson and Janet Larkin)



361 362 364 365 369 370 372 376 383 384



394 396 397 402 403 404 413 417 420 423



430 435 438 441 442 449 452 457 463 468

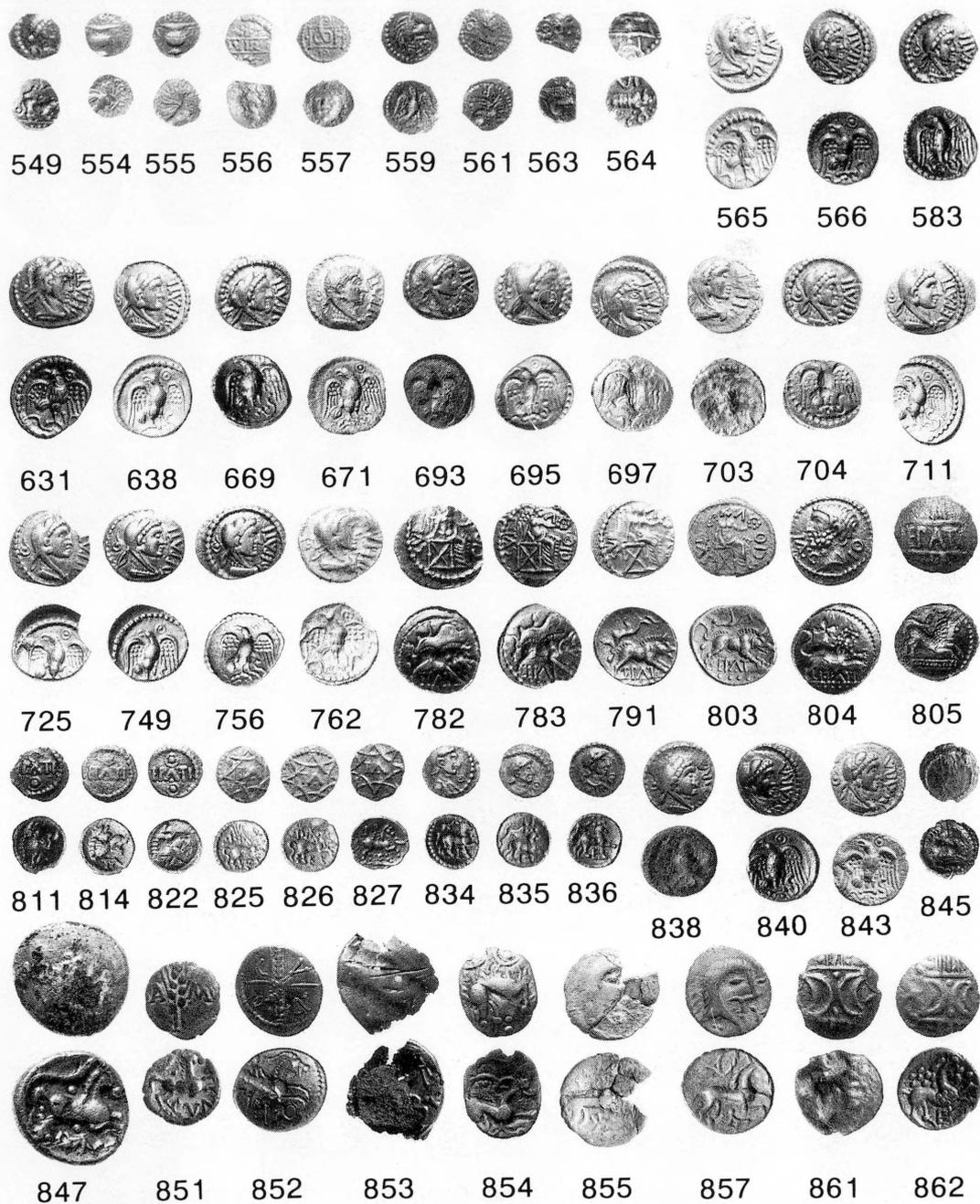


471 475 480 483 485 488 493

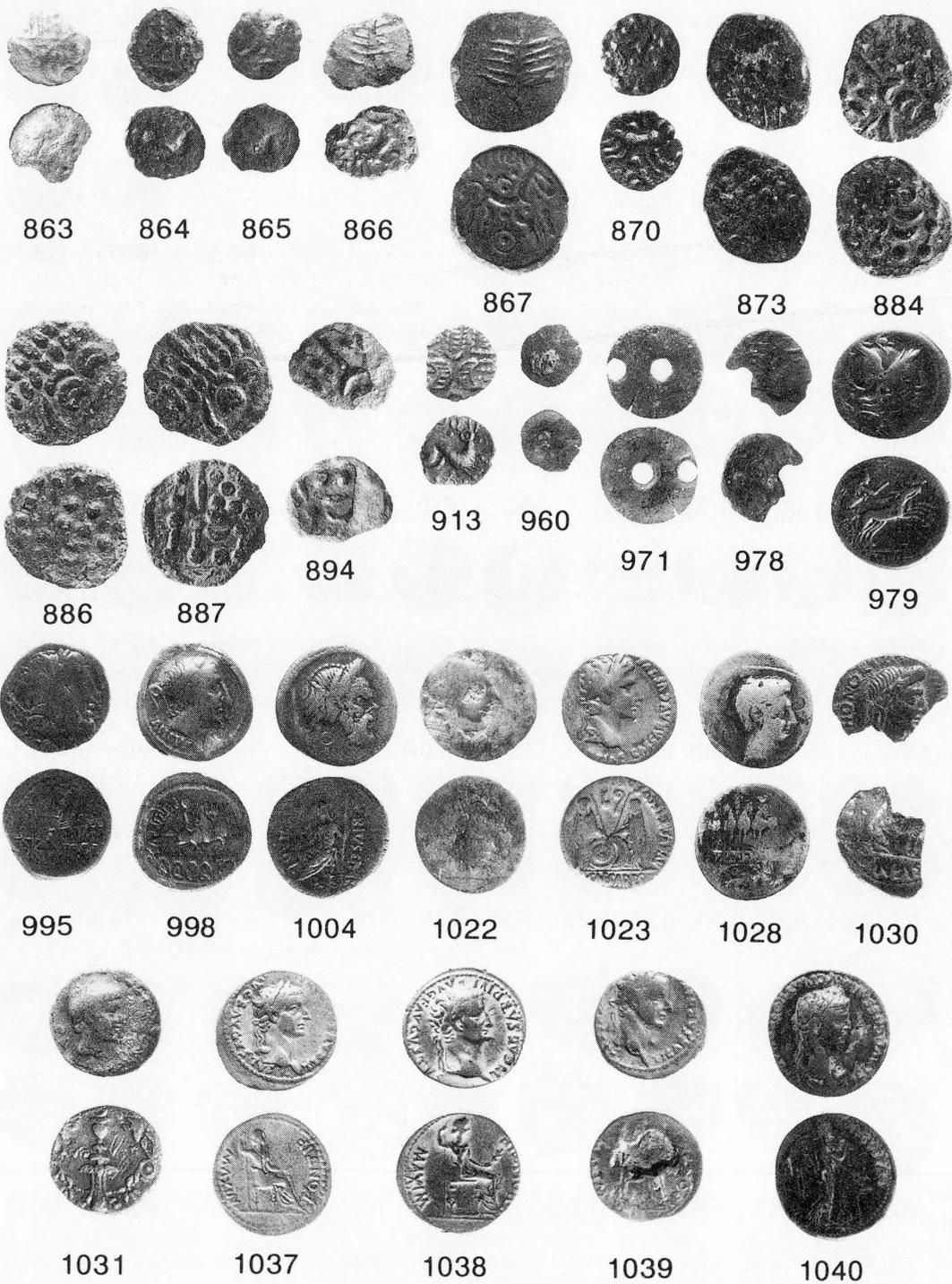


506 509 510 512 514 517 518 520 528 530 531 538 539 543 547

Pl 7 Wanborough. Coins: Verica. Scale 1:1 (Photographs by Chaz Howson and Janet Larkin)



Pl 8 Wanborough. Coins: Verica - Epaticcus - Cara[tacus] - Cunobeline - Uninscribed Kentish - Icenian.
Scale 1:1 (Photographs by Chaz Howson and Janet Larkin)



Pl 9 Wanborough. Coins: Icenian - Dobunnic - Durotrigan - Uncertain Celtic - Roman. Scale 1:1 (Photographs by Chaz Howson and Janet Larkin)

3.1.2 Catalogue (pls 5-9)

The catalogue is organized by reign, starting with early coins, proceeding with Atrebatian kings, Cunobelin, then Icenian, Dobunnian, Durotrigan and uncertain rulers, and finally, Roman coins. Two appendices list, respectively, coins in the National Museum of Wales possibly originating from Wanborough, and the later Roman coins from the site.

Coins within each reign have been listed by denomination (in the order stater, quarter-stater, silver unit and minim), and within each denomination by Van Arsdell's order. No grouping into 'coinages' or issues is attempted in the catalogue.

References are given for the Celtic coins to Mack (= M) and Van Arsdell (= VA); also in the case of Verica's gold coinage, to Allen & Haselgrove 1979 (= A & H), and of Icenian coins, to Allen 1970 (= Allen). Other references are explained in the Bibliography. Within reason, formulaic description of the coins is attempted, in the hope that a conventional method may be achieved for coins which are notoriously difficult to describe. The distinctions between inelegant terms such as 'slightly Celticized', 'semi-Celticized', 'Celticized', and 'fully Celticized', however, are highly subjective, and they are used really only with reference to Atrebatian coins.

The British Museum's accession numbers (which all begin BM 1988-6-27-) were allotted before final cataloguing of the hoard for publication took place, and do not always coincide with the catalogue numbers: they are therefore given at the beginning of each issue, after the Mack and Van Arsdell references. The order of the individual coins within each issue has not been disturbed, save where indicated. The Roman coins have also been reorganized since accession, and the BM number of each is noted separately.

Die-links have been listed in full. The formulae 'obv.x' and 'rev.x' indicate that the side in question is too much worn to attempt die-linking. That both sides are so is shown by 'xx'.

Die-links with coins from Waltham St Lawrence are referred to by their number in that hoard's catalogue (Burnett 1990) e.g. WStL 45: since that hoard was not reordered between accession and cataloguing, WStL can be replaced by the prefix BM 1978-1-8- to obtain the accession number. Amongst the Icenian coins, one or two die-links are noted with coins in the Field Baulk Treasure Trove, from Stonea, whose accession number prefix is BM 1983-3-30-. A full die study of this hoard is being prepared by Amanda Chadburn of Nottingham University.

An asterisk indicates that the coin is illustrated; a dagger that it was analysed by the British Museum Scientific Research Department (see Appendix C).

The Discussion and the Catalogue include all the coins from Wanborough recovered by the British Museum. The coins from the 1985-6 excavation are also listed briefly by phase and layer on microfiche 33-41.

Early Coins

Stater. Fully Celticized head of Apollo, r./Celticized horse, triple-tailed, r., between three pellets-in-rings. British Q stater. M 60/61 ('Remic Stater'). VA 212/214. BM-1988-6-27-1

1* 3.53g Bronze imitation

Silver unit. EX; fully Celticized head, 1., surrounded by spirals and pellets/fully Celticized horse, r.; 'anemone' above, rings and pellets below. BM-1988-6-27-2 to 16

2	0.53g	obv.x	7†	0.52	12†	0.78
3	0.80		8*	1.10	13*†	1.09
4	0.77		9	0.86	14	0.79
5*	0.88		10	0.86	15	0.71
6	0.50		11*	1.15	16	0.86

? Commius

Stater. Fully celticized head of Apollo, r./fully celticized horse, triple-tailed, r, E ornament, above: wheel, below. VA 352-1. BM-1988-6-27-17

17* 5.48g

Silver unit. Fully celticized head, l./fully celticized horse, l; E ornament, above; serpentine lines, below. M 446B. VA 355-3. BM-1988-6-27-18 to 35. (nb WStL 19 to 21 are VA 355-1)

18	0.91g	Poss. same rev. die as 20, 28, 31, WStL 22
19	1.02	obv.x
20*†	0.78	Same rev. die as 28, 31, WStL 22; poss. same rev. die as 18
21	0.89	rev.x
22	1.09	obv.x
23*	0.93	Same dies as 33. Same rev. die as 32, 34
24	0.68	
25	0.65	xx
26	0.97	rev.x
27	0.74	xx
28†	0.83	same rev. die as 20, 31; poss. same rev. die as 18
29	1.10	obv.x
30*	0.99	
31*	1.11	Same rev. die as 20, 28; poss. same rev. die as 18
32	1.03	Same rev. die as 23, 33, 34
33*†	0.95	Same dies as 23. Same rev. die as 32, 34
34	1.00	Same rev. die as 23, 32, 33
35	0.81	xx

Tincommius

Quarter-stater. Pellet-in-ring / T; semi-celticized horse, r; pellet below. M 81. VA 366-1. BM-1988-6-27-36 to 42

36	1.05g	Same dies as 37, 40
37	0.84	Same dies as 36, 40
38	1.20	Same dies as 39, 41. Same rev. die as 42
39	1.18	Same dies as 38, 41. Same rev. die as 42
40*	1.20	Same dies as 36, 37
41*	1.20	Same dies as 38, 39. Same rev. die as 42
42	1.26	Same rev. die as 38, 39, 41

Quarter-stater. TINC in cartouche; C above; A below / head of Medusa, f. M 97. VA 378-1. BM 1988-6-27-43 & 44

43*	1.16g	Same dies as 44. See above, text; for remarks regarding this piece.
44*	1.20	Same dies as 43

Quarter-stater. TIN on incuse tablet / semi-celticized horse (? or boar); star of three or four points, above. M 99. VA 379-1. BM 1988-6-27-45 to 47

45*	1.16g	rev: star just visible below animal. Same obv. die as 46, 47
46*	1.18	rev: 4-pointed star below animal. Same obv. die as 45, 47
47*	1.21	rev: no star visible at all. Same obv. die as 45, 46

Stater. COM·F on incuse tablet/TIN; mounted warrior, r., raising spear in r. hand. M 100. VA 385-1. BM 1988-6-27-48 & 49

48*	5.35g	
49*	2.89	plated forgery

Quarter-stater. **COMF** on incuse tablet/**TIN** (above) **∩** (below); slightly celticized horse, r. M 104. VA 390-1. BM 1988-6-27-50

50* 1.17g

Silver unit. **TINCOM**; laureate head, r. / eagle displayed, head r., holding in claws serpent with head raised to r. M 105. VA 397-1. BM 1988-6-27-51 to 74

51	1.06g	Same rev. die as 62, 64, 68
52	1.17	obv.x. Same rev. die as 54, 55, 58, 61
53	1.31	
54	1.13	obv.x. Same rev. die as 52, 55, 58, 61
55	1.24	obv.x. Same rev. die as 52, 54, 58, 61
56*	1.24	Same obv. die as 58, 61
57	1.09	
58	1.29	Same dies as 61. Same obv. die as 56. Same rev. die as 52, 54, 55
59*	1.30	
60	0.96	
61*	1.28	Same dies as 58. Same obv. die as 56. Same rev. die as 52, 54, 55
62	1.31	Same rev. die as 51, 64, 68
63	1.31	obv.x
64	1.19	obv.x. Same rev. die as 51, 62, 68
65	1.18	
66*	1.00	
67	1.24	
68	1.13	Same rev. die as 51, 62, 64
69*	1.14	
70	1.34	xx
71	0.90	xx
72	1.19	xx
73	1.29	obv.x
74	1.35	xx

Silver unit. Slightly celticized laureate head, l. / **TIN** (above) **C** (below); bull, l. M 106. VA 396-1. BM 1988-6-27-75 & 76

75*	1.23g	
76	1.27	xx

Silver unit. Slightly celticized laureate head, r. / **TIN** (above) **C** (lower l.) **O** (lower r.); bull, r. Cf Symons 1990a, 48, no. 11 (Finney Loan: Symons reads **TIN-C**, but **O** is clearly visible in photo). VA 381-1 corr. BM 1988-6-27-77 to 82, 84, 85, 87, 89, 91

77*	1.23g	Same dies as 79
78	1.31	Same dies as 82. Same obv. die as 85
79†	1.12	Same dies as 77
80†	1.25	Rev: TIN (above) CO (below). Same dies as 81, 83, 86
81*	1.29	Rev: TIN (above) CO (below). Same dies as 80, 83, 86
82	1.33	Same dies as 78. Same obv. die as 85
83	1.28	Rev: TIN (above) CO (below). Same dies as 80, 81, 86
84†	1.22	obv.x. Same rev. die as 85
85	1.22	Same obv. die as 78, 82. Same rev. die as 84
86*	1.23	Rev: TIN (above) CO (below). Same dies as 80, 81, 83
87	1.26	xx

Silver unit. Semi-celticized laureate head, r. / **TI** (above) **NC** (below); bull, r. VA 381-3. BM 1988-6-27-83, 86, 88 & 90

88*†	1.31g	Same dies as 90, 91
89*†	1.01	
90	1.15	Same dies as 88, 91
91†	1.25	Same dies as 88, 90

Silver unit. Semi-celticized head, f. / TIN (above) CO (below); bull, l. M 108 var. VA 370-1. BM 1988-6-27-92 to 94

92*	1.04g	Same obv. die as 93, 94
93	1.30	Same dies as 94. Same obv. die as 92
94*	1.26	Same dies as 93. Same obv. die as 92

Silver unit. T-I-N-C in angles of cross / lion leaping l., over object (? bull's skull). VA 372-1. BM 1988-6-27-95 to 110

95	1.26g	Same dies as 97, 100, 104, 106
96	1.17	
97*	1.18	Evidence of double striking. Same dies as 95, 100, 104, 106
98*	1.26	Same rev. die as 99, 108
99	1.15	Same rev. die as 98, 108
100*	1.32	Double-struck. Same dies as 95, 97, 104, 106
101	1.15	obv.x
102*	1.26	Same rev. die as 103, 105, 107
103	1.31	Same dies as 105. Same rev. die as 102, 107
104	1.26	Same dies as 95, 97, 100, 106
105*	1.28	Same dies as 103. Same rev. die as 102, 107
106	1.25	Same dies as 95, 97, 100, 104
107	1.20	obv.x. Same rev. die as 102, 103, 105
108	1.24	obv.x. Same rev. die as 98, 99
109	0.98	rev.x
110	1.21	

Silver unit. Star or 'wind-flower' of 6 points / TINC (weak on some); boy on dolphin. VA 371-1. BM 1988-6-27-111 to 142

111	0.47g (frag.)	xx
112*	1.23	Same rev. die as 113-5, 118, 119, 121, 124, 131, 133-5
113	1.00	Same rev. die as 112, 114, 115, 118, 119, 121, 124, 131, 133-5
114*	1.27	Same rev. die as 112, 113, 115, 118, 119, 121, 124, 131, 133-5
115	1.11	Same rev. die as 112-4, 118, 119, 121, 124, 131, 133-5
116	1.26	Same rev. die as 117, 120, 125, 126, 137, 139, 141
117	1.36	Same rev. die as 116, 120, 125, 126, 137, 139, 141
118	1.16	Same rev. die as 112-5, 119, 121, 124, 131, 133-5
119*	1.29	Traces of letters on obv. Same obv. die as 122, 125, 132, 139, 141. Poss. same obv. die as 137. Same rev. die as 112-5, 118, 121, 124, 131, 133-5
120	0.85	Same rev. die as 116, 117, 125, 126, 137, 139, 141
121	1.22	Same rev. die as 112-5, 118, 119, 124, 131, 133-5
122	1.13	Same dies as 132. Same obv. die as 119, 125, 139, 141. Poss. same obv. die as 137. Same rev. die as 136, 138, 142
123	1.25	rev.x
124	1.19	Same rev. die as 112-5, 118, 119, 121, 131, 133-5
125*	1.26	Same dies as 139, 141. Same obv. die as 119, 122, 132. Same rev. die as 116, 117, 120, 126, 137
126	1.22	Same rev. die as 116, 117, 120, 125, 137, 139, 141
127	1.30	xx
128	1.24	xx
129	1.37	xx
130	1.27	xx
131	1.30	Same rev. die as 112-5, 118, 119, 121, 124, 133-5
132*	1.30	Same dies as 122. Same obv. die as 119, 125, 139, 141. Poss. same obv. die as 137. Same rev. die as 136, 138, 142
133	0.98	Same rev. die as 112-5, 118, 119, 121, 124, 134, 135
134	0.44 (frag.)	Same rev. die as 112-5, 118, 119, 121, 124, 133, 135
135	0.87	Same rev. die as 112-5, 118, 119, 121, 124, 133, 134
136	1.10	Same rev. die as 122, 132, 138, 142
137*	1.24	Poss. same obv. die as 119, 122, 125, 132, 139, 141. Same rev. die as 116, 117, 120, 125, 126, 139, 141
138	1.22	Same rev. die as 132, 136, 142

139	1.24	Same dies as 125, 141. Same obv. die as 119, 122, 132. Poss. same obv. die as 137. Same rev. die as 116, 117, 126, 137
140	1.31	rev.x
141*	1.41	Traces of letters on obv. Same dies as 125, 139. Same obv. die as 119, 122, 132. Poss. same obv. die as 137. Same rev. die as 116, 117, 120, 137
142	1.27	Same rev. die as 132, 136, 138

Silver minim. **C** in geometric cruciform design / **TIN**; bull, r. VA 383-7. BM 1988-6-27-143

143* 0.29g

Eppillus

Quarter-stater. **CALLEV** across centre; star above and below / **EPPI** above horse (?) galloping r.; dotted flower below. M 107. VA 407-1 corr. BM 1988-6-27-145, 146, 147, 149 to 153

144	1.19g	Same dies as 146. Same obv. die as WStL 32, WStL 35, WStL 38
145*	1.17	Same dies as 148. Same rev. die as 150, 151, WStL 33; poss. same rev. die as 149
146*	1.15	Same dies as 144. Same obv. die as WStL 32, WStL 35, WStL 38
147*	1.11	Poss. same dies as BM 78 3-5-38
148	1.17	Same dies as 145. Same rev. die as 150, 151, WStL 33; poss. same rev. die as 149
149	1.17	Obv. poss. reads CALLE Poss. same dies as 150, 151, WStL 33. Poss. same rev. die as 145, 148
150*	1.16	Obv. poss. reads CALLE Same dies as 151, WStL 33. Same rev. die as 145, 148
151	1.18	Obv. poss. reads CALLE Same dies as 150, WStL 33. Same rev. die as 145, 148

Quarter-stater. As the last, but on rev., ring above animal's neck, and three dots in triangle below tail. Cf M 107. VA 408-1 corr. BM 1988-6-27-144 and 148

152*	1.17g	Same dies as 153, WStL 40. Same obv. die as WStL 36, WStL 39. Same rev. die as WStL 32
153	1.18	Same dies as 152, WStL 40. Same obv. die as WStL 36, WStL 39. Same rev. die as WStL 32

Quarter-stater. **EPPILLV·COMM·F·** around crescent / horse galloping r.; star above and below. VA 409-1. BM 1988-6-27-154 to 156

154*	1.18g	
155*	1.15	Obv. crescent possibly voided
156*	1.18	Obv. crescent voided. Rev: three dots in triangle above horse's hindquarters

Quarter-stater. **EPPIL - COM F** across centre / pegasus or winged hippogryph, r.; pellet, above l.; pellet in ring, below. M 302. VA 435-1. BM 1988-6-27-157

157* 1.64g Same dies as WStL 44

Silver unit. **REX - CALLE**; voided crescent in centre between two dotted flowers / **EPP**, to l.; eagle, r., wings addorsed and elevated. M 108. VA 415-1. BM 1988-6-27-158 to 198

158	0.86g	xx
159	0.72	xx
160	1.15	xx
161†	1.37	Same dies as 166, 169, 170, 171, 178, 181, 182
162	1.21	xx
163*	0.97	Same obv. die as 172; poss. same obv. die as 180
164	1.27	xx
165	1.34	xx
166*	1.25	Same dies as 161, 169, 170, 171, 178, 181, 182
167	1.05	
168	0.54	obv.x
169*	1.31	Same dies as 161, 166, 170, 171, 178, 181, 182
170	1.22	Same dies as 161, 166, 169, 171, 178, 181, 182
171	1.02	Same dies as 161, 166, 169, 170, 178, 181, 182

172	1.18	Same obv. die as 163; poss. same obv. die as 180
173†	1.18	
174	1.30	xx
175†	1.19	
176*	1.26	
177	0.73	(plated forgery) xx
178	1.25	Same dies as 161, 166, 169, 170, 171, 181, 182
179	1.21	rev.x
180	1.30	Poss. same obv. die as 163, 172
181	1.25	Same dies as 161, 166, 169, 170, 171, 178, 182
182	1.16	Same dies as 161, 166, 169, 170, 171, 178, 181
183	0.94	xx
184	1.28	
185	0.34	(frag.) xx
186	1.17	Same obv. die as 189
187	1.10	
188*	1.19	
189	1.31	Same obv. die as 186
190	1.26	
191*	0.93	
192	1.07	
193	0.93	
194	1.25	
195*†	1.27	obv: REX - CALL Same obv. die as 196, 197, 198
196	1.09	obv: REX - CALL Same obv. die as 195, 197, 198
197*	1.26	obv: REX - CALL Same obv. die as 195, 196, 198
198†	1.22	obv: REX - CALL Same obv. die as 195, 196, 197

Silver unit. Bearded, slightly celticized head, r. / EPP - COM (in ex.) F. (r. field); lion r., l. forepaw raised. M 305. VA 417-1. BM 1988-6-27-199 to 225

199	1.31g	Poss. same obv. die as 206, 213
200†	1.18	xx
201	1.32	obv.x
202	1.25	xx
203	1.28	xx
204*†	1.31	Rev: EPPI Same dies as 224. Same rev. die as 209
205*	1.14	Poss. same obv. die as 211, 212, 214, 220, 223
206	1.23	Same dies as 213. Poss. same obv. die as 199
207	1.14	obv.x
208	0.99	obv.x
209*	0.91	Rev: EPPI Same obv. die as 215, 216, 217, 221, 225. Same rev. die as 204, 224
210	1.51	obv.x
211	1.25	Same dies as 214. Same obv. die as 212, 220, 223; poss. same obv. die as 205. Same rev. die as 218
212	0.85	Same obv. die as 211, 214, 220, 223; poss. same obv. die as 205
213	1.15	Same dies as 206; poss. same obv. die as 199
214*	1.13	Same dies as 211. Same obv. die as 212, 220, 223; poss. same obv. die as 205. Same rev. die as 218
215	1.33	Same obv. die as 209, 216, 217, 221, 225
216	1.04	Same dies as 221. Same obv. die as 209, 215, 217, 225
217*	1.28	Same obv. die as 209, 215, 216, 221, 225
218†	1.08	obv.x. Same rev. die as 211, 214
219	1.02	xx
220†	1.21	Same obv. die as 211, 212, 214, 223; poss. same obv. die as 205
221*	1.24	Same dies as 216. Same obv. die as 209, 215, 217, 225
222	1.32	obv.x
223	1.44	Same obv. die as 211, 212, 214, 220; poss. same obv. die as 205
224	0.92	(split in two) Rev: EPPI Same dies as 204. Same rev. die as 209
225†	0.81	Rev: EPPI Same obv. die as 209, 215, 216, 217, 221

Silver unit. Bearded, semi-celticized head, r., within laurel border / EPPI:(above) F - COM (below); boar, r. VA 416-1. BM 1988-6-27-226 to 252

226*	1.27g	Rev: EPPIL Same dies as 245. Same obv. die as 230, 231, 234, 240.
227	0.96	obv.x
228	0.92	obv.x
229	1.15	obv.x
230	0.67	Rev: EPPIL Same obv. die as 226, 231, 234, 240, 245. Poss. same rev. die as 234, 240
231*	1.15	Rev: F - CO Same obv. die as 226, 230, 234, 240, 245
232	1.33	obv.x
233	1.30	obv.x
234	1.26	Rev: EPPIL Same dies as 240. Same obv. die as 226, 230, 231, 245. Poss. same rev. die as 230
235	1.04	obv.x
236*	1.25	Same obv. die as 239, 246, 247, 248, 249, 251; poss. same obv. die as 237
237*	1.28	Poss. same obv. die as 236, 239, 246, 247, 248, 249, 251
238	1.20	
239*	1.27	Same obv. die as 236, 246, 247, 248, 249, 251; poss. same obv. die as 237
240	1.24	Rev: EPPIL Same dies as 234. Same obv. die as 226, 230, 231, 245. Poss. same rev. die as 230
241	1.28	
242	0.83	obv.x
243	1.09	obv.x
244	0.33	obv.x
245*	1.29	Rev: EPPIL Same dies as 226. Same obv. die as 230, 231, 234, 240
246	1.00	Same obv. die as 236, 239, 247, 248, 249, 251; poss. same obv. die as 237
247	1.20	Same obv. die as 236, 239, 246, 248, 249, 251; poss. same obv. die as 237
248	1.19	Same obv. die as 236, 239, 246, 247, 249, 251; poss. same obv. die as 237
249*	1.17	Same obv. die as 236, 239, 246, 247, 248, 251; poss. same obv. die as 237
250	0.91	obv.x
251	1.16	Same obv. die as 236, 239, 246, 247, 248, 249; poss. same obv. die as 237
252	0.75	obv.x

Silver minim. Spiral-limbed cross between 16 pellets, with pellet in ring at centre / EPP across upper l. field; horse (?) r.; pellet in ring below. VA 421-1. BM 1988-6-27-253 to 255

253	0.16g	xx
254*	0.30	
255	0.23	xx

Silver minim. Bull's head, f., between three pellets, within double pellet border / EPP (above) CO (below); ram, r. VA 422-1. BM 1988-6-27-256 to 259

256	0.24g	Same dies as 257
257*	0.30	Same dies as 256
258*	0.33	
259	0.13	xx

Silver minim. Celticized rose / EPPI, to r.; eagle r., wings elevated and addorsed. VA 420-1. BM 1988-6-27-260 and 261

260*	0.34g
261	0.24

Verica

Series C (A & H)

Stater. COM·F on incuse tablet / VIR - REX: mounted warrior, r., raising r. arm. M 121. VA 500-1. BM 1988-6-27-262 & 263

262*	5.32g	Dies Hg
263	5.32	Dies Hg

Series D (A & H)

Stater. V|I - R|I; vine-leaf in centre / C. (l. field) - O (above) - F (below); slightly celticized mounted warrior, r., weapons shouldered. M 125. VA 520-1. BM 1988-6-27-264

264*	5.32g	Dies Hn
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Series β (A & H)

Quarter-stater. COM·F in cartouche: above and below, pellet in ring / VI; horse r. M 112. VA 466-1. BM 1988-6-27-265 to 272

265*	1.20g	Obv. die E; rev. ∴ below horse; same rev. die as 266, 267, 268
266	1.24	Obv. die E; rev. ∴ below horse; same rev. die as 265, 267, 268
267*	1.18	Obv. die E; rev. ∴ below horse; same rev. die as 265, 266, 268
268	1.19	Obv. die E; rev. ∴ below horse; same rev. die as 265, 266, 267
269*	1.19	Dies Aa
270	1.19	Dies Aa
271*	1.18	Dies Bb
272*	1.15	Dies Ef (rev. VIR; ∴ below horse) (A & H claim obv. COM·F; not so)

Series γ (A & H)

Quarter-stater. COM·F on incuse tablet / VI; slightly celticized horse, bridled, walking r. M 113. VA 467-1. BM 1988-6-27-273 to 275

273*	1.13g	Dies Bb
274	1.17	Dies Bb
275*	1.19	Dies Aa

Series δ (A & H)

Quarter-stater. COM - FILI; thunderbolt (?) horizontally in centre / VIR; horse, r.; pellet in ring, below. M 114. VA 468-1. BM 1988-6-27-276 & 277

276*	1.32g	Dies Ac
277	1.31	Dies Ac

Silver unit. COM·F; voided crescent, above, and inverted voided crescent, below; each with a pellet between the horns, each between two pellets in rings / VIRI (in ex.); boar, r.; star, above. M 115. VA 470-1. BM 1988-6-27-278 to 313

278	1.08g	Same obv. die as 281, 283, 291, 296, rev. x
279†	1.32	Same dies as 280, 282, 284, 304, 305. Same rev. die as 292, 298, 302, 311
280*	1.09	Same dies as 279, 282, 284, 304, 305. Same rev. die as 292, 298, 302, 311
281	1.28	Same obv. die as 278, 283, 291, 296
282†	1.30	Same dies as 279, 280, 284, 304, 305. Same rev. die as 292, 298, 302, 311
283	1.22	Same obv. die as 278, 281, 291, 296
284	1.20	Same dies as 279, 280, 282, 304, 305. Same rev. die as 292, 298, 302, 311
285*	1.09	obv.: no pellets between horns of crescents
286	1.24	
287	1.25	
288	1.21	xx
289	0.77	xx
290	0.97	Same dies as 293, 299. Same obv. die as 313
291†	1.12	Same obv. die as 278, 281, 283, 296
292	1.21	Same rev. die as 279, 280, 282, 284, 298, 302, 304, 305, 311
293	1.31	Same dies as 290, 299. Same rev. die as 313
294	1.34	rev. x
295	1.28	
296*	1.11	Same obv. die as 278, 281, 283, 296; rev. VIR
297	0.97	xx
298*	1.20	Obv: COMI·F; no pellets between horns of crescents. Same rev. die as 279, 280, 282, 284, 292, 302, 304, 305, 311
299*	1.25	Same dies as 290, 293. Same obv. die as 313
300	1.20	xx
301	1.07	Same rev. die as 310
302	0.99	Same dies as 311. Same rev. die as 279, 280, 282, 284, 292, 298, 304, 305
303	1.29	
304	1.23	Same dies as 279, 280, 282, 284, 305. Same rev. die as 292, 298, 302, 311
305	1.10	Same dies as 279, 280, 282, 284, 304. Same rev. die as 292, 298, 302, 311
306*	1.17	Same obv. die as 307
307	1.03	Same obv. die as 306

308*	1.18	Obv: no pellets between horns of crescents
309*	0.57	Rev: ∴: instead of star
310	1.22	Same rev. die as 301
311	1.02	Same dies as 302. Same rev. die as 279, 280, 282, 284, 292, 298, 304, 305
312	1.07	plated forgery
313*	1.14	Same obv. die as 290, 293, 299

Silver unit. COM·F; voided crescent, above; inverted voided crescent, below; each with pellet between horns / VIRI (in ex.); boar, r.; star of six points, above. M 115 var. VA 470-3, 5, 7. BM 1988-6-27-314 to 363

314*	1.26g	Rev: VIRIC. Same obv. die as 327
315	1.19	Obv: COM F. Same obv. die as 330, 341. Rev. x
316†	1.28	
317	1.09	Rev: VI, 5-pointed star
318	1.31	Rev: 5-pointed star. Same dies as 326, 334, 335, 337, 350, 352, 362. Same obv. die as 324. Same rev. die as 325
319	1.24	Rev: VI·; rev. x
320	1.24	rev. x
321	1.21	Rev: VIR
322	1.04	rev. x
323†	1.04	Rev: VI· Same rev. die as 336, 348, 349, 351
324	1.25	Rev: VIR, 5-pointed star. Same obv. die as 318, 326, 334, 335, 337, 350, 352, 362
325	1.15	Rev: 5-pointed star. Same rev. die as 318, 325, 334, 335, 337, 350, 352, 362
326	1.28	Rev: 5-pointed star. Same dies as 318, 334, 335, 337, 350, 352, 362. Same obv. die as 324. Same rev. die as 325
327*	1.28	Same obv. die as 314
328	1.28	rev. x
329	1.34	rev. x
330	1.31	Obv: COM F Rev: VI·, 5-pointed star. Same obv. die as 315, 341. Same rev. die as 333, 341, 343, 344, 346, 357
331	0.97	Obv: COMI·F Rev. x
332†	1.26	Obv: COMI·F Same dies as 338, 361. Same rev. die as 353
333	1.32	Rev: VI·, 5-pointed star. Same dies as 343. Same rev. die as 330, 341, 344, 346, 357
334*	1.18	Rev: 5-pointed star. Same dies as 318, 326, 335, 337, 350, 352, 362. Same obv. die as 324. Same rev. die as 325
335	1.09	Rev: 5-pointed star. Same dies as 318, 326, 334, 337, 350, 352, 362. Same obv. die as 324. Same rev. die as 325
336*	1.19	Rev: VI· Same dies as 348, 349, 351. Same rev. die as 323
337	1.22	Rev: 5-pointed star. Same dies as 318, 326, 334, 335, 350, 352, 362. Same obv. die as 324. Same rev. die as 325
338	0.98	Obv: COMI·F Same dies as 332, 361. Same rev. die as 353
339	1.20	Rev: 5-pointed star. Poss. same rev. die as 318, 325, 326, 335, 337, 350, 352, 362
340	0.96	Rev: VI·
341*	1.03	Obv: COM F Rev: VI·, 5-pointed star. Same dies as 330. Same obv. die as 315. Same rev. die as 333, 343, 344, 346, 357
342	0.67	
343	1.30	Rev: VI·, 5-pointed star. Same dies as 333. Same rev. die as 330, 341, 344, 346, 357
344	0.89	Rev: VI·, 5-pointed star. Obv. x. Same rev. die as 330, 333, 341, 343, 346, 357
345	1.34	Rev: VI· Rev. x
346	1.24	Rev: VI·, 5-pointed star. Same rev. dies as 330, 333, 341, 343, 344, 357
347	0.91	Rev: VI· Rev. x
348	1.24	Rev: VI· Same dies as 336, 349, 351. Same rev. die as 323
349	1.29	Rev: VI· Same dies as 336, 348, 351. Same rev. die as 323
350	1.31	Rev: 5-pointed star. Same dies as 318, 326, 334, 335, 337, 352, 362. Same obv. die as 324. Same rev. die as 325
351	1.36	Rev: VI· Same dies as 336, 348, 349. Same rev. die as 323
352	1.32	Rev: 5-pointed star. Same dies as 318, 326, 334, 335, 337, 350, 362. Same obv. die as 324. Same rev. die as 325
353	0.70	Obv. x. Same rev. die as 332, 338, 361
354	1.27	
355	1.12	Rev: VIR (star not visible). Poss. same obv. die as 358, 359. Same rev. die as 358, 359. Poss. same rev. die as 360
356	1.06	Rev: VIR

357	0.86	Rev: VI, 5-pointed star. Same rev. die as 330, 333, 341, 343, 344, 346
358*	1.11	Rev: VIR (star not visible). Same rev. die as 355, 359. Poss. same rev. die as 360
359	1.21	Rev: VIR, 5-pointed star. Same rev. die as 355, 358. Poss. same rev. die as 360
360	0.54 (frag.)	Rev: VIRI Poss. same rev. die as 355, 358, 359
361*	1.25	Obv. COMI · F Same dies as 332, 338. Same rev. die as 353
362*	1.24	Rev: 5-pointed star. Same dies as 318, 326, 334, 335, 337, 350, 352. Same obv. die as 324. Same rev. die as 325
363	1.01	

Silver unit. COM F in tablet; curve and pellet pattern above and below / VI - RI, across upper field; eagle displayed, head l. VA 471-1. BM 1988-6-27-449 to 467

364*	0.98g	Same rev. die as 372
365*	1.23	Same rev. die as 373; poss. same rev. die as 367
366	1.27	rev. x
367	1.12	Poss. same rev. die as 365, 373
368	1.31	rev. x
369*	1.08	Same obv. die as 371. Same rev. die as 370
370*	1.24	Same obv. die as 379. Same rev. die as 369
371	1.29	Same obv. die as 369. rev. x
372*	1.18	Same obv. die as 380. Same rev. die as 364
373	1.26	Same obv. die as 374. Same rev. die as 365; poss. same rev. die as 367
374	0.90	Same obv. die as 373. rev. x
375	1.14	xx
376*	0.97	
377	1.26	
378	1.23	
379	0.33	Same obv. die as 370. rev. x
380	1.08	Same obv. die as 372. rev. x
381	0.92	xx
382	0.96	xx

Silver unit. VERICA COMMI F; pellet in ring, within larger concentric ring / REX (below); lion r.; crescent, above. M 123. VA 505-1. BM 1988-6-27-364 to 383.

383*	1.13g	Same obv. die as 384, 388, 394. Same rev. die as 385, 399
384*	1.09	Same obv. die as 383, 388, 394. Same rev. die as 404, 405
385	1.31	Same obv. die as 383, 399
386	0.64	xx
387	1.29	xx
388†	1.23	Same obv. die as 383, 384, 394
389	1.39	xx
390	0.96	Same dies as 393, 397. Same obv. die as 396, 398
391	0.93	xx
392	0.75	
393	0.56	Same dies as 390, 397. Same obv. die as 396, 398
394*	0.76	Same obv. die as 383, 384, 388. Same rev. die as 403
395	1.08	
396*	0.85	Same obv. die as 390, 393, 397, 398. Same rev. die as 401, WStL 74
397*†	1.30	Same dies as 390, 393. Same obv. die as 396, 398
398	1.14	Same obv. die as 390, 393, 396, 397
399	0.90	Same rev. die as 383, 385
400	0.93	obv. x. Poss. same rev. die as 383, 385, 399
401	0.76	Same dies as WStL 74. Same obv. die as 396
402*	1.24	Obv: VERICA COMMI F. Poss. same obv. die as WStL 72

Silver unit. Variant of prec. VERICA COMMI F; pellet in ring, within larger concentric ring, the two rings joined by four staves / same rev. M 123 var. VA 505-1 var. Cf Symons 1990a, 48, no 11, and further refs. there. BM 1988-6-27-384 to 387

403*	0.92g	Same rev. die as 394
404*	0.76	Same rev. die as 384, 405
405	0.78	Same rev. die as 384, 404
406	1.40	xx

Silver unit. **VERICA** (above, inv.) **REX** (in ex.); bull, r. / **COM - MI F**; god in chiton, stg. l., holding branch in r. hand; on r., standard surmounted by head. VA 506-1. BM 1988-6-27-468 to 496

407	0.36g	xx
408	1.30	obv. x
409	1.17	
410	1.29	xx
411	1.28	xx
412	0.84	xx
413*	1.30	Same dies as WStL 98. Same obv. die as 419, 424
414	1.27	obv. x
415	1.28	
416	1.29	xx
417*	1.03	Same obv. die as 430. Poss. same rev. die as 430
418†	1.14	
419	1.29	Same obv. die as 413, 424, WStL 98
420*†	1.31	
421	0.97	xx
422	1.18	
423*	1.30	Same rev. die as WStL 101
424†	1.37	Same obv. die as 413, 419, WStL 98
425	1.08	Same rev. die as 430
426	0.99	obv. x
427	0.62	xx
428	0.72	xx
429	1.32	Same obv. die as 435
430*	1.24	Same obv. die as 417. Same rev. die as 425; poss. same rev. die as 417
431	0.85	
432	1.28	
433	1.30	xx
434	1.15	
435*	1.26	Same obv. die as 429

Silver unit. **COMMI F**; slightly celticized mtd. warrior, r., oval shield at shoulder / **VERICA**; mtd. warrior, r., couching spear in r. hand (goes behind horse's neck). M 128. VA 530-1. BM 1988-6-27-388 to 405

436	1.04g	
437	0.86	
438*†	1.19	Same dies as 439, 445
439	1.12 (broken in two)	Same dies as 438, 445
440	1.29	
441*	1.27	
442*	0.92	Same dies as 448
443	0.89	obv. x. Same rev. die as 450, 452; poss. same rev. die as 453
444	1.25	
445	1.10	Same dies as 438, 439
446	0.82	xx
447	0.80	rev. x
448	0.85	Same dies as 442
449*	1.25	
450	1.29	Same dies as 452. Same rev. die as 443; poss. same rev. die as 453
451	1.28	
452*	1.15	Same dies as 450. Same rev. die as 443; poss. same rev. die as 453
453	1.27	Poss. same rev. die as 443, 450, 452

Silver unit. **COM - MI F** (below); thyrsus between two cornucopiae / **VERI - CA**; female divinity std. r., spear in l. hand, shield below. M 129. VA 531-1. BM 1988-6-27-406 to 429

454	1.16g	
455	1.33	Same rev. die as 468

456	1.13	
457*	1.05	
458	0.83	
459	1.31	
460	1.28	
461	1.22	
462	1.29	
463*	1.32	
464	0.68	
465	1.17	
466	1.28	
467	1.13	Same rev. die as 471
468*	1.23	Same rev. die as 455
469	1.03	
470	1.16	
471*	1.15	Same rev. die as 467
472	1.19	Same obv. die as 475
473	0.44	
474	1.24	
475*	1.22	Same obv. die as 472
476	0.90	
477	1.03	

Silver unit. **COM** - **MI F** across lower field; male fig., stg. l., head r., holding lituus in l. hand, r. hand raised / **VERI** - **CA**; laureate head, r. (? Tiberius). M 131. VA 533-1. BM 1988-6-27-430 to 448

478	1.32g	xx
479	1.23	rev. x
480*	1.26	
481	1.35	xx
482	1.29	Same obv. die as 484
483*	0.87	
484	1.08	Same obv. die as 482
485*	1.31	Poss. same rev. die as 491
486	0.85	
487	1.33	
488*	1.13	Poss. same rev. die as 492
489	1.30	rev. x
490	1.01	Poss. same obv. die as 495. rev. x
491	0.92	Poss. same rev. die as 485
492	1.29	Poss. same rev. die as 488
493*	0.80	
494	1.18	xx
495	1.31	Poss. same obv. die as 490. rev. x
496	1.03	xx

Silver minim. Pellet in ring; four groups of three pellets in triangle, in cross / **VIR** (above); horse, r., pellet in ring and three pellets in pyramid below. VA 484-1. BM 1988-6-27-549 & 550

497*	0.46g	
498	0.22	rev. x

Silver minim. **VIRIC** across centre field / **C** (above) **O**, or pellet in ring (below); boar, r. Cf VA 485-1 (mirror image of obv. type); Symons 1990a, 48, no 22 (Finney Loan: sees horiz. line though obv. legend, not here evident). BM 1988-6-27-551 & 552

499*	0.20g	obv. x
500	0.23	obv. x

Silver minim. Cross with pellet in ring at centre, between four pellets in semi-circles / VI (above) - R (below); boar, running r. VA 510-5. BM 1988-6-27-544 to 546

501* 0.32g
502 0.13
503 0.24

Silver minim. VIR - VAR in cartouche / CO (below); pegasus, r. VA 511-1. BM 1988-6-27-515 & 516

504* 0.25g
505* 0.24

Silver minim. Bull, r.; tree, behind / eagle, l., wings elevated, stg. on branch. VA 512-1. BM 1988-6-27-822 to 825

506* 0.17g
507 0.25 xx
508 0.10 xx
509* 0.15 rev. x

Silver minim. C - F (or poss. C - [O] - F: see text); vine-leaf in centre / VERI (above, inv.) CA; horse galloping r. VA 550-1. BM 1988-6-27-548

510* 0.21g

Silver minim. C · F within torque / VERIC; laureate bust, r. VA 551-1 corr. Cf Symons 1990a, 48, no 26 (Finney Loan), who reads VERIC. BM 1988-6-27-497 to 502

511 0.13g obv. x. Poss. same rev. die as 512, 513
512* 0.15 Poss. same dies as 513. Poss. same rev. die as 511
513 0.25 Poss. same dies as 512. Poss. same rev. die as 511
514* 0.18 Poss. same rev. die as WStL 105
515 0.14 xx
516 0.26 xx

Silver minim. C - F; celtic altar / V - ERI - CA; bull's head, f. VA 552-1. BM 1988-6-27-517 to 519

517* 0.15g
518* 0.25
519 0.09 xx

Silver minim. ? ☉ - ☵; temple (obvs. very worn) / VER (above, inv.); bull, r. VA 553-1. BM 1988-6-27-554 to 556

520* 0.10g obv. x
521 0.14 obv. x
522 0.23 obv. x

Silver minim. Thyrsus between two cornucopiae / eagle l., wings addorsed, head r. VA 555-1. BM 1988-6-27-520 to 534

523 0.08g	obv. x	528* 0.28	533 0.18
524 0.29		529 0.20	534 0.16 obv. x
525 0.28		530* 0.25	535 0.17 obv. x
526 0.26		531* 0.27	536 0.17 obv. x
527 0.24	obv. x	532 0.24	537 0.16 obv. x

Silver minim. **C - F** (above); zoomorphic pattern with three acorns (?) / **VER** (above, inv.) **CA** (below); hippocamp, r. VA 556-1. BM 1988-6-27-535 to 539

538* 0.21g
 539* 0.20
 540 0.19
 541 0.17 obv. x
 542 0.15

Silver minim. **C - F** (below); sphinx, std. r. / **VERI** (above, inv.); greyhound, curled asleep, head to l. VA 557-1. BM 1988-6-27-506 to 508

543* 0.21g Same dies as WStL 107
 544 0.22 xx
 545 0.25

Silver minim. Laureate and cuirassed bust, r.; pellet in ring, to r. / dog r.; tree behind; in ex., ... VA 558-1. BM 1988-6-27-826, 827, 829 and 830

546 0.25g obv. x
 547* 0.23
 548 0.23 obv. x
 549* 0.22

Silver minim. **REX**; ornate urn/**VRCA COMMIF**; eagle, wings addorsed, r. VA 563-1. BM 1988-6-27-509 to 514

550 0.26g rev. x
 551 0.20
 552 0.27
 553 0.29
 554* 0.19
 555* 0.24

Silver minim. **VIR** in cartouche; :::, above and below / boar's head, r(?). VA 564-1. BM 1988-6-27-553

556* 0.14g

Silver minim. **CO F** in cartouche; pellet in ring, above and below / **VE - RI**; Medusa's (?) head, f. VA 384-1 (wrongly attrib. to Tincommius). Cf Symons 1990a, 48, no 12 (Finney Loan), who reads **VI** on rev. BM 1988-6-27-543

557* 0.26g

Silver minim. **C FI** (below, inv.); boar's head (?), r. / **V - E** (bottom); eagle displayed, head l. Cf Symons 1990a, 50, no 56 (Finney Loan), and further refs. there; Seaby 1989, no 109A. BM 1988-6-27-503 to 505

558 0.26g xx
 559* 0.20
 560 0.20 obv. x

Silver minim. **COM - IF**; bust, r.; two pellets in rings to r. / **VE - R - I**; sphinx, std. r. Cf Symons 1990a, 50, no 55 (Finney Loan); Seaby 1989, 111G. BM 1988-6-27-540 to 542

561* 0.23g
 562 0.16 obv. x
 563* 0.26

Silver minim. Two panels in cross, one surmounting the other; star in centre on upper panel between two pellets on lower panel / VI (above) CO (below); bull, r. Cf Symons 1990a, 50, no 54 (Finney Loan: which coin appears to read simply VI· on the rev.). BM 1988-6-27-547

564* 0.21g

Epaticcus

Silver unit. EPATI; head r., wearing lionskin; pellet in ring, behind / eagle displayed, head l., holding serpent in claws; pellet in ring, above r. M 263. VA 580-1 (EPAT = 580-3). BM 1988-6-27-557 to 773

565*† 1.35g	Obv: EPAT Same dies as 604, 643, 703, 735, 762, 763, WStL 145. Same rev. die as 631
566*† 1.37	Same obv. die as 606, 610, 672, 675, 699
567 1.24	
568 1.33	obv. x
569 1.22	Same dies as 608, WStL 122. Same obv. die as 579, 593, 599, 670, 751, 756, 764, 765, WStL 120, WStL 137, WStL 142. Same rev. die as 591, 638, 653, 654, 684, 774
570 1.34	Same obv. die as 585, 748. Same rev. die as 573
571 1.07	obv. x
572 1.12	
573 1.12	Same obv. die as 660, 668, 704, 714, 746, WStL 115, WStL 140. Same rev. die as 570
574 0.86	
575 1.07	Same obv. die as 625, 640, 678. Same rev. die as 627, 677
576 1.20	
577 1.17	Same dies as 600, 695. Same rev. die as 626, WStL 114, WStL 118, WStL 128
578 1.09	
579 1.18	Same dies as 670, 751, 756. Same obv. die as 569, 593, 599, 608, 764, 765, WStL 120, WStL 122, WStL 137, WStL 142
580 1.21	
581 1.13	Same obv. die as 590, 661, 742, 770, 771
582 1.24	Same obv. die as 589, 680, 713, WStL 116, WStL 121, WStL 127
583* 1.07	Same obv. die as 691, 693, 779
584 1.26	
585 0.97	Same dies as 748. Same obv. die as 570
586 1.21	
587 1.30	
588† 1.29	Same obv. die as 598, 605, 611, 614, 669, 688, 707, 723, WStL 119, WStL 130, WStL 144
589 1.32	Same dies as 680, 713, WStL 116, WStL 127. Same obv. die as 582, WStL 121. Same rev. die as 620, WStL 120
590 1.30	Same dies as 661, 770. Same obv. die as 581, 742, 771
591 1.31	Same dies as 654, 774. Same obv. die as 623, 649, 671, 711, WStL 131, WStL 149. Same rev. die as 569, 608, 638, 653, 684, WStL 122
592 1.31	
593 1.29	Same dies as 599, 764, 765, WStL 137, WStL 142. Same obv. die as 569, 579, 608, 670, 751, 756, WStL 120, WStL 122. Same rev. die as WStL 121
594 0.96	
595 1.21	xx
596 1.31	xx
597 1.23	xx
598 1.31	Same obv. die as 588, 605, 611, 614, 669, 688, 707, 723, WStL 119, WStL 130, WStL 144. Rev. x
599 1.25	Same dies as 593, 764, 765, WStL 137, WStL 142. Same obv. die as 569, 579, 608, 670, 751, 756, WStL 120, WStL 122. Same rev. die as WStL 121
600 1.22	Same dies as 577, 695. Same rev. die as 626, WStL 114, WStL 118, WStL 128
601 1.26	
602 1.13	Same obv. die as 638, 684. Poss. same rev. die as 656, 711, 725
603† 1.28	
604 1.12	Obv: EPAT Same dies as 565, 643, 703, 735, 762, 763, WStL 145. Same rev. die as 631. (earliest strike)
605 1.23	Same dies as 611, 707, WStL 119, WStL 130. Same obv. die as 588, 598, 614, 669, 688, 723, WStL 144. Same rev. die as 709, 710, 749

606	1.28	Same obv. die as 566, 610, 672, 675, 699
607	1.34	
608	1.30	Same dies as 569, WStL 122. Same obv. die as 579, 593, 599, 670, 751, 756, 764, 765, WStL 120, WStL 137, WStL 142. Same rev. die as 591, 638, 653, 654, 684, 774
609	1.25	xx
610	1.26	Same dies as 675. Same obv. die as 566, 606, 672, 699. Same rev. die as 660, 704, 746, WStL 115, WStL 140
611	1.21	Same dies as 605, 707, WStL 119, WStL 130. Same obv. die as 588, 598, 614, 669, 688, 723, WStL 144. Same rev. die as 709, 710, 749
612	1.01	xx
613	1.22	
614	1.34	Same obv. die as 588, 598, 605, 611, 669, 688, 707, 723, WStL 119, WStL 130, WStL 144
615	1.21	
616	1.28	
617	1.22	xx
618	1.32	
619	1.17	
620	1.27	Same rev. die as 589, 680, 713, WStL 116, WStL 120, WStL 127
621	0.23	(plated)
622	0.90	
623	1.22	Same dies as 649. Same obv. die as 591, 654, 671, 711, 774, WStL 131, WStL 149
624	0.87	Same obv. die as 657, 667, WStL 123, WStL 148, WStL 150
625	0.97	Same dies as 640. Same obv. die as 575, 678
626	0.89	Same dies as WStL 114, WStL 118, WStL 128. Same obv. die as 662, 757, 776, 780, WStL 124, WStL 155. Same rev. die as 577, 600, 695
627	1.03	Same dies as 677. Same rev. die as 575
628	1.11	
629	1.14	
630	1.00	
631*	1.14	Same rev. die as 565, 604, 643, 703, 735, 762, 763, WStL 145
632	0.71	
633	1.08	Same obv. die as 634
634	0.96	Same obv. die as 633
635	0.73	Same dies as 644
636	0.85	obv. x
637	1.31	Same rev. die as 681
638*	1.31	Same dies as 684. Same obv. die as 602. Same rev. die as 569, 591, 608, 653, 654, 774, WStL 122
639	1.25	Same dies as 645
640	1.30	Same dies as 625. Same obv. die as 575, 678
641	0.79	obv. x
642	1.24	Same rev. die as 668, 714
643	1.00	Obv: EPAT Same dies as 565, 604, 703, 735, 762, 763, WStL 145. Same rev. die as 631 (interim strike)
644	1.14	Same dies as 635
645	1.16	Same dies as 639
646	0.97	obv. x
647	1.28	
648	1.25	
649	1.21	Same dies as 623. Same obv. die as 591, 654, 671, 711, 774, WStL 131, WStL 149.
650	0.86	obv. x
651	1.22	
652	1.34	
653	1.32	Same obv. die as 725. Same rev. die as 569, 591, 608, 638, 654, 684, 774, WStL 122
654	1.28	Same dies as 591, 774. Same obv. die as 623, 649, 671, 711, WStL 131, WStL 149. Same rev. die as 569, 608, 638, 653, 684, WStL 122
655	1.25	
656	1.31	Same rev. die as 725; poss. same rev. die as 602, 711
657	1.13	Same obv. die as 624, 667, WStL 123, WStL 148, WStL 150
658	1.27	
659	1.24	
660	1.29	Same dies as 704, 746, WStL 115, WStL 140. Same obv. die as 573, 668, 714. Same rev. die as 610, 675
661	1.19	Same dies as 590, 770. Same obv. die as 581, 742, 771

662	1.34	Same dies as 776, 780. Same obv. die as 626, 757, WStL 114, WStL 118, WStL 124, WStL 128, WStL 155
663	0.77	obv. x
664	0.49	
665	0.85	obv. x
666	0.87	Same dies as 697, 712, WStL 117
667	0.91	Same obv. die as 624, 657, WStL 123, WStL 148, WStL 150
668	0.98	Same dies as 714. Same obv. die as 573, 660, 704, 746, WStL 115, WStL 140. Same rev. die as 642
669*	1.23	Same obv. die as 588, 598, 605, 611, 614, 688, 707, 723, WStL 119, WStL 130, WStL 144. Same rev. die as 706, 708, 715
670	1.30	Same dies as 579, 751, 756. Same obv. die as 569, 593, 599, 608, 764, 765, WStL 120, WStL 122, WStL 137, WStL 142
671*	0.96	Slightly double struck. Same obv. die as 591, 623, 649, 654, 711, 774, WStL 131, WStL 149
672†	1.11	Same obv. die as 566, 606, 610, 675, 699
673	1.28	
674	1.29	Same dies as 750. Same obv. die as 709, 710. Poss. same rev. die as 781
675	1.28	Same dies as 610. Same obv. die as 566, 606, 672, 699. Same rev. die as 660, 704, 746, WStL 115, WStL 140
676	1.30	obv. x
677	1.31	Same dies as 627. Same rev. die as 575
678	1.27	Same obv. die as 575, 625, 640. Same rev. die as 766
679	1.23	rev. x
680	1.30	Same dies as 589, 713, WStL 116, WStL 127. Same obv. die as 582, WStL 121. Same rev. die as 620, WStL 120
681	1.28	Same rev. die as 637
682	1.31	obv. x
683	1.15	obv. x
684	1.29	Same dies as 638. Same obv. die as 602. Same rev. die as 569, 591, 608, 653, 654, 774, WStL 122
685	0.89	obv. x
686	1.30	
687	1.27	obv. x
688	1.29	Same obv. die as 588, 598, 605, 611, 614, 669, 707, 723, WStL 119, WStL 130, WStL 144
689	1.26	rev. x
690	1.17	rev. x
691	1.30	Same obv. die as 583, 693, 779. Rev. x
692	1.16	rev. x
693*	1.25	Same obv. die as 583, 691, 779. Rev. x
694	1.45	xx
695*	1.23	Same dies as 577, 600. Same rev. die as 626, WStL 114, WStL 118, WStL 128
696	1.33	
697*	1.17	Same dies as 666, 712, WStL 117
698	1.13	
699	1.16	Same obv. die as 566, 606, 610, 672, 675
700	1.36	xx
701	1.35	xx
702	1.36	xx
703*	1.15	Obv: EPAT Same dies as 565, 604, 643, 735, 762, 763, WStL 145. Same rev. die as 631
704*	1.27	Same dies as 660, 746, WStL 115, WStL 140. Same obv. die as 573, 668, 714. Same rev. die as 610, 675
705	1.19	
706	1.20	Same dies as 708, 715. Same rev. die as 669
707	1.03	Same dies as 605, 611, WStL 119, WStL 130. Same obv. die as 588, 598, 614, 669, 688, 723, WStL 144. Same rev. die as 709, 710, 749
708	1.08	Same dies as 706, 715. Same rev. die as 669
709	1.09	Same dies as 710. Same obv. die as 674, 750. Same rev. die as 605, 611, 707, 749, WStL 119, WStL 130
710	1.10	Same dies as 709. Same obv. die as 674, 750. Same rev. die as 605, 611, 707, 749, WStL 119, WStL 130
711*	1.06	Same obv. die as 591, 623, 649, 654, 671, 774, WStL 131, WStL 149. Poss. same rev. die as 602, 656, 725
712	1.06	Same dies as 666, 697, WStL 117
713	1.30	Same dies as 589, 680, WStL 116, WStL 127. Same obv. die as 582, WStL 121. Same rev. die as 620, WStL 120

714	1.25	Same dies as 668. Same obv. die as 573, 660, 704, 746, WStL 115, WStL 140. Same rev. die as 642
715	1.11	Same dies as 706, 708. Same rev. die as 669
716	0.53	(plated) obv. x
717	1.21	xx
718	1.32	xx
719	1.25	Poss. same dies as 565, 604, 643, 703, 735, 762, 763, WStL 145 (& thus EPAT)
720	1.20	xx
721	1.34	rev. x
722	1.27	
723†	1.25	Same obv. die as 588, 598, 605, 611, 614, 669, 688, 707, WStL 119, WStL 130, WStL 144
724	0.99	obv. x
725*	1.15	Same obv. die as 653. Same rev. die as 656; poss. same rev. die as 602, 711
726	1.33	xx
727	1.27	
728	1.37	xx
729	1.28	
730	1.37	xx
731	1.40	xx
732	1.32	xx
733	1.30	
734	1.28	
735	1.34	Obv: EPAT Same dies as 565, 604, 643, 703, 762, 763, WStL 145. Same rev. die as 631
736	1.41	obv. x
737	1.36	obv. x
738	1.31	rev. x
739	1.28	
740	1.29	obv. x
741	1.33	obv. x
742	1.27	Same obv. die as 581, 590, 661, 770, 771. Rev. x
743	1.30	obv. x
744	1.28	
745	1.17	xx
746	1.00	Same dies as 660, 704, WStL 115, WStL 140. Same obv. die as 573, 668, 714. Same rev. die as 610, 675
747	1.19	
748	1.19	Same dies as 585. Same obv. die as 570
749*	0.90	Same obv. die as 773. Same rev. die as 605, 611, 707, 709, 710, WStL 119, WStL 130
750	1.32	Same dies as 674. Same obv. die as 709, 710. Poss. same rev. die as 781
751	0.97	Same dies as 579, 670, 756. Same obv. die as 569, 593, 599, 608, 764, 765, WStL 120, WStL 122, WStL 137, WStL 142
752	1.11	
753	0.81	obv. x
754	1.08	
755	1.27	
756*	1.26	Same dies as 579, 670, 751. Same obv. die as 569, 593, 599, 608, 764, 765, WStL 120, WStL 122, WStL 137, WStL 142
757	1.26	Same obv. die as 626, 662, 776, 780, WStL 114, WStL 118, WStL 124, WStL 128, WStL 155. Same rev. die as 773
758	0.92	obv. x
759	1.26	xx
760	1.35	xx
761	0.83	(plated)
762*	1.23	Obv: EPAT Same dies as 565, 604, 643, 703, 735, 763, WStL 145. Same rev. die as 631
763	0.98	Obv: EPAT Same dies as 565, 604, 643, 703, 735, 762, WStL 145. Same rev. die as 631
764	1.17	Same dies as 593, 599, 765, WStL 137, WStL 142. Same obv. die as 569, 579, 608, 670, 751, 756, WStL 120, WStL 122. Same rev. die as WStL 121
765	1.22	Same dies as 593, 599, 764, WStL 137, WStL 142. Same obv. die as 569, 579, 608, 670, 751, 756, WStL 120, WStL 122. Same rev. die as WStL 121
766	1.18	Same rev. die as 678
767	1.28	
768	1.30	
769	0.94	
770	1.27	Same dies as 590, 661. Same obv. die as 581, 742, 771

771	1.31	Same obv. die as 581, 590, 661, 742, 770
772	1.26	
773	1.26	Same obv. die as 749. Same rev. die as 757.
774	1.24	Same dies as 591, 654. Same obv. die as 623, 649, 671, 711, WStL 131, WStL 149. Same rev. die as 569, 608, 638, 653, 684, WStL 122
775	1.03	
776	1.13	Same dies as 662, 780. Same obv. die as 626, 757, WStL 114, WStL 118, WStL 124, WStL 128, WStL 155
777	0.87	xx
778	1.33	
779	1.32	Same obv. die as 583, 691, 693
780	1.29	Same dies as 662, 776. Same obv. die as 626, 757, WStL 114, WStL 118, WStL 124, WStL 128, WStL 155
781	1.33	Poss. same rev. die as 674, 750

Silver unit. **TAS - CIO V**; victory std. r., on cross-braced sella, holding wreath in l. hand / **EPAT** (across lower field); boar, r.; branch above; dotted exergual line. M 263. VA 581-1. BM 1988-6-27-774 to 795

782*	1.01g		793	1.15	
783*	0.90	Same dies as 794, 802	794	1.10	Same dies as 783, 802
784	0.86		795	1.43	xx
785	1.33	Same rev. die as 791	796	1.15	xx
786†	1.14		797	1.31	rev. x
787	1.05	Poss same obv. die as 791	798	1.20	xx
788†	1.09		799	1.15	xx
789†	1.31		800†	1.25	
790	1.27		801†	1.14	
791*	1.27	Poss. same obv. die as 787. Same rev. die as 785	802	1.23	Same dies as 783, 794
			803*	1.34	Same dies as WStL 160
792	1.12				

Silver unit. **TASC - IO**; bearded head, l. / **EPATI** (across lower field); lion (? guardant), leaping r.; quatrefoil, above; dotted exergual line. VA 582-1. BM 1988-6-27-797

804*† 1.27g

Silver unit. **EPATI** in cartouche; issuant above and below, two vertical lines with row of dots between / lion, r.; two exergual lines with row of dots between. VA 583-1. BM 1988-6-27-796

805* 0.75g

Silver minim. **EPATI** across field; pellet in ring, above and below / **TA** (below); boar's head, r. M 264. VA 585. BM 1988-6-27-798 to 814, 821

806	0.18g	812	0.17	818	0.22	obv. x
807	0.27 (plated)	813	0.17	819	0.25	
808	0.18 (plated)	814*	0.20	820	0.13	xx
809	0.23 (plated)	815	0.10	821	0.16	xx
810	0.20	816	0.15 (plated)	822*	0.18	
811*	0.19	817	0.13	823	0.18	

Silver minim. **TA** inside 8-pointed star / **E** (below) **P** (r.) **A** (above); pegasus, r. VA 560-1 corr. (wrongly attributed to Verica - see text). BM 1988-6-27-815 to 820

824	0.23g	Same obv. die as 826
825*	0.21	
826*	0.22	Same obv. die as 824
827*	0.17	
828	0.23	
829	0.17	

Silver minim. Helmeted and cuirassed bust, r.; pellet in ring, to r. / E (lower field); horse, r.; branch, to l. Cf Seaby 1989, no. 111H. BM 1988-6-27-828, 831 to 836

830	0.20g	
831	0.24	Same obv. die as 836. rev. x
832	0.28	
833	0.22	Poss. same obv. die as 835. rev. x
834*	0.22	
835*	0.23	Poss. same obv. die as 833. Same rev. die as 836
836*	0.28	Same obv. die as 831. Same rev. die as 835

Cara[tacus?]

Silver unit. **CARA**; head r., wearing lionskin; pellet in ring, behind / eagle displayed, head l., holding snake in claws; pellet in ring, above. M 265. VA 593-1. BM 1988-6-27-837 to 843

837	1.00g	Same dies as 839, 840
838*†	1.23	Same obv. die as WStL 171, 173. rev. x
839†	1.13	Same dies as 837, 840
840*†	1.24	Same dies as 837, 839
841	0.93	
842	1.38	xx
843*	1.23	

Silver minim. [**CARA**]; pellet in ring at centre / pegasus r. VA 595-1. BM 1988-6-27-844 to 846

844	0.11g	xx
845*	0.22	xx
846	0.24	xx

Cunobelin

Stater. **CA - MV**; corn ear in centre / **CVN** (below); celticized horse r. Cf M 203. VA 2010-2. BM 1988-6-27-847

847* 3.41g (plated forgery)

Quarter-stater. **CA - MV**; corn ear in centre / **CVN** (below); celticized horse, r. M 209. VA 1297. BM 1988-6-27-848 to 851

848	0.84g	xx
849	1.65	xx
850	0.79	xx
851*	0.93	

Silver unit. **C - V - N - O** in angles of cross formed by vertical stave between two vertical lines, and single horizontal line / **CVNO** (below); capricorn, r. BM 1988-6-27-852

852* 1.07g

Kent (uninscribed)

Stater. Blank with three slightly sunken bands / [fully celticized horse, r., surrounded by ornaments] (only forelegs visible). Cf M 297. Cf VA 184-1. BM 1988-6-27-853

853* 1.07g (very badly damaged or incomplete forgery: only core and fragment of plating remain)

Iceni

Silver unit. Celticized boar, r.; pellets below; pellet in ring (or sun) above / celticized horse, r. M 407. VA 655-1. Allen II d (Boar-Horse B type). BM 1988-6-27-854

854* 0.73g (new die - not in Field Balk, Stonea hoard)

Silver unit. Fully celticized head, r. / celticized horse, r.; pellet, below tail; lozenge, below; intersecting arcs, above. M 413. VA 790-1. Allen IIIb (Normal Face-Horse B/C type). BM 1988-6-27-855 to 857

855* 0.64g (poss. Allen IIIc)
856 0.84
857* 0.62

Silver unit. Crescent and reversed crescent, back to back, both voided, within hexagonal cartouche; behind, two vertical lines between three staves; two pellets between crescents / **AND**; celticized horse, r., surrounded by pellets; to l., pellet in dotted ring. M 420. VA 711-1. Allen Vb (Anted type). BM 1988-6-27-858 & 859

858 0.62g
859 0.75

Silver unit. Crescent design, as above, but only one vertical line and two staves behind on obv., and no pellet in dotted ring on rev. Rev: **ECEN**. M 424. VA 730-1. Allen VIa. BM 1988-6-27-860 & 861

860 0.63g xx
861* 0.62 Poss. same obv. die as Field Baulk, Stonea 563. Same rev. die as Field Baulk, Stonea 421, 422 etc

Silver unit. Crescent design as above, but two vertical lines between two dotted lines behind / **E[CE]**; celticized horse, r., surrounded by pellets. M 426. VA 764-1. Allen VIII (Ece B type). BM 1988-6-27-862

862* 0.81g

Uncertain silver units (Icenian Pattern-Horse types). BM 1988-6-27-863 to 865

863* 0.46g (traces of crescent design/traces of horse as above)
864* 0.58 (poss. **ECEN**, ie Allen VI)
865* 0.31 (Allen V, VIa, b, VII)

Cores of staters for plating. ?Pine cone / fully celticized horse, r.; ornament above; pellet, and pellet in ring, below. Cf M 374. Cf VA 1005-1. BM 1988-6-27-866 to 868

866* 1.14g (plating remains, but is broken)
867* 3.72 (no plating)
868 2.89 (no plating)

Forgeries of silver units. Fully celticized head, r., surrounded by ornaments / celticized horse, l., surrounded by ornaments. As M 376. VA 1020-1. BM 1988-6-27-869 to 872

869 0.57g
870* 0.43
871 0.71 (uncertain)
872 0.51 (uncertain)

Durotrigan Coins

Struck bronze stater. Fully celticized head of Apollo, r. / fully celticized horse, l. M 318. VA 1290-1. BM 1988-6-27-873 to 910. Not treasure trove

873*	4.06g	881	1.84	889	2.04	897	1.74	905	1.97
874	3.23	882	2.68	890	1.33	898	2.20	906	3.19
875	1.35	883	3.16	891	0.42	899	1.44g	907	0.84
876	2.03	884*	3.22	892	2.38	900	1.91	908	3.24
877	2.35	885	2.44	893	1.99	901	0.83	909	0.90
878	2.53	886*	2.41g	894*	1.60	902	1.46	910	1.00
879	2.53	887*	3.18	895	2.39	903	3.50		
880	1.19	888	0.76	896	2.58	904	1.97		

Uncertain Coins

All very poor condition. BM 1988-6-27-911 to 978

911	1.20g	Poss. M 129, VA 531-1					
912	0.28						
913*	0.34	Two crescents, both voided and striped, back to back, in centre of cross / fully celticized animal, r., head l. (? dog); pentagram, below. Poss. early variant of Icenian pattern/Horse A (Allen 108A)					
914	0.41		936	0.24	958	0.81	
915	0.33		937	0.15	959	0.33	
916	0.54		938	1.05	960*	0.31	traces of plating and letters
917	0.58		939	1.02	961	0.67	prob. Durotrigan
918	0.28		940	1.42	962	0.27	
919	0.28		941	1.17	963	0.29	
920	0.76		942	1.35	964	0.98	
921	0.24		943	1.16	965	0.89	
922	0.14		944	1.26	966	0.95	
923	0.12		945	0.18	967	0.45	
924	0.14		946	0.81 (plated)	968	0.88	
925	0.09		947	0.75	969	0.37	
926	0.12	Æ scrap	948	0.14	970	0.48	
927	0.10	Æ scrap	949	0.12 (plated)	971*	1.22	pierced twice
928	0.26	Æ scrap	950	0.12 (plated)	972	0.60	
929	0.11	Æ scrap	951	0.12 (plated)	973	0.42	
930	0.15	Æ scrap	952	0.87	974	0.43	
931	0.19	Æ scrap	953	1.30	975	0.40	
932	0.17	Æ scrap	954	1.31	976	1.30	
933	0.18	Æ scrap	955	0.18	977	1.21	
934	0.35	Æ core ?	956	0.71	978*	0.41	? Icenian
935	0.27		957	1.04			

Roman Coins

(Accession numbers at right)

Republican

979*	3.42g	? 189-180 BC <i>RRC</i> 140			BM 1988-6-27-	985
980	3.16	[? Decimus] Flavius 150 BC <i>RRC</i> 207				986
981	3.06	A Spuril... 139 BC <i>RRC</i> 230/1				1013
982	3.42	M Baebius Tampilus 137 BC <i>RRC</i> 236				987
983	3.43	M Baebius Tampilus 137 BC ? <i>RRC</i> 236				1026
984	3.50	T Quintius Flamininus c126 BC <i>RRC</i> 267				984
985	3.68	M Cippius 115/4 BC <i>RRC</i> 289/1				1014
986	3.76	C Publicius Malleolus; A Postumus Albinus; L Caecilius Metellus <i>RRC</i> 335/1a				992
987	3.31	L Calpurnius Piso Frugi c90 BC <i>RRC</i> 340/?				983
988	3.41	L Calpurnius Piso Frugi 90 BC <i>RRC</i> 340/1				994
989	2.71	Q Titius <i>RRC</i> 341/1				1016
990	3.31	C Vibius Pansa 90 BC <i>RRC</i> 342/5				1022
991	3.11	L Titurius Sabinus 89 BC <i>RRC</i> 344/26				1007
992	3.35	L Titurius Sabinus 89 BC <i>RRC</i> 344/?				1011

993	2.32	L Titurius Sabinus 89 BC <i>RRC</i> 344/?	1023
994	2.97	Cn Cornelius Lentulus 88 BC <i>RRC</i> 345/1	1008
995*	3.05	L Rubrius Dossenna 87 BC <i>RRC</i> 348/1	1021
996	2.95	C Manilius Limetanus 82 BC <i>RRC</i> 362	1024
997	2.98	Q Caecilius Metellus Pius 81 BC <i>RRC</i> 374/1	991
998*	3.15	L Marcius Philippus 56 BC <i>RRC</i> 425/1	996
999	1.24	(plated forgery) as of L Marcius Philippus 56 BC <i>RRC</i> 425/?	1025
1000	3.31	P Fonteius Capito 55 BC <i>RRC</i> 429/1	990
1001	3.44	A Plautius 55 BC <i>RRC</i> 431/1	995
1002	2.40	M Junius Brutus (= Q Servilius Caepio) 54 BC <i>RRC</i> 433/2	993
1003	3.68	M ^o Acilius Glabrio 49 BC <i>RRC</i> 442/1	1015
1004*	3.56	C Vibius Pansa 48 BC <i>RRC</i> 449/16	989
1005	3.66	D Junius Brutus Albinus; C Vibius Pansa 48 BC <i>RRC</i> 451/1	997
1006	3.34	M ^o Cordius Rufus 46 BC <i>RRC</i> 463/16	1017
1007	3.40	T Carisius 46 BC <i>RRC</i> 464/5	998
1008	2.71	T Carisius 46 BC <i>RRC</i> 464/5	1019
1009	3.09	L Valerius Acisculus 45 BC <i>RRC</i> 474/1	1012
1010	3.34	IIIviri monetales 44 BC <i>RRC</i> 480/10	1000
1011	3.57	Sextus Pompey 42-40 BC <i>RRC</i> 511/2	1018
1012	3.10	Mark Antony 32-30 BC <i>RRC</i> 544/13 (LEG PRI)	1003
1013	2.24	Mark Antony 32-30 BC <i>RRC</i> 544/13 (LEG PRI)	1005
1014	1.75	Mark Antony 32-30 BC <i>RRC</i> 544/13 (LEG PRI)	1006
1015	2.96	Mark Antony 32-30 BC <i>RRC</i> 544/21 (LEG VIII)	1010
1016	1.07	Mark Antony 32-30 BC <i>RRC</i> 544/22 (LEG VIII)	1002
1017	2.55	Mark Antony 32-30 BC <i>RRC</i> 544/30 (LEG XV)	1004
1018	3.02	Mark Antony 32-30 BC <i>RRC</i> 544/36 (LEG XX)	1001
1019	3.06	Mark Antony 32-30 BC <i>RRC</i> 544/36 (LEG XX)	1020
1020	2.60	uncertain	988
1021	2.16	uncertain	999
1022*	3.18	uncertain: ? 2nd-1st Century BC: bearded head r./figure in biga, r.	1009

Imperial**A. Augustus**

1023*	3.64g	C & L Caesar Lugdunum 7-6 BC <i>RIC</i> ² 207	1030
1024	3.94	C & L Caesar Lugdunum 7-6 BC <i>RIC</i> ² 207	1031
1025	3.66	C & L Caesar Lugdunum 7-6 BC <i>RIC</i> ² 207	1035
1026	3.43	C & L Caesar Lugdunum 7-6 BC <i>RIC</i> ² 207	1036
1027	2.55	(plated) C & L Caesar Lugdunum 7-6 BC As <i>RIC</i> ² 207	1028
1028*	2.75	IMP CAESAR Italian Mint c29-27 BC <i>RIC</i> ² 267	1033
1029	3.34	IMP CAESAR Italian Mint c29-27 BC <i>RIC</i> ² 272	1027
1030*	2.30	(broken) M Durmius IIIvir <i>RIC</i> ² 315	1034
1031*	3.22	[CAESAR]/AVGVST Uncertain mint c17 BC <i>RIC</i> ² 540	1032
1032	3.46	uncertain	1029

B. Tiberius

1033	3.26g	Rome AD 36-37 <i>RIC</i> ² 26	1037
1034	2.86	Rome AD 36-37 <i>RIC</i> ² 26	1038
1035	3.26	Rome AD 36-37 <i>RIC</i> ² 26	1040
1036	3.37	Rome AD 36-37 <i>RIC</i> ² 26	1042
1037*	3.68	Rome AD 36-37 <i>RIC</i> ² 26	1043
1038*	2.65	(plated) Rome AD 36-37 <i>RIC</i> ² 26	1039
1039*	1.12	(plated) Rome AD 36-37 <i>RIC</i> ² 26	1041

C. Claudius

1040*	2.02g	(plated) [PACI] AVGVSTAE Rome AD 50-51 As <i>RIC</i> ² 58	1044
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D. Uncertain

1041	0.86g		1045
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APPENDIX A

Possible Wanborough Coins in the National Museum of Wales

This list was compiled by Edward Besly. Uncertainty attends every coin in the list, though the Epaticcus stater seems almost definite. NMW Accession nos are given at right.

Tincommius

Stater	VA 375-1	5.36g	Miller, March 1985, no provenance	1985.45 H
Q Stater	VA 378-1	1.20	Baldwin, 1989, ex Kricheldorf 41 25.11.88, lot 2	1989.6 H
Æ Unit	VA 371-1	1.11	Purvey, 1985, as Wanborough	1985.100 H

Eppillus

Stater	VA 405-1	5.20g	Baldwin, 1989, poss. via Switzerland	1985.93 H
Q Stater	VA 407-1	1.16	Lloyd Bennett, 1986, no prov.	1986.88 H
Q Stater	VA 435-1	1.10	Baldwin, 1989, ex Kricheldorf 41 25.11.88, lot 3	1988.202 H
Minim	VA 420-1	0.25	Trenerry, 1988: not thought by him to be from Wanborough	1988.17 H
Minim	VA 422-1	0.27	Trenerry, 1988: not thought by him to be from Wanborough	1988.161 H

Verica

Stater	VA 461-1	5.17g	Seaby 1986 ex <i>SCMB</i> , Jul 86, D16; no prov.	1986.16 H/1
Minim	VA 550-1	0.26	Tkalec & Rauch 16.11.87, lot 3	1987.114 H/1
Minim	VA 551-1	0.24	Classical Num Asscn of NY 1.5.87, lot 407	1987.62 H/1
Minim	VA 556-1	0.22	Baldwin, 1987	1987.87 H/1
Minim	VA 558-1	0.23	Baldwin, 1987	1987.87 H/3
Minim	VA 561-1	0.32	Classical Num Asscn of NY 1.5.87, lot 415	1987.62 H/3
Minim	VA 563-1	0.29	Glen 20.3.85, lot 68	1985.42 H/1
Minim	VA 564-1	0.33	Trenerry, 1988	1988.128 H

Epaticcus

Stater	VA 575-1	5.32g	Miller 1985, no prov.: claimed by finder to be from Wanborough at Kingston Crown Court, 30.6.86	1985.44 H/1
Minim	VA 585-1	0.22	Baldwin, 1987	1987.87 H/2

Cara[tacus?]

Æ Unit	VA 593-1	1.21	Classical Num Asscn of NY 1.5.87, lot 411	1987.62 H/2
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APPENDIX B

Later Roman Coins from the Wanborough Site

These extremely badly preserved coins were also recovered from the site. They cannot be considered part of the main hoard, with the possible exception of the issues of Claudius: the complete lack of any other Roman bronze in the main hoard, though, along with the rarity of mixed metal hoards generally in Roman Britain, militates against even this.

Claudius

Dupondius (in name of Antonia), cAD 41-50; <i>RIC</i> ² 92	7.73g
As (in name of Germanicus), cAD 50-54; <i>RIC</i> ² 106	6.99

Domitian

As, Rome AD 86; <i>BMC</i> 386	12.09
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Antoninus Pius

As (Britannia type), AD 154-5; <i>BMC</i> 1917	9.15
As (in name of Faustina I), post AD 141; <i>RIC</i> 1162, cf <i>BMC</i> 1558	7.93
Ditto	9.36

Elagabalus imitation

Denarius core for plating. Hybrid types: obv IMP CAES M AVR ANTONINVS AVG;
laureate, draped bust, seen from behind / rev of Severus Alexander (*BMC* 13), PM
TRP COS PP; Jupiter stg. f. with thunderbolt and spear 2.11

Uncertain Roman Coins (1st - 3rd Century AD)

As 5.67
As 4.08
As 7.73
Sestertius 8.21

Tetricus I or Victorinus

Radiate, poss. Aequitas type 1.63

Constantine I

Aes, Trier; *RIC* 504 or 509 1.98
Aes, Trier; *RIC* 543 or 544 1.93

Constantius II imitation

Aes, FEL TEMP REPARATIO, AD 353-60; cf. *LRBC* 452-8 1.18

Valentinian I (all Aes)

SECVRITAS REI PVBLICAE, Arles AD 364-75; *LRBC* 477-527 1.25
SECVRITAS REI PVBLICAE, AD 364-75; cf. *LRBC* 477-527 1.34
Ditto 1.35

Valens (all Aes)

GLORIA ROMANORVM, AD 364-7; cf *LRBC* 480-95 1.73
SECVRITAS REI PVBLICAE, AD 364-78; cf *LRBC* 480-540 1.99

Gratian (all Aes)

GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI, Arles AD 367-75; *LRBC* 503-29 1.41
Ditto 0.65

House of Valentinian (all Aes)

GLORIA ROMANORVM, AD 364-78; cf *LRBC* 479-541 1.60
Ditto 0.83
SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE, AD 364-78; cf *LRBC* 477-544 1.40
Ditto 1.93
Ditto 1.15
Ditto 0.90
Ditto 1.18

Valentinian II, Theodosius I & Arcadius (Aes)

SALVS REI PVBLICAE, AD 388-92; cf *LRBC* 796-801 0.79

Uncertain Roman Coins (4th Century AD)

Aes 0.71
Aes 0.80
Aes 0.52
Aes 0.83

APPENDIX C

Results of the Spectrographic Analysis of Selected Coins

Carried out by Mike Cowell of the British Museum Department of Scientific Research.

No	Authority	% Ag	Cu	Au	Pb	Zn	Sn
12	EX	67.3	30.3	0.6		1.8	
13	EX	52.9	38.4				8.7
20	Commius	94.5	3.5	1.9			
28	Commius	94.5	4.0	0.8	0.7		
33	Commius	89.6	8.0	0.8	1.5		
79	Tincommius	98.5	1.5				
80	Tincommius	99.6	0.4				
84	Tincommius	96.7	1.9	0.5	0.9		
88	Tincommius	97.6	1.4		1.0		
89	Tincommius	95.8	3.2	1.0			
91	Tincommius	99.4	0.6				
161	Eppillus	96.9	2.9		0.5		
173	Eppillus	98.9	1.1				
175	Eppillus	97.9	2.1				
195	Eppillus	95.3	4.7				
198	Eppillus	96.3	3.1		0.6		
200	Eppillus	97.4	1.7	0.9			
204	Eppillus	98.2	1.2	0.6			
218	Eppillus	99.6	0.4				
220	Eppillus	97.9	2.1				
225	Eppillus	99.6	0.4				
279	Verica	96.2	1.9	1.9			
282	Verica	96.3	2.9		0.8		
291	Verica	99.5	0.5				
316	Verica	97.5	1.8		0.7		
323	Verica	98.6	0.7	0.7			
332	Verica	98.0	1.5	0.5			
388	Verica	95.7	3.0	0.5	0.8		
397	Verica	99.7	0.3				
418	Verica	97.2	2.2				
420	Verica	96.2	2.7	0.5	0.6		
424	Verica	95.6	2.2	1.0	1.2		
438	Verica	97.0	2.1	0.9			
565	Epaticcus	96.7	2.2	0.6	0.5		
566	Epaticcus	96.8	2.2	0.4	0.6		
588	Epaticcus	98.0	1.4	0.6			
603	Epaticcus	96.8	2.2	0.4	0.6		
672	Epaticcus	96.8	3.2				
723	Epaticcus	97.0	2.4	0.6			
786	Epaticcus	98.8	1.2				
789	Epaticcus	97.9	2.1				
800	Epaticcus	95.8	2.5	1.7			
801	Epaticcus	98.5	1.5				
804	Epaticcus	96.8	2.1	0.5	0.6		
838	Cara[tacus?]	96.9	1.5	0.6	0.9		
839	Cara[tacus?]	96.9	2.6	0.5			
840	Cara[tacus?]	97.6	1.9	0.5			

3.1.3 *The excavated coins by phase (microfiche 33-41)*

3.2 OTHER FINDS EXCLUDING POTTERY, by Joanna Bird

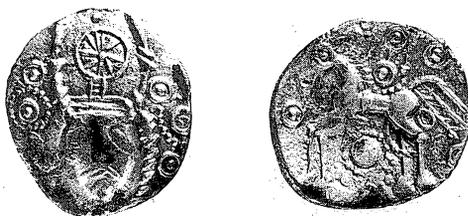
3.2.1 Discussion

In the following discussion, the catalogue numbers refer to copper alloy objects unless described otherwise.

The Head-dresses (nos 5-9)

Five head-dresses were recovered, of which three (nos 5, 6 and 8) survive reasonably intact. These three are all of the same basic design, and it is likely from what remains that the other two also followed this pattern. The top of the head-dress is a knob-like finial, in three cases bearing a wheel, from which hang four equally spaced chains; these are linked round the brow by a further chain, and at least two (nos 5 and 6) have a further longer chain, probably hanging down in front of the ears. A replica of no 6 made by Matthew Alexander proved to be difficult to wear, with the chains sliding loosely on the head, and it is likely that the head-dress would have been fastened to a leather or fabric cap. Careful examination of nos 5, 6 and 8 during conservation failed to reveal any trace of such a cap, which may therefore have been detachable, and perhaps secured with pins; one pin (no 56) was found with head-dress no 8.

A silver Atrebatian coin from Petersfield (pl 10) shows a horned god or priest wearing what is apparently a wheeled head-dress of very similar type. The wheel is clearly attached to something like a low cap, and there is a chain hanging down from the sides in much the same way. It is possible that the cap on which the head-dress sat also bore antlers, giving the wearer the appearance of the figure on the coin. A coin from Sussex (Boon 1982, fig 7) shows a much more stylised antlered head with a wheel above it; the head is visible in profile with the wheel full-face. Although there is no visible attachment between head and wheel, it is possible that this is another representation of the same theme. If so, it shows the wheel in what is probably the correct position on the head, at least for no 6; Karen Webster noted during conservation of this head-dress that the wheel was visible only in profile from the front (pl 17).



Pl 10 Wanborough. Atrebatian coin from Petersfield showing a horned figure with possible wheel head-dress. Scale 2:1 (Photograph by permission of the National Museum of Wales)

Head-dresses of any kind are rare in Britain (the evidence has recently been summarised by Henig: 1984, 136-7), and versions made of chain were probably particularly vulnerable to damage. Other known chain head-dresses (notably those from Cavenham and Stony Stratford: Green 1976, 179, 213) are more elaborate than the Wanborough examples, involving a network of chains with small shaped plates at the junctions. There is so far only one close parallel for the Wanborough head-dresses, from another Surrey temple at Farley Heath (Bird 1987, pl 7.17; report in prep). The Farley Heath head-dress has the same arrangement of finial (in this case a heavy double knob) and four chains, but with a more complex junction fitment at the surviving chain end, suggesting narrow copper alloy or leather straps rather than further chains circling the brow. The absence of parallels

further afield, together with the image on the Petersfield coin, may indicate that this particular style of head-dress was peculiar to the Atrebatian region.

The three head-dresses with wheel terminals (nos 6-8) are so far unique, though numerous similar small copper alloy wheels have been recorded from Britain and the Continent, mostly in the form of brooches or free-standing models (eg Green 1986a, pls 15, 16). The wheel was a potent solar symbol, and Green has argued convincingly for its association with a Celtic sky and sun god (1984, esp 298-304). This deity is frequently represented with attributes of the classical Jupiter, but with the wheel symbol prominent (eg Ross 1967, figs 161-2), an example of the fluidity with which aspects of classical and native deities could be equated. The name Taranis, 'the thunderer', has sometimes been given to the Celtic wheel-god, but Green has shown (1986b) that, although his attributes often include a thunderbolt (Green 1986b, pl 4), there is no direct evidence to associate him with Taranis, a name probably used to represent a different aspect of Jupiter-like power.

The head-dresses probably, therefore, identify the presiding deity of the Wanborough temple as a type of the Celtic Jupiter, with specifically solar attributes. Although horns or antlers are normally attributes of the god called Cernunnos on the *Nautae Parisiaci* column (Lavagne 1984, fig 179), their presence on the Petersfield coin need not invalidate this interpretation. Ross (1967, 181-2) notes the probable association of the Celtic Jupiter with Cernunnos in certain aspects of his cult, while Green discusses the early evidence for the stag and, more specifically, its antlers as solar symbols in their own right (1991, 54-6). Clearly the evidence does not lend itself to a rigid interpretation, nor, in the context of Celtic religion, where names and attributes of deities were often very localised, should it be expected to.

The head-dresses probably come, on stylistic and technological grounds, from more than one source. No 5 stands apart from the others in several ways: its finial and junction rings are much more delicate and decorative than the others, the leaf pendant is unique, the chains are more elaborately formed, and the components are made entirely of brass. One important feature of no 5 is the indication from the three versions of the junction rings that the individual parts were made with the whole object in view. Nos 6 and 7 probably come from one workshop: though no 7 is badly damaged, its finial is of similar shape to no 6, and its wheel is very close, even to the uneven arrangement of the spokes; in both the wheel and finial are cast in one piece, and both have brass chains. No 8 is different again, its leaded bronze wheel cast separately and fitted to a brass cap; some of the brass wire used for the chain was clearly made by rolling.

The alloys were identified by Heyworth (1987), using x-ray fluorescence spectrometry. He concluded that the use of brass probably indicated that no 5 at least was an import; however, now that the deposit in which the head-dresses were found has been dated to cAD 160/170 (see pottery summary, 3.3.1), it is possible that they were made after the Roman conquest, when brass technology would have reached the Romanised part of Britain. This is a point of some importance if, as seems possible, the particular type of head-dress is confined to the Atrebatian region, and given the apparent absence of comparable items on the Continent (pers comm Jan Kees Haalebos, Martin Henig; cf Green 1984, 48).

The Sceptres (nos 10-38)

The sceptres, batons or tipstaves, form the largest group of these objects so far recovered from a single site. Their exact purpose is not known, but they were probably used as symbols of priestly authority during the rituals. All follow the same basic design of a moulded handle attached to a wooden shaft which was bound, with only one certain exception, with thin strips of spirally wound copper alloy sheet. Only no 10 and perhaps nos 17-18 had a surviving upper terminal; in both cases this was a second handle-type

fitment. The comparable group of sceptres from Willingham Fen (Henig 1984, fig 62) included upper terminals with an owl and a bird, while the heads of gods and other figures are recorded elsewhere (Henig 1984, figs 60, 61). Of the Wanborough sceptres, only no 14 (which could be examined only from a photograph) had any indication of a possible terminal ornament.

The sceptre was an attribute of the classical Jupiter, and is sometimes depicted on images of the Celtic sky god, together with a wheel (eg Green 1991, fig 77), so perhaps a sceptre-type staff was particularly relevant in his cult. Martin Henig has suggested (*pers comm*) that the spiral binding may have been intended to represent a formalised thunderbolt, since figures of the Celtic Jupiter sometimes use a stylised twisted rod to show his thunderbolt (eg Green 1984, frontispiece). There are indications from Willingham Fen that an analogous deity was worshipped there, notably one larger and more elaborate mace or club with figures of Jupiter, a dolphin, a bull, an eagle and a wheel (Green 1976, pl 10, a-c).

Of relevance here too is the well-known binding from what was probably a similar sceptre to the Wanborough examples, that from Farley Heath. Unlike the Wanborough bindings, which are all plain, the Farley Heath one bears a series of crudely embossed motifs, including a face above a solar wheel, other figures of people or gods, birds and animals, and emblems, including a hammer and tongs (Bird 1987, pl 7.16). Its complex iconography has been discussed in several publications (notably Goodchild 1938; 1946-7; most recently in Black 1985). The interesting feature from the point of view of the Wanborough finds is that, as with the wheel head-dress and the horned figure on the Petersfield coin, the wheel god is associated with other divine figures and symbols. The head of the Farley Heath sceptre was apparently an iron ring with a nail through it, a feature not so far recorded on other sceptre finds (Goodchild 1938, 393, fig 1).

The sceptre handles show some variety in their mouldings and their degree of ornament. The most elaborate are the two handles of no 10, with bands of chevron decoration; similar decoration is also present on nos 11, 12 and 22. Some have sharply defined mouldings (nos 13 and 15-21), others are decorated with simple grooving (nos 14 and 26-33); nos 23-25 bear triple cordons, and no 22 has a single cordon and a closed end. The shorter pieces, as at Willingham Fen, are likely to be collars placed along the shaft, as is certainly the case with no 18. Most of the more complete pieces held remains of the spiral binding, and some had tacks surviving *in situ*. The exception to the usual style is no 31, where the binding was a long tube, still over a wood shaft, decorated with narrow collars.

Karen Webster's notes made during the conservation of the sceptres provided a considerable amount of information on the method of manufacture. Where this could be examined, the sceptres had all been made in the same way. A shaft of wood was bound with spirally-wound strips of thin sheet metal, which were held in place by tacks at the end and at points where two lengths of strip had to be joined (eg no 18). The strip had a raised rib close to one edge, perhaps to prevent it slipping; in most cases where enough survived, the strip clearly overlapped (eg no 17), but in at least one case it seemed to be placed edge to edge (no 16). The tacks were generally small, with their heads formed by simply folding them over.

The handle was clearly fitted over the finished tacked and bound shaft, and in at least some cases the binding did not cover the full length of shaft within the handle (eg no 10). The handle was attached with further small tacks, and in some a larger tack fitted into the end of the handle to anchor the shaft; that on no 20 also had a washer to fill the space. The handles were cast, often rather unevenly, and the tack holes were apparently made in the casting: sometimes a hole in the handle did not match with one in the binding inside, showing that the hole had not been used (eg no 22).

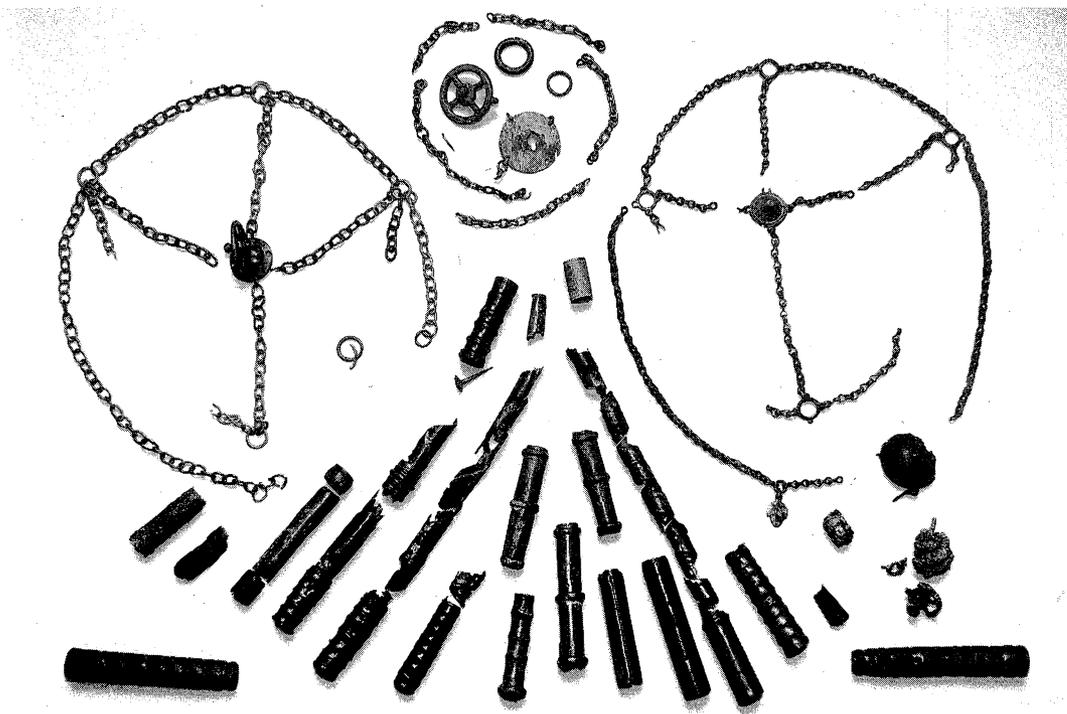
The one complete sceptre, no 10, survived, apart from its handles, mainly as stains of wood and copper products on the soil. Its overall length was 93cm. If they are one sceptre, as seems likely, nos 17-18 survive to some 79.4cm in length, but parts of the binding are

too damaged to restore to their full length. The remains of the wooden shafts are mostly fragmentary and very shrunken; Watson (1988) has been able to identify some of them, but the woods used – box, beech and maple – do not have any apparent ritual significance. Maple, identified from three handles, may be local, as field maple grows well today along Green Lane. The samples from nos 17–18 were identified as possibly horn, but this seems unlikely given the length of the finished object.

Other Religious Objects

Two of the three stratified head-dresses were found associated with plain copper alloy rings (no 6 with nos 52 and 53, no 8 with nos 50 and 51). While there is nothing apparently significant in the rings themselves, this suggests that they may have formed part of the regalia worn by the priests. Nos 6 and 8 are both wheeled head-dresses, and rings are occasionally noted on representations of the Celtic Jupiter: Ross (1967, 347) describes a statue from Alzey showing Jupiter with a wheel to his right, and an eagle holding a ring in its beak to his left.

The two miniature axe pendants (nos 54 and 55) are a type of amulet, and the use of such pendants is well attested (cf Green 1985, 239). Henig notes the frequent occurrence of miniature axes on sacred sites, and the possibility that they represent sacrificial implements (1984, 149). A further item to be considered here is the pair of copper alloy shears (no 61), which may also have served a ritual purpose (cf Henig 1984, 131). This is certainly likely to be the case with two pairs of bronze and iron shears from a well at Krefeld-Gellep, where they were probably associated with the Egyptian Isis cult (Horn 1987, 283, Abbn 235). Finally there is the iron handle, probably from a knife, found with head-dress no 6 (iron object no 1); this may also have had a ritual function.



Pl 11 Wanborough. The priestly regalia from the 1985–86 excavation, with pieces held by Guildford Museum (Photograph by Chris Phillips)

The Significance of the Wanborough Finds

The items of priestly regalia found at Wanborough (pl 11) form one of the most important groups of religious accessories so far recovered from Roman Britain. As discussed above, the wheel motif on the head-dresses (nos 6-8) suggests the Celtic Jupiter, a solar and sky god, as the presiding deity of the shrine. This is reinforced by the presence at Wanborough even today of considerable oaks, the tree sacred to Jupiter in both the classical and Celtic tradition. Indeed, it is possible that the earliest shrine on the site may have been a sacred grove, or a particularly large and venerable oak (cf Ross 1967, 59-60).

The imagery of the Petersfield coin also introduces aspects of the horned god, Cernunnos, and the implications of this deserve further consideration. Cernunnos is regularly associated with wealth and prosperity as well as with fertility, and this association is extended to the stag, some of whose nature he shares. A relief from Luxembourg shows a stag 'vomiting' money, while another from Reims shows Cernunnos emptying a sack of coins before a bull and a stag (Ross 1967, 198, fig 96). This imagery is noted too by Green (1986a, 182-3), and it is worth in this context referring to Clive Cheesman's report (above) on the Wanborough coin hoard, in which he discusses the use of temples as banks or treasuries, and the possibility that the Wanborough coins may have been so deposited.

All the regalia items which were found in Roman contexts came from Phase 2 or the disturbed natural subsoil beneath it: layers 2.148, 2.148/230, 2.225, 2.230 and 2.231. The three head-dresses (nos 5, 6 and 8) had been buried as neat bundles of chains, two of them with pairs of rings (nos 50-53), no 6 also with an iron handle, probably from a knife (iron object no 1). With the exception of no 10 and perhaps nos 17-18, however, the sceptres were in a more fragmentary condition. It can be assumed that this material represents a single deposit, not only from the distribution of the regalia items, but also from the number of cross-joins found among the pottery. A number of unusual features of the pottery (see the pottery discussion below), the regalia and some of the other finds in these layers indicate that this could be a foundation or dedication deposit, laid down cAD 160/170, before the temple was built. It is even possible that the sceptres and the pottery were deliberately broken, a custom that is well attested on sacred sites (cf Henig 1984, 149).

The other finds from this deposit include the Bronze Age spearhead (no 2), three brooches (nos 42, 45 and 47), the buckle (no 59), an ox-goad (iron object no 2), a glass bead and two vessels (glass nos 1, 3 and 4), the clay 'loomweights' and spindle whorl, two of the quernstones and fragments of at least one cupel for the refinement of precious metal. Some at least of these items are well known as votive offerings, though the paucity of brooches compared with other temple sites (eg Farley Heath: Atkins 1983; Harlow: France & Gobel 1985) is striking. The Bronze Age spearhead and the unprovenanced palstave (no 1) are types of prehistoric weapons that occur regularly on Romano-British temple sites (cf Atkins 1983, B1-14, from Farley Heath). The Iron Age anthropoid sword(s) (nos 3-4), though unprovenanced, may also derive from this deposit, and would certainly make an impressive votive gift. It should perhaps be noted here that there were no examples of the special pottery types - face pots, smith pots, triple vases - often associated with ritual deposits. Of all the finds from the site, only the 'loomweights', the spindle whorl and some of the flint-tempered pottery could actually be contemporary with the primary deposition of the coin hoard.

It is suggested (3.3.1) that the pottery is made up of an unusually high proportion of relatively humble vessels, and that these were the containers for offerings of foodstuffs and produce, rather than votive gifts in their own right. Similarly, the two glass vessels recovered are types recognised as containers rather than fine tableware (pers comm Jennifer Price). Henig (1984, 23) notes that offerings were mostly of animals, cereals, fruits and beverages, and all but the first of these could have been presented in the pottery recovered. Whether the contents formed part of the deposit is not certain, but seems unlikely; soil samples from 2.148 contained only a few cereal grains, a hazelnut shell and some fragments

of fruit-tree charcoal, hardly indicative of much food left with the other finds. Wendy Carruthers, who identified the plant remains, also noted the presence of several charred fragments of a bread-like material, but the absence of cereal bran made their identification uncertain (Carruthers 1992). There were also a number of oyster shells, and the bones showed butchery marks on sheep, pigs and cattle (see the report by Pat Nicolaysen below). Henig's hypothetical description of a religious ceremony and the feast which followed it (1984, 40-1) could well fit with the evidence from the deposit: a special occasion to celebrate the foundation of a new temple and to honour the rites that had previously been held on the site.

3.2.2 *Objects of Copper Alloy* (pls 11-28; figs 22-35)

A number of observations recorded by the conservators, Karen Webster of Kent County Museum Service, who carried out the greater part of the work on the copper alloy objects, and Martin Read, have been incorporated into the text. Their reports are included in the site archive. The composition of the alloys, where noted, has been analysed by Michael Heyworth at the Ancient Monuments Laboratory of English Heritage (Heyworth 1987), identified in the text as AML, and by Mike Cowell at the British Museum Department of Scientific Research, identified as BM

(see 3.2.3, microfiche 42). Fuller details are given in the discussion. The identification, where possible, of the materials used for the sceptre shafts has been made by Jacqui Watson, also of AML (Watson 1988).

Objects marked * are metal detector finds from the general temple area; some have only been examined and drawn from photographs.

Prehistoric Implements (fig 22)

I am grateful to Stuart Needham for identifying nos 1 and 2, and to Val Rigby and Ian Stead for their comments on nos 3 and 4.

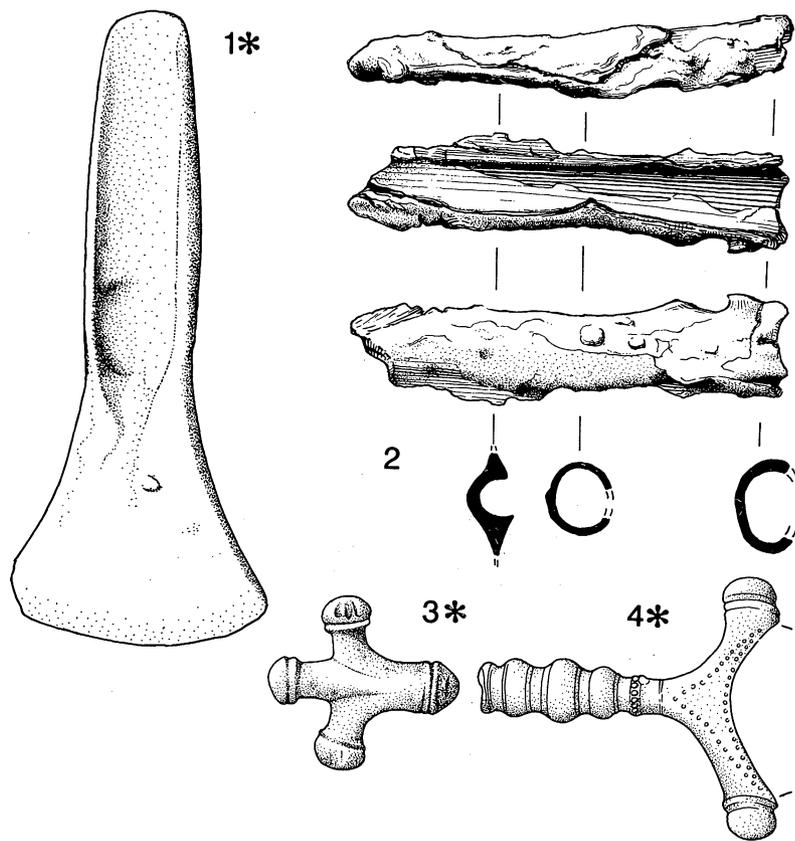


Fig 22 Wanborough. Copper alloy objects: prehistoric implements, nos 1-4 (nos 1, 3-4, 1:2; no 2, 1:1). Objects marked * have been drawn from photographs.

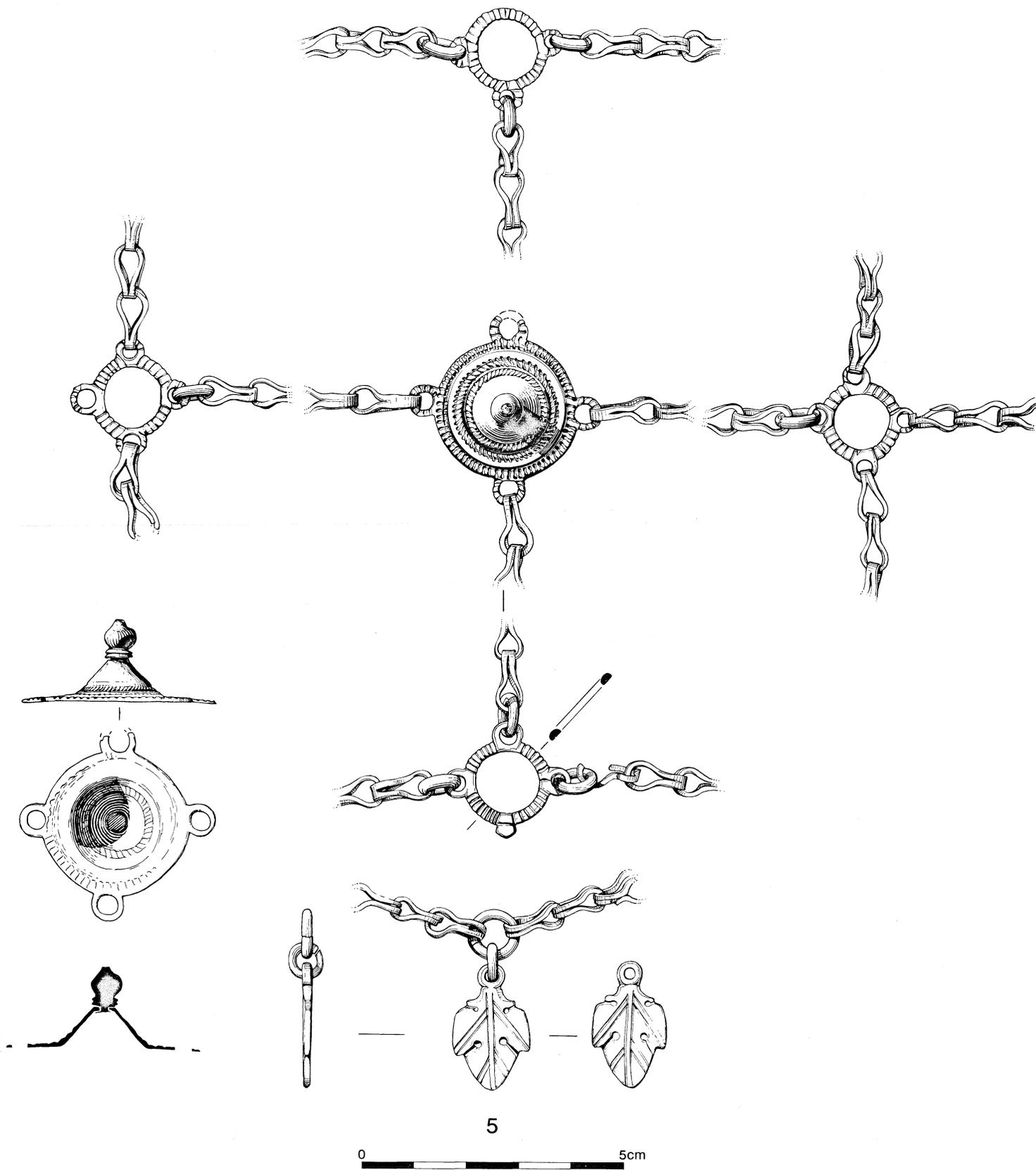


Fig 23 Wanborough. Copper alloy objects: head-dress, no 5 (1:1)

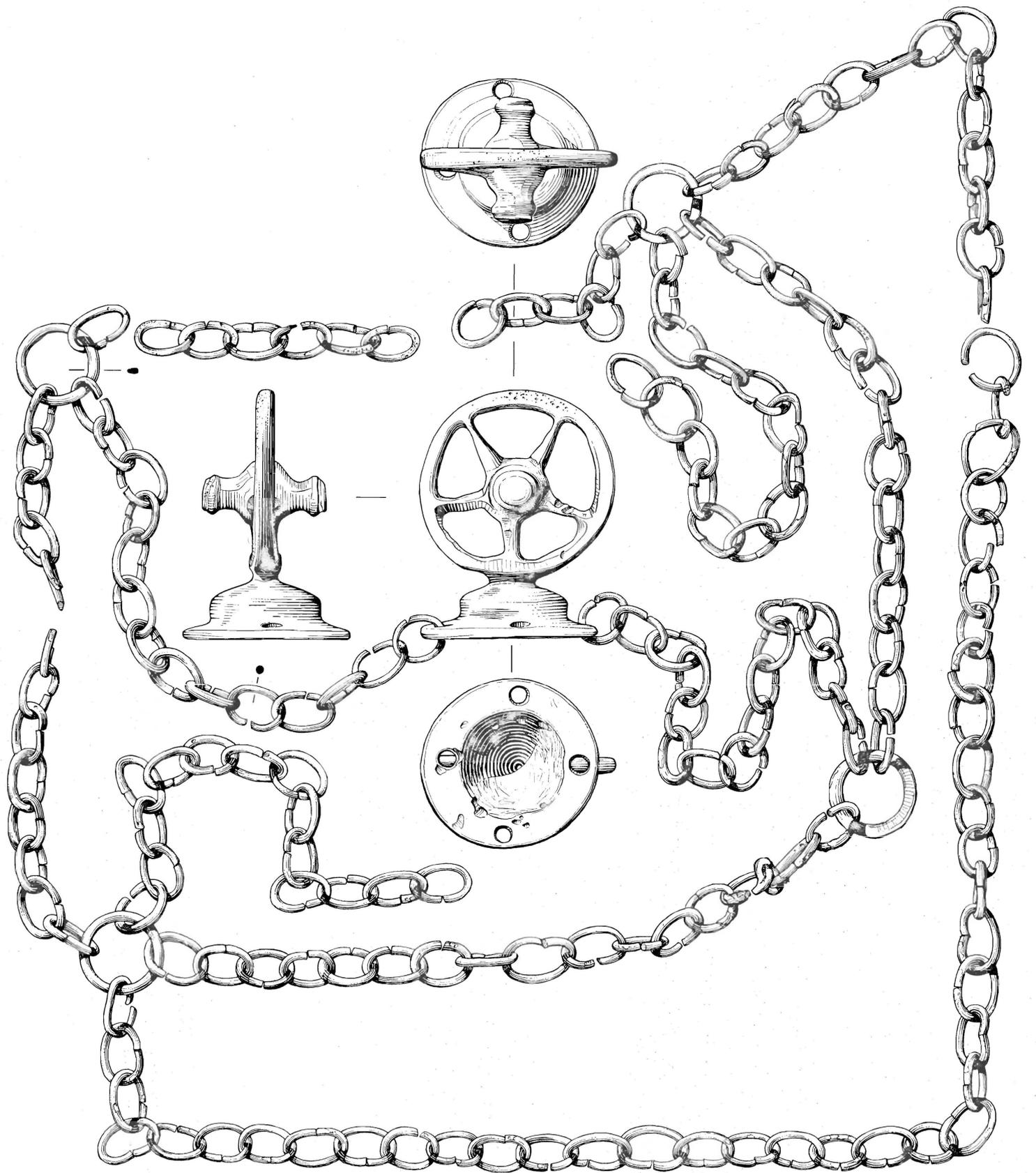


Fig 24 Wanborough. Copper alloy objects: head-dress, no 6 (1:1)

- *1 Broad-bladed palstave, approximately 172mm long and a maximum of 70mm wide. Some variety of shield design is present, but the details are unclear. It is possibly of Werrar type (cf Rowlands 1976, 33-4). Middle Bronze Age.

(Examined and illustrated from a photograph. Court evidence suggests that it was found in the lane, in the area of the temple building.)

- 2 Side-looped spearhead; the stumps of the rather vulnerable loops are visible on the socket. It survives to some 59mm in length; probably a maximum of 20mm is missing from the tip, but the socket end is more or less complete. Middle Bronze Age, but not more closely dateable; for the type, see Rowlands 1976, 49-56, pls 37-8.

Bronze (AML); probably burnt, and very fragile. (Phase 2, 2.148)

- *3, *4 Upper, no 3, and lower, no 4, portions of one or two Iron Age sword hilts of anthropoid type. It is possible, from the position of the breaks on each and from what could be discovered of the findspots, that these are from the same sword, but the 'arms' and 'legs' of this type of handle are normally of comparable width while here the 'arms' on no 3 (approximately 48mm) are markedly narrower than the 'legs' on no 4 (approximately 71mm). The head on the typical anthropoid sword is replaced on no 3 by a central knob finial, though the ornamental ends to the 'arms' and 'legs' and the central spindle follow the usual pattern. No 3 has knob finials to 'head' and 'arms', each defined by a

narrow moulding and with indications of fluted decoration, and a moulding at the top of the 'body'. No 4 has a series of mouldings, the lowest apparently bearing finely beaded ornament; the 'legs' end in knobs with narrow mouldings, and there is a rather irregular triangle of dots incised on the hilt. If they were one hilt, the overall length would be approximately 140mm.

The iron blade of this sword type was forged with a long tang, on to which the handle was fitted, usually in two but occasionally up to four pieces, with the head normally cast separately (see Drillon & Duval 1985). The colour photograph of no 3 (Guildford Museum archive) shows what is probably a rusted piece of the iron tang protruding below the lower moulding. Any trace of the blade on no 4 has recently been deliberately covered by some roughly shaped material with the apparent aim of turning it into a 'dagger'.

Anthropoid swords occur in the later Iron Age both in Britain and on the Continent, and are dated from the 2nd to 1st century BC; the basic typology is discussed in Clarke & Hawkes 1955. A date in the latter part of this range might be appropriate for the Wanborough example(s), in view of the simplified design of the head.

(Examined and illustrated only from photographs, in which a fake blade had been added to no 4. No 3 was recorded at Guildford Museum as found in the lane; court evidence would suggest that no 4 was also found in the lane, in the area of the temple building.)



Pl 12 Wanborough. Head-dress no 5: the cap. Scale in cm (Photograph by Chris Phillips)

Head-dresses (pls 11-19; figs 23-26)

- 5 Head-dress (pls 12-15; fig 23) composed of a small round cap with knob finial, four chains passing to junction rings, further chains linking the rings, and a longer chain with a leaf pendant.

The cap is a slightly flattened circle 28mm in diameter, with a conical centre and four equally spaced pierced lugs, all cast in one piece. The knob finial has been added through a hole in the top of the cone, and the rather uneven tip suggests that it may have borne a further element on the top. The overall height is 16mm. Cap and lugs are decorated with elaborate beading; the underside is hollow under the cone, but otherwise flat, with slight casting marks and with traces of the rather heavy decoration showing through. The three surviving chains pass directly into the lugs.

The four junction rings were clearly cast with the finished article in mind. The two that carry the pendant chain have four pierced lugs, the others only three, while one of them - presumably the one over the forehead - has a small tab in place of the fourth lug. They are between 15 and 17mm in diameter. All four have the same heavy beading as the cap, and on all but the tabbed one this is present on the lugs as well; they are flat on the underside except for slight casting marks. The chains to the three-lugged

rings are held there by disproportionately heavy plain rings, while on the four-lugged rings only the chain from the cap is held by such a ring; the others, in the five surviving instances, pass directly into the lug.

The chains are more elaborate than those on the other head-dresses. They have been formed from a ring of square-sectioned brass, hammered into a dumb-bell shape with a loop at each end and then folded to make a double link. Chains made by this method can only be assembled one way, necessitating the use of rings to hold one end in position, as here. Two lengths survive unbroken, those linking the junction rings at the sides to the (assumed) back: both are 15 links long, and measure 134 and 138mm respectively. The chain from the cap to the front ring has a break, but appeared to be all present; it has 13 links and measures 127mm. The chain from the cap to the left side (as worn) is broken; the two pieces have 6 and 12 links, and measure 172mm overall, and it is possible that the side chains were longer to fit the shape of the head. The links vary in length between 10.5 and 13.5mm, but most are within the range of 11.5 to 12mm.

The pendant chains are linked at the centre by a plain ring, from which a smaller ring hangs and holds the pendant itself. The two lengths are both incomplete; one comprises 32 links, measuring 270mm, the other 6 links, measuring 44mm. The length hanging from



Pl 13 Wanborough. Head-dress no 5: the underside of the cap. Scale in cm (Photograph by Chris Phillips)



Pl 14 Wanborough. Head-dress no 5: the four junction rings; the ring second from right shows the flat underside. Scale in cm (*Photograph by Chris Phillips*)

the ring on the left side (as worn) consists of 27 links, measuring 227mm; added to the short length attached to the pendant, this would give a minimum of 281mm for the hanging chain. The pendant itself is a cast ivy leaf, 25mm long, with the veins incised on both faces.

All components are of brass (AML). (Phase 2, 2.148, found as a compact bundle; two short - four and two links - lengths of identical chain from the disturbed natural subsoil, 2.230, may be part of this head-dress.)



Pl 15 Wanborough. Head-dress no 5: the ivy-leaf pendant. Scale in cm (*Photograph by Chris Phillips*)

- 6 Head-dress (pls 16-17; fig 24) composed of a small round cap bearing a wheel, four chains passing to junction rings, further chains linking the rings, and a longer hanging chain.

The cap is approximately circular, 34mm in diameter, with a raised central boss on which the wheel stands; the overall height is 49mm. The wheel is 39mm in diameter, and has five spokes, rather unevenly spaced, and a prominent nave grooved at each end. Wheel and cap are cast in one piece; the underside is hollowed under the boss but otherwise flat, with slight surface flaws from the casting. The chains fit into four holes in the rim.

The four junction rings are oval in section, and measure 16-17mm in diameter externally and 11-12mm internally. They are rather irregularly shaped, and were probably cast.

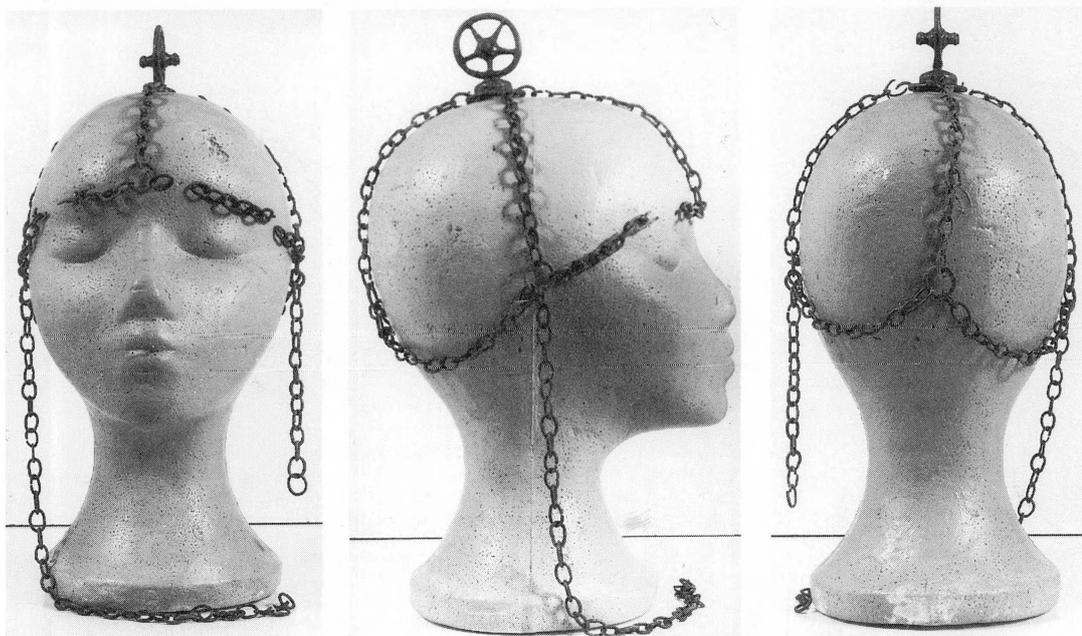
The chains are composed of simple links made of round wire, and average 12mm in length. There is one small link 7mm long, perhaps a repair, and some slightly longer and

rounder links, mainly in the hanging chain. The chains linking the cap to the 'back' and 'front' rings are complete; assuming the 'front' one to be shorter, as with no 5, the 'back' one has 16 links and measures 136mm, the 'front' one has 14 links and measures 124mm. The two lengths of chain linking the side rings to the 'back' ring are also complete; the right side chain (as worn) has 14 links and measures 126mm, the left side chain has 17 links, including the small one noted above, and measures 138mm. The hanging chain, viewed the same way, has 14 links, measuring 129mm, on the right side, and 39 links, measuring 354mm, on the left, giving an overall length of at least 483mm. The position of the hanging chain indicates that the wheel was visible face-on from the sides, and seen only in profile from the front.

Cap and wheel are of (leaded) bronze, the chain and junction rings of brass (AML). (Phase 2, 2.148/230; found as a compact



Pl 16 Wanborough. Head-dress no 6: the wheel, one of the junction rings and links of the chain. Scale in cm (Photograph by Chris Phillips)



Pl 17 Wanborough. Head-dress no 6, mounted on a milliner's model during conservation. Viewed from the front (left), side (centre) and back (right). (Photographs by Kent County Museum Service)

bundle, associated with the rings, nos 52 and 53, and the handle, iron object no 1)

- 7 Head-dress (fig 25), very fragmentary, composed of a cap bearing a wheel, and small groups of links from a network of chains, presumably in a similar pattern to nos 5 and 6.

The cap is now badly cracked, and distorted by corrosion. The main surviving piece suggests that it was round, with a raised boss in the centre on which the wheel stands. The boss was clearly more elaborately moulded than that on no 6, with an additional raised pad to support the wheel. The diameter of the boss was approximately 34mm. The cap was cast, probably in one piece with the wheel; it is hollowed under the boss. The wheel has five spokes and a prominent nave grooved at each end; it measures approximately 35mm in diameter. The surviving height of cap and wheel is 56mm.

The chains are very fragmentary; remains of approximately 34 links were recovered, of which the most complete length - one and two fragments - is illustrated. The links are made of round wire, and measure 11-13mm in length.

Cap and wheel are of bronze (AML). (Phase 9, 2.182; found associated with no 66)

- 8 Head-dress (pls 18-19; fig 25), composed of a round cap bearing a wheel, and a network of chains. The chains probably made a pattern

similar to nos 5 and 6.

The cap is approximately 47mm in diameter and slightly domed, with a raised boss in the centre into which the wheel was set. It is formed of sheet metal approximately 0.5mm thick, rather crudely folded under round the edges to form a rim. The chains are set directly into four holes near the edge.

The wheel has four spokes and a prominent nave, rather narrower than those on nos 6 and 7, and grooved at the ends; the rim of the wheel is much heavier than those on nos 6 and 7. The diameter is approximately 44mm; it was cast, with a short stem to secure it in the cap. The overall height of cap and wheel is approximately 53mm.

The chains are composed of simple links made from round wire, which had in some instances clearly been made by rolling. Most of the links are oval, but a number have been bent almost into a D-shape, and a few are sub-circular; on some, tool marks from cutting and shaping the links are visible. The links vary in length from 7 to 12.5mm. There were no separate rings to mark the junction of two chains, and clear junctions on two lengths indicate that the chains were simply joined together to form the lower part of the head-dress. The longer joined piece has 13 links (98mm), then single links of two further lengths. The longest single piece has 26 links measuring 170mm.

The cap is of brass, the wheel of leaded

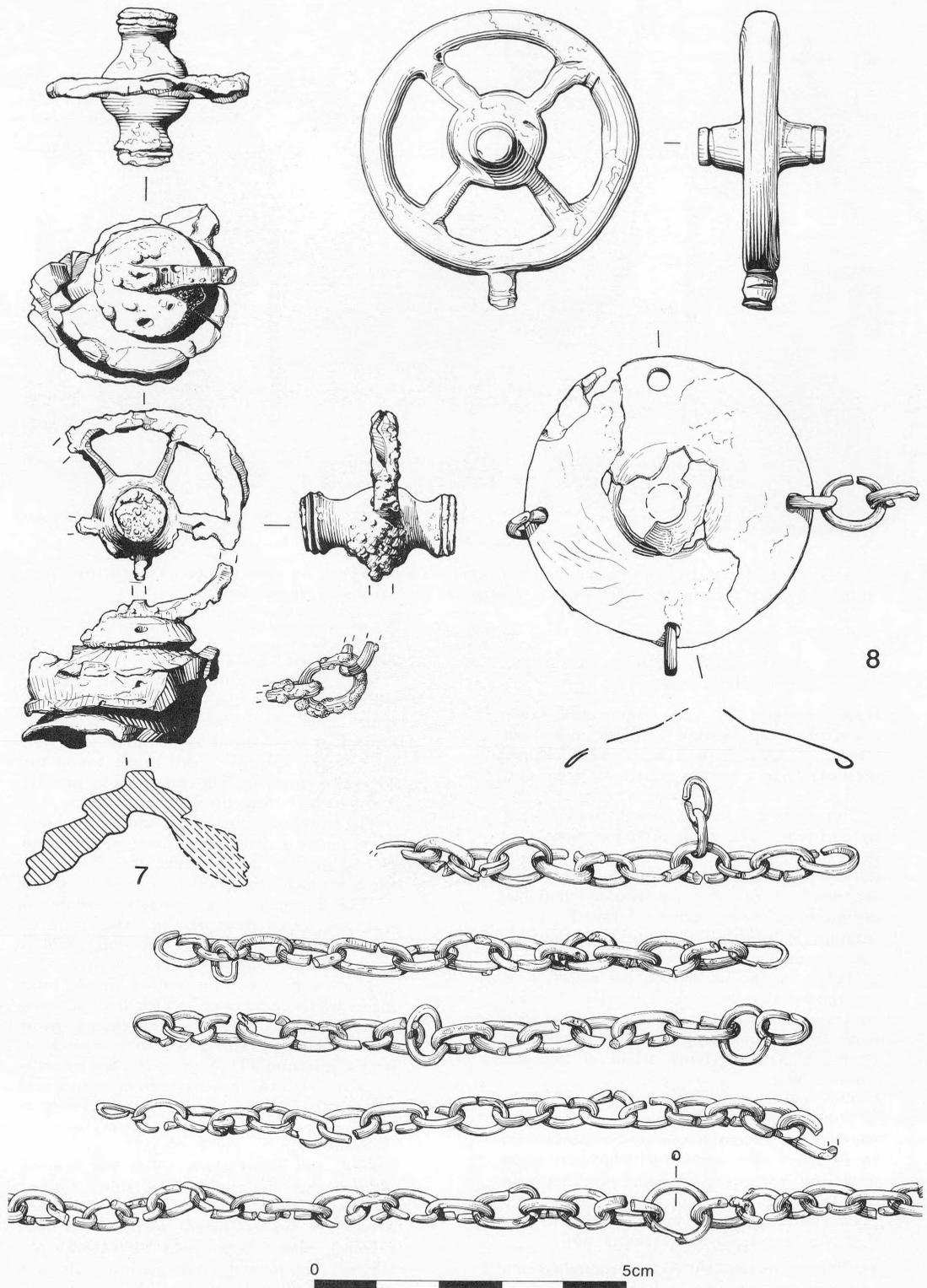
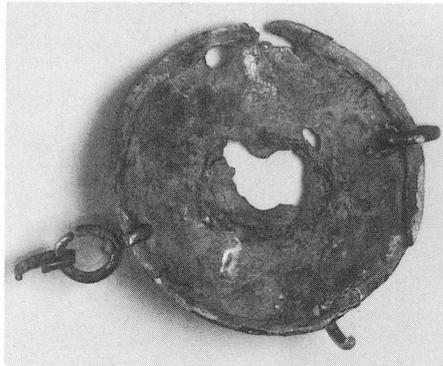


Fig 25 Wanborough. Copper alloy objects: head-dresses, nos 7-8 (1:1)



Pl 18 Wanborough. Head-dress no 8: the wheel, cap and two lengths of chain, showing a junction. Scale in cm
(*Photograph by Chris Phillips*)



Pl 19 Wanborough. Head-dress no 8: the underside of the cap. For scale see Pl 18 (*Photograph by Chris Phillips*)

bronze, and the chains of bronze (AML). (Disturbed natural subsoil, 2.230, found as a compact bundle, associated with the ring no 51 and pin no 56, and close to the ring no 50)

- *9 Head-dress (fig 26), composed of a round cap and a fragment of chain; probably of a similar pattern to nos 5-8.

The cap was originally approximately 45mm in diameter, cast, with four equally spaced pierced lugs. It is dome-shaped, apart from a narrow rim, and has a hole in the centre,

presumably for the attachment of a finial, as no 8. There is a fine groove along the edge, and turned grooves round the hole.

Only one fragment of chain survives, a round-sectioned loop set into one of the lugs; it may have had a second loop at the other end and have served as an intermediate link, or may simply be a badly distorted plain oval link.

The cap is of bronze (BM). (Guildford Museum acc AG 921)

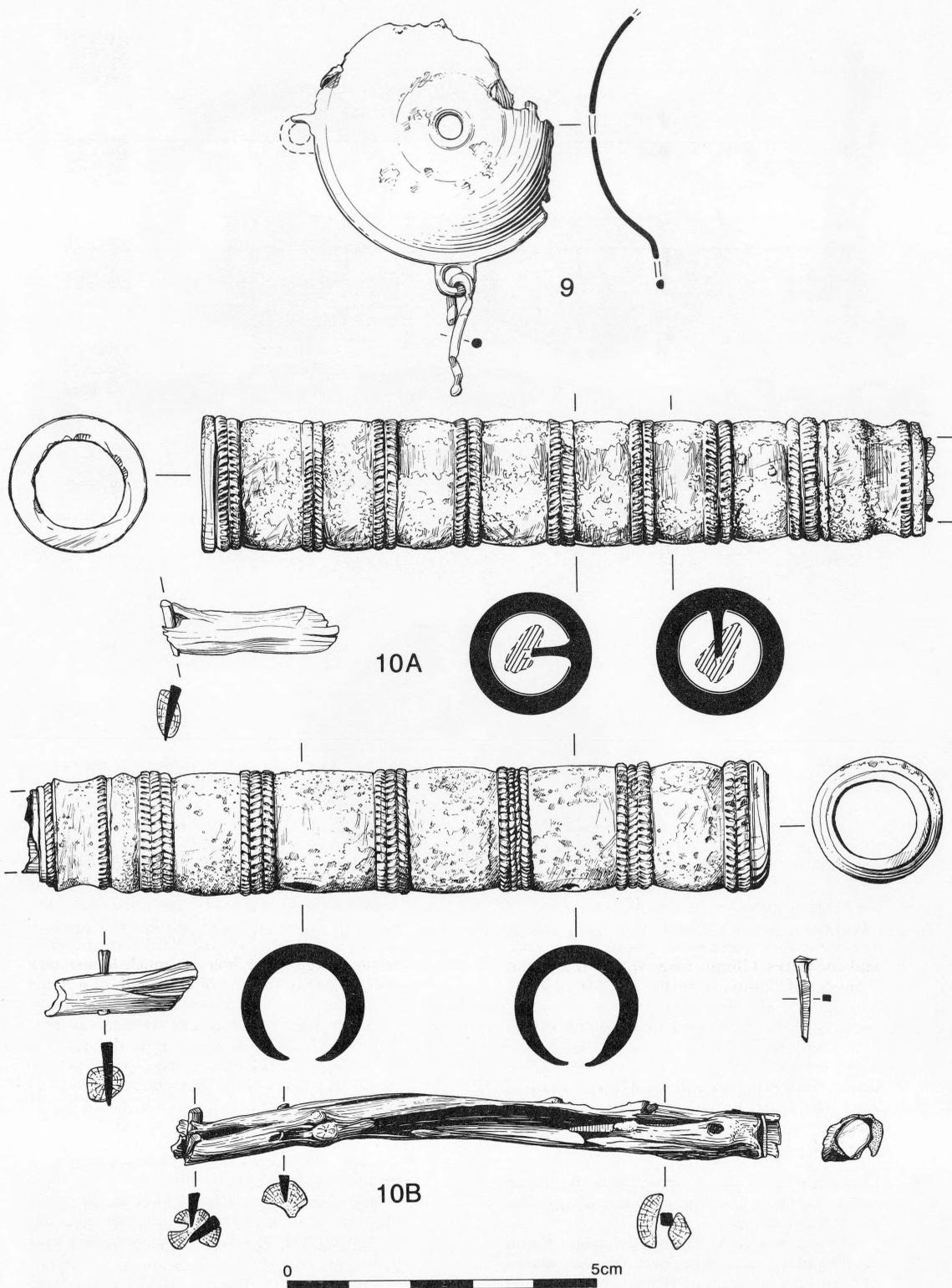
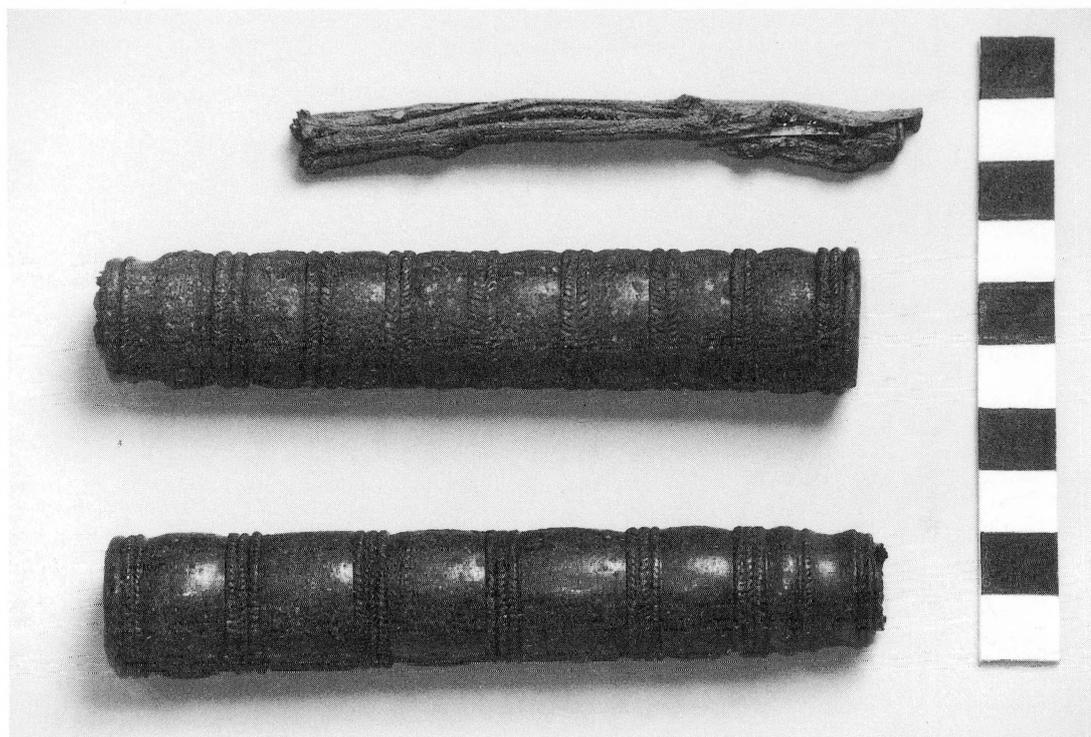


Fig 26 Wanborough. Copper alloy objects: head-dress, no 9, and sceptre fittings, no 10 (1:1)



Pl 20 Wanborough. Sceptre no 10: remains of the wooden shaft from handle B, showing the long tack at right (top), handle A (centre) and handle B. Scale in cm (*Photograph by Chris Phillips*)

Sceptre fittings (pls 11, 20-28; figs 26-32)

- 10 Sceptre (pl 20; fig 26), comprising an ornate cast handle at each end, a wooden shaft bound with strips, and small tacks. Most of the shaft and binding survived only as fragments, but it was possible, with the accompanying soil staining, to measure the approximate length of the sceptre, 930mm altogether.

Handle A is a hollow tube, open at each end, and measures 118mm long, with a maximum diameter of 22mm externally, and 14mm internally; it is complete. It bears eight pairs of cordons hatched to form herringbone decoration, of which the upper two point to the right, the lower six to the left; a further single line of hatched ornament lies below the upper rim. There are no holes for tacks visible on the exterior, but remains of the wooden shaft are wedged inside by a tack, of which three are visible *in situ*. A fourth tack was found loose with the handle. The end of the spiral binding is visible at the upper end and for approximately 40mm into the socket.

Handle B is a hollow tube, open at each end, and measures 118mm in length, with a maximum diameter of 21mm externally and

13mm internally; it is complete. It bears five triple cordons, each hatched to form zigzag decoration, a pair of cordons hatched in a herringbone design at the lower end, and two single hatched cordons at the upper end, which is rather more elaborately moulded than that of handle A. There are two holes for tacks placed in a line roughly one-third and two-thirds of the way up the handle, and the tack shown separately with handle B was originally *in situ* in the lower hole. A much longer tack was present in the end of the length of wooden shaft which survived inside handle B, and presumably secured the end of the shaft in position; this would however suggest the need for an additional washer to fill the space, as with no 20. A further three small tacks survived in the wooden shaft from handle B, and a fourth one inside it. Three more were found close to the handle. The end of the spiral binding is present at the upper end and for approximately 38mm into the handle.

The shaft was probably around 694mm long, and, from the inner diameter of the handles, some 13mm in diameter. A piece from handle A was examined, and appears to be of box wood (*Buxus* sp). The binding was extremely

fragmentary, and none of the pieces had both edges present; the maximum surviving width was 28mm. It was, however, possible to see that the binding was probably arranged spirally, and that the exterior bore fine parallel scratches, perhaps from its manufacture. No indication of the ribs present on other bindings survived here, nor were any tack holes recognised. Two tacks were found in small pieces of the wooden core.

The long tack found in the lower end of handle B is complete; it is 31mm long, square-sectioned, with a flat rounded head 5mm in diameter. The other tacks are much smaller, square-sectioned with flattened heads, and most of the surviving pieces are fragmentary; it is therefore possible that some may have joined. The longest is the one from the lower hole of handle B, which is complete except for its tip; it now measures 14mm in length, and 3mm across the head.

The handles are (leaded) gunmetal (AML). (Disturbed natural subsoil, 2.225)

- 11 Fragment of cast sceptre handle (fig 27), a hollow tube open at at least one end, now cracked, and surviving to a length of only 24mm; diameter 16mm externally, 12mm internally. Immediately below the rim is the first of at least three cordons, decorated with incised hatched ornament. The cordons are rather unevenly positioned round the handle. Probably similar to no 10 in style, while no 12 may have been identical. The interior is filled with a length of the wooden shaft, but no binding is present, suggesting (cf no 10) that this was the lower end.

The handle is (leaded) bronze (AML). (Unstratified, but probably derived from the disturbed natural subsoil, 2.230)

- 12 Fragment of cast sceptre fitment, probably a handle (fig 27). It is a hollow tube, surviving to a length of 14mm; the diameter is approximately 16mm externally. Two cordons on the exterior have incised hatched decoration, as no 11, which may have been identical. Part of the binding is present inside.

The fitment is (leaded) bronze (AML). (Phase 9, 2.158)

- *13 Sceptre handle (fig 27), not certainly complete; it is a hollow tube open at one end but at least partially closed at the other. The length is approximately 74mm, the external diameter at the rim approximately 16mm. The closed end is rounded below a narrow cordon, and four more cordons are present along the handle; it is not possible to see from the photograph whether the cordons have hatched ornament, as nos 10-12.

(Examined and illustrated only from a photograph)

- *14 Sceptre handle (fig 27), probably incomplete; it is a hollow tube open at one end, but closed

at the other, which also bears an ornamental finial. The overall length is approximately 110mm, the maximum external diameter approximately 20mm. It is not clear from the photographs whether the open end is finished, but the position of the shallow cordons would suggest that it is. The finial at the other end appears to be broken, and may have borne a terminal such as the birds on the Willingham Fen sceptres (Henig 1984, pl 62) or even the wheels on the Wanborough head-dresses. The handle itself is ornamented by pairs of shallow plain cordons.

(Examined and illustrated only from photographs. From court evidence, probably found with nos 28 and 32)

- 15 Sceptre handle, cast (pl 21; fig 27); complete except for chips round the upper end. It is a hollow tube, open at the upper end, rounded and closed at the lower. The length is 76mm, the diameter at the rim 14mm externally, 12mm internally. Four cordons decorate the handle; the rim and upper three cordons are defined additionally by turned lines, and the closed end has a small central dimple.

The end has an off-centre hole with the head of a tack, and the rest of the tack is present in the end of the length of wooden shaft which survived *in situ*. No other tack holes, and no trace of shaft binding, were recovered. The wood is probably maple (*Acer* sp). The tack is of the same small square-sectioned type as those with no 10.

The handle is (leaded) bronze (AML). (Disturbed natural subsoil, 2.230)

- 16 Sceptre handle, cast, and fragments of the spiral binding (pl 22; fig 27). The handle is complete except for three irregular holes; it is a hollow tube, open at the upper end and closed, except for an off-centre hole 3mm in diameter, at the lower. The length is 71mm, the diameter at the rim 15mm externally, 13mm internally. There are eight shallow cordons on the handle, and narrow bands of milled decoration at top and bottom. A short length of binding is present at the top, and for some 12mm into the socket; a small tack passes through handle and binding near the rim. A small fragment of the wooden shaft from inside the handle bears a second tack which passes through the binding some 2mm further into the socket than the first tack, and was presumably hammered into binding and shaft before the handle was added. The hole at the end probably held a larger tack, as no 10, handle B, and no 20.

The binding consisted of strips of bronze wound spirally round the shaft, apparently butting rather than overlapping. The width fluctuates slightly even on single pieces; the overall width varies from 11 to 12.7mm. No ends or tack holes were identified. A narrow rib runs some 2mm in from one side. Karen

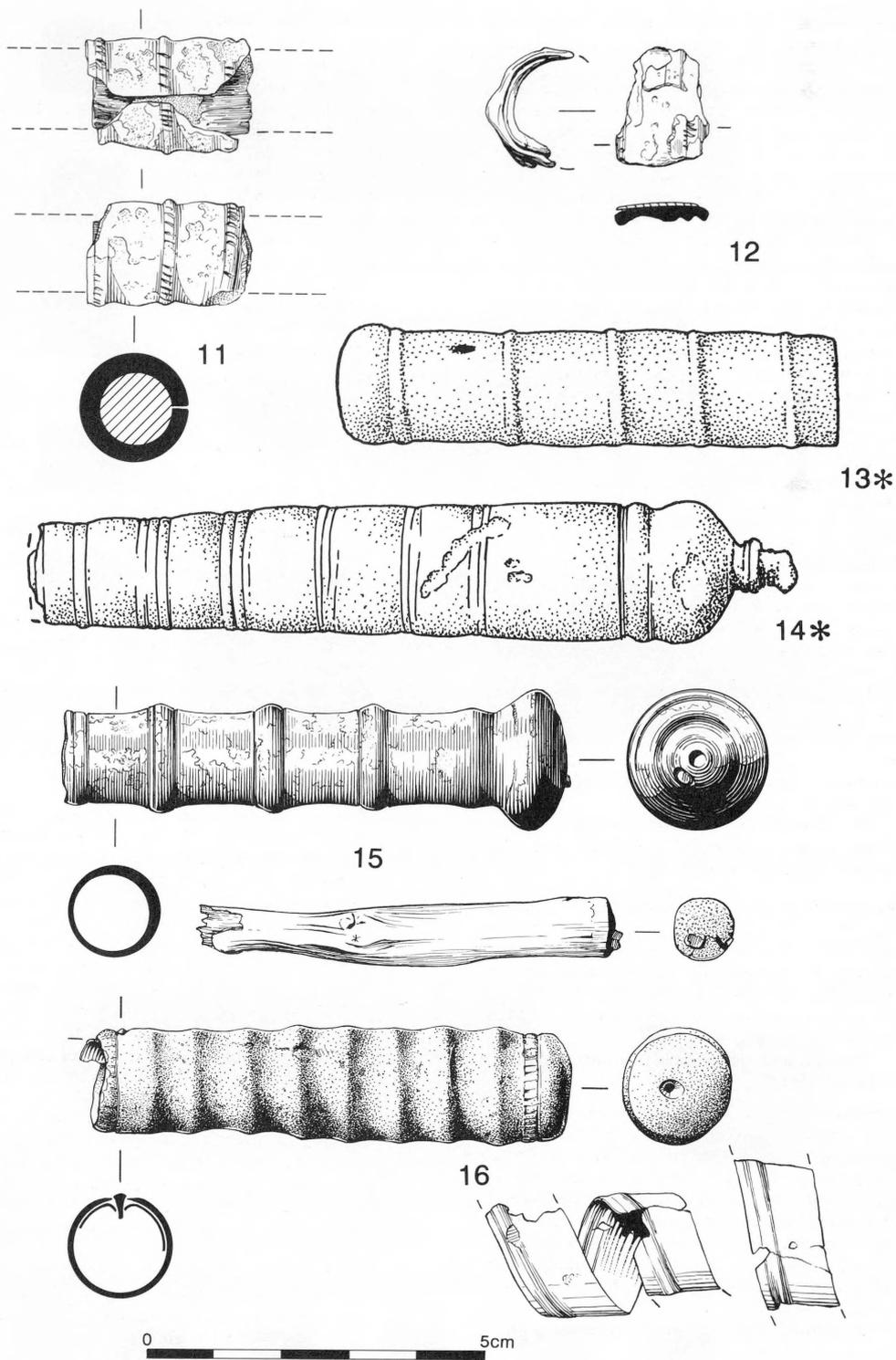
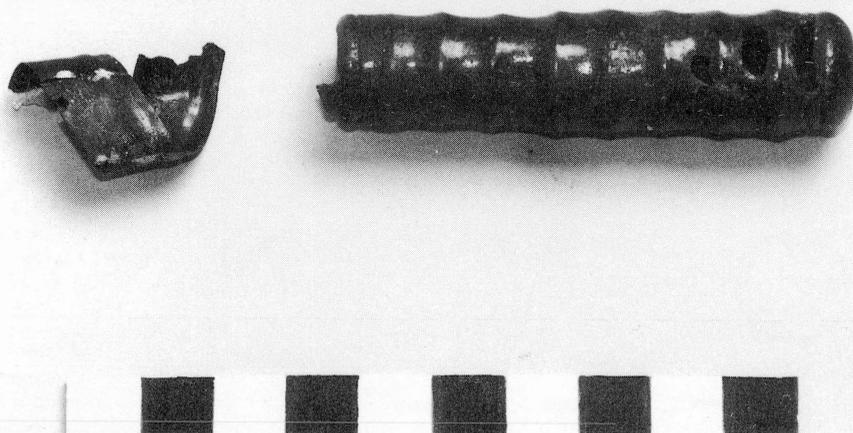


Fig 27 Wanborough. Copper alloy objects: sceptre fittings, nos 11-16 (1:1). Objects marked * have been drawn from photographs.



Pl 21 Wanborough. Sceptre handles no 15 (top), no 20, with tack and washer (centre) and no 21. Scale in cm
(*Photograph by Chris Phillips*)



Pl 22 Wanborough. Sceptre no 16: the handle with part of the binding. Scale in cm (*Photograph by Chris Phillips*)



Pl 23 Wanborough. Sceptres no 17 (top) and no 18, probably all from one object. Scale in cm (Photograph by Chris Phillips)

Webster calculated during conservation that the surviving pieces would cover approximately 90mm of shaft beyond the handle.

The handle is leaded bronze, the binding bronze (AML). (Phase 2, 2.148)

17, 18 The position of these two sceptres (pl 23; fig 28) when found, the appearance and dimensions of the components and the examination of the shafts, all suggest that nos 17 and 18 are the same sceptre, surviving some 794mm long.

17 Sceptre handle (pl 23; fig 28), cast, and short lengths of the shaft and the spiral binding. The handle is a hollow tube of uneven thickness, open at the upper end and closed, except for an irregular hole some 5mm across, at the lower; it is complete except for a hole approximately two-thirds up which still contains a tack, and a smaller hole below the rim. The length is 64mm, the diameter at the rim 19mm externally, 16mm internally. There are seven cordons on the handle, and an extra one just below the rim; there are patches of vertical rouletting, probably the result of turning after it had been cast.

A short length of binding is still *in situ*, projecting above the handle and extending at least 30mm inside it, and remains of the shaft extend for most of the socket length. Apart from the tack visible on the exterior, which pierces handle, binding and shaft, three further tacks are present inside the handle, attached to shaft and binding, and presumably added before the handle was fitted. The longer separate tack illustrated, its head formed by folding over the top, was found in the hole in the end of the handle; it lacks the tip, and now measures 17mm in length. The shorter tack was loose inside the handle.

The overlapping spiral strip binding survives as several pieces and very many fragments. It averages 30mm in width, is approximately 0.4mm in thickness, and has a rib along one side which varies between 4 and 10mm from the edge. One piece has a tack *in situ*, again with the head formed by folding over, and there are two further possible tack holes. Fine parallel scratches running along the binding seem to have been made after the binding had been wound. The overlap of the binding did not seem always to go up to the rib. Karen Webster calculated that the surviving binding would cover 420mm of the shaft above the handle which, with the handle, gives a surviving length of 484mm overall. It was not clear whether the strip was continuous or composed of several pieces. Examination of the shaft suggested that it might be of horn rather than wood; the piece has a tack still in place.

The handle is bronze (AML). (Phase 2, 148) See also no 18.

18 Sceptre (pl 23; fig 28), comprising a cast handle and fitting, and lengths of overlapping spiral binding. The handle is a hollow tube, open at one end and closed, except for a hole 5mm in diameter, at the other. It is 47mm long, with a rim diameter of 19mm externally, 14mm internally. It is complete except for two tack holes, one with a tack in place, and some cracks. There are five cordons, plus one at the lower end, and grooves at the upper end; there are slight rouletting marks from the turning. A length of spiral binding extends from the socket for some 72mm, and into it for approximately 16mm; no shaft remains were found, but four tacks were associated with the handle. Two of the tacks were found in the larger hole,

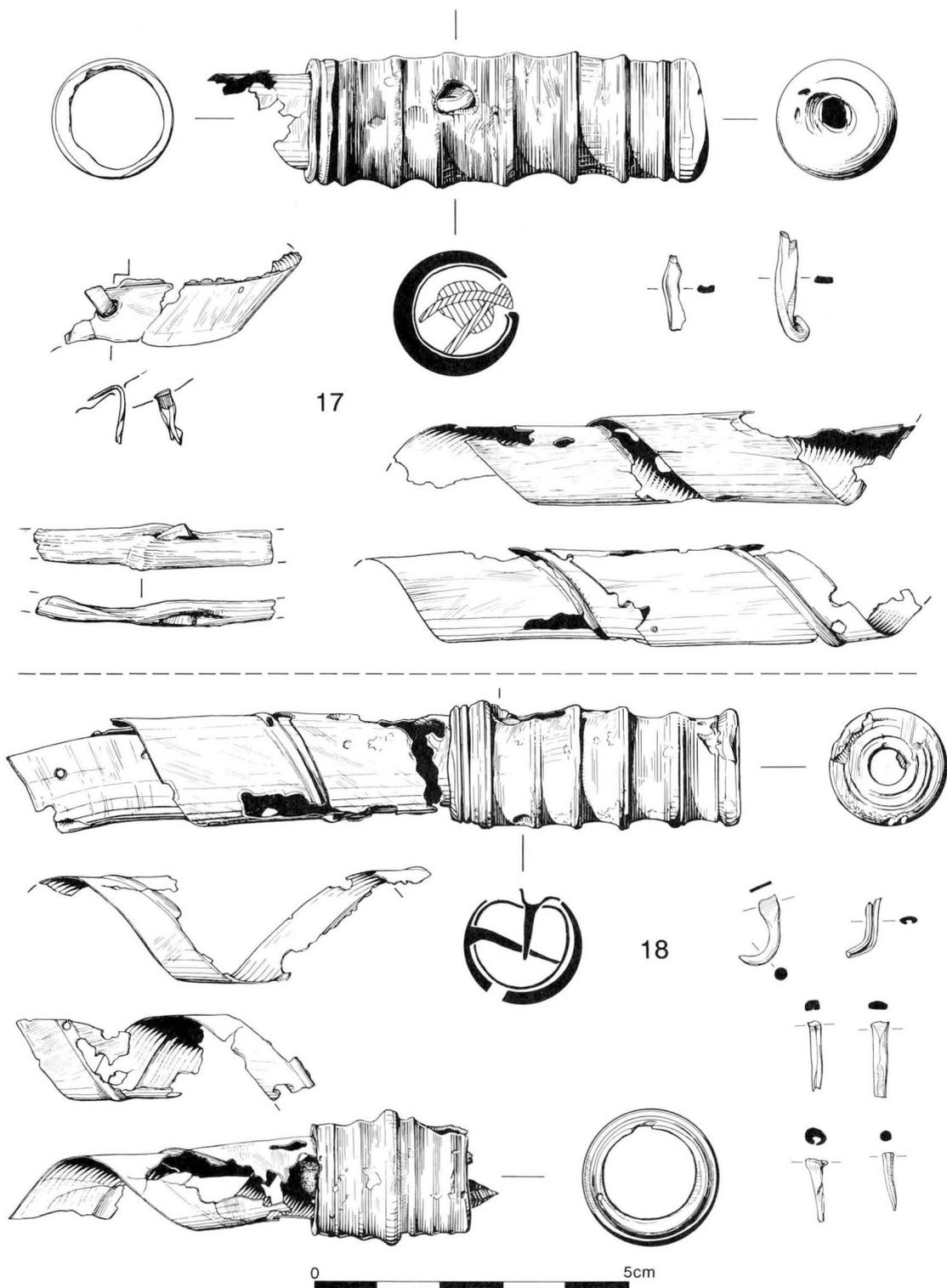


Fig 28 Wanborough. Copper alloy objects: fittings from one or two sceptres, nos 17-18 (1:1)

where one still remains; a third one is inside, where it pierced the binding but not the handle, and a fourth was found inside near the hole in the end, though it is not of the larger size definitely recorded as securing the ends of handles (cf nos 10, handle B, and 20).

The cast fitment, or collar, was located along the shaft, and is complete except for a piece at one end. It is a hollow open tube, 26mm long, with a diameter of 16mm externally and 13mm internally. It is ornamented with ridges rather than definite cordons and has a central flange; turning marks are visible. There is an opening at one end which may once have been a tack hole. Binding is present at both ends, and it is likely that the collar deliberately covers a join between two lengths of binding. Traces of the shaft are present, and three tacks were found in the soil fill of the collar and binding.

Karen Webster calculated the length of the binding between handle and collar as approximately 110mm, the two main surviving pieces now making up 97mm. The length now attached to the handle varies between 28 and 34mm wide, with a rib some 7mm from the lower edge; the overlap as it winds is between 7 and 10mm. The end of this piece is a cut edge, with a group of five tack holes to secure it; three tacks came from these holes. The next length, between this and the collar, is more fragmentary, but its position was established by x-ray photography; it appears to have been positioned over the first length after that had been tacked to the shaft, and to have overlapped it by some 25mm. Fine parallel scratches are visible on the binding, except where it overlaps.

The binding extends beyond the collar for some 48mm; the further end is now broken. This piece passes into the collar with a definite cut corner visible at the handle end. The strip is 32mm wide with a rib some 13mm from the upper edge; there is a probable tack hole in the cut corner. The fragmentary last piece is likely to be another strip, as the rib is only 5-6mm from the edge. Karen Webster calculated that this fragment would have covered approximately 80mm of shaft, if the original width was comparable to the others. The binding of this sceptre was therefore probably made up of at least four separate bronze strips, and, including the short length inside the handle and that within the collar, would have covered approximately 280mm of shaft; with the rest of the handle, this gives a surviving sceptre length of some 310mm.

Examination of the shaft fragments suggested that they might be horn, rather than wood. The tacks include three that have been clearly formed by rolling. All have square sections, and surviving ends have been cut; the heads have been simply flattened.

The handle, collar and binding are bronze (AML). (Phase 2, 2.148) See also no 17.

- *19 Sceptre handle (fig 29), probably complete, apart from a long hole in the side. It is a hollow tube, open at the upper end. The length is approximately 63mm, the maximum external diameter 19mm. Eight cordons decorate the handle, with a possible extra one just below the rim.

(Examined and illustrated only from photographs. Guildford Museum notes record that it was found in the lane.)

- 20 Sceptre handle (pl 21; fig 29), cast, with the tack and washer that attached it to the end of the shaft. The handle is a hollow tube open at both ends and is complete except for an irregular hole 8mm long, perhaps for a tack, just below the rim. It measures 68mm long; the rim diameter is 19mm externally and 15mm internally, while the lower end is rounded with a hole 12mm across. There are five cordons, and a pair of grooves below the rim; the cordons are marked by turned grooving, which has left patches of rouletting on the upper portion. No traces of shaft or binding survived.

The tack is 30mm long, square-sectioned, with an irregular flat head some 8mm across. It fits into a washer of sheet metal 13mm in diameter, which is rather chipped around the edges. The tack and washer were found in the lower end of the handle.

The handle is (leaded) bronze, the tack bronze (AML). (Phase 2, 2.148)

- 21 Sceptre handle (pl 21; fig 29), cast; in two joining pieces, and complete except for chips and a rough hole at the break. It is a hollow tube, open at both ends; the length is 83mm, the maximum diameter 20mm externally, 15mm internally. There are nine cordons, and rouletting marks left by turning. The spiral binding survives inside for approximately 37mm from the upper end; it appears to have a finished edge there, and remains of a tack which held it to the binding but did not pass through the handle. Associated with the handle was a tack 11mm long with a fragment of binding, and a second fragmentary tack.

The handle is leaded bronze (AML). (Disturbed natural subsoil, 2.230)

- 22 Sceptre (pl 24; fig 29), comprising cast handle, spirally wound binding and fragments of what was probably the wooden shaft. The handle is a hollow tube, open at the upper end and closed at the lower; it is complete except for two holes near the rim and an indentation or hole in the base. It is 65mm long; the diameter at the rim is 17mm externally, 14mm internally. There is a moulding below the rim with a cordon bearing incised hatched decoration, but the handle is otherwise plain, flaring slightly at the base. The binding extends inside for at least 30mm, and covers at least one of the holes; if this was intended as a tack hole, it was not used. The edges of the binding

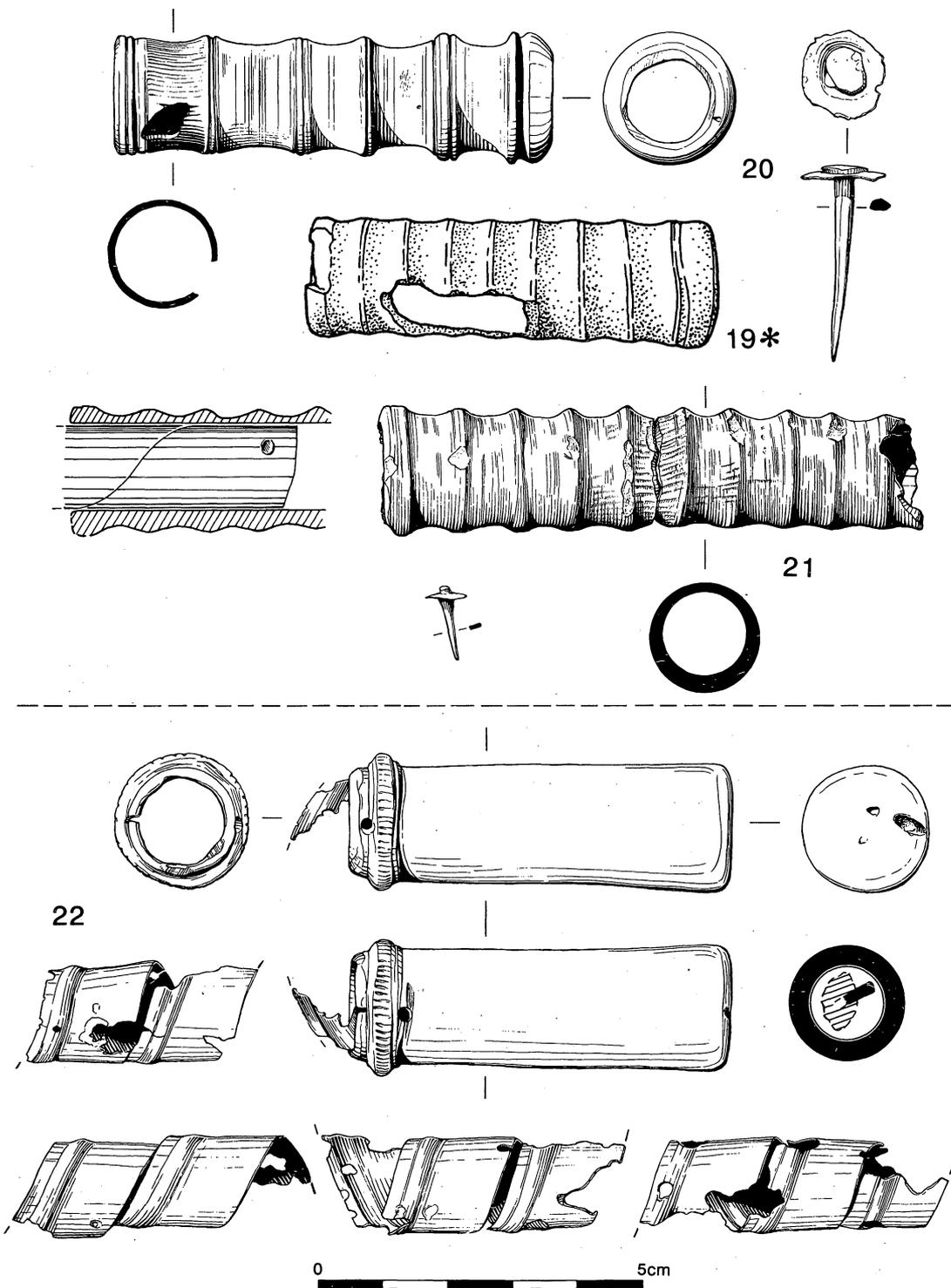


Fig 29 Wanborough. Copper alloy objects: sceptre fittings, nos 19-22 (1:1). Object marked * has been drawn from a photograph.



Pl 24 Wanborough. Sceptre no 22: handle and pieces of binding. Scale in cm (*Photograph by Chris Phillips*)

inside the handle are butted rather than overlapped. Two tacks are present inside the socket, one of them clearly piercing binding and shaft, but neither passes through the handle.

The binding is 14-15.5mm wide, with a rib 2mm in from the upper edge. The pieces apparently butt rather than overlap. Karen Webster calculated the total length of the pieces as sufficient to cover some 250mm of shaft beyond the handle, but it was not possible to join all the pieces, nor to say how many strips were present. There are one or two possible

tack holes.

The handle is leaded gunmetal, the binding bronze (AML). (Phase 2, 2.148)

- 23 Sceptre handle (pl 25; fig 30), cast; complete except for chips around one end. It is a hollow tube, open at each end, and at least 74mm long; the diameter at the surviving end is 19mm externally, 11mm internally. There are single fat cordons at each end and in the centre; the one at the finished end has an uneven groove in it. No traces of binding or tacks



Pl 25 Wanborough. Sceptre handles no 23 (top), no 24 (centre) and no 25. Scale in cm (*Photograph by Chris Phillips*)

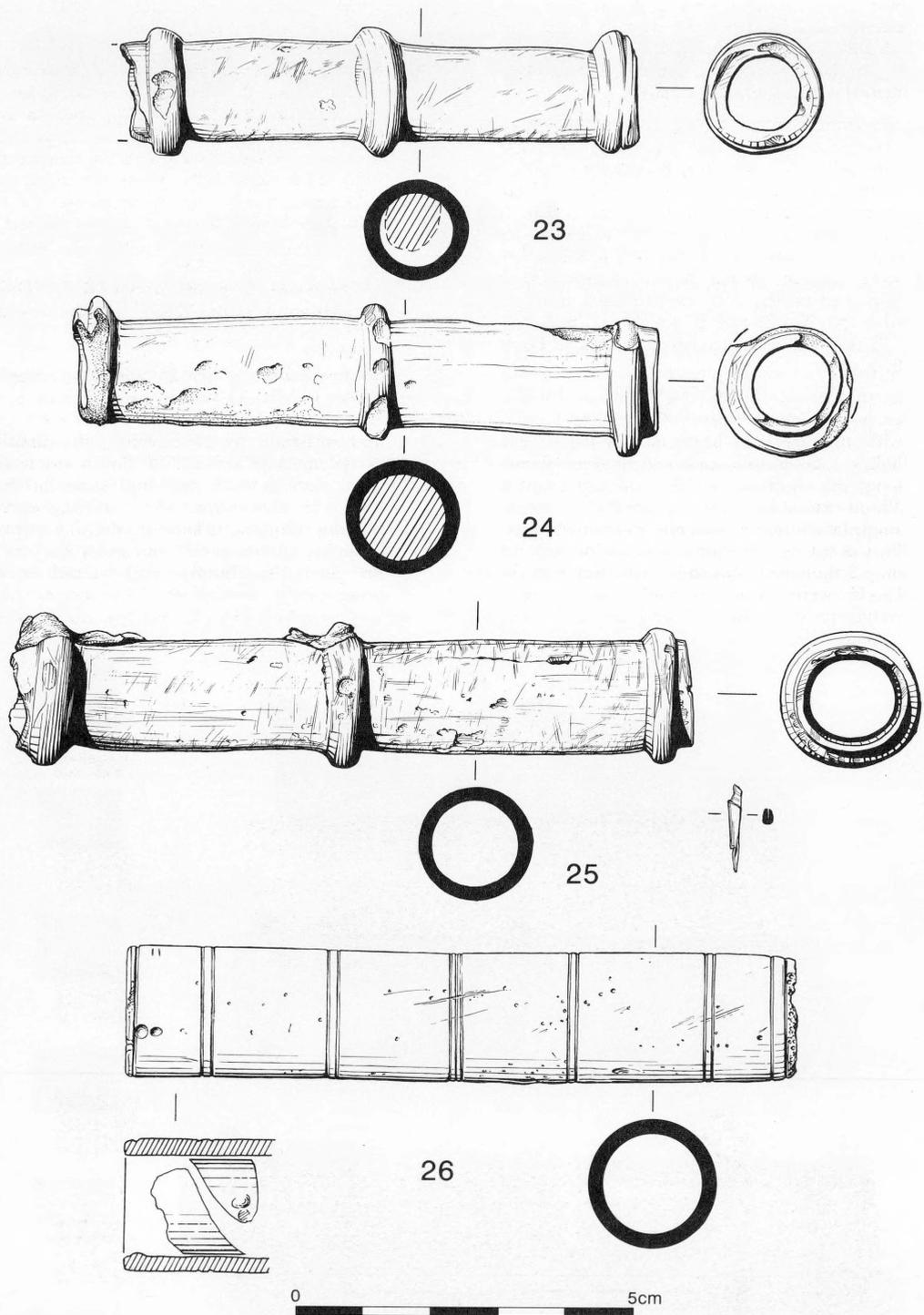


Fig 30 Wanborough. Copper alloy objects: sceptre fittings, nos 23-26 (1:1)

were present, but a piece of the wooden shaft survives inside. There are no tack holes. Nos 24 and 25 are closely similar.

The handle is leaded bronze (AML). (Disturbed natural subsoil, 2.230)

- 24 Sceptre handle (pl 25; fig 30), cast; complete except for chips and abrasion. It is a hollow tube, open at each end, 87mm long, with a diameter at the more complete end of 16mm externally, 12mm internally. There are single fat cordons at each end and in the centre. No traces of binding or tacks, or of tack holes, were present. Some of the wooden shaft remained inside, and was identified as maple (*Acer* sp). Nos 23 and 25 are closely similar.

The handle is leaded bronze (AML). (Phase 8, 2.103)

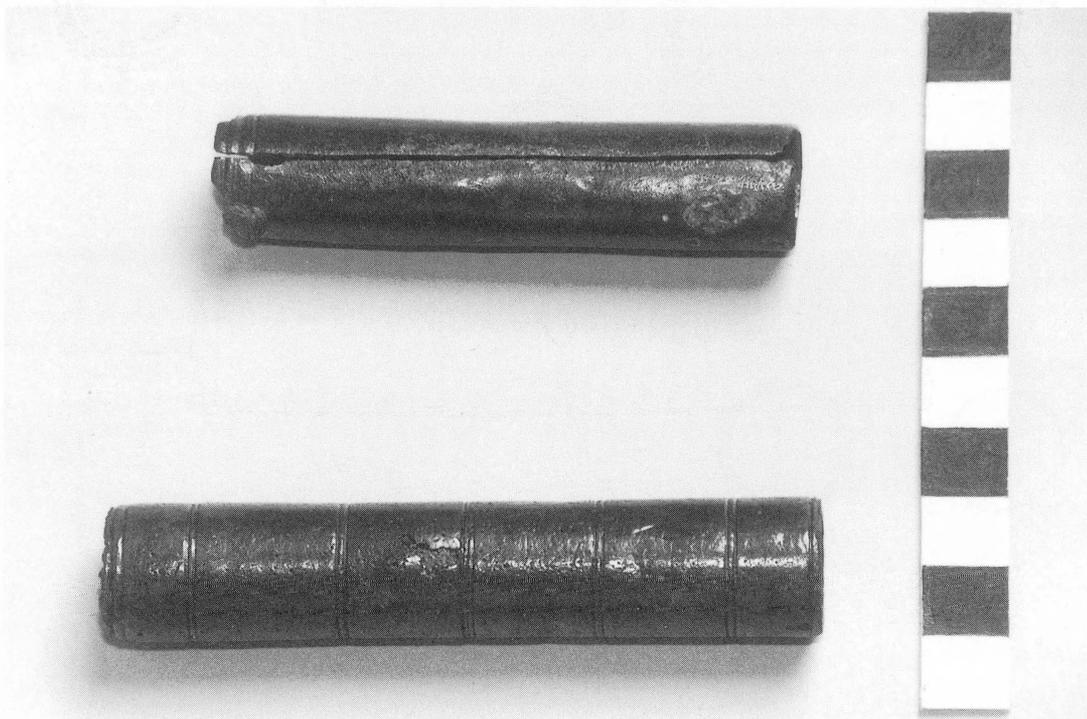
- 25 Sceptre handle (pl 25; fig 30), cast; in two pieces but complete except for chips and cracks with two areas of heavy corrosion. It is a hollow tube, open at each end, at least 102mm long; the diameter at the undamaged end is 16mm externally, 13mm internally. There are single fat cordons at each end and in the centre. Part of a tack was found loose inside, but the only fragments of binding associated with the handle were outside it. Only tiny traces of wood survived. Nos 23 and 24 are closely similar.

The handle is leaded bronze (AML). (Disturbed natural subsoil, 2.230)

- *26 Sceptre handle (pl 26; fig 30), cast; complete except for small chips and some corrosion on the body. It is a hollow tube, open at each end, and measures 100mm in length; the diameter at the undamaged end is 19mm externally, 14mm internally. There are seven pairs of turned grooves, one at each end, the rest rather unevenly spaced out. A short length of spiral binding survives at one end, for some 20mm inside the socket.

The handle is leaded bronze (BM). (Guildford Museum acc AG 22353; recorded as found in the lane)

- 27 Sceptre handle (pl 26; fig 31), cast; complete except for a full-length crack and chips at the ends. It is a hollow tube, open at each end, and measures 81mm in length; the diameter at the undecorated end is 18mm externally, 15mm internally. It is plain except for three turned grooves at one end. Small fragments of binding were found loose inside, one of them retaining an edge and a rib 3mm in from it; this piece also had the top of a tack *in situ*. Some of the wooden shaft was present, and was probably of maple (*Acer* sp); it had part of a tack embedded in it.



Pl 26 Wanborough. Sceptre handles no 26 (bottom) and no 27. Scale in cm (Photograph by Chris Phillips)

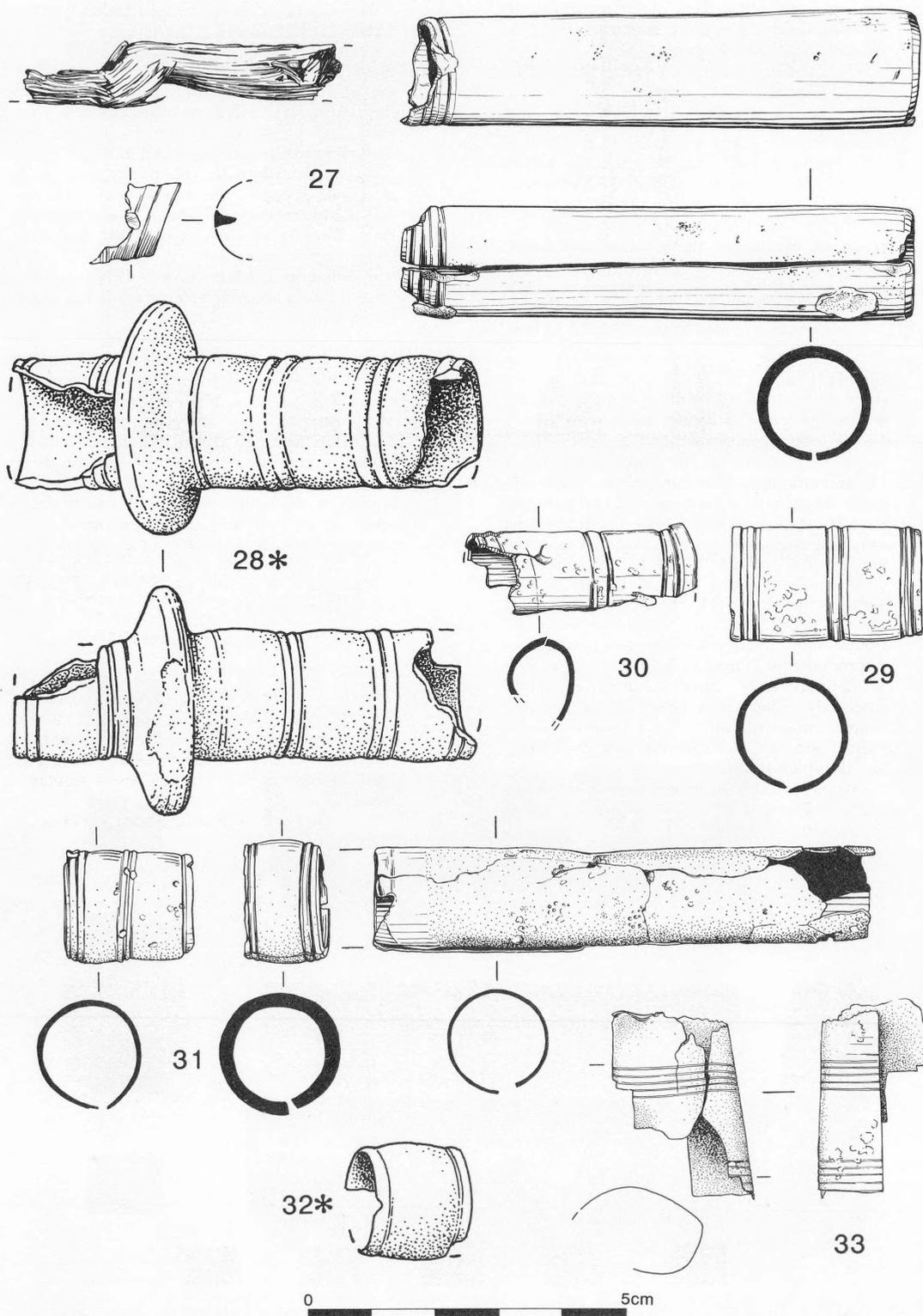


Fig 31 Wanborough. Copper alloy objects: sceptre fittings, nos 27-33 (1:1). Objects marked * have been drawn from photographs.



Pl 27 Wanborough. Sceptre fittings no 29 (right) and no 30. Scale in cm (Photograph by Chris Phillips)

The handle is bronze (AML). (Phase 8, 2.103)

- *28 Sceptre fitting (fig 31), broken at both ends but the full length is probably present. It is a hollow tube, open at each end, and measures approximately 70mm in length; the diameter is approximately 20mm externally, 16mm internally. There is a heavy flange approximately two-thirds along it; there are pairs of turned grooves at each end, and four other equally spaced pairs.

(Examined and illustrated only from photographs. From the court evidence, probably found with nos 14 and 32)

- *29 Sceptre fitting (pl 27; fig 31), cast; complete except for chips and a full-length crack. It is a hollow tube, open at each end, and measures

31mm in length; the diameter is 17mm externally, 14mm internally. There are three pairs of turned grooves, one in the centre and one at each end. Closely similar to no 30.

The fitting is leaded bronze (BM).

- 30 Sceptre fitting (pl 27; fig 31), cast; the full length is present but it is crushed and incomplete. It is a hollow tube, open at each end, and measures 34mm in length. There are three pairs of unevenly turned grooves, one at each end and one in the centre. Closely similar to no 29.

The fitting is gunmetal (AML). (Phase 9, 2.100)

- 31 Sceptre (pl 28; fig 31), comprising a length of cylindrical binding with two cast collars, one



Pl 28 Wanborough. Sceptre no 31: cylindrical binding and collars. Scale in cm (Photograph by Chris Phillips)

of which clearly fitted the binding. The binding is a hollow tube approximately 1.5mm thick, split and broken up, especially at one end. It measures 79mm in length, and the diameter at the more complete end is 15mm externally. No tacks or tack holes were found. There is some scratching at the end which would have fitted under the narrower collar.

The narrower collar is in three fragments, with some chips missing. It is 13mm long, with a diameter at the end of 17mm externally and 14mm internally; it is unevenly cast. There is a turned double groove at each end. This collar fitted over the end of the binding, where there is a clear colour differentiation, shown on the drawing. The second collar is also cracked and chipped; it is 20mm long, with a diameter at the ends of approximately 16mm externally, 14mm internally. There are two pairs of uneven grooves, one in the centre and one at one end, and a single groove at the other end. Only fragments of the wooden shaft survived.

The binding and collars are bronze (AML). (Phase 2, 2.148/230)

*32 Sceptre fitting, a narrow collar (fig 31). It is incomplete, but the whole length survives; it

is approximately 15mm long, with an external diameter at the end of some 17mm. There is a single groove at each end, and it may have formed part of a similar sceptre to no 31.

(Examined and illustrated only from photographs. From court evidence, likely to have been found with nos 14 and 28).

33 Sceptre fitting probably (fig 31), likely from the thickness to be from a cylindrical binding rather than a handle. It is a hollow tube, too small and damaged for length or diameter to be measured accurately, though something like the usual diameter of around 13mm would be appropriate. The surface is decorated with groups of at least six fine grooves a little over 1mm apart, with approximately 10mm between the groups.

The binding is of brass (AML). (Surface find from field survey)

34 Sceptre fitting (fig 32), likely from the thickness to be a handle rather than a binding. It is a hollow tube; neither full length nor diameter survive. There are slight indications that it may have been shaped on the exterior, in a similar manner to no 14.

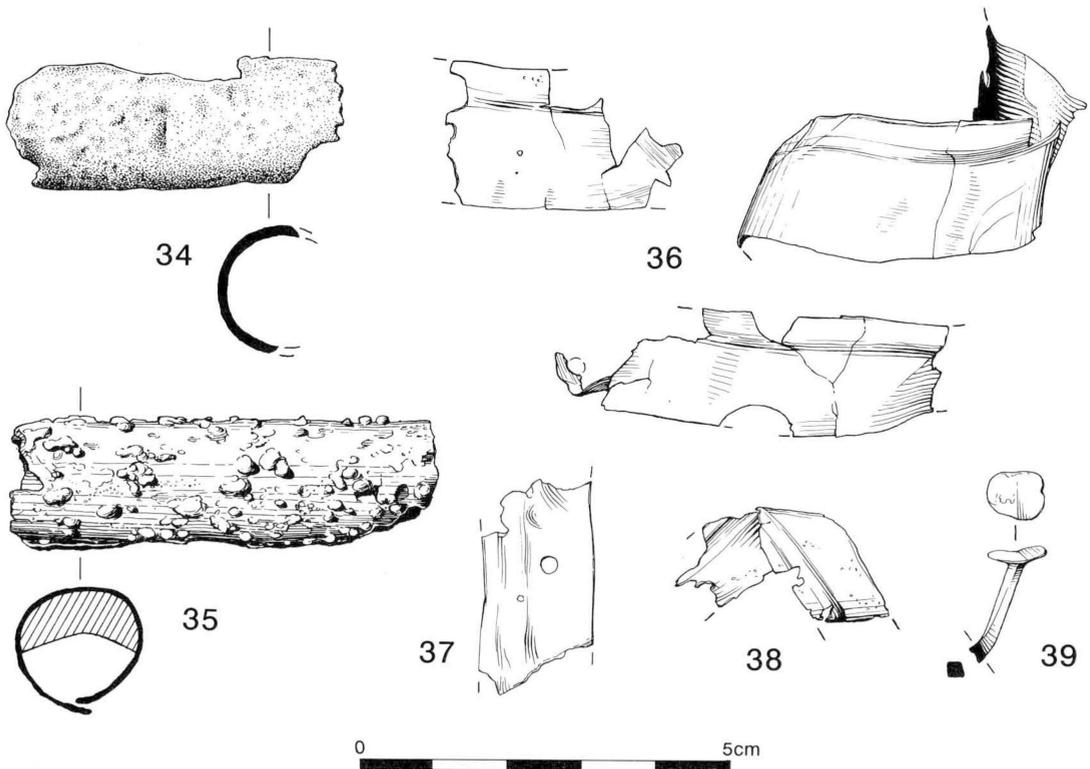


Fig 32 Wanborough. Copper alloy objects: sceptre fittings, nos 34-39 (1:1)

The fitting is (leaded) bronze (AML). (Phase 8, 2.103)

- 35 Sceptre handle or cylindrical binding (fig 32). It is a hollow tube, but the full length does not survive, and the diameter is uncertain due to a crushed break; it is approximately 17mm externally, 15mm internally. There are no signs of decoration in the heavy surface corrosion, but a small tack is present through one end, and much of the wooden shaft remains *in situ*. The wood is probably beech (*Fagus* sp).

The fitting is bronze (AML). (Disturbed natural subsoil, 2.230)

- 36 Spiral sceptre binding (fig 32); three pieces, restored from several fragments, plus a number of smaller fragments. The pieces vary in width from 16 to 19mm, with a rib 3-4mm from one edge; it is not possible to be certain whether one or more strips is present. There is one possible tack hole. (Phase 2, 2.148)

- 37 Spiral sceptre binding (fig 32); four pieces, rather flattened and crumpled. The illustrated piece shows well the variation in width on these binding strips, widening from 15 to 16mm in a short length. The rib is some 2mm from one edge; one of the smaller pieces has a possible tack hole.

The binding is bronze (AML). (Phase 2, 2.231)

- 38 Spiral sceptre binding (fig 32); eight fragments, bent and damaged. The width is 12mm, with a rib 2mm from one edge.

The binding is bronze (AML). (Disturbed natural subsoil, 2.225)

- 39 Tack (fig 32); in the context of the other finds, likely to come from a sceptre. The flat head is some 7mm in diameter; the shank is square-sectioned, and survives to a length of approximately 17mm, with a bend just above the break. The tip is missing. It matches closely with the larger tacks found securing the ends of handles to the ends of shafts - cf no 10, handle B, and no 20. (Phase 8, 2.134)

Brooches (fig 33)

- *40 Brooch of 'Colchester' type. The bow, narrow side-wings and the stump of the hook which would have held the chord are present; the overall length is 49mm, the maximum width 7mm. The brooch is undecorated, and there are several close parallels from Camulodunum (Hawkes & Hull 1947, pls 89-90, especially no 15). Crummy (1983, 12) dates this type up to the Neronian period.

(From the field in the immediate area of the temple)

- *41 Brooch of 'Colchester B' type; virtually complete. The overall length is approximately 58mm, the maximum width 24mm. Crummy 1983, fig 6, no 52, is closely similar, with the same zigzag decoration on the ridge of the

bow; Crummy dates this type cAD 50-70.

(Examined and illustrated only from photographs. From the field)

- 42 Brooch, cast, of 'Hod Hill' type. One arm of the hinge, the pin and part of the catchplate are missing; the overall length is 46mm, the maximum width 19mm. There are simple lugs at the top of the bow, which has lateral grooves and a central rib; below is a series of mouldings, then a plain foot finished with a narrow ridge. Hawkes & Hull 1947, pl 97, no 145, is a similar brooch with more elaborate detail. The remains of the pin are iron, and the surface has a silvery wash. This type is dated from the conquest up to cAD 75 (Mackreth 1973, 26).

The brooch is brass with a thin plating of tin (AML; not listed in Heyworth 1987 but recorded by M Read). (Phase 2, 2.148/230)

- 43 Brooch, cast, a simplified version of the 'thistle' type; very badly bent. The top; spring, pin and part of the foot and catchplate are missing; the surviving overall length is approximately 40mm, the maximum width 20mm. The upper portion is a hollowed roundel, separated from the central oval-shaped 'apron' by a plain ridge; the apron overhangs the fantail foot, and the overall design is an idiosyncratic version of the classic 'thistle' type. The surface has a silvery-grey plating, and this seems to form a simple pattern: a band some 1.5mm thick round the edge of the foot and probably of the apron can be discerned. Mackreth (1973, 24) dates the 'thistle' type cAD 55-80; the simplified design here may indicate a date late in the range.

The brooch is brass or gunmetal, the plating a lead-tin alloy (AML; not listed in Heyworth 1987 but recorded by M Read). (Phase 8, 5.500)

- *44 (Not illustrated) Brooch of 'trumpet' type. Most of the pin and the base of the catchplate are certainly missing; the overall length is approximately 60mm. The loop on the head is probably cast with the brooch, and the pin appears to have been hinged. The small size and heavy shadows of the photograph, which shows only the side view, make it impossible to identify the details. There is some vertical or diagonal motif at the top of the bow, a shallow decorative knob at the centre, a small secondary moulding on the lower part of the bow, and a shaped foot. The secondary moulding and the shape of the catchplate are apparently close to Collingwood & Richmond 1969, fig 104, no 56. The 'trumpet' type is dated from the Flavian period until at least the mid-2nd century.

(Examined from a photograph)

- 45 Lozenge-shaped cast brooch with an enamelled central boss. Almost half of the face is missing, as are the pin and catchplate; the original

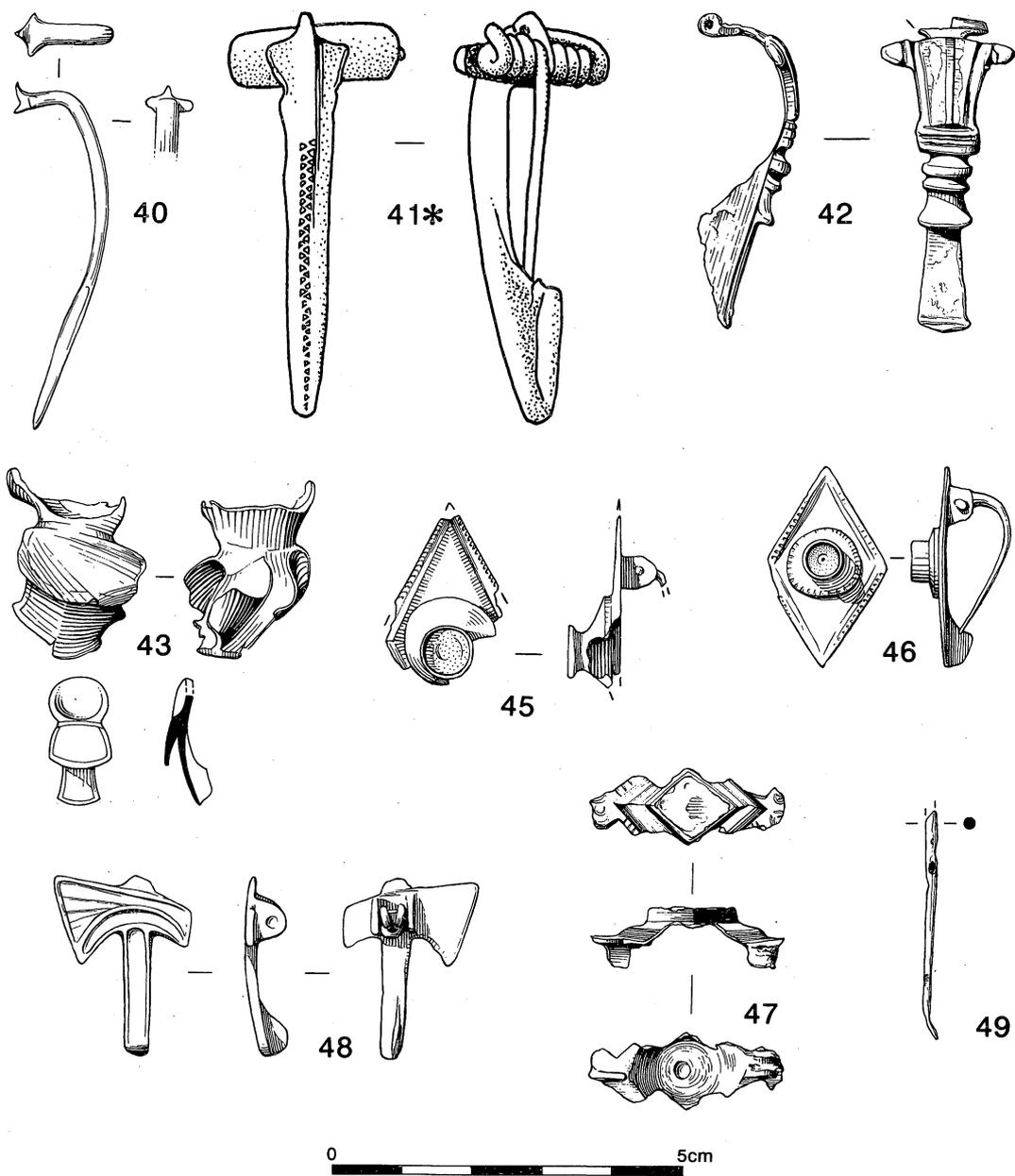


Fig 33 Wanborough. Copper alloy objects: brooches, nos 40–49 (no 44 not illustrated) (1:1). Object marked * has been drawn from a photograph.

length was around 44mm, the maximum width around 22mm. The lozenge is defined by a groove, bordered on each side with fine incised hatching. The central boss is circular, waisted, and finishes in a round hollow which holds traces of enamel. The enamel is very fragmentary, but comprised a ring of blue-green with a central dark-blue dot. The underside is hollow

beneath the boss, and some file marks are visible; the stump of the pin is held in place by a rivet of iron. A similar brooch, but with elliptical boss and additional corner projections, comes from Verulamium (Vaugh & Goodburn 1972, fig 31, no 23), and the boss is close to one on a round brooch from Richborough (Henderson 1949, pl 29, no 42). The

Verulamium brooch is of mid-2nd century date, and 2nd-century parallels are cited for the Richborough example. No 46 is closely similar.

The brooch is leaded gunmetal (AML; not listed in Heyworth 1987 but noted by M Read). (Phase 2, 2.148)

- *46 Lozenge-shaped cast brooch with enamelled central boss. Complete apart from a few chips; the length is 28mm, the maximum width 17mm. The edge of the lozenge is marked by a line within fine incised hatching; the central boss is also edged with hatching. It is round, with a smaller raised central hollow which holds traces of blue-green enamel. The underside is hollow beneath the boss, with clear filing marks. Closely similar to no 45, but smaller, and likely to be from the same workshop.

(From the field in the immediate area of the temple)

- 47 Lozenge-shaped brooch, cast, with enamelled central boss. Most of the sides and the pin are missing; the original length was approximately 30mm, the maximum width probably around 25mm. The edges have fine incised hatching, and the cusps on the corners are decorated with pairs of little circles. An inner raised lozenge bears a smaller hollow lozenge filled with blue-green enamel. The underside is hollowed, and has filing marks. The pin was held by an iron rivet. Similar brooches occur at London (London Museum 1930, fig 24, no 9, with flatter profile) and Richborough (Henderson 1949, pl 29, no 49, for which a 2nd century parallel is cited). There is a closely similar one from Butzbach-Degerfeld (Simon 1968, Abb 9, no 11), with circular projections at the angles bearing little circles. A similar date to nos 45 and 46 is likely.

The brooch is leaded gunmetal (AML; not listed in Heyworth 1987 but noted by M Read). (Phase 2, 2.148)

- *48 Flat cast brooch in the shape of an axe. Complete except for the pin and some of the catch-plate; the overall length is 26mm, the maximum width 20mm. There are three sunken segments, two on the axe head and one on the handle, which would once have held enamel; the upper, largest, one has incisions to help key the enamel in place. There is an almost identical brooch from South Shields (Allason-Jones & Miket 1984, no 3.129), with the central crescent filled with red enamel and the upper head and handle with blue; it is described as probably a 3rd-century import. Similar axe-shaped brooches occur in Germany and the Netherlands: cf, for example, Haalebos 1984-5, 98, fig 47, nos 159-60.

(From the field in the immediate area of the temple)

- 49 Pin, probably from a brooch. The upper end is broken, so any indication of spring or hinge-

ing is lost; the tip is bent but complete. Round section; 34mm long. (Phase 2, 2.148)

Rings (fig 34)

- 50 Large ring, probably unevenly cast rather than worn. External diameter 30mm, internal approximately 20mm; sub-circular section.

The ring is (leaded) gunmetal (AML). (Phase 2, 2.148/230; found close to the head-dress no 8, ring no 51 and pin no 56)

- 51 Ring; perhaps unevenly cast, or differentially worn. External diameter 19mm, internal 15-16mm; oval section.

The ring is leaded gunmetal (AML). (Disturbed natural subsoil, 2.230; found associated with the head-dress no 8 and pin no 56, close to the ring no 50)

- 52 Ring, perhaps unevenly cast, or differentially worn. External diameter 20mm, internal 15mm; round section.

The ring is leaded bronze (AML). (Phase 2, 2.148/230; found associated with the head-dress no 6, a second ring no 53 and the handle, iron object no 1)

- 53 Approximately one-third of a ring; diameter around 21mm externally. The surviving portion is thinner than no 52; oval section.

(Phase 2, 2.148/230; found associated with the head-dress no 6, a second ring no 52 and the handle, iron object no 1)

Miniature Axes (fig 34)

- *54 Axe-head, cast; possibly broken at the shaft end, where there is a slight hollow. 17mm long, maximum width 10mm; there is a hole at the edge for suspension as an amulet. The use of miniature axes as pendants is well known: cf Green 1985, 239.

The axe is bronze (BM). (Guildford Museum acc AG 22352)

- *55 Axe-head, cast; possibly broken at the shaft end, where there is a hollow. 17mm long, maximum width only 5mm but the basic axe shape is recognisable. There is a hole at one edge, clearly made during casting, for suspension as an amulet. See also no 54.

The axe is bronze (BM). (Guildford Museum acc AG 22352)

It is probable that at least four more of these miniature axe-heads were removed from the temple area by treasure hunters (pers comm J Collis, M Henig).

Other Objects (fig 34)

- 56 Tip of pin, 17mm long and slightly bent. Round-sectioned; made from rolled metal, as were some of the tacks with the sceptre no 18. Its association with the head-dress, no 8, might suggest it was used to fasten the head-dress to a leather or fabric cap.

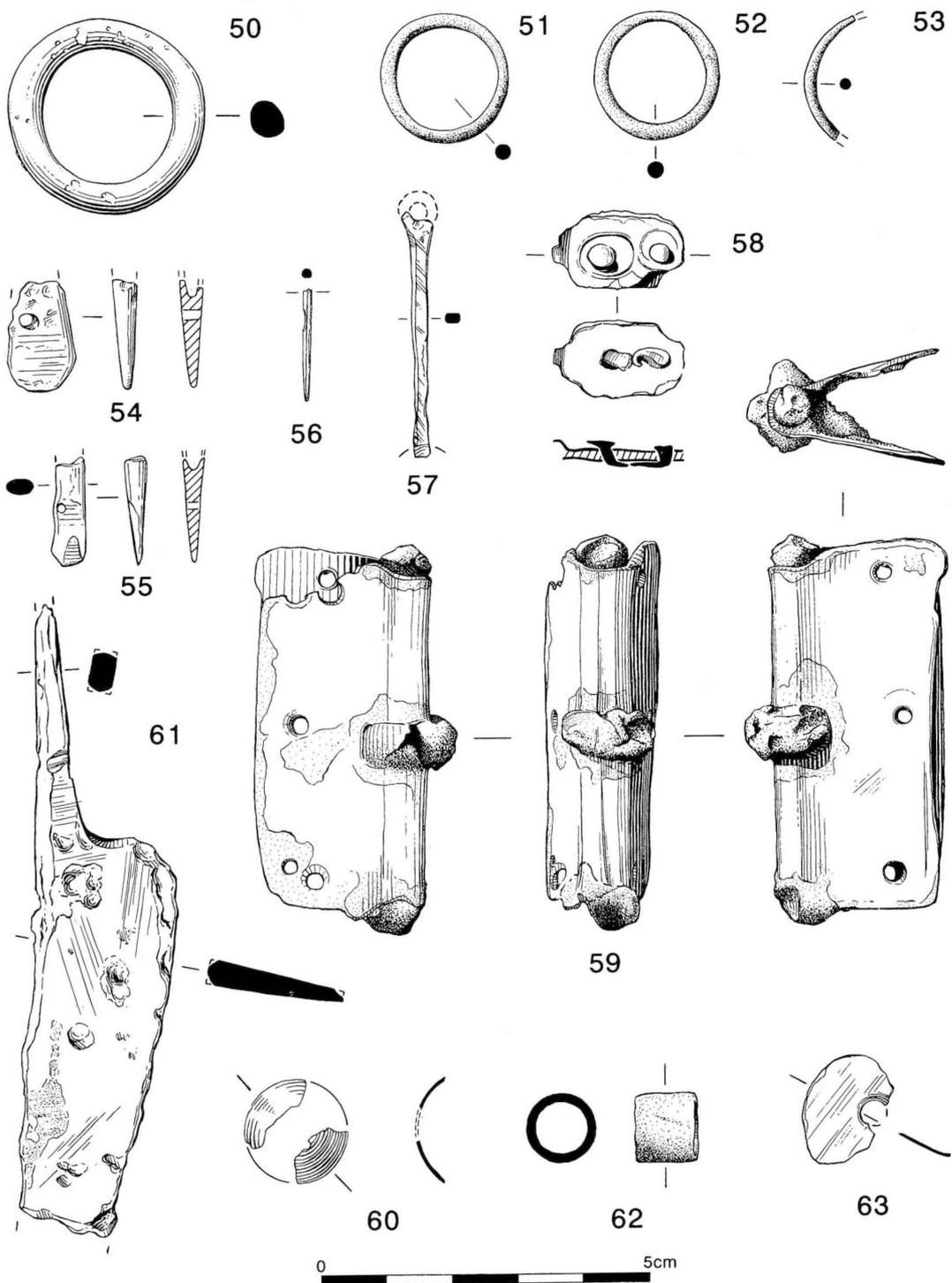


Fig 34 Wanborough. Copper alloy objects, nos 50-63 (1:1)

(Disturbed natural subsoil, 2.230; found associated with the head-dress no 8 and ring no 51, close to the ring no 50)

- 57 Handle from the small cast ear-cleaner of a toilet set; part of the ring at the upper end and of the spoon at the other are present. Length now 38mm; rectangular section. Such toilet implements are common Romano-British finds: eg Cunliffe 1971b, fig 42, nos 72-4. The ring would have attached it to a chatelaine, normally with tweezers and nail-cleaners: a particularly fine example from London is shown in London Museum 1930, pl 39.

(From the 1979 excavation, 1.13; O'Connell 1984, 192, no 2)

- 58 Fitting, probably from a strap, consisting of two pieces of metal sheet which rise at one end to fit a hinge or buckle. The sheets are held by the tacks bent over on the underside; they sandwich some organic material, possibly leather. It measures 20mm by 12mm; the edges are damaged, but the position of the tacks suggests that it is largely complete except for the flat end. A pair of concentric rings decorates the area round the tack heads. A closely similar fitting, from a military strap, comes from Camulodunum (Hawkes & Hull 1947, pl 102, no 6).

The fitting is brass (AML). (Phase 4, 2.224)

- 59 Strap terminal, attached to an iron buckle. It is made in one piece, folded round an iron pivot; the pivot is broken at each end, and has a broken iron tongue fitted at the centre. The maximum length is 56mm; the edges are uneven, and the maximum width beyond the fold is 21mm. Three holes in each leaf line up, indicating tacks right through; one side has two smaller holes beside the outer ones, perhaps from the addition of an ornamental stud. The combination of iron buckle and bronze strap terminal is not common.

The terminal is brass (AML). (Phase 2, 2.148)

- 60 Small domed boss, in two pieces; diameter at base approximately 16mm. The base is a finished edge.

The boss is bronze (AML). (Phase 2, 2.148)

- *61 Blade with part of its handle, cast in one piece. 98mm long; the tip of the blade is missing. The handle is flattened and smoothly finished, indicating that this is one arm of a small pair of shears, rather than a knife with a tang for attachment to a separate handle. An overall length of up to 200mm is likely.

Shears are recorded in bronze (pers comm J K Haalebos, to whom I owe the identification of this object), but are much more common in iron. They vary in size from the very long versions used for cropping cloth (Wild 1976, fig 293) down to small shears which clearly served as scissors (eg Collingwood & Richmond 1969, pl 21, b). Henig, discussing the occur-

rence of bronze knives and cleavers on temple sites, notes the use of bronze for cutting implements as an 'archaism which probably had a ritual significance' (1984, 131) and it is possible that bronze shears also served a ritual purpose on occasion.

The shears are gunmetal (BM). (Guildford Museum acc AG 920)

- 62 Ring or collar, 9mm high, diameter 11mm externally, 8mm internally. Perhaps a reinforcement or binding. (Phase 6, 2.194)

- 63 Part of a perforated fragment of sheet metal. The curved broken edge apparently follows a line where the profile changes slightly, suggesting a pierced disc at the centre of a larger object: cf the head-dress, no 8, for example. The disc area is approximately 20mm in diameter, the hole 8mm.

The fragment is bronze with a plating of tin-lead alloy (AML; not listed in Heyworth 1987, but noted by M Read). (Phase 9, 2.100)

Unidentifiable Pieces (fig 35)

- 64 Piece of rough misshapen bronze; otherwise in good condition; the edges may have been partially cut. In the absence of other evidence for bronze working, this is perhaps more likely to be an object that has been melted by fire (pers comm Justine Bayley). Cf no 65 below; the spearhead no 2 above is probably heavily burnt.

The piece is leaded bronze (AML). (Disturbed natural subsoil, 6.601)

- 65 Piece of rough misshapen bronze, with some holes going through. As no 64.

The piece is bronze (AML). (Phase 2, 2.148)

- 66 Pieces of heavily corroded bronze. No shape is now discernible, but, given the present state of the objects found with it (head-dress no 7), it is possible that this was once a finished object.

The piece is bronze (AML). (Phase 9, 2.182)

3.2.3 Report on the XRF Analysis of six Artefacts from Wanborough, Surrey, by M R Cowell (The British Museum, Department of Scientific Research)

See microfiche 42

3.2.4 Object of Lead (fig 35)

- 1 Pear-shaped weight of lead or lead alloy with an iron rod through the centre. Height 34mm, maximum diameter approximately 30mm, weight approximately 110g. Probably Roman. (Surface find from field survey)

3.2.5 Objects of Iron (figs 36-37)

An iron buckle is discussed under 3.2.2, no 59; for evidence of iron smithing, see the report on metalworking debris, 3.2.6.

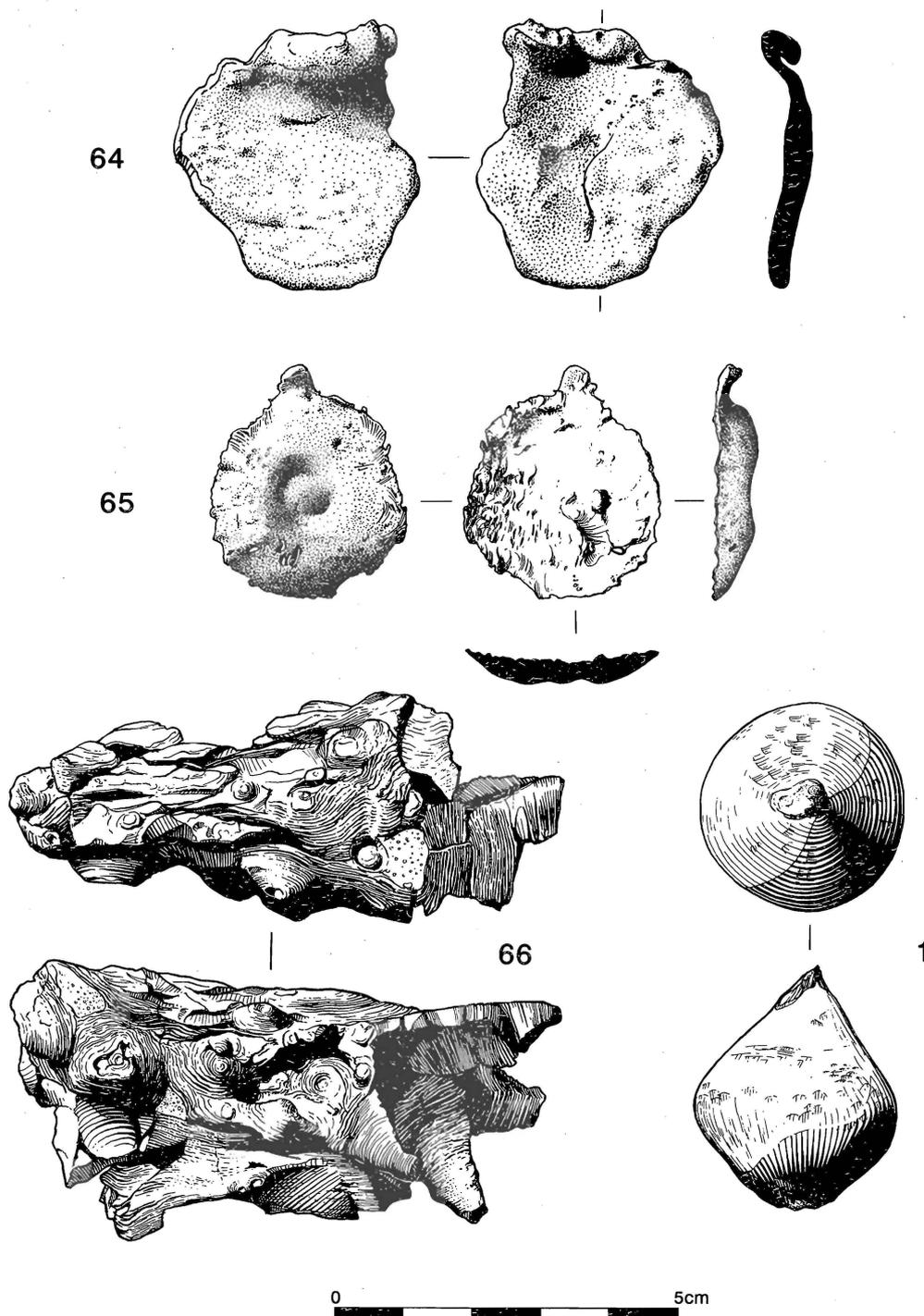


Fig 35 Wanborough. Copper alloy objects, nos 64-66; lead object no 1 (1:1)

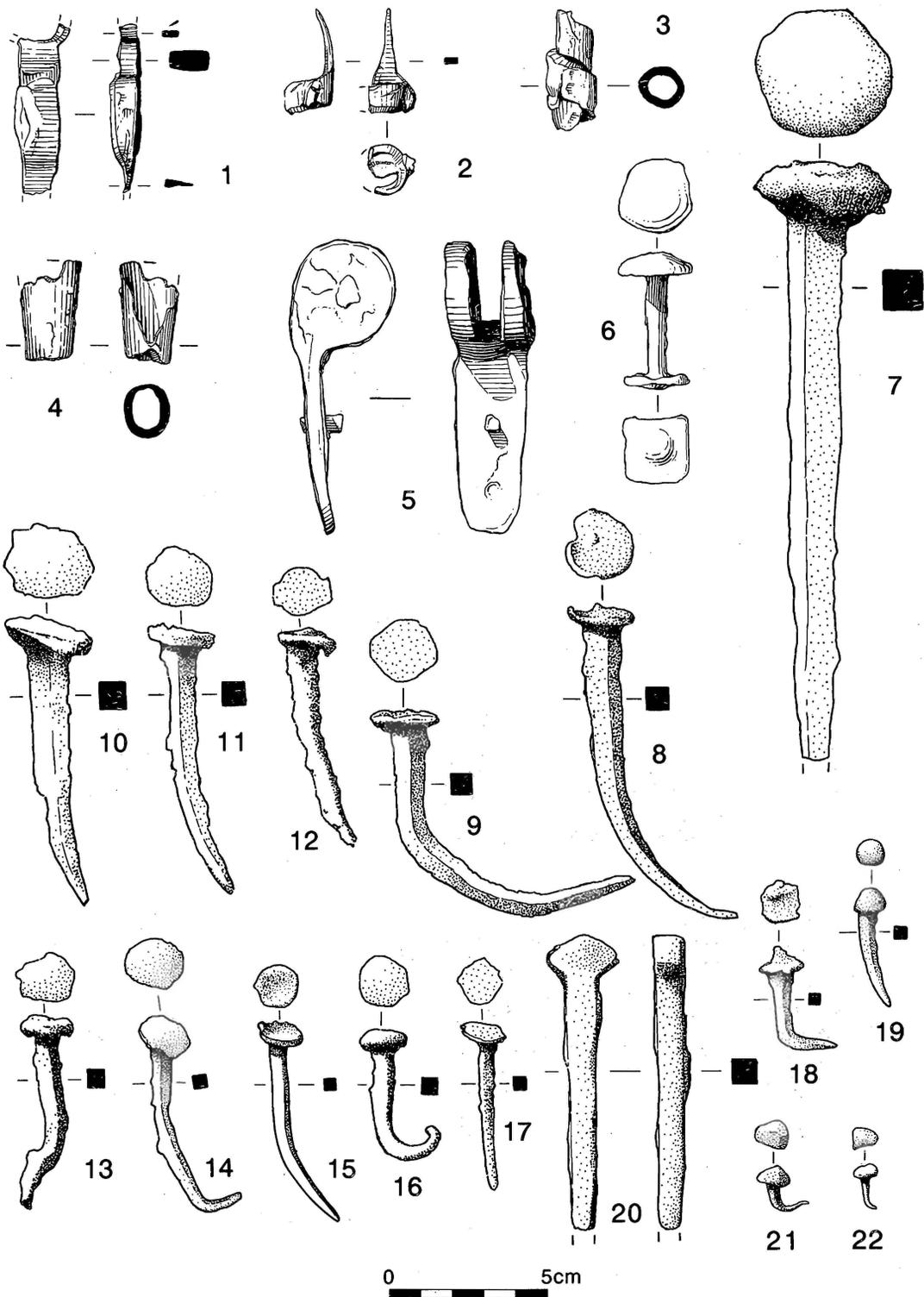


Fig 36 Wanborough. Iron objects, nos 1-22 (1:2)

- 1 Part of a handle with loop terminal, probably from a knife. Width 12mm. Cf Manning 1972, fig 65, no 41, which is also a knife.
(Phase 2, 2.148/230; found associated with the head-dress and rings, copper alloy objects nos 6, 52 and 53)
- 2 Ox-goad; the point and part of one turn of the spiral survive. The spiral is 8mm thick. Such goads were mounted on the ends of sticks; cf Manning 1972, fig 62, no 21. (Phase 2, 2.148)
- 3 Ox-goad; the stump of the point is present, and most of the spiral. The spiral is 12mm thick. As no 2. (Phase 9, 2.104)
- 4 Part of a ferrule or binding probably, tapering at one end. Now 32mm long, the upper and lower diameters approximately 14 and 20mm. Cf Manning 1972, fig 69, no 126. (Phase 9, 2.182)
- 5 Strap hinge arm with the two outer pivot plates; part of the pivot is probably present, and there are traces of two nails in the leaf. Maximum length 93mm, the plates 30mm in diameter. Such hinges are well known on Romano-British sites: cf Manning 1984, figs 42-3, nos 102-9; Cunliffe 1971b, fig 56, especially no 16. (Phase 7, 2.184)
- 6 Stud with slightly domed head and a square plate at the end. The head is 24mm in diameter, the shank 5mm square \times 32mm long, and the plate 20mm square \times 1mm thick. This fits with the smaller of the two sizes found at Fishbourne (Cunliffe 1971b, fig 55, nos 6-7), where it was suggested that they were used as ornaments on doors or partitions. (Phase 6, 5.501)
- Nails (nos 7-22)
- Some 340 identifiable nails were recovered from the site, consisting of 332 of Type I (Manning 1972), two of Type II, and six round-headed tacks or hobnails. There were a further 188 pieces likely to be broken nail shafts. The nails were rusty, many of them crusted with a pale chalky deposit (presumably mortar), but they were mostly in a stable condition. Of the Type I nails from Roman contexts, 78 (23.5% of the total) came from the demolition levels, Phase 6 (2.135, 2.177-179, 2.194, 2.195 and 5.501), and 23 (6.9%) from the building levels, Phase 4 (2.197, 2.224, 2.225 and 5.503); smaller quantities came from the disturbed natural subsoil (2.230; 1, 0.3%), Phase 2 (2.148; 12, 3.6%) and Phase 3 (2.198; 2, 0.6%)
- The more complete nails are illustrated. Measurements of the shafts are taken at the head.
- 7 Type I, 16mm square \times 173mm long, and apparently square-ended. Cf Cunliffe 1971b, fig 57, nos 18-20, for similar large nails or bolts. (Phase 9, 2.136)
- 8 Type I, 8mm square \times 113mm long; curved. (Phase 8, 2.140)
- 9 Type I, 8mm square \times at least 118mm long, possibly complete; curved. (Phase 8, 2.103)
- 10 Type I, 9mm square \times 85mm long; slightly curved. (Phase 6, 2.135)
- 11 Type I, 7mm square \times 83mm long; slightly curved. (Phase 8, 2.140)
- 12 Type I, 5-6mm square \times 69mm long, slightly curved. (Phase 6, 2.135)
- 13 Type I, 6mm square \times approximately 58mm long; curved. (Phase 9, 2.136)
- 14 Type I, 5mm square \times 76mm long; bent. (Phase 6, 5.501)
- 15 Type I, 4-5mm square \times 64mm long; curved. (Phase 6, 2.135)
- 16 Type I, 5-6mm square \times approximately 65mm long; curved. (Phase 6, 2.135)
- 17 Type I, 4mm square \times at least 49mm long; straight. (Phase 9, 2.136)
- 18 Type I, 4mm square \times 42mm long; bent. (Phase 8, 5.500)
- 19 Type I, bevelled head; 4mm square \times 35mm long; curved. (Phase 4, 5.503)
- 20 Type II; shaft approximately 7 \times 9mm, at least 81mm long; straight. (Phase 8, 2.103)
- 21 Hobnail or tack, approximately 16mm long. (Phase 9, 2.182)
- 22 Hobnail or tack, approximately 12mm long. (Phase 9, 2.136)
- 23 Iron object; broken at each end. One end curves up, the other is bent slightly to one side; the width is approximately 12mm. Possibly part of a lock mechanism (cf Manning 1972, fig 67, no 69), but the suggestion must remain tentative. (Phase 2, 2.148)
- 24 Fragment of curved iron 5mm thick; one end is pointed. (Phase 9, 2.182)
- 25 Part of a blade, possibly; perhaps from a chisel or similar tool (cf London Museum 1930, pl 32, nos 1-5), but if so it has apparently been bent. (Phase 6, 2.178)
- 26 Rod in two pieces, now 207mm long but both ends are probably broken; 6mm square. Probably part of a larger object, eg a handle or the long arm of a T-staple. (Phase 2, 2.148)
- 27 Part of unidentifiable object, the edges corroded and probably broken. X-ray photography showed a small square area at the end. (Disturbed natural subsoil)
- 28 (Not illustrated) Part of bar 5mm thick, with rounded edges; broken at at least one end. (Phase 6, 2.135)
- 29 (Not illustrated) Part of curved or right-angled bar, approximately 5mm thick. One side of

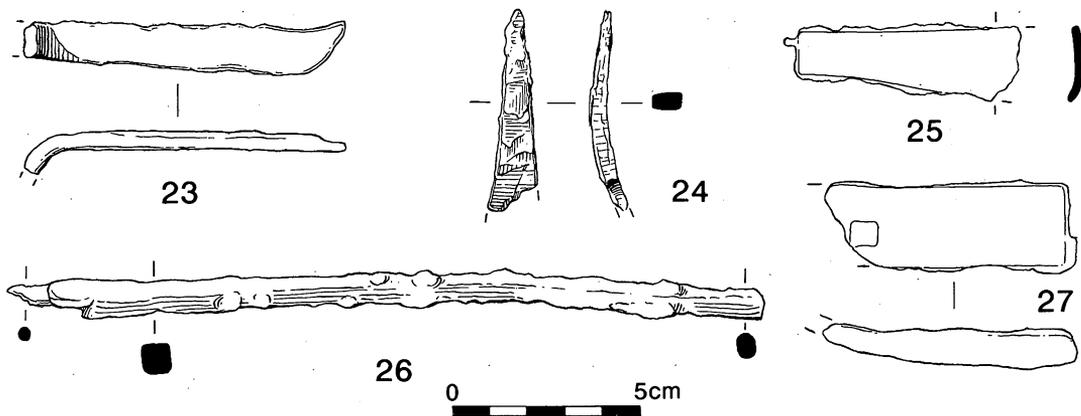


Fig 37 Wanborough. Iron objects, nos 23-27 (1:2)

the angle is 23mm wide, the other 18mm wide; both ends broken. (Phase 4, 2.224)

- 30 (Not illustrated) Part of bar, probably some 13mm square, widening to 13 × 18mm; 62mm long overall but broken, and slightly twisted. (Phase 6, 2.135)

3.2.6 Metalworking Debris

A small amount of 'slag' material has been examined and identified by Justine Bayley at the Ancient Monuments Laboratory. Cf also copper alloy objects nos 64-5.

Cupel Fragments

Four fragments came from at least one ceramic vessel which had been used for cupellation, and show that precious metals were being refined on or near the site prior to the construction of the temple. The fragments are all apparently from shallow bowls, probably less than 100mm in diameter and 20-30mm deep; they are rather more crudely made than is usual with cupels of Roman date. The cupellation process removes base metals such as copper from the precious metal, and qualitative analysis (by XRF) detected gold, silver, copper, lead and zinc in the pieces from 5.510. Quantitative analysis (by EDXRF in the SEM) of the metal droplets trapped in the surface of the 5.510 sherds showed them to be silver with a small percentage of gold and copper also present. The precise results varied from droplet to droplet, but all conformed to this general pattern, suggesting that the metal being refined was silver that contained a few percent of gold, and copper in unknown amounts but in excess of a few percent. (Phase 2, 5.510 (three fragments) and Phase 4, 5.503)

Iron Smithing Slag

A single piece of iron smithing slag, from a hearth bottom, was recovered from the temple construction phase (Phase 4, 2.224), and may indicate that some

of the ironwork (nails etc) used in the temple structure was fashioned on or near the site. A second piece of iron smithing slag, with a glassy surface, was found in a post-Roman level (Phase 9, 2.100).

3.2.7 The Glass (fig 38)

Beads

- 1 Small melon bead in opaque turquoise-blue glass; 11mm high maximum, diameter 14mm externally, 6mm internally. Rather uneven; the interior is horizontally ribbed. Guido (1978, 100) notes that such beads are common on sites dating from the second half of the 1st century and through the 2nd. (Phase 2, 2.148)
- 2 Just over half an annular bead in transparent, rather bubbly, dark-blue glass. 6mm high, maximum diameter 17mm externally, 8mm internally; D-shaped section. The interior has faint uneven vertical ribbing. Such beads cannot be closely dated: at Colchester they occur in contexts dating from the mid-1st to the late 4th century (Crummy 1983, 32). (Phase 8, 2.210)

Vessels

- 3 Small round-bodied blown vessel, in many fragments; probably a two-handled aryballos, but no traces of the handles survive (cf Bergman & Oliver 1980, nos 71 and, with a closely similar rim, 72). The rim diameter is approximately 40mm, but is uneven; it has been formed by folding the edge under. The base is thicker and simply flattened. The glass is clear blue-green, very bubbly, with yellow impurities showing in the swirls on the exterior. There are many blackish grits embedded in the metal. The examples cited are: 1st to 2nd century. (Phase 2, 2.148; also from 2.135, 2.140 and 2.224).

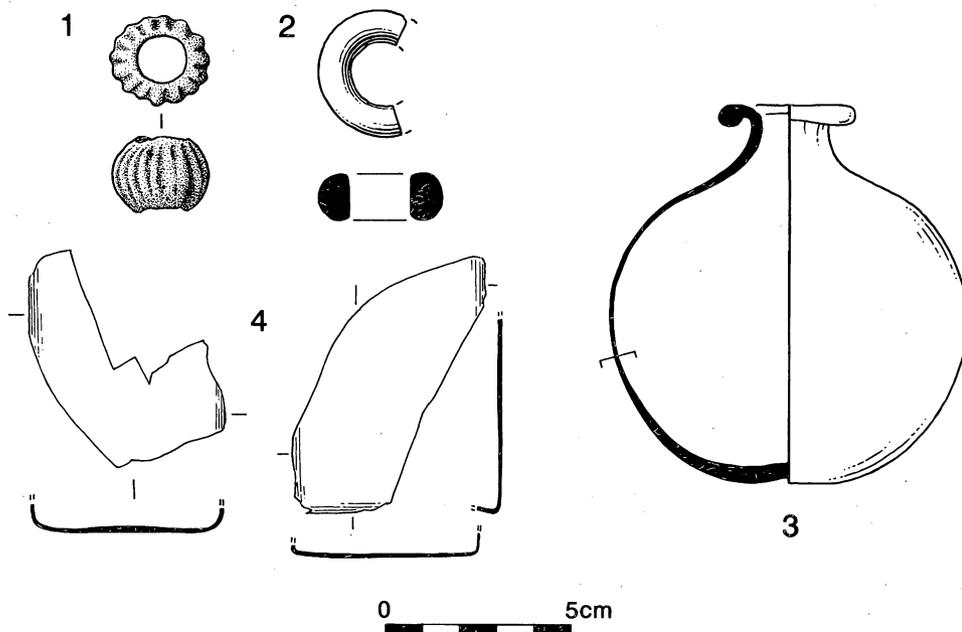


Fig 38 Wanborough. Glass: beads, nos 1-2, and vessels, nos 3-4 (1:2)

4 Body fragments from a square mould-blown bottle; the two surviving sides are approximately 48 and 52mm wide, and one also turns under for the base. Clear blue-green glass, very bubbly, and swirled on the exterior. There are numerous blackish angular inclusions up to 2mm long, and some brown fragments, embedded in the metal. Charlesworth (1972, 202) gives a date range of cAD 70-120 for the *floruit* of such bottles, but adds that they first appear cAD 60 and probably continued to be made until c140. (Phase 2, 2.148)

3.2.8 Objects of Fired Clay (fig 39)

I am grateful to Val Rigby for her comments on the fired clay objects.

1-5 Pieces of at least two 'loomweights' of the large triangular type with a hole pierced through each angle. The surviving angles (nos 1, 5) are dished, perhaps to hold the yarn in place. The clay is fine, with very fine sand temper, but roughly worked, the wedging folds being clearly visible. One piece (no 1) shows that these weights were made, like tiles, with a smoother upper and rough lower surface. The original colour was brownish-buff, but this is now burnt, in some places very heavily. The maximum length recovered is 190mm (no 2), the thickness varies from 65mm (nos 1, 5) to 75mm (nos 3, 4), and the single complete hole is 85mm long (no 1). The holes vary in

diameter from 11mm (no 1) to 22mm (no 2); the average is around 15mm.

- 1 angle piece, two holes present, one surviving to its full length; 600g
- 2 side piece, one hole present; 400g
- 3 side piece, two holes present; 400g
- 4 side piece, two holes present; 360g
- 5 angle piece, two holes present; 260g

These weights are of a late Iron Age type dating from the 1st century BC onwards, but examples are recorded from a number of Romano-British contexts where they apparently continued in use during the early Roman period (Philp *et al* 1991, 151). Current research suggests that their size, weight and the layout of the holes may indicate some other function than the weighting of looms (see the discussion of the much larger groups of these weights from Danebury, where they are classified as Type 1: Cunliffe 1984, 406; Cunliffe & Poole 1991, 380).

(Nos 1-5 were found together in Phase 2, 2.148, with a further 1325g of smaller pieces and fragments. 40g were recovered from the disturbed natural subsoil, 2.196 and 2.230, 35g more from Phase 2, 2.231 and 5.510, and 25g from Phase 9.)

6 Bead-shaped spindle whorl; burnt and rather abraded. Diameter 42mm, height 26mm, with a central hole 7mm in diameter. Sandy

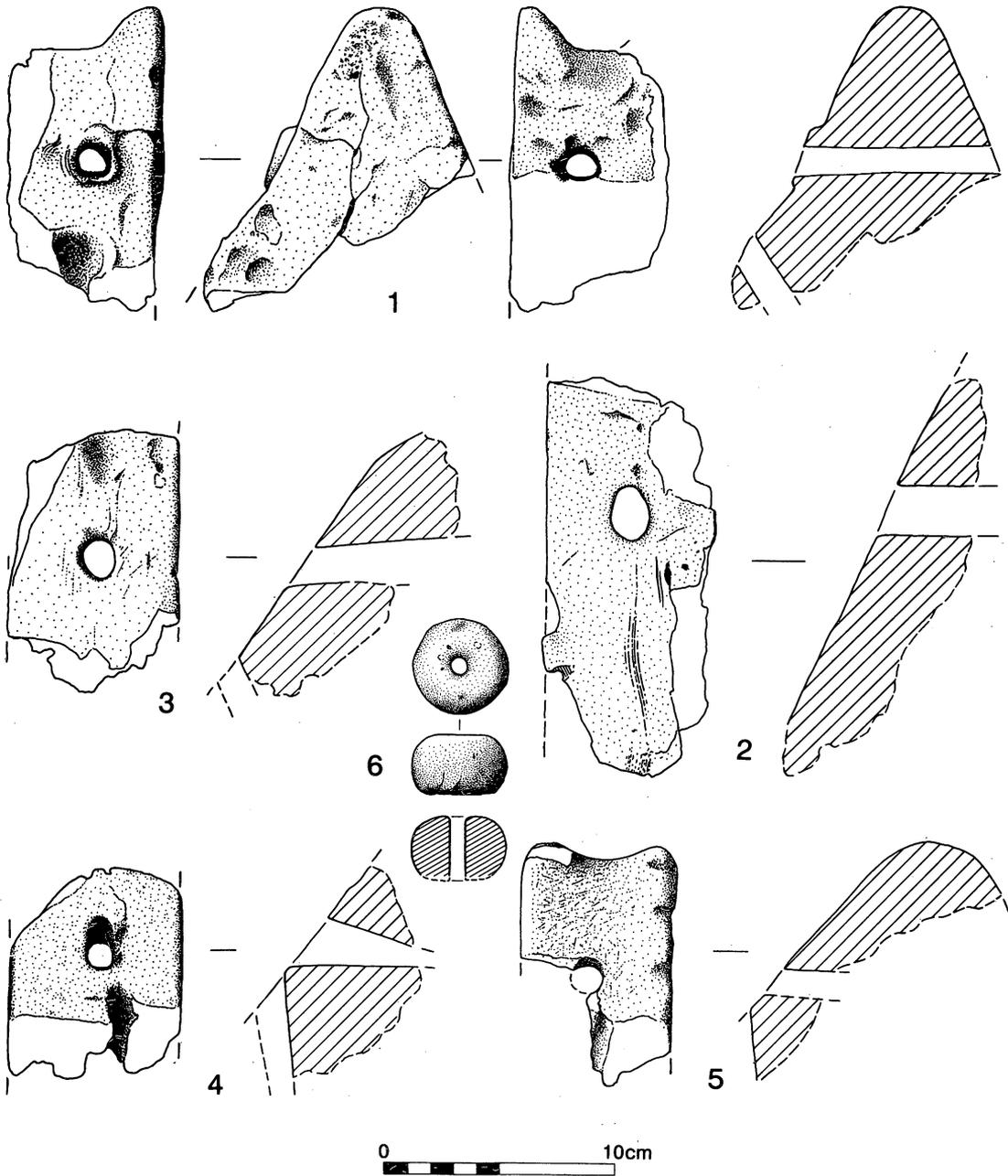


Fig 39 Wanborough. Clay objects: 'loomweights', nos 1-5, and spindle whorl, no 6 (1:3)

micaceous fabric with occasional chalk and dark-coloured inclusions; mainly drab brown but varying to greyish brown where burnt, with a core that is probably very dark grey.

The bead-shaped clay spindle whorl is an

Iron Age type which continued in use in the 1st century BC, and is probably not out of place in an early Roman context (cf Cunliffe & Poole 1991, fig 7. 43, type 3).

(Disturbed natural subsoil, 2.230)

3.2.9 *The Flint*

Worked Flint

Phil Jones has kindly examined the flint recovered from the site and has identified the following pieces as being worked or possibly worked. None of the pieces has been selected for illustration.

Disturbed natural subsoil, 2.230: 1 waste flake, 1 flake ?scraper

Phase 2, 2.148: 1 struck flake modified as a scraper

Probably Phase 2, 2.145: 1 end scraper, 1 waste blade fragment, 1 struck flake

Phase 8, 2.103: 2 blade fragments, 2 possible blades, 1 flake with invasive retouch, 1 rough flake, 1 waste flake, 1 ?hammer stone fragment

Phase 8, 2.140: 1 rough triangular flake with retouch as a possible awl, 1 possible flake

Phase 9, 2.100: 1 waste blade

Burnt Flint (Potboilers)

125 pieces of burnt flint were recovered, weighing a total of 3.2kg. They varied considerably in size, but

the majority measured around 25mm across; all were rough chunks, burnt to a greyish-white colour and heavily crazed (stone M in the report on the samples of building and other stone, microfiche 59-60). Approximately 20% (by weight) was recovered from the disturbed natural subsoil, mostly from 2.230 and 4.403; 27% probably came from Phase 2, mostly from 2.145; 10% came from Phase 4; and 43% came from Phase 8.

3.2.10 *The Quernstones* (fig 40)

The source of the quernstones has been identified by Kathryn Knowles.

All three quern fragments probably come from the Hythe Beds of the Lower Greensand, almost certainly from a quarry at Lodsworth (Peacock 1987).

- 1 Upper stone from a rotary quern: cf Peacock 1987, fig 3, no 14. (Phase 2, 2.148)
- 2 Upper stone from a rotary quern: cf Peacock 1987, fig 3, no 14. (Phase 2, 2.148)
- 3 Upper stone from a rotary quern: cf Peacock 1987, fig 3, no 13. (Phase 9, 2.182)

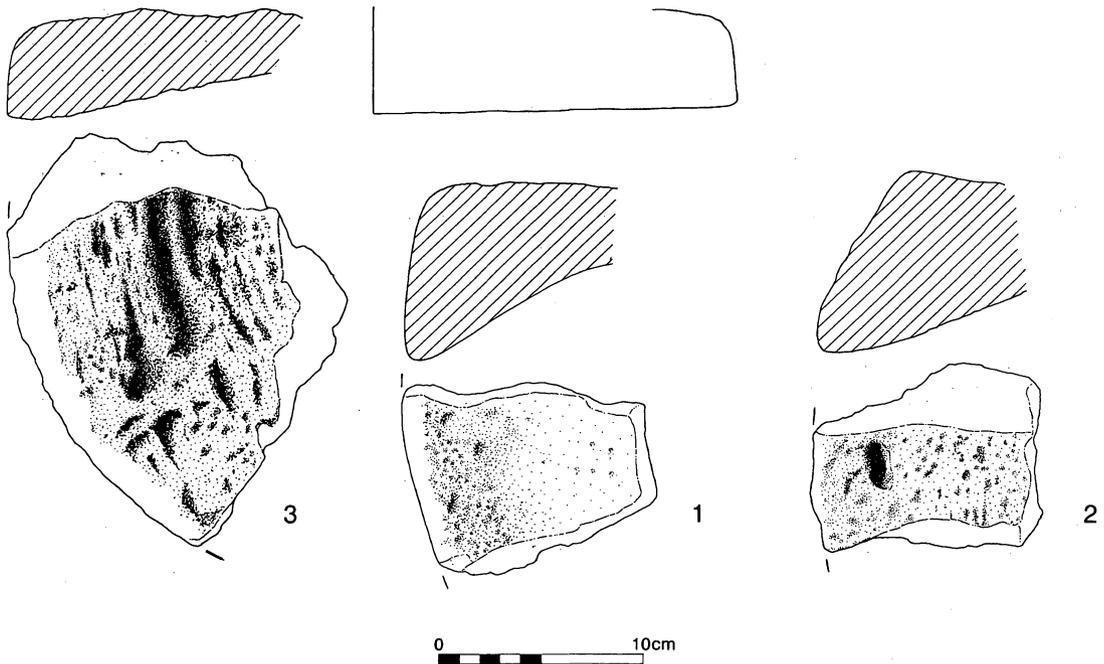


Fig 40 Wanborough. Stone querns, nos 1-3 (1:4)

3.3 THE ROMAN POTTERY, by Joanna Bird (figs 41-52)

3.3.1 *Discussion*

The Roman pottery catalogue describes and illustrates 207 individual vessels; the remainder of the pottery is described briefly by phase and layer on microfiche 43-58. Some of the illustrated pottery is clearly residual, but the amount of recent deep disturbance to the site, and the number of cross-joins with pots in the pre-temple levels, indicated that a very high proportion of the residual pottery derived directly from the earlier levels, and was therefore worth consideration with the more securely stratified material. Further support for this view was provided by the relatively small amount of identifiable later pottery recovered from the temple itself and from Phases 3-9 in general, suggesting a low rate of pottery loss on the site after the temple had been built.

The bulk of the Wanborough pottery, therefore, either comes directly from the pre-temple deposits, ie the disturbed natural subsoil and Phase 2, or is likely to have been originally stratified there. The whole assemblage - a maximum total of 1063 identifiable vessels, on which the percentages quoted in the discussion of fabrics is based - is an important one for Surrey, where large groups of Roman pottery are rare. Some 84% of it comes from the nearby Alice Holt/Farnham greyware industry, for which the pre-temple pottery provides a valuable dated group; despite several recent studies (Lyne & Jefferies 1979; Millett 1979; 1986), the dating of Alice Holt products remains imprecise, and such an assemblage is likely to have a more than local importance in helping to refine the dating of individual types.

The Nature of the Pre-temple Group

The pre-temple pottery as a whole forms a large group, most of it coming from one level, 2.148; many of the vessels survive in good-sized and sharp-edged pieces, of which a high proportion can be joined. This suggests that they have not been disturbed very much since breakage, yet there is at present no evidence for any associated structure. Additionally, there are some unusual features for a group of its date: there is relatively little fine or imported ware (even samian is rare, and none of it decorated); there are only three or four mortaria; and there is not a single sherd of amphora. The coarsewares are heavily biased towards jars, and include what is probably an uncommonly high proportion of larger flagons and narrow-mouthed jars (see table 20). Perhaps this is not a normal domestic assemblage, but a foundation or dedication deposit for the new temple, composed largely of vessels which contained offerings of produce, presented for the most part in relatively humble containers. This interpretation is considered further above, in the discussion of the significance of all the Wanborough finds (3.2.1).

The Evidence for Date

The terminal date of Phase 2, and of the pottery present in the disturbed natural subsoil, lies cAD 160/170. This date is indicated by a range of finds: a coin of Faustina I of AD 141-161 (5.510); the samian, which includes two stamps dating up to AD 160; several fine-ware vessels characteristic of the first half of the 2nd century; a black-burnished bowl of cAD 140-180 (no 120); sherds of an Oxfordshire mortarium dated cAD 100-170 (2.148) and two brooches of a mid-2nd century type (copper alloy objects nos 45 and 47). In addition, some of the Alice Holt wares are of types not apparently introduced before the middle of the 2nd century, notably the bead-rimmed bowls and dishes (nos 121-124) and the more elaborate versions of the jar form Lyne & Jefferies 3A (nos 92 and 97). Virtually all the less closely datable pottery in this group belongs broadly to the first half of the 2nd century, though there is a very small amount of residual Flavian material, including a samian stamp of cAD 65-95 and a mortarium (no 38).

As noted above, later pottery is not numerous, and consists almost exclusively of Alice

Holt wares; the exceptions are an Antonine tazza from the Verulamium region, and an Oxfordshire mortarium and Trier colour-coat beaker, both of the later 2nd to mid-3rd century. There are several late 2nd to 3rd-century forms, mainly jars, and a number of vessels that date from the late 3rd century onwards, including jars, flanged bowls and plain dishes; the individual forms are described more fully below. There is also a small amount of Overwey pottery, dated after *c*AD 325. The coin sequence includes only two certainly 3rd-century coins, but 22 of the 4th century, terminating in an issue of AD 388–392. It therefore seems likely that the temple was built *c*AD 160/170, and that some use of the site continued into the second half of the 4th century.

The Pottery Fabrics and Sources

The earliest wares on the site are the flint-tempered fabrics, comprising 3.3% of the total; they are discussed in detail by M G Fulford (3.3.4). It is likely that at least some of these are of prehistoric date, but no identifiable early profiles survived to aid dating. Known Bronze Age sites in the area (Needham 1987, figs 5.6, 5.9 and 5.16) could account for some of the earlier vessels. The two illustrated pots, both bead-rim jars (nos 11 and 147), may date up to the later 1st century AD.

Imported wares account for only 4% of the total. Of this, 3.7% is samian: 1.1% South Gaulish wares of the later 1st century, including a stamp of *Calvus i* dated AD 65–95, 2.5% 2nd-century Central Gaulish, including stamps of *Reditus*, dated AD 135–160, and *Reginus iv*, dated AD 140–160. None of the samian is mould-decorated. Other wares consist of fragments of single colour-coated beakers from Lezoux, Trier and, with roughcast decoration, Cologne (a second beaker assigned to Cologne, with a barbotine animal frieze, was recovered during the 1979 excavation: Bird 1984, fig 6, no 49); all were residual in Phases 8 and 9. This low proportion of imports may indicate that the occupants or visitors to the site were not particularly wealthy, but if, as suggested above, the bulk of the pottery represents containers for offerings rather than votive gifts in their own right, this need not necessarily apply. However, the ratio of South to Central Gaulish samian is likely to be a useful indicator of date, even with such a small quantity. Roman sites in continuous occupation from shortly after the conquest show a significantly higher proportion of South to Central Gaulish ware (see Marsh 1981); the proportion here supports the impression from other, less closely datable, pottery, that most of the material in the large Phase 2 deposit dates from the early to mid-2nd century, with a very low level of occupation during the later 1st.

Products of those British potteries whose wares were regularly widely traded are even rarer, accounting for only 1.5% of the total. The largest amount comes from the Verulamium region potteries, with two mortaria (nos 38 and 39, the latter stamped by *Samertucus*), three flagon fragments and a tazza (no 159), all in the granular cream ware produced up to the mid-2nd century, and a tazza sherd in the cream-slipped buff fabric more common in the Antonine period (Phase 6). There are four pieces of Oxfordshire white ware mortaria, including one from Phase 2 dated *c*AD 100–170, and two from Phase 9 dated *c*AD 100–180 and 180–240 respectively. Four roughcast beakers of probably Hadrianic-Antonine date, including one from the disturbed natural subsoil and nos 150 and 172, may be Colchester products. Only one example of black-burnished ware, a Dorset BB1 bowl of Antonine date (no 120), was present, emphasising the dominance of Alice Holt in its immediate local market.

Some 3.9% of the total is composed of fine buff and cream wares in a wide range of forms. These vessels share a relatively fine sandy fabric, often with rounded pink or whitish quartz grains, and small red/orange and angular black inclusions. The cream wares (0.7%) are rare, with a maximum of seven vessels: these include four flagons (no 32) and a mortarium-shaped bowl (no 3). The fabric of the bowl is close to one used for a range of mortaria, for which Kay Hartley has suggested the Wiggonholt-Pulborough potteries as a

possible source, and which was also used for several other vessel forms (Bird & Hanworth 1984, 73-6). The reeded-rim bowl (no 192) may be in a coarser version of this cream fabric. Brenda Dickinson suggests (3.3.2) that one of the samian stamps may also be a produce of the Wiggonholt-Pulborough industry, on the basis of its fabric and unusual form (no 30), and it is possible that this area is the origin of the buff wares as well. Clearly a considerable amount of pottery was manufactured there, including samian and other wares (Evans 1974). The single lead-glazed vessel from Wanborough (no 1) is of a type otherwise recorded only from Chichester, and Arthur also notes the Wiggonholt-Pulborough potteries in connection with a possible source (1978, 308). The buff wares found at Wanborough include copies of samian forms Dr 18 and 29 (nos 37, 173 and 174), a colour-coated beaker (no 171), perhaps a roughcast beaker (no 36), and a ring-necked flagon (no 33); other vessels which may be in this fabric include nos 2, 34, 35 and 161. The range of colour-coated beakers found at Chiddingfold, for which Wiggonholt-Pulborough was also suggested as a possible source, is entirely absent from Wanborough (Bird & Hanworth 1984, fig 4, nos 66-83, and microfiche 14); this may reflect their date of introduction.

Apart from the Alice Holt products, there are two small groups of greyware vessels (together forming 1.7% of the total) which clearly originate elsewhere, and a third which may. One of these is likely on typological grounds to come from Sussex, where close parallels for the forms and decoration occur on a number of sites. The forms are all jars with sharply defined shoulder carinations, plain or slightly beaded rims and, where it survives, a narrow foot; they include nos 23, 98-101, perhaps nos 102, 103 and 105, nos 151 and 157, and perhaps no 182. The fabrics usually have a denser temper of rounded sand than the Alice Holt wares, and tend to be brownish in colour, and rather friable. The available evidence would suggest a date in the late 1st century and the first half of the 2nd.

The second group is distinguished by a thin uneven orange slurry or slip on the exterior, which is apparently characteristic of the pottery made at kilns in the Rowlands Castle valley. These kilns were probably functioning from the later 1st century until the 3rd (Cunliffe 1971b, 252, 254). The forms found at Wanborough consist of a jar, flagons/narrow-mouthed jars, a cordoned bead-rim jar and a small flask; they include nos 7, 12, 41 and 50. Apart from the slip, the hard light to mid-grey fabrics appear indistinguishable from Alice Holt products, and the flagon/jar forms were made at both centres.

The third group of grey wares, a further 1.7% of the total, probably also comes from a separate source. The fabric - fabric 9 in the catalogue - is finely sandy, a light fawn-grey in colour, with angular orange-brown or brown-black grits and soft pale inclusions. The inclusions suggest a link with the fine buff wares, while similar soft pale inclusions are present in some of the colour-coat vessels from Chiddingfold noted above. It is possible that this is a reduced fabric from the same area. The forms made in it are mainly jars (including nos 13 and 69), but there are also carinated beakers (nos 8 and 60) and a cup (no 155).

One final greyware vessel for which a source in Alice Holt is unlikely is the beaker (no 54) decorated with panels of barbotine dots. Beakers with similar decoration were made at a number of potteries during the later 1st century and the first half of the 2nd.

It remains to consider the Alice Holt material. The identified forms are summarized on table 20, divided into pre-temple and later phases. The dominant forms are jars, notably of forms Marsh & Tyers (1978) types IIC-D (eg nos 65-68 and 70-85) and Lyne & Jefferies (1979) 3A (eg nos 88-97), but including also a range of flagons (eg nos 42-44) and the narrow-mouthed jar form Lyne & Jefferies 1A (eg nos 5, 6 and 51). Most of these forms are probably residual when they occur in the later phases, deriving from the pre-temple deposits. Other forms which are worth noting in the pre-temple levels are the carinated beaker, clearly persisting towards the middle of the 2nd century (eg nos 55-59); the small number of bead-rim jars (eg nos 61-64); the pedestal jar Lyne & Jefferies type 2 (eg nos 106, 107 and, with applied rib ornament, 108); the deep bowls (eg nos 115-119); the 'Surrey' bowls (Lyne & Jefferies type 5; eg nos 125-133); and the lids (eg nos 134-146).

Forms*	Pre-temple: disturbed natural subsoil and Phase 2	Temple construction and later: Phases 3-9
FLAGONS		
Bottles, L & J 1B.4	—	1
Flagons, N 109, 114, 115	5	5
Unattrib flagons	7	6
Flagons/jars	11	18
BEAKERS		
Bead-rim beakers	1	1
Carinated beakers, M & T IIIG	9	—
Round-bodied beakers, M & T IIIH	1	—
Beakers/jars	21	7
JARS		
Bead-rim jars, M & T IIA	8	12
Narrow-mouthed jars, L & J 1A	7	4
Jars, M & T IIC1	46	38
'Figure-7' rim jars, M & T IIC2-IID2	54	23
Jars, L & J 3A	26	40
'Figure 7'/L & J 3A jars	16	—
Everted rim jars, N 75, 76	1	2
Jars, L & J 1.26-31	—	15
BB-type jars, L & J 3B	—	12
Triangle-rim jars, L & J 3C	—	4
Pedestal jars, L & J 2	9	26
Large jars, beaded rim	6	1
Large jars, L & J 1A.13/1C.4	—	1
Unattrib jars	107	208
Bowls/jars	2	1
CUPS AND BOWLS		
Campanulate cups, cf N 2-3	1	2
Campanulate bowls, N 39, 45, L & J 5D	4	1
Bead-rim bowls, L & J 5A, N.19, 52	5	1
Deep bowls, N 46-49	7	4
'Surrey' bowls, L & J 5	17	30
Flanged bowls, L & J 5B	—	5
Unattrib bowls	4	3
DISHES		
Bead-rim dishes, L & J 6B	1	1
Flanged dish, cf L & J 5/6C	—	1
Plain dishes, L & J 6A, N 23	1	4
'Gallo-Belgic' dishes, L & J 6, N 5, 6, 13	4	2
LIDS		
Bead-rim lids, N 130, 132	5	1
Other lids	14	12
TOTAL	400	492

* Forms cited from the following: L & J (Lyne & Jefferies 1979), M & T (Marsh & Tyers 1978) and N (Neatham: Millett 1986)

TABLE 20 Summary of identified Alice Holt vessels from pre-temple and later levels

The later forms are likely to belong to the occupation and subsequent phases of the temple building and its associated features. There are several forms of late 2nd-3rd century date, including the jars Lyne & Jefferies 1.26-31 (nos 165, 166, 180, 199 and 200), copies of black-burnished jars such as Lyne & Jefferies 3B.8-9 (no 167) and early plain dishes, Lyne & Jefferies 6A.1-2 (no 189); the early flanged bowls, such as Lyne & Jefferies 5B.3 (no 158) are dated within the 3rd century. The next group of vessels consists of types dated by Lyne & Jefferies to the late 3rd and early 4th century, notably the bottle 1B.4, the early triangular-rimmed jars 3C.2 and 3C.5 (no 196), the flanged bowl 5B.4 (no 169), and the plain dish 6A.5-7 (no 204). Beyond this are several forms which are only dated broadly by Lyne & Jefferies, mainly from the late 3rd or early 4th century up to the early 5th: the jar 3B.13 (with white slip), the flanged bowls 5B.6 and 8 (nos 168 and 185) and the plain dish 6A.10. There are a further six jar sherds in the white-slipped fabric introduced cAD 270 (Lyne & Jefferies 1979, 35). The distinctive Overwey fabric, which is generally a yellowish buff in colour, hard and densely sand tempered, was probably introduced cAD 325 (Millett 1979, fabric 2), and is represented by four jar sherds, including a rim fragment of Lyne & Jefferies form 3C.

3.3.2 *Potters' Stamps on Samian Ware*, by Brenda Dickinson (fig 41)

- 1 Form 18/31, stamped ACAPA between decorative leaves. This is not certainly known elsewhere, but may be the same stamp as one from Les Bolards in Burgundy (Thevenot 1960, 338, no 155). The dish has a rather splayed wall and stumpy footring and is not quite like any of the Gaulish versions of the form. The dense fabric and somewhat pimply surface recall two decorated bowls from London, one said to be a waster (Simpson 1952); mould-fragments in the same style were found near Pulborough, Sussex (Simpson 1952, 69) and excavations at Wiggonholt produced decorated ware in the same style and plain ware in the same distinctive fabric (Webster 1975).

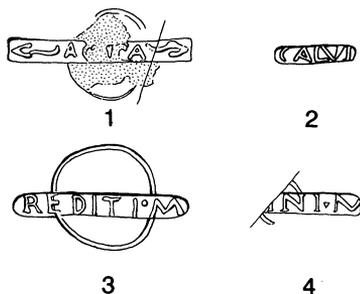


Fig 41 Wanborough. Potters' stamps on samian ware (1:1)

The distribution of this pottery is confined mainly to Sussex, Hertfordshire and Essex, but there are two examples each from Hockwold-cum-Wilton (Norfolk) and London, and one from Sea Mills in Gloucestershire. It is highly likely that the Wanborough piece came from the same source and, if so, it would give only the second potter's name known from this pottery. The kilns have yet to be found, but the balance of the evidence

suggests that they were somewhere in the Pulborough area. Most of the punches for the figure-types and motifs seem to have been made from impressions taken by *surmoulage* from Central Gaulish bowls, as most of them are smaller than their Gaulish counterparts. However, it is not impossible that some moulds were also brought from Gaul; if the identification with the Les Bolards stamp is correct, it may indicate that at least one potter migrated to southern England from Gaul, perhaps bringing equipment with him. A Trajanic-Hadrianic date is likely for this pottery, in view of the Gaulish parallels, which comprise decorated ware from both Les Martres-de-Veyre and Lezoux. The Wanborough piece is not closely datable within the range. (Fig 44, no 30. Phase 2, 2.148; sherds from 2.100, 2.143 and 2.158)

- 2 CALVI on form 27: Calvus i of La Graufesenque, Die 21f. One of Calvus's less-common stamps, for which there is no internal dating evidence. Most of his output is Flavian, though his stamps are noted, very occasionally, on the pre-Flavian forms 24 and Ritterling 1. cAD 65-95. (Fig 44, no 28. Phase 2, 2.148)
- 3 REDITI·M on form 33: Reditus of Central Gaul (presumably Lezoux), Die 3a. Reditus's stamps occur both at the Saalburg Erdkastell (before AD 139) and in a group of burnt samian of cAD 170 from TÁC (Hungary). This particular stamp is probably one of his earlier ones. It is noted from Camelon and there are a few examples from Rhineland forts, which should be before cAD 150. It was apparently not used on any of the late Antonine forms. cAD 135-160. (Fig 44, no 29. Phase 2, 2.148; sherds from 2.224)
- 4 [REG]INI·M (R retrograde and ligatured to E) on form 33: Reginus iv of Lezoux, Die 5a. This potter's output includes forms 18/31R, 27, 79, 79R and 80, giving him a range cAD 145-175. This particular stamp, noted on form 27 but not

on any of the later forms, probably belongs to the period cAD 140–160. (Phase 2, 2.148)

3.3.3 *Mortarium Stamp*, by Kay Hartley (fig 42)

- 1 This broken stamp permits the complete reading SMII/RTVC., retrograde (AM ligatured and II for E), for a not uncommon two-line stamp. The name Samertucus is not recorded, though the initial element 'Sam' is well-known in Celtic names. This potter worked at Radlett and Brockley Hill (Castle 1974–6, 152; Castle 1976, fig 8, nos MS92–93 and 219). His mortaria have now been recorded from the following sites: Brentford; Brockley Hill (3); Fenny Stratford; Gorhambury; London (up to 6); Maryport; Melandra Castle (1–2); Otford, Kent; Radlett (3–5); Staines (2); Wanborough, Surrey; and Wilderspool. The rim-forms used were certainly produced within the period AD 110–150, though AD 120–140 is the optimum period. (Fig 45, no 39. Phase 2, 2.148; sherds from 2.224)

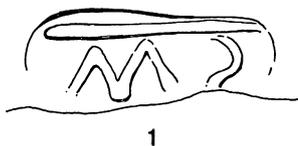


Fig 42 Wanborough. Mortarium stamp (1:1)

3.3.4 *Flint-tempered Wares*, by M G Fulford

The sherds have been sub-divided into eight fabric groups, of which four are numerically important. They have been arranged in decreasing order of their likelihood of being prehistoric (1 = prehistoric; 7/8 = Roman). Without more diagnostic sherds, dating of most groups will remain tentative.

- 1 Thick-walled, reduced fabric with a plain oxidized exterior; temper of sparse, angular flint (<4mm); hand-made. Possibly Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age. (5 sherds, including a base/wall angle, from Phase 2, 5.510; 7 sherds, fabric 1 or possibly fabric 2, from Phase 8, 4.402)
- 2 Medium-walled, generally reduced fabric with oxidized surface; the latter is rough and weathered because of the abundant, ill-sorted angular flint (<5mm). This ware is very similar to 'Silchester ware' which dates from the last quarter of the 1st century BC to the Claudio-Neronian/early Flavian period. Lack of diagnostic sherds makes this attribution uncertain; thus the ware could belong earlier in the Iron Age (?Saucepan pot). (4 sherds, probably two vessels, from the disturbed natural subsoil, 2.196, 4.403; 1 sherd probably from Phase 2, 2.145; 2 sherds from Phase 8, 2.103, 3.300; 17 sherds, probably one vessel, including base/wall angle, from Phase 9, 2.158; 2 further sherds from

Phase 9, 2.136, 2.137. 2 sherds ?fabric 2 from the disturbed natural subsoil, 2.217, 2.219; 1 sherd from phase 8, 2.210)

- 3 Medium-walled, fine sandy, reduced ware with plain surface and tempered with very sparse angular flint of two size ranges (1–3mm and >1mm size). Undiagnostic; possibly early/mid-Iron Age. (1 sherd from Phase 9, 2.182)
- 4 Medium-walled, coarse sandy brown fabric with a plain black exterior, sparsely tempered with angular flint (<3mm); hand-made, but possibly finished on a slow wheel. Presence of a bead rim points to a date range from the late 1st century BC (? to the Flavian period). But for the rim, these sherds would have been classified with fabric 1. (Bead-rim jar, fig 43, no 11, from the disturbed natural subsoil, 2.225)
- 5 Thin-walled, grey to black sandy ware with sparse angular flint (2–3mm); plain surface, hand-made. (14 sherds, probably three vessels, including a base/wall angle, from the disturbed natural subsoil, 2.217, 2.219, 2.225; 1 sherd from Phase 3, 2.227; 1 sherd from Phase 9, 2.100)
- 6 Thin-walled, black sandy ware with abundant fine crushed flint, mostly <0.5mm, rarely <2mm; plain surface, hand-made. The ware includes a bead-rim jar which indicates a date range from the late 1st century BC (to the Flavian period). (4 sherds from the disturbed natural subsoil, 2.230; bead-rim jar, fig 50, no 147, probably from Phase 2, 2.145; 6 sherds, probably one vessel, including base/wall angle, from Phase 4, 2.224; 1 sherd from Phase 9, 2.137. 1 sherd ?fabric 6 from the disturbed natural subsoil, 2.196)
- 7 Medium-walled, grey sandy fabric with sparse, angular flint (<4mm); plain surface, hand-made. A coarser version of Roman 'grey wares', and so likely to be of late 1st – mid 2nd-century date. (3 sherds from Phase 2, 2.148; 1 sherd from Phase 3, 2.198; 1 sherd from Phase 8, 2.103; 2 sherds from Phase 9, 2.100, 2.137)
- 8 Medium-walled, oxidized ware with moderately abundant and moderately well sorted angular flint (<2mm); plain ware, hand-made. Probably Roman and contemporary with fabric 7. (1 sherd from the disturbed natural subsoil, 2.230; 1 sherd ?fabric 8 from Phase 2, 2.148)

3.3.5 *Catalogue of the Illustrated Roman Pottery*, by Joanna Bird (figs 43–52)

The Reduced (Greyware) Fabrics

Almost all the greyware forms are probable products of the Alice Holt/Farnham industry, and the range of reduced fabrics present is therefore limited. To save much repetition, descriptions of the main fabrics are given below, and the catalogue entries for greyware vessels normally refer to these descriptions; individual variations and other fabrics are noted where relevant. The fabrics are distinguished on the basis of the size and frequency of the sand temper, and on the typical colour range. Fabrics 1–8 and 10

are all characteristic Alice Holt wares; fabric 9 is discussed further in the summary (3.3.1).

Fabric

- 1 Coarse, harsh, with rounded sand up to 1.0mm; dark grey, sometimes dark or blackish brown. Rough surfaces, usually black, sometimes burnished. Used mainly for 'Surrey' bowls (L & J class 5), but also for jars, deeper bowls and lids.
- 2 Harsh, sometimes friable, with rounded sand less than 1.0mm, and some red inclusions; dark grey, sometimes brown or blackish brown, especially in the core. Surfaces finely sandy, usually blackish, sometimes burnished. Mainly used for jars and lids, but also for dishes.
- 3 Hard, with rounded sand up to 1.0mm; light to medium grey, sometimes with a paler core. Surfaces have a distinctive mottled light and darker grey colouring. Rare; uses include a large flagon, jars and a bead-rim dish.
- 4 Hard, with rounded sand less than 1.0mm; light to medium grey, sometimes paler or darker in the core. Light to medium grey surfaces. Mainly used for jars, lids, pedestal jars of L & J class 2, but also for later jars and flagons/narrow-mouthed jars.
- 5 Hard, with rounded sand less than 1.0mm but consistently denser than in fabric 4; light to medium grey, often orange or buff-brown in the core. Light to medium grey surfaces. Used for flagons/narrow-mouthed jars, jars, including later types, and carinated beakers.
- 6 Hard, with rounded sand grains up to 2.0mm; grey or drab grey, often brown in the core. Grey or drab grey surfaces. Used for jars, including later types, flagons/narrow-mouthed jars and flanged bowls.
- 7 Hard, with rounded sand grains up to 2.0mm but consistently denser than in fabric 6; grey or drab grey. Grey or drab grey surfaces. Uncommon; used for jars, cups, deep bowls and lids.
- 8 Hard, coarse, with rounded sand grains up to 2.5mm, and a greater concentration of larger grains than fabrics 6 and 7; grey, drab grey or brownish-grey, often with lighter grey core. Grey, drab grey or brownish-grey surfaces. Uncommon; mainly used for heavy large jars.
- 9 Hard, with fine sand less than 0.25mm, and fairly dense inclusions of angular orange-brown or brown grits, to 3.0mm, and of soft pale fragments, to 2.0mm; drab grey, sometimes brown in the core. Finely sandy drab grey surfaces. Rare; uses include jars, beakers and cups.
- 10 Hard, with rounded sand less than 1.0mm; mid-grey, sometimes paler or darker core. Mid-grey surfaces, sometimes with partial silvery-white slip. This is the fabric characteristic of the late white-slipped Alice Holt products, and was probably introduced in the later 3rd century (Lyne & Jefferies 1979, 35). Used for jars and flanged bowls.

Abbreviations used in the pottery catalogue

L & J = Lyne & Jefferies 1979
 M & T = Marsh & Tyers 1978
 Neatham = Millett 1986

THE CATALOGUE

Disturbed Natural Subsoil (fig 43, nos 1-19; fig 44, nos 20-27)

OXIDIZED WARES

Glazed ware

- 1 Small bowl, copying samian form Dr 30; incised decoration of triple compass-drawn semicircles, and vertical lines drawn with a five-toothed comb. Sandy fine brownish-orange fabric with occasional small black and red inclusions. The lead glaze varies from light olive-green to reddish brown.

The fabric and incised decoration link this with Arthur's Sussex group of Romano-British glazed wares (1978, 308-9, fig 8.4). The shape corresponds to his Sussex group type 2; cf also Down & Rule 1971, pl 14, no 45, and pl 16, no 247g, for this form with different styles of incised decoration, and pl 15, no 171f, and pl 16, no 247c, for the fabric and glaze colour. The decoration on this bowl is common on contemporary 'London' ware: cf Marsh 1978. No examples from outside Chichester were recorded by Arthur (1978, 308) and he suggests a production site nearby, noting the manufacture of fine wares in the Wiggonholt-Pulborough area. Probably early 2nd century.

(2.225 and 2.230; sherds from 2.136, 2.148, 2.159 and 2.227)

Beaker

- 2 Rim, large beaker with shallow everted rim; the diameter cannot be certainly measured. Micaceous dull-orange fabric, yellow-brown core; some red inclusions. Similar beakers occur in various fabrics, generally of Flavian to Hadrianic date.
(2.217)

Bowl

- 3 Bowl, copying a mortarium form. Fine sandy pink fabric, with some brownish-black grits (approx 0.1mm) and numerous red inclusions (up to 0.5mm); warm cream surfaces, possibly with thin cream slip. The interior has spalled, perhaps as a result of use.

The fabric indicates the same source as some of the mortaria and other wares found at Chiddingfold, for which the Wiggonholt-Pulborough area was suggested, and the rim is close to a Chiddingfold mortarium dated cAD 135-180 by Kay Hartley (Bird & Hanworth 1984, 73-4, fig 4, no 96). There is a bowl of closely similar form and fabric from Neatham which has an illiterate stamp on the interior (Neatham

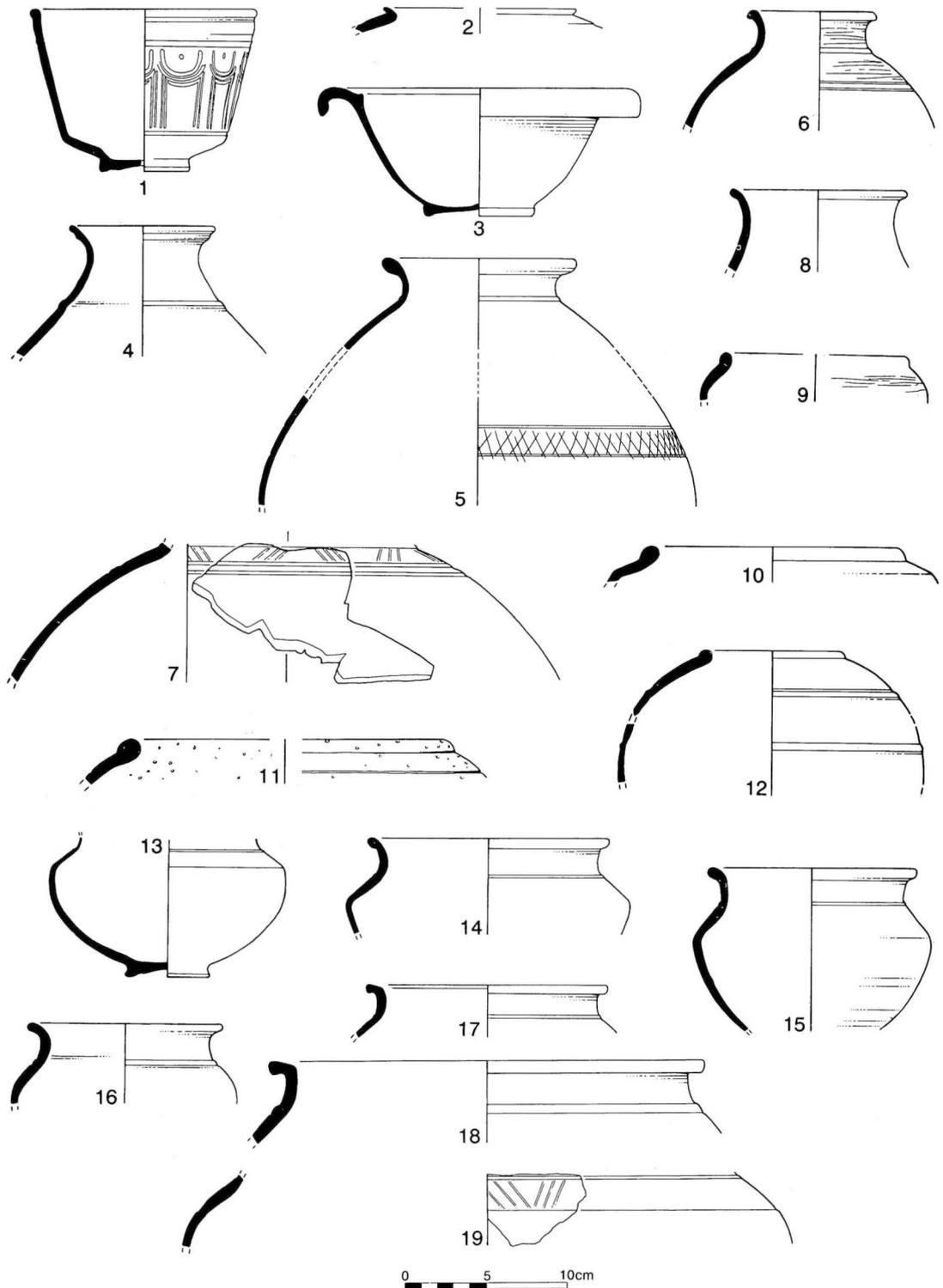


Fig 43 Wanborough. Roman pottery from the disturbed natural subsoil, nos 1-19 (1:4)

fig 50, no 26). A date in the first half of the 2nd century is likely.

(2.230; sherds from 2.148 and 2.227)

REDUCED WARES

Flagons and narrow-mouthed jars

- 4 Neck, flagon or narrow-mouthed jar; close to L & J type 8.5 and to Neatham type 115. Fabric 4.
(2.230; sherds from 2.103 and 2.148)
- 5 Narrow-mouthed jar; cf L & J types 1A.1, 3 and 4. The shoulder is decorated with a deeply incised lattice; a jar of the same form from Wiggonholt has similar decoration in two bands, which may originally have been the case here (Evans 1974, fig 14, no 90). Fabric 2.
(2.230; sherds from 2.103, 2.137, 2.148 and 2.227)
- 6 Narrow-mouthed jar, as L & J type 1A.1 but rather smaller. Fabric 4; streaky burnishing on the exterior.
(2.219)
- 7 Shoulder from a large flagon or narrow-mouthed jar; decorated with groups of three burnished diagonal lines. As fabric 5, but with a thin orange slurry on the exterior. Possibly a product of the kilns in the Rowlands Castle valley, which seem to have made a range of generally similar flagons and jars: cf Cunliffe 1971b, fig 96, nos 130-3, and fig 113, no 304.
(2.225)

Beakers

- 8 Rim, probably a carinated beaker. Probably fabric 9; uneven dark grey exterior surface, drab brown interior.
(2.225)

Bead-rim jars

- 9 Small bead-rim jar; the diameter cannot be certainly measured. Fabric 2; burnished on lip and shoulder.
(2.230)
- 10 Bead-rim jar; cf L & J type 4.5, but with a more strongly angled shoulder. Fabric 1.
(2.230; sherds from 2.224)
- 11 Bead-rim jar, grooved on shoulder. Flint-tempered fabric no 4 (see report by M G Fulford, 3.3.4); probably hand-made and wheel-finished. A date range from the late 1st century BC to the later 1st century AD is likely.
(2.225; sherds from 2.207)
- 12 Bead-rim jar with wide shoulder cordon and a second cordon further down the body. As fabric 4, with orange-brown core and an uneven thin orange slurry on the exterior. Possibly made in the Rowlands Castle valley, though no close parallel for the form has been found among

the published vessels assigned to Rowlands Castle.

(2.225; sherds from 2.103, 2.143, 2.148, 2.159, 2.224 and 2.229)

Necked jars with rounded rims

- 13 Necked jar, M & T type IIC1; lacking rim. Fabric 9, thin and fine, with dark blue-grey core.
(2.225 and 2.230; sherds from 2.148 and 2.227)
- 14 Necked jar, M & T type IIC1; sharply carinated shoulder. Fabric 5/7.
(2.225; sherds from 2.148 and 2.224)
- 15 Necked jar, M & T type IIC1; cf L & J type 1.19. Fabric 5, blue-grey core.
(2.225 and 2.230; sherds from 2.148 and 2.224)
- 16 Necked jar, M & T type IIC1; cf L & J type 1.19, with rather rounded shoulder. There is an uneven groove on the interior. Fabric 4.
(2.230; sherds from 2.100)

Necked jars with 'figure-7' rims

- 17 Necked jar, M & T type IIC2 or IID1. Fabric 4, fired to brownish-grey with brown core; burnt. The rim is slightly distorted.
(2.230; sherds from 2.148)
- 18 Necked jar, large coarse version of M & T IID2; rim as L & J type 1.2. Fabric as fabric 8, but includes sand grains up to 3.5mm; some burning. The sherd from 2.104 is probably the same vessel but now burnt to a dull brown with pinkish patches.
(2.230; sherds from 2.103, probably 2.104, and 2.148)
- 19 Sherd, large necked jar, M & T IID2; cf L & J type 1.1 for the decoration of alternating grouped diagonal lines burnished on the shoulder. As fabric 4/5, but with unevenly distributed brownish-black inclusions up to 2.0mm, and very occasional pale fragments up to 2.0mm - perhaps therefore a coarser version of fabric 9.
(2.230)

Jars with everted flattened rims

- 20 Jar; cf L & J type 3A.8. Fabric 6 with some larger grits to 4.0mm. The rim is slightly distorted.
(2.225; sherds from 2.148)
- 21 Jar with shoulder cordon; cf L & J type 3A.10. Fabric 6.
(2.225; sherds from 2.148 and 2.224)
- 22 Jar with heavy shoulder cordon; cf L & J type 3A.10, Neatham type 70. Fabric 1, with quartz grits up to 2.0mm; burnished black exterior. Burnt.

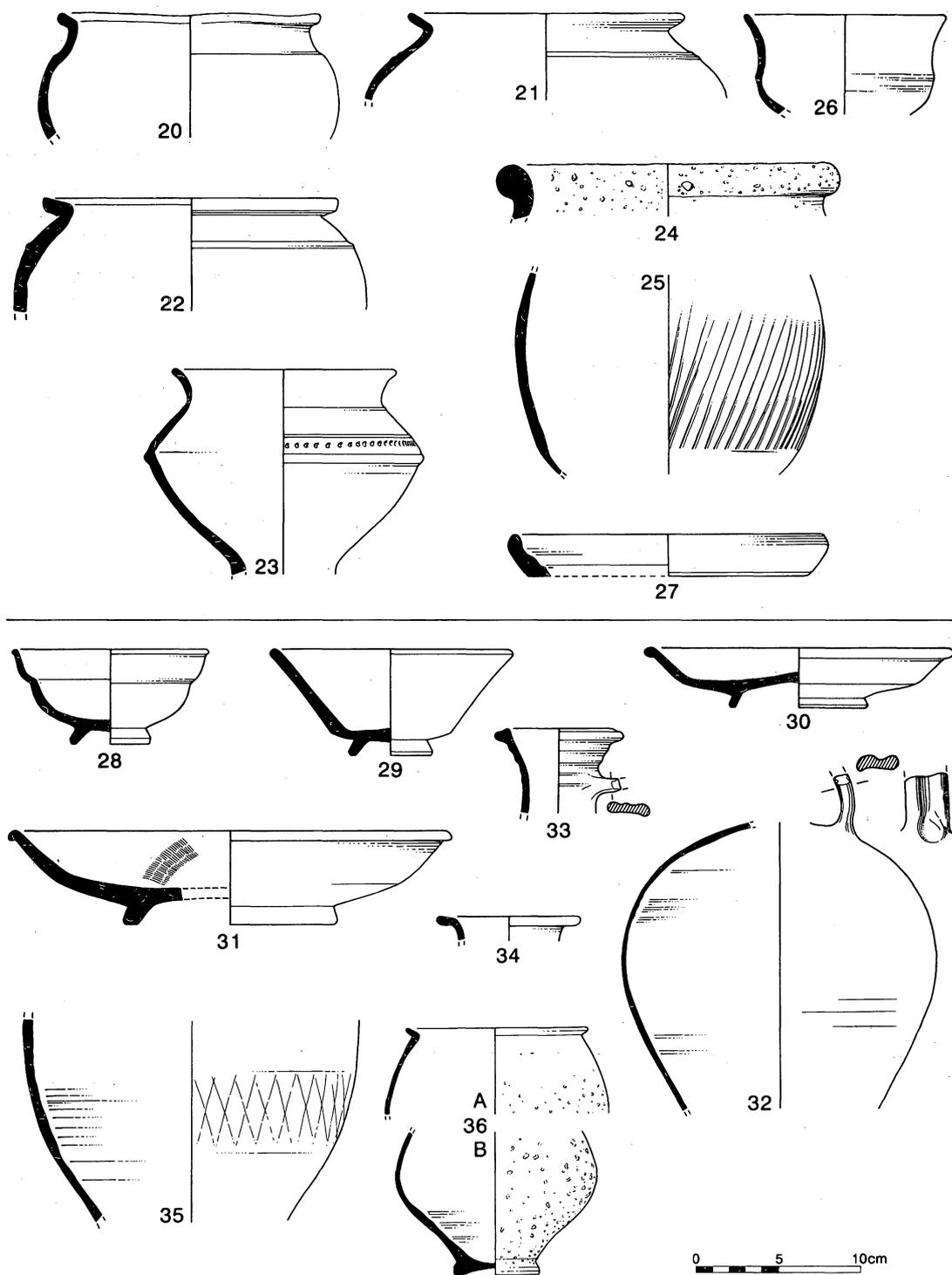


Fig 44 Wanborough. Roman pottery from the disturbed natural subsoil, nos 20-27, and Phase 2, nos 28-36 (1:4)

(2.230; sherds from 2.103, 2.135, 2.185 and 2.229)

Jar with sharply defined shoulder

- 23 Jar; plain everted rim, sharply angled shoulder marked by a cordon below impressed decoration. The decoration comprises small crescents, probably the partial impression of a hollow tool. Fabric pinkish-brown with grey core; dense rounded sand up to 1.0mm; dark grey surfaces fired or burnt to pinkish-brown in patches. Probably burnt. Possibly made in Sussex; the profile is close to jars from Chichester (Down & Rule 1971, fig 5.19, no 12a, fig 5.21, no 63a) and Slonk Hill (Fulford 1978, fig 18, nos 3-4), while a similar jar from Wiggonholt has decoration of impressed hollow circles (Evans 1974, fig 11, no 39).
(2.217 and 2.219; sherds from 2.148, 2.224, 2.227 and 2.229)

Large jar

- 24 Jar with short neck and bead rim; cf L & J type 9.2. Hard coarse grey-brown fabric, with dense quartz grits up to 5.0mm; the quartz is predominantly pink, white and grey. Black surfaces. Probably Alice Holt.
(2.230; sherds from 2.182)

?Wide-mouthed jar

- 25 Body sherds, possibly from a wide-mouthed jar, with burnished diagonal lines; no rim or base present. Fabric 5/7.
(2.225; sherds from 2.148 and 2.213)

Campanulate bowl

- 26 Campanulate bowl with shallow cordon; a less exaggerated version of Neatham type 39. Fabric 2. All the sherds except the one from 2.148 are burnt, indicating that it was broken prior to burning.
(2.230; sherds from 2.148, 2.224 and 2.227)

'Gallo-Belgic' dish

- 27 Dish, derived from earlier Gallo-Belgic platter forms; cf L & J type 6.2, Neatham type 5. Fabric 2, burnished surfaces.
(5.513)

Phase 2 (fig 44, nos 28-36; figs 45-49; fig 50, nos 134-146)

OXIDIZED WARES

Samian ware

- 28 Dr 27, stamped by Calvus i (see samian stamps report, 3.3.2; fig 41, no 2). South Gaul, cAD 65-95. Graffito mark under the base; the foot is worn, the pot abraded.
(2.148)

29 Dr 33, stamped by Reditus (see samian stamps report, 3.3.2; fig 41, no 3). Central Gaul, cAD 135-160. Some wear on the foot.
(2.148; sherds from 2.224)

30 Dr 18/31, stamped by Acapa (see samian stamps report, 3.3.2; fig 41, no 1). Probably from the Wiggonholt-Pulborough potteries; cf Webster 1975, fig 3, P1, for the form, which differs in detail from the Gaulish versions. Orange fabric, with dense white sand, larger pale fragments and occasional dark inclusions; the surface is rather pimply under an orange slip. A Trajanic-Hadrianic date is likely.
(2.148; sherds from 2.100, 2.143 and 2.158)

31 Dr 18/31R, lacking the stamp. Uncommon yellowish-beige fabric, dull brown slip. Central Gaul, early to mid-Antonine.
(2.148; sherds from 2.103, 2.142 and 2.166)

Cream-ware flagon

32 Body and part of handle, pear-shaped flagon; the bifid handle has been added by pushing it through the shoulder of the vessel. Hard fine cream fabric, slightly greyish core; dense fine temper of pink sand, some fine brown-black grits with occasional larger grits up to 2.0mm.
(2.148; sherds from 2.101 and 2.224)

Buff-ware flagons and narrow-mouthed jars

33 Ring-neck flagon with trifid handle. Orange fabric; dense temper of fine sand, occasional red inclusions to 1.5mm and white fragments to 1.0mm. Thin yellowish cream slip. The type is common in the first half of the 2nd century, eg M & T type IB4, and was made at Wiggonholt (Evans 1974, fig 10, no 10).
(2.148; sherds from 2.143 and 2.227)

34 Everted rim, probably from a flagon; cf Neatham type 114 for a similar rim. Fabric 5, fired buff with drab buff surfaces.
(2.148)

35 Lower body, probably from a tall pear-shaped flagon or jar; decorated with uneven burnished lattice, now rather faint. The position of the sherds is indicated by heavy turning rings on the interior. Hard sandy brown fabric, frequent red inclusions up to 2.0mm and occasional pale fragments up to 2.0mm; blotchy dull grey/orange-brown surfaces; burnt.
(2.148; sherds from 2.103, 2.224 and 2.227)

Beaker

36A,B Roughcast beaker with plain everted rim. Likely to be one vessel, but apparently too distorted to restore; perhaps a 'second'. Coarse sandy orange fabric, frequent orange-brown inclusions up to 1.5mm, with some larger sand up to 1.5mm. Drab yellowish surfaces with clay roughcasting up to 3.0mm, mainly around the girth. A Hadrianic-Antonine date is likely.
(2.148; sherds from 2.143, 2.158 and 2.159)

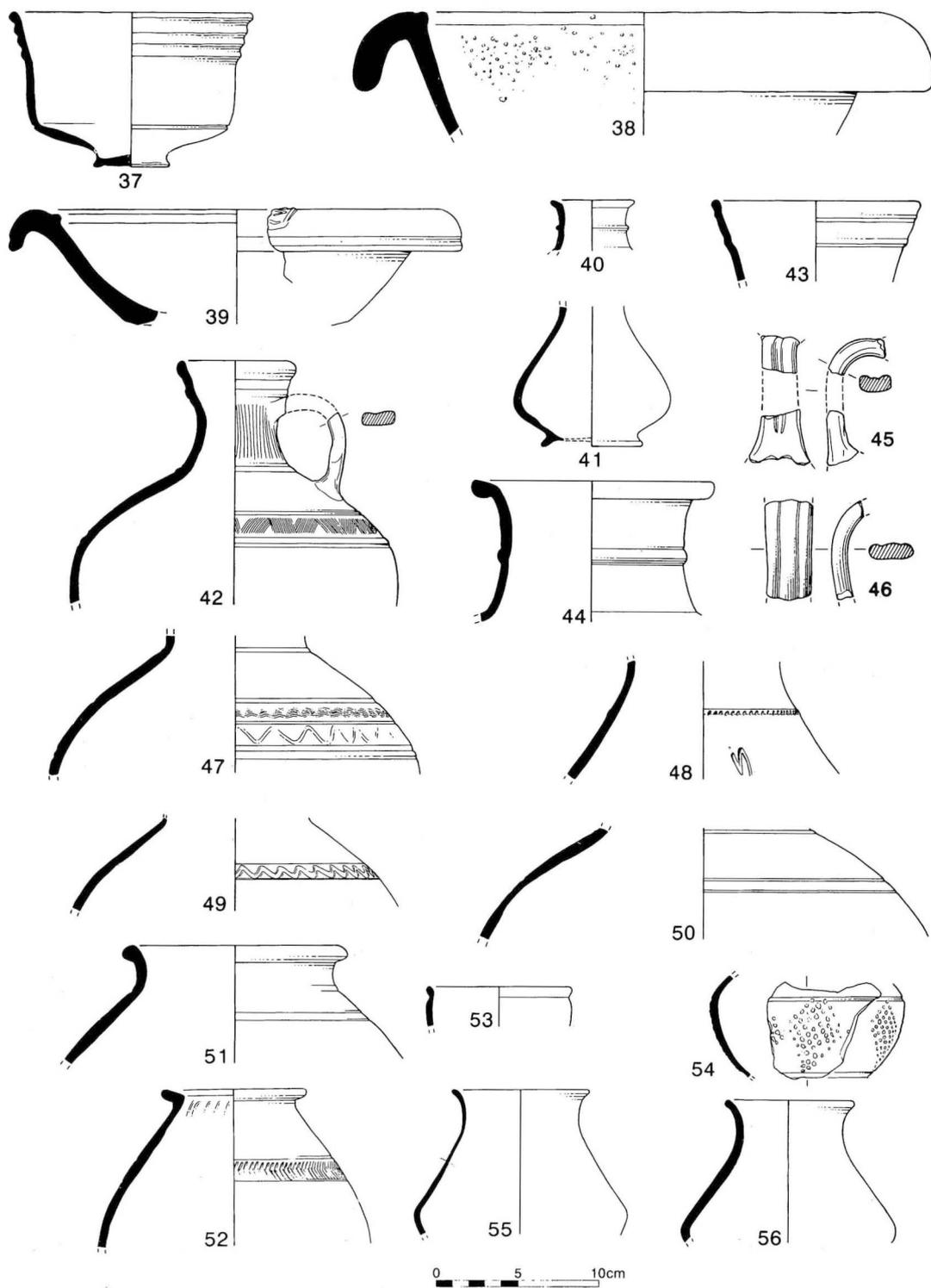


Fig 45 Wanborough. Roman pottery from Phase 2, nos 37-56 (1:4)

Bowl

- 37 Carinated bowl with deep reeded rim, a copy of samian form Dr 29. Hard dark buff fabric, fine dense red inclusions and rounded black grits, occasional small pale fragments. An almost identical bowl in 'soft red ware' comes from Charterhouse (Harrison 1961, fig 6, no 43), while there is another similar bowl from Verulamium in what is probably a local fabric (Wilson 1984, fig 100, no 2371). Dr 29 was also copied, for example, in 'London' ware during the late 1st - early 2nd century (Marsh 1978, form 44). A date in the late 1st or first half of the 2nd century is likely.
(2.148; sherds from 2.227)

Mortaria

- 38 Mortarium with deep flange rim. Hard granular cream fabric, occasional red inclusions. Sparse trituration grits of small grey, white and black flint, occasionally up to 5.0mm, and of red grog/iron up to 7.0mm. The fabric and form are characteristic of the Verulamium region potteries (eg Wilson 1972, fig 106, no 225, fig 110, no 364). Probably Flavian, as there is no scoring on the interior (pers comm Kay Hartley).
(2.148)
- 39 Mortarium, stamped by Samertucus (see mortarium stamp report, 3.3.3; fig 42, no 1). Hard granular fabric, mostly burnt dark grey but clearly once drab cream. No surviving grits except one dark flint; some scoring on interior. For the rim cf Castle 1973, fig 7, nos MS 2-4, 6, 8, 10 & 14, dated cAD 110-150. Verulamium region, cAD 110-150 with AD 120-140 as most likely range.
(2.148; sherds from 2.224)

REDUCED WARES

Flagons

- 40 Rim, small flagon; cf Neatham type 114. Fabric 4/5.
(2.148; sherds from 2.224)
- 41 Small flask, lacking the rim. As fabric 4, but with a patchy thin orange slurry on the exterior. Possibly made in the Rowlands Castle valley. An apparently similar vessel from the Haslemere Cemetery unfortunately also lacks the neck and rim (Holmes 1949, type 24, fig 4, IV-XIII.8).
(2.148)
- 42 Flagon; possibly two-handed, though only one survives. The shoulder is decorated with alternating groups of diagonals made with a fine comb of probably 14 teeth. Applied bifid handle, vertical burnishing on neck. Fabric 4.
(2.148; sherds from 2.142 and 2.143)
- 43 Flagon probably, with cordons on the rim. Fabric 5.
(2.148)

- 44 Large flagon with cordon on the neck, as L & J types 8.2-3; no handles survive, but cf Neatham type 111, which has the same profile with two handles. Fabric 3. Many additional body sherds were probably from this vessel, but could not be reconstructed.
(2.148; sherds from 2.100 and 2.224)
- 45 Bifid handle; two sherds, probably the same vessel. Fabric 5.
(2.148)
- 46 Trifid handle. Fabric 6.
(2.148)

Flagons and narrow-mouthed jars

- 47 Shoulder, flagon or narrow-mouthed jar. Decorated with an incised wavy line, made with a comb, above a single burnished wavy line. Fabric 5.
(2.148; sherds from 2.101, 2.104, 2.143, 2.224 and 2.227)
- 48 Neck and shoulder; probably from a flagon as L & J type 8.5, which has a similar notched cordon decoration. Fabric 5. Possible graffito on exterior.
(2.148; sherds from 2.100, 2.101 and 2.137, and Guildford Museum acc TRB.2682)
- 49 Shoulder, flagon or narrow-mouthed jar; reserved band with wavy line decoration. Fabric 4/5.
(2.148)
- 50 Shoulder, flagon or narrow-mouthed jar; double groove decoration. As fabric 6, but with an uneven orange slurry on the exterior. Possibly made in the Rowlands Castle valley.
(2.148 and 2.231)
- 51 Narrow-mouthed jar, as L & J type 1A.1 but without the decoration. Fabric 3.
(2.148; sherds from 2.101, 2.103, 2.142 and 2.158)
- 52 Narrow-mouthed jar, flat rim; band of incised chevrons on the shoulder. For the rim and decoration, cf L & J type 3A.16 and Neatham type 70, but both have much wider mouths. Fabric 5.
(2.148; sherds from 2.101, 2.142 and 2.145)

Beakers

- 53 Small beaker, upright bead rim. For rim and size, cf Neatham type 68; but this pot has a much less rounded profile; Neatham type 105 has a similar profile but a more everted rim. Fabric 4.
(2.148)
- 54 Small beaker, lacking rim and base. Decorated with lozenge-shaped panels of barbotine dots: one complete panel comprises seven by eight dots. Fine sandy micaceous fabric; dark grey/black exterior, grey interior surface;

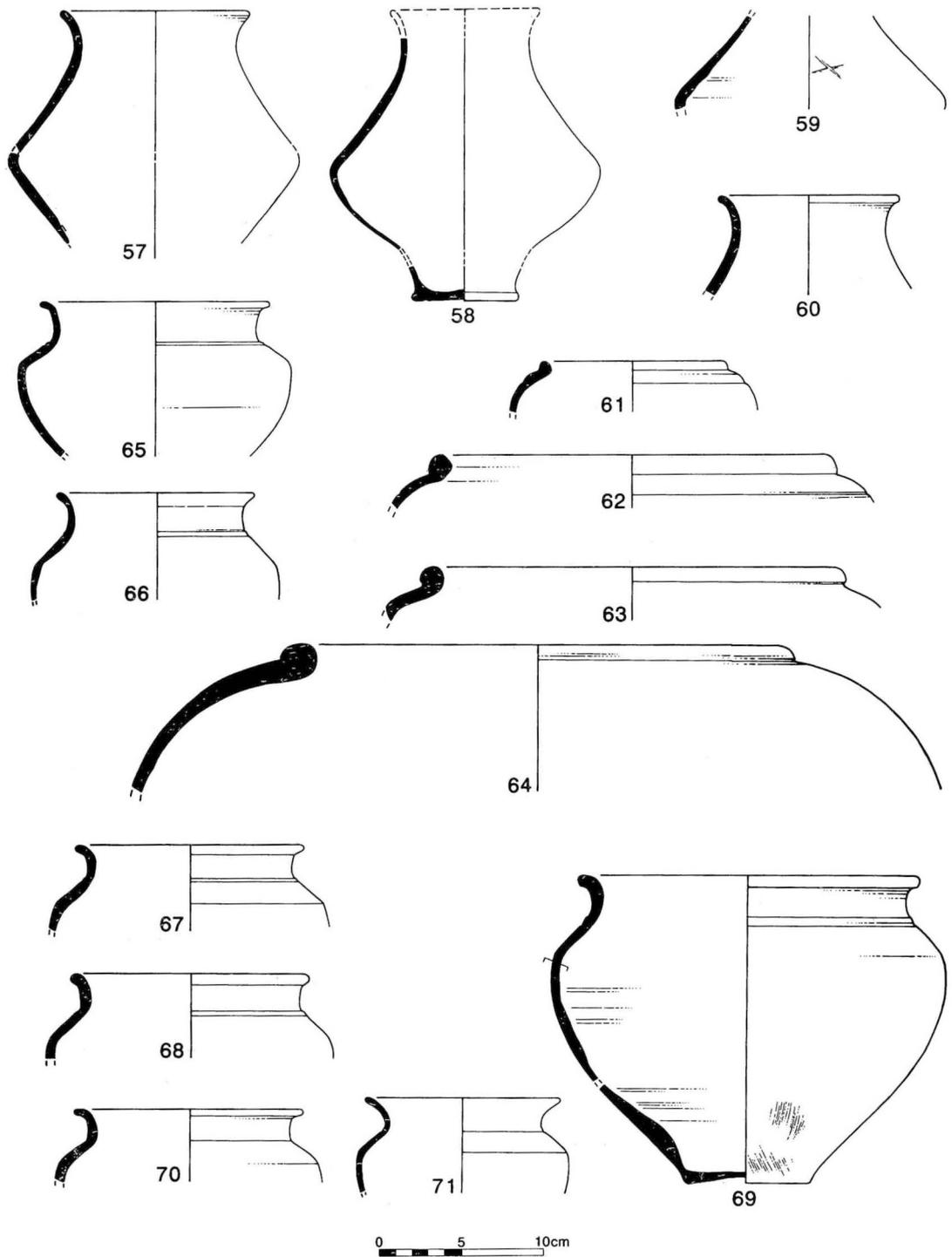


Fig.46 Wanborough. Roman pottery from Phase 2, nos 57-71 (1:4)

brown core. The style of decoration is typical of the Hadrianic-Antonine period.

(2.148; sherds from 2.100 and 2.101)

Carinated beakers

- 55 Carinated beaker. Fabric 5.
(2.148)
- 56 Carinated beaker. Fabric 5.
(2.148)
- 57 Carinated beaker; profile restored above angle. Fabric 4/5.
(2.148)
- 58 Carinated beaker; complete profile restored. Fabric 4.
(2.148; sherds from 2.100, 2.143 and 2.227)
- 59 Upper body, carinated beaker. The break at the carination appears to have been roughly chipped round, perhaps to enable the broken vessel to serve as a funnel. Graffito X on exterior. Fabric 5.
(2.148)
- 60 Rim, probably a carinated beaker. Sandy micaceous fabric with red inclusions up to 2.0mm, occasional black grits; dark grey, brown core; burnt.
(2.148)

Bead-rim jars

- 61 Bead-rim jar, offset on shoulder, cf L & J type 4.35. Fabric 2.
(2.148)
- 62 Bead-rim jar, grooved on shoulder; angular bead, cf L & J type 4.8. Fabric 2.
(2.148)
- 63 Bead-rim jar. Fabric 6.
(5.510)
- 64 Large bead-rim jar; cf L & J type 4.1, but thicker below rim. Fabric 8; some sherds burnt.
(2.148)

Necked jars with rounded rims

- 65 Necked jar, M & T type IIC1. Fabric 5/7.
(2.148; sherds from 2.182)
- 66 Necked jar, M & T type IIC1; cf L & J type 1.19. Fabric 4.
(2.148)
- 67 Necked jar, M & T type IIC1; cf L & J type 1.20. Fabric 4.
(2.148; sherds from 2.142 and 2.224)
- 68 Necked jar, M & T type IIC1; cf L & J types 1.19, 20. Fabric 4/5.
(2.148; sherds from 2.142)
- 69 Necked jar, M & T type IIC1; cf L & J type 1.20. Fabric 9.
(2.148; sherds from 2.100, 2.142, 2.143, 2.158, 2.182 and 2.224)

- 70 Necked jar, M & T type IIC1; cf L & J type 1.19. Slight cordon on shoulder. Fabric 5.
(2.148)
- 71 Necked jar, M & T type IIC1; cf L & J type 1.22, with hardly any thickening at the lip. Fabric 4, fired dark grey.
(2.148)
- 72 Necked jar, cf M & T type IIC1, with rounded shoulder. Fabric 5/7.
(2.148; sherds from 2.136, 2.197, 2.213 and 2.224)
- 73 Necked jar, M & T type IIC1. Fabric 5/7, dark grey surfaces.
(2.148)
- 74 Necked jar, M & T type IIC1. Fabric 5, probably burnt; unusually thin-walled.
(2.148)
- 75 Necked jar, probably M & T type IIC1, with vestigial cordon at shoulder; cf L & J type 1.22. Fabric 5.
(2.148)

Necked jars with 'figure-7' rims

- 76 Necked jar, M & T type IIC2; rather crudely burnished on the neck (cf L & J type 1.9). Fabric 5, fired to grey-brown with grey-black surfaces.
(2.148)
- 77 Necked jar, M & T type IID1; undecorated. Profile restored. Fabric 4; paler on exterior below the shoulder, presumably from stacking in the kiln.
(2.148; sherds from 2.158, 2.187 and 2.224)
- 78 Necked jar, as L & J types 1.9, 10, with groups of burnished alternating diagonal lines as type 1.11. Fabric .2, occasional black inclusions; burnt.
(2.148; sherds from 2.103 and 2.227)
- 79 Necked jar, M & T type IID2; cf L & J type 1.14. Undecorated. Fabric 5, burnt.
(2.148; sherds from 2.103)
- 80 Necked jar, M & T type IID2; cf L & J type 1.14. Undecorated. Fabric 2, some pale, black and red inclusions; heavily burnt.
(2.148; sherds from 2.227 and 2.229)
- 81 Necked jar, as L & J type 1.14. Fabric 6; burnt and friable.
(2.148)
- 82 Necked jar, as L & J type 1.14. Fabric 6.
(2.148)
- 83 Necked jar, as L & J type 1.14. Fabric 3, surfaces rather a drab grey.
(2.148)
- 84 Necked jar, M & T type IID1. Burnished wavy line on shoulder. Fabric 2; burnt.
(2.148)
- 85 Necked jar, M & T type IID1, as L & J type

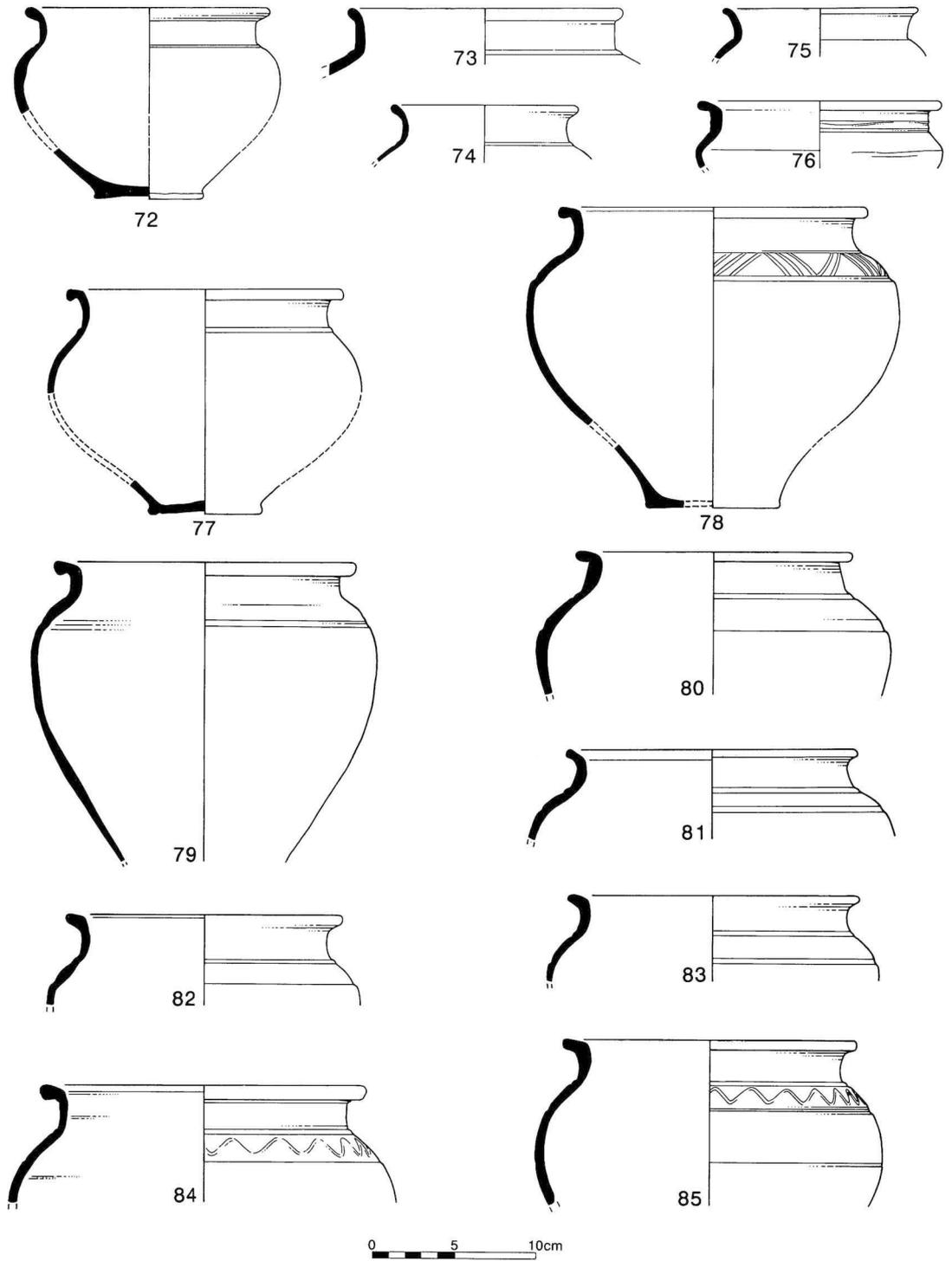


Fig 47 Wanborough. Roman pottery from Phase 2, nos 72-85 (1:4)

1.9. Burnished wavy line on shoulder, streaky burnish on neck. Fabric 2.

(2.148; sherds from 2.103, 2.224 and 2.227, and Guildford Museum acc TRB.2677)

Jars with everted flattened rims

86 Small jar, cf L & J type 3A.3; no offset or cordon. Fabric 7/8.

(2.148; sherds from 2.142)

87 Small jar, cf L & J types 3A.3,4; no offset or cordon. Fabric 7/8.

(2.148)

88 Jar, cf L & J type 3A.3; no offset or cordon. Fabric 8.

(2.148; sherds from 2.104 and 2.224)

89 Jar, as L & J type 3A.4; offset on shoulder. Fabric 4.

(2.148; sherds from 2.227)

90 Jar, as L & J type 3A.8. Fabric 6.

(2.148)

91 Jar, as L & J type 3A.8. Fabric 2.

(2.148; sherds from 2.101, and Guildford Museum acc TRB.2677)

92 Jar, as L & J type 3A.8, but with a pair of shallow grooves on the rim as on the mid-2nd century and later versions of the form (L & J types 3A.16-19). Fabric 1/2.

(2.148)

93 Jar, a small version of L & J type 3A.10. Fabric 5; fired dark grey-brown; burnt.

(2.148)

94 Jar, as L & J type 3A.10. Fabric 6, fired to dark grey with brown core; very hard-fired.

(2.148; sherds from 2.100, 2.101 and 2.158)

95 Jar, as L & J type 3A.10. Fabric 5; some sherds burnt.

(2.148; sherds from 2.103, 2.157, 2.158 and 2.227)

96 Jar, as L & J type 3A.10. Fabric 7; partly burnt.

(2.148)

97 Jar, cf L & J type 3A.20 but with a more upright neck. Fabric 6; burnt.

(2.148; sherds from 2.166)

Jars with sharply defined shoulders

98 Jar with tall beaded rim; the shoulder is marked by a strip decorated with impressed notches. Fabric dark grey-brown, dense sand up to 1.0mm, some pale and orange inclusions; surfaces vary from drab grey to orange-buff; burnt. Possibly made in Sussex; there is a similar vessel at Wiggonholt, but undecorated (Evans 1974, fig 13, no 80).

(2.148; sherds from 2.229)

99 Shoulder, jar; sharply angled and decorated with incised vertical lines. The profile is close

to no 23 above; cf also Winbolt 1924, pl 4, no 13, from Alfoldean. Dark grey-brown fabric, dense sand temper up to 1.0mm; drab dark-grey surfaces. Possibly made in Sussex.

(2.148; sherds from 2.183)

100 Body, jar; sharply angled shoulder with overhang. Fabric 5. There are closely similar jars from Chichester: Down & Rule 1971, fig 5.19, no 12a, fig 5.21, no 63a. Possibly made in Sussex.

(2.148; sherds from 2.224)

101 Jar, plain everted rim; angled shoulder marked by shallow cordons. The central cordon probably replaces the overhang on no 100: a more exaggerated version of this treatment is on a jar from Wiggonholt (Evans 1974, fig 13, no 78). Fabric 5. Possibly made in Sussex.

(2.148; sherds from 2.101 and 2.104)

Jars with plain everted rims

102 Jar, slightly beaded lip; rounded shoulder with at least three cordons. Fabric 5. The cordons may indicate a link with the possible Sussex jars, notably no 101.

(2.148; sherds from 2.227)

103 Jar, rounded shoulder marked by a groove below a band of lightly burnished arcading. The unusual decoration is on a similar vessel in 'sandy reddish ware' from Chichester, dated up to the early Flavian period (Down & Rule 1971, fig 5.12, no 16). Fabric 2.

(2.148; sherds from 2.224 and 2.227)

104 Jar; plain everted rim. Cf Neatham type 75. Fabric 4.

(2.148)

105 Jar; round-bodied with convex shoulder. Possibly a variant of L & J type 2; cf also Evans 1974, fig 13, no 89, where the convex upper part is deeper. Fabric 4.

(2.148)

106 Jar, L & J type 2; foot restored. Fabric 4/5.

(2.148)

107 Jar, L & J type 2; complete except for foot. Fabric 4/5; burnt.

(2.148 and 2.231)

108 Jar, L & J type 2; decorated with applied ribs. The ribbed effect is normally achieved with thin slip, as L & J type 2.3 (and cf Bird 1984, fig 6, no 50). Fabric 4.

(2.148; sherds from 2.224)

Large jars

109 Jar probably; rim with slight lid-seating on interior. The moulded rim is more usual on flagon forms, but the mouth of this piece is much too wide for a flagon. Fabric 4.

(2.148; sherds from 2.182 and 2.227)

110 Heavy jar rim; cf L & J type 9.5. Fabric 8,

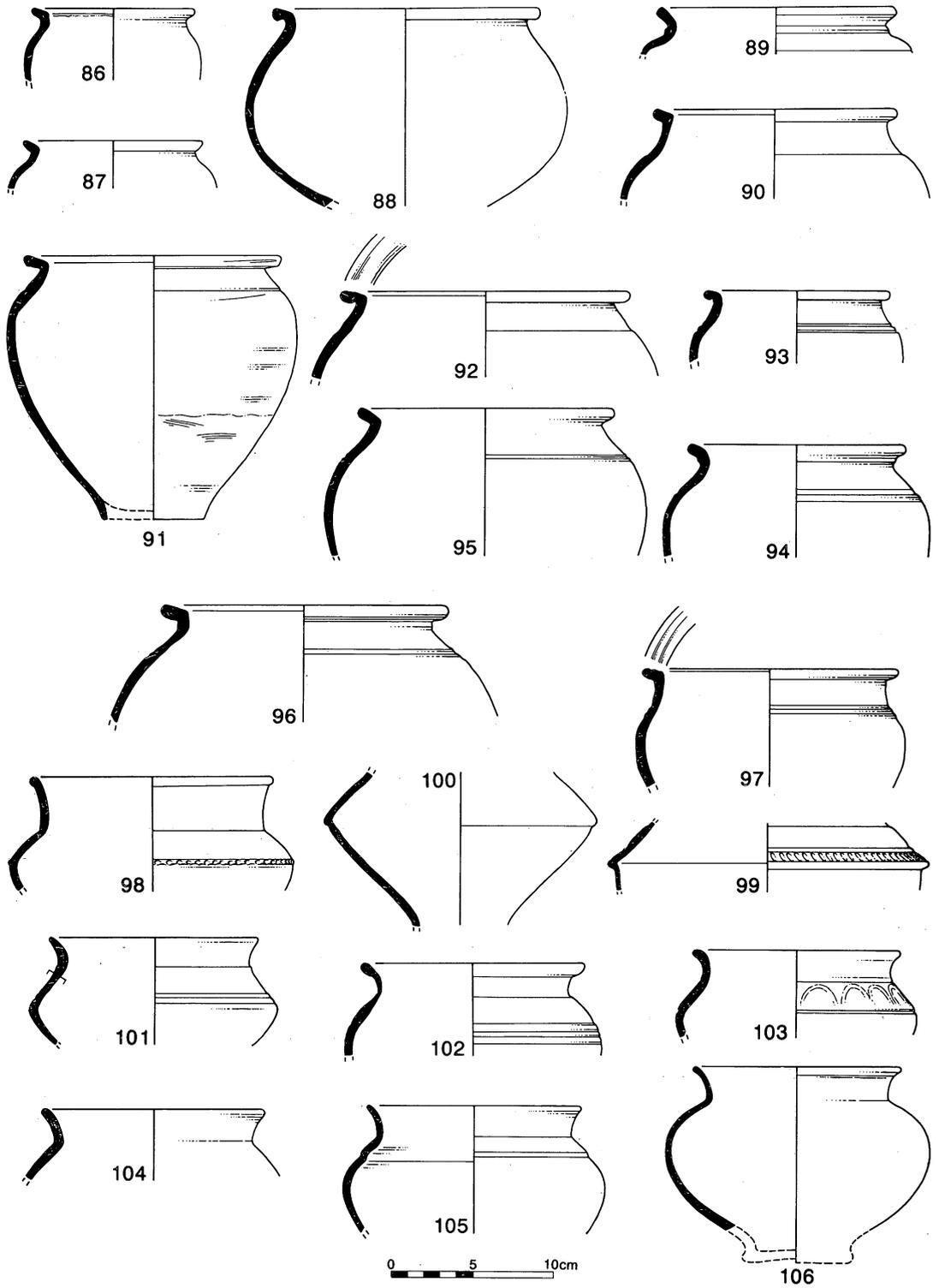


Fig 48 Wanborough. Roman pottery from Phase 2, nos 86-106 (1:4)

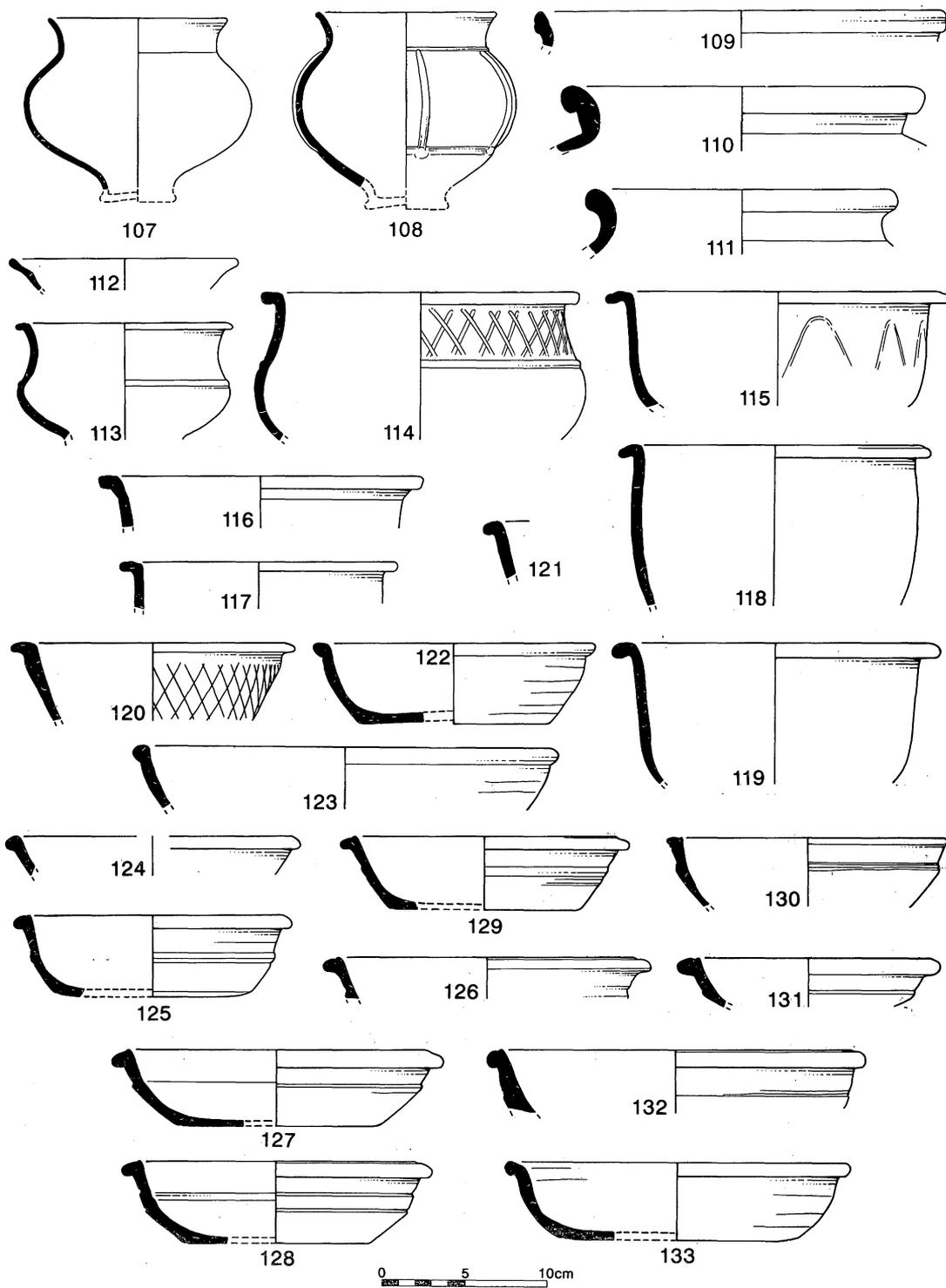


Fig 49 Wanborough. Roman pottery from Phase 2, nos 107-133 (1:4)

- some larger quartz grits up to 4.0mm; mottled surfaces, as fabric 3.
(2.148; sherds from 2.158 and 2.198)
- 111 Heavy jar rim; cf L & J type 9.6. Fabric 7.
(2.148; sherds from 2.156)
- Campanulate cups and bowls*
- 112 Cup, probably copying a Gallo-Belgic form. Cf Cunliffe 1971b, fig 87, type 50.5; cf also Neatham types 2-3. Fabric 7.
(2.148)
- 113 Bowl, as Neatham type 39 but with a square bead rim. Fabric 6.
(2.148)
- 114 Bowl, L & J type 5D.1 but with a more pronounced cordon; the lattice decoration is confined to the upper zone. Cf also Neatham type 45. Fabric 1.
(2.148; sherds from 2.101, 2.104 and 2.143)
- Deep bowls*
- 115 Bowl; grooved rim and burnished loop decoration. Cf Neatham types 46-49; the rim is on type 47. Fabric 2; burnt.
(2.148; sherds from 2.101, 2.103 and 2.143)
- 116 Bowl; grooved rim, no surviving decoration. Cf Neatham type 46. Fabric 2.
(2.148; sherds from 2.224)
- 117 Bowl; grooved rim as Neatham type 47. Fabric 1.
(2.148; sherds from 2.103 and 2.104)
- 118 Deep bowl, apparently undecorated. Cf Neatham types 46-49; rim as type 47. Fabric 7, fired dark grey-brown.
(2.148; sherds from 2.103, 2.197 and 2.224)
- 119 Deep bowl, apparently undecorated; cf L & J type 5A.2, Neatham type 52. Fabric 1/7, burnt.
(2.148)
- Black-burnished bowl*
- 120 Bowl, flat rim, burnished lattice decoration. Dorset black-burnished ware (BB1): brownish-black fabric, dense white sand temper, black surfaces. The form is Gillam 1968, type 221, dated cAD 140-180.
(2.148)
- Bead-rim bowls and dishes*
- 121 Dish or bowl, bead rim; cf L & J type 5A.1. The diameter cannot be measured. Fabric 2.
(2.148)
- 122 Bead-rim dish; cf L & J type 6B.2. Fabric 3.
(2.148; sherds from 2.100)
- 123 Bead-rim dish; cf L & J type 5A.4. Fabric 1.
(2.148)
- 124 Dish or bowl, triangular bead rim; cf L & J type 5A.4. Fabric 5, burnt to orange-brown; abraded.
(2.148)
- 'Surrey'/'Atrebat' bowls*
- 125 'Surrey' bowl, as L & J type 5.6. Fabric 1; burnt, with burnt material adhering to interior.
(2.148; sherds from 2.101)
- 126 'Surrey' bowl, cf L & J type 5.3. Fabric 1, burnt to blotchy orange/grey/buff.
(2.148)
- 127 'Surrey' bowl, cf L & J type 5.1. Fabric 1.
(2.148; sherds from 2.103, 2.104, 2.141 and 2.224)
- 128 'Surrey' bowl, as L & J type 5.5. Fabric 1.
(2.148; sherds from 2.227)
- 129 'Surrey' bowl, as L & J type 5.6. Fabric 1/2.
(2.148; sherds from 2.142)
- 130 'Surrey' bowl; cf L & J type 5.9. Fabric 2.
(2.148)
- 131 'Surrey' bowl, L & J type 5.6. Fabric 1/2.
(2.148; sherds from 2.224)
- 132 'Surrey' bowl; thick version of L & J type 5.2. Fabric 1/2.
(2.148)
- 133 Dish, probably a degenerate 'Surrey' bowl, as L & J class 5. Fabric 1; burnt, with burnt material adhering to interior.
(2.148; sherds from 2.100, 2.101, 2.103 and 2.142)
- Lids*
- 134 Lid probably, rather than a dish. Fabric 2/3; dark grey exterior, lighter and mottled on interior.
(2.148)
- 135 Lid probably; cf Neatham type 132 for the rim. Fabric 1; burnt on lip.
(2.148)
- 136 Lid, cf Neatham type 130. Fabric 7, fired brown with light brown surfaces.
(2.148; sherds from 2.227)
- 137 Lid, cf Neatham type 130. Fabric 6.
(2.148)
- 138 Lid, cf Neatham type 130. Fabric 1/7; fired drab grey; burnt on lip.
(2.148; sherds from 2.137)
- 139 Lid, cf Neatham type 130. Fabric 4, some larger quartz grains.
(2.148; sherds from 2.156)
- 140 Lid, rim as L & J type 7.2. The exterior has a band of combed wavy lines (combed more than once to fill the space), round a circle of lattice stabbed with a comb of at least ten teeth.

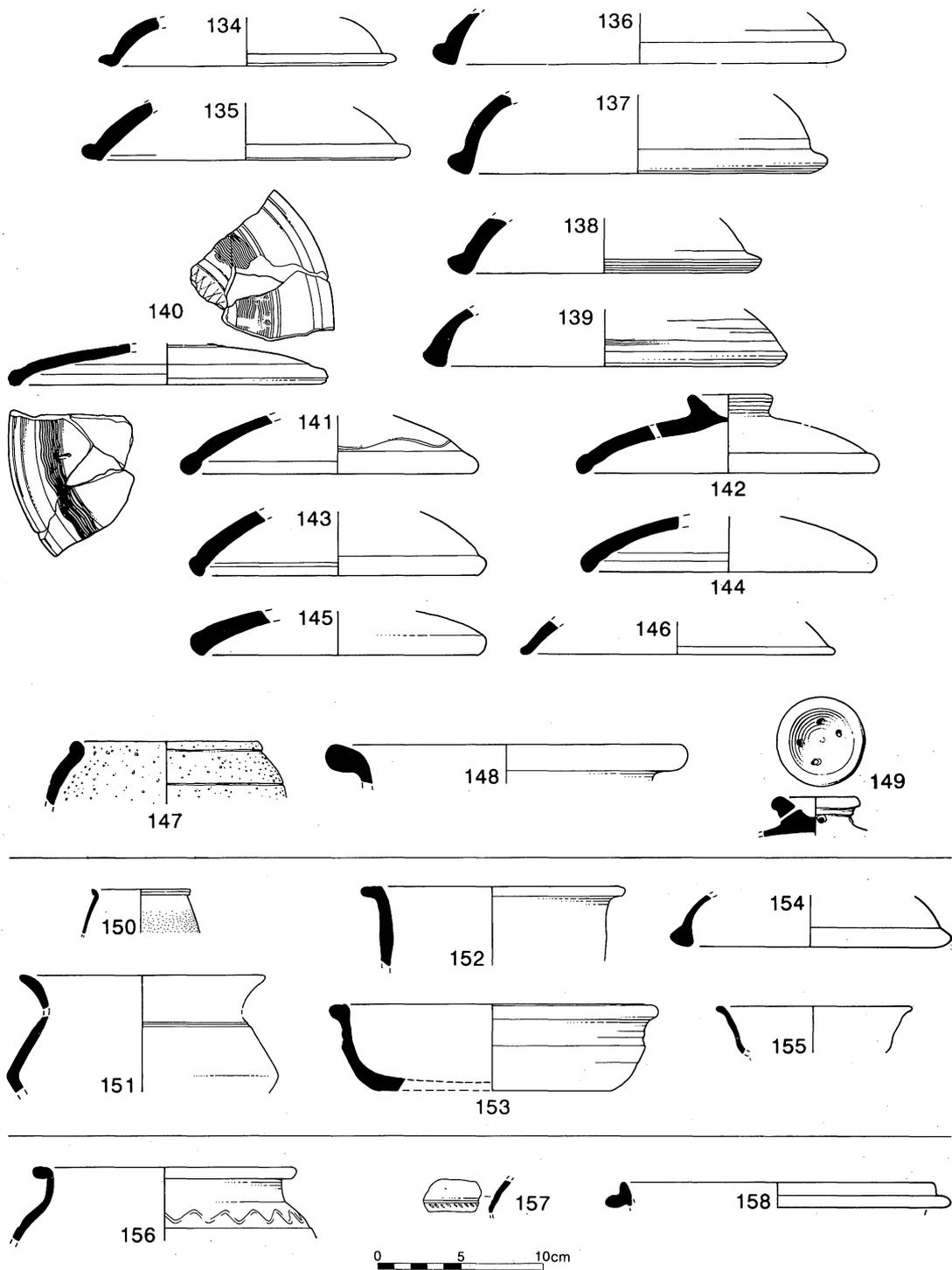


Fig 50 Wanborough. Roman pottery from Phase 2, nos 134-146, probably from Phase 2, nos 147-149, Phase 3, nos 150-154, probably from Phase 3, no 155, and Phase 4, nos 156-158 (1:4)

The interior has a second band of combed wavy lines. Fabric 2.

(2.148; sherds from 2.143)

- 141 Lid, as L & J type 7.3. Burnished wavy line. Fabric 5, fired dark grey.
(2.148; sherds from 2.197)
- 142 Lid; restored profile. Rim as L & J type 7.3, plain knob as L & J fig 19, B, but without holes. Fabric 3/8; blotchy dark grey. Burnt material adhering.
(2.148)
- 143 Lid, as L & J type 7.4. Fabric 1.
(2.148)
- 144 Lid, as L & J type 7.8, but with two grooves. Fabric 1/2; burnt material adhering.
(2.148)
- 145 Lid, cf L & J type 7.8, but without grooves. Fabric 2; burnt material adhering.
(2.148)
- 146 Lid, slight bead lip. Same vessel as Bird 1984, fig 6, no 33, from the 1979 Wanborough excavation. Fabric 4.
(2.148)

Probably Phase 2 (fig 50, nos 147-149)

REDUCED WARES

Bead-rim jar

- 147 Bead-rim jar, grooved on shoulder, flint-tempered fabric 6 (see report by M G Fulford, 3.3.4); hand-made. A date range from the late 1st century BC to the later 1st century AD is likely.
(2.145)

Large jar

- 148 Jar, heavy rim; cf L & J type 9.4. Fabric 8, fired dark grey-brown; burnt and abraded.
(2.145)

Lid

- 149 Lid knob with holes; cf L & J fig 19, A. The holes, which were probably made to ensure even firing of the thick knob, were bored from the top downwards. Fabric 1.
(2.145)

Phase 3 (fig 50, nos 150-154)

OXIDIZED WARES

Roughcast beaker

- 150 Small roughcast beaker with cornice rim. Fine orange-brown fabric, dense fine white inclusions; matt brown slip, fine clay rough-casting. Perhaps a Colchester product: Anderson 1980, 35-8, describes a similar fabric. For the form, cf Symonds 1990, fig 6, no 55, which has a similar restrained rim and upper body. An early to mid-Antonine date is likely.
(2.227)

REDUCED WARES

Jar with sharply defined shoulder

- 151 Jar, plain everted rim, sharply angled shoulder. For the form cf Evans 1974, fig 13, no 79, from a deposit of later 1st to early 2nd century date. Grey-brown fabric, dense sand temper up to 1.0mm; dark-grey surfaces, fired to orange-buff on and below the carination and on the underside of the rim - this colour change is perhaps too even to be burning. Possibly made in Sussex.
(2.227; sherds from 2.100 and 2.229)

Deep bowl

- 152 Bowl, grooved rim; cf Neatham type 46, but undecorated. Fabric 7; burnt.
(2.227)

'Surrey'/'Atrebat' bowl

- 153 'Surrey' bowl; cf L & J type 5.5. Fabric 1; burnt.
(2.227; sherds from 2.101, and Guildford Museum acc TRB.2677)

Lid

- 154 Lid; cf Neatham type 130. Fabric 2.
(2.227; sherds from 2.103, 2.143 and 2.224)

Probably Phase 3 (fig 50, no 155)

REDUCED WARES

Campanulate cup

- 155 Cup, probably copying a Gallo-Belgic form (cf Cunliffe 1971b, fig 87, type 50.5, and no 112 above; cf also Neatham types 2-3). Fabric 9.
(2.207)

Phase 4 (fig 50, nos 156-158)

REDUCED WARES

Necked jar with 'figure-7' rim

- 156 Necked jar, as L & J type 1.9; burnished wavy line on shoulder. Fabric 2.
(2.197 and 2.212)

Jar with sharply defined shoulder

- 157 Shoulder sherd, decorated with short diagonal incisions. Densely sandy (less than 1.0mm) grey-brown fabric, drab grey exterior surface, light brown interior. The profile is close to Winbolt 1924, pl 4, no 13, which has rouletted bands. Possibly made in Sussex.
(2.197)

Flanged bowl

- 158 Flanged bowl; cf L & J type 5B.3, Neatham type 62. Fabric 2. A date towards the middle of the 3rd century or later is likely.
(2.197; sherds from 2.136. Possibly intrusive: the largest sherd comes from the later

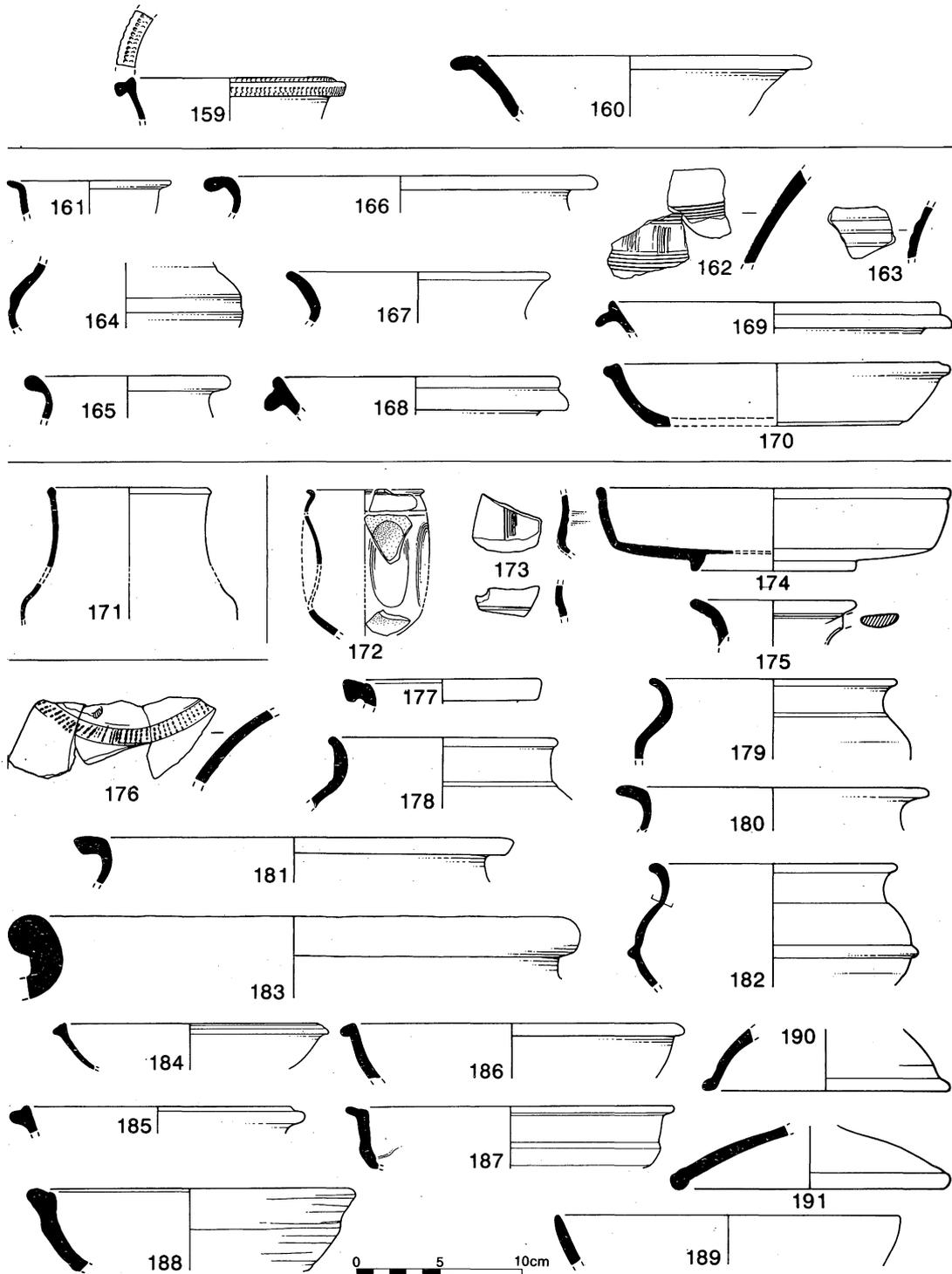


Fig 51 Wanborough. Roman pottery from Phase 5, nos 159-160, Phase 6, nos 161-170, Phase 7, no 171, and Phase 8, nos 172-191 (1:4)

level 2.136, where several flanged bowls were found).

Phase 5 (fig 51, nos 159–160)

OXIDIZED WARES

Tazza

- 159 Tazza rim; the lip and flange are decorated with heavy squareish double rouletting. Cf Wilson 1972, fig 127, nos 923 and 925. Hard granular cream fabric; probably a product of the Verulamium region potteries. Burnt dark grey below rim. Tazze of this type generally date from the late 1st to mid-2nd century, while the fabric would indicate a date up to the Hadrianic period.
(7.701)

REDUCED WARES

Bead-rim bowl

- 160 Bowl with groove and bead on rim; cf Neatham types 49, 54. Fabric 6.
(7.701)

Phase 6 (fig 51, nos 161–170)

OXIDIZED WARES

Cup/bowl

- 161 Rim, probably from a cup or small bowl, with everted lip. Possibly a carinated form; cf Cunliffe 1971b, fig 106, type 209, a greyware type dated to the 2nd century. Micaceous orange fabric, grey core; some red and occasional black inclusions to 1.5mm; buff surfaces.
(2.179)

REDUCED WARES

Flagons and narrow-mouthed jars

- 162 Shoulder sherd, large flagon or narrow-mouthed jar. Decorated with combed horizontal bands with a row of grouped combed verticals between them; the comb had at least six teeth. Fabric 2.
(2.135 and 2.178)
- 163 Shoulder sherd, flagon or jar; rounded profile with, probably, two wide cordons. L & J type 1.31 has similar cordons but rather lower on the body; it is dated late 2nd to late 3rd century. Fabric 4.
(5.505)
- 164 Body sherd, flagon or jar; shallow cordons at waist. See no 163 for possible parallel. Fabric 2.
(2.177)

Necked jars with everted thickened rims

- 165 Necked jar; cf L & J type 1.28 but with a very heavy beaded lip. Fabric 5, very hard-fired.
(2.135)

- 166 Jar, cf L & J types 1.26–27, 1.29–30, but the lip is thicker and somewhat undercut. The forms cited date from the late 2nd to the end of the 3rd century. Fabric 2.
(5.501)

Everted rim jar

- 167 Everted rim jar; cf M & T type IIF8, dated to the later 2nd century. Fine sandy brown fabric, grey-brown surfaces; probably underfired Alice Holt ware.
(5.501)

Flanged bowls and dishes

- 168 Flanged bowl; cf L & J type 5B.8, Neatham type 51. Fabric 10; cream slip on interior and over flange. A date range of late 3rd to 4th century is possible.
(2.135)
- 169 Flanged bowl; cf L & J type 5B.4, Neatham type 61. Fabric 10, burnt or fired to drab buff on the exterior but possibly slipped on the flange. Probably later 3rd to 4th century.
(2.135)
- 170 Dish with small round flange, and groove at base of wall. The rim is similar to L & J type 6C.1 but that is usually white-slipped. Perhaps a hybrid of early (L & J 5) and later features. Fabric 1.
(2.177)

Phase 7 (fig 51, no 171)

OXIDIZED WARES

Folded beaker

- 171 Folded beaker with tall chamfered rim. Orange-buff fabric, dense small red inclusions, some pink quartz grains and occasional black grits; traces of orange-red slip. The form is close to a Trier 'Rhenish' or Moselkeramik type (Greene 1978, fig 2.3, nos 6 and 10); an Antonine to mid-3rd Century date is likely.
(2.184; sherds from 2.136)

Phase 8 (fig 51, nos 172–191)

OXIDIZED WARES

Roughcast beaker

- 172 Rim and four body sherds, probably one vessel: a small roughcast indented beaker with cornice rim. Hard fine light-brown fabric, grey core, with fine white inclusions; matt purplish-grey colour coat, fine clay roughcasting. Perhaps a Colchester product: for the form, cf Symonds 1990, fig 6, nos 51 and 53, analysed as Colchester products, though the fabric does not match precisely with Anderson's (1980, 35–8) description of the common fabrics. Probably mid-2nd century.
(2.103; sherds from 2.100 and 2.104)

Bowl

- 173 Two sherds, probably from a bowl imitating samian form Dr 29. One is probably the upper zone, with vertical incised decoration made with a seven-toothed comb (for the decoration on this form, cf Wilson 1984, fig 100, no 2371); the other is presumably a rounded carination. Dark buff fabric, rather friable, drab buff core; some fine red inclusions and occasional black and white grits; cf no 37. (2.103)

Dish imitating samian form Dr 18

- 174 Dish copying samian form Dr 18, with a shallow footing. Fine sandy orange fabric, redder core, with frequent red inclusions and occasional small black and white grits. Burnt. The general shape of the vessel suggests a date in the late 1st or early 2nd century. (2.103; sherds from 2.142)

REDUCED WARES

Flagons

- 175 Flagon neck with stump of handle; cf Neatham type 115. Fabric 4/5. (7.700)
- 176 Shoulder, flagon, with stump of applied handle. Decorated with a band of uneven diagonal stabbing, made with a four-toothed comb; cf L & J fig 27, 3A.A. Fabric 5. (2.130; sherds from 2.100, 2.104, 2.142, 2.143, 2.157, 2.158 and 2.159)

Narrow-mouthed jar

- 177 Narrow-mouthed jar; cf L & J types 1A.7-10, dated late 2nd to late 3rd century. Fabric 4/5, rather abraded. (7.700)

Necked jars with rounded rim

- 178 Necked jar, M & T type IIC1, thickened on the interior (cf L & J type 1.18). Fabric 5. (7.700; sherds from 2.166)
- 179 Necked jar; cf L & J type 1.20. Fabric 5. (2.103; sherds from 2.100, 2.143 and 2.159)

Necked jars with everted thickened rims

- 180 Jar, everted rim; cf L & J types 1.26 and 1.30, which date from the late 2nd century to the end of the 3rd. Fabric 4. (7.700)
- 181 Jar; heavy everted rim, undercut. The actual rim suggests a later version of such jars as L & J type 1.2; perhaps cf also Neatham type 95. Fabric 4. (7.700)

Cordoned jar

- 182 Jar with everted rim and a heavy cordon at the widest point of the body. Cf perhaps Evans 1974, fig 13, no 89, which has a deep groove in place of the cordon but is otherwise a closely similar vessel; possibly made in Sussex. Fabric 5. (2.103; sherds from 2.100 and 2.104)

Large jar

- 183 Large jar with bead rim; cf Neatham type 90. Fabric 8, very thick and heavy. (2.103; sherds from 2.100)

Cup

- 184 Cup; cf Neatham types 2-3, but with reeded rim. Fabric 7, with a finer clay matrix than usual but frequent quartz grits up to 1.0mm. (2.103; sherds from 2.100)

Flanged bowl

- 185 Flanged bowl, cf L & J type 5B.6, Neatham type 51 (upper). Fabric 6; burnt. A late 3rd to early 5th century date range would fit this form. (7.700)

Bead rim dish

- 186 Bead rim dish, cf Neatham type 19. Fabric 2. (2.103; sherds from 2.100 and 2.104)

'Surrey'/'Atrebat' bowls

- 187 'Surrey' bowl; cf L & J type 5.9. Rough groove on interior. Fabric 1/2. (2.103)
- 188 'Surrey' bowl, a very thick and clumsy version of the form. Fabric 1/2, badly made. (2.103, 2.134 and 2.204; sherds from 2.100, 2.101 and 2.143)

Plain dish

- 189 Plain straight dish; cf L & J type 6A.2, a late 2nd to late 3rd century type. Fabric 4. (7.700)

Lids

- 190 Lid probably, rather than a dish; cf Neatham type 130. Fabric 2. (2.103; sherds from 2.104)
- 191 Lid; cf L & J type 7.3. Fabric 1, burnt. (2.103 and 2.134; sherds from 2.100 and 2.142)

Phase 9 (fig 52, nos 192-207)

OXIDIZED WARES

Bowl

- 192 Reeded rim bowl, grooved on the body. The form is close to a range of bowls made in the

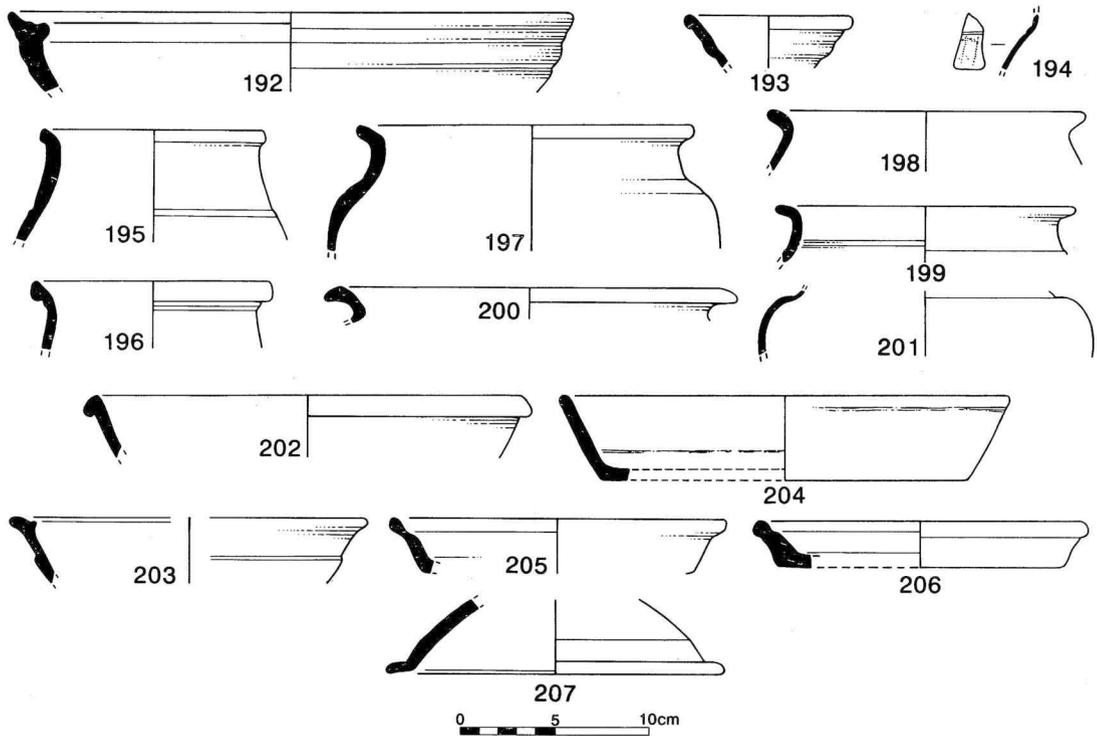


Fig 52 Wanborough. Roman pottery from Phase 9, nos 192-207 (1:4)

Verulamium region during the 2nd century (eg Wilson 1984, fig 102, nos 2434, 2444-2450), but the fabric and finer details do not match exactly. The fabric is coarse and granular, drab cream, with black inclusions. A similar bowl, in red ware, occurs at Wiggonholt (Evans 1974, fig 12, no 75).

(2.182)

REDUCED WARES

Flagon

- 193 Ring-neck flagon; cf Neatham type 109. Fabric 5.
(2.102; sherds from Guildford Museum acc TRB.2682)

Narrow-mouthed jars

- 194 Shoulder sherd, probably a narrow-mouthed jar, or flagon; decorated with a chequer motif of comb impressions. Fabric 4.
(2.101)
- 195 Rim, narrow-mouthed jar; cordon on shoulder. No close parallel in L & J or Neatham. Fabric 7.
(2.100)

- 196 Narrow-mouthed jar; cf Neatham type 80 but with a taller neck. Rim as L & J type 3C.5. Fabric 5/7, blackened rim. L & J type 3C.5 and related forms are dated early 3rd to early 4th century.
(2.104)

Necked jar with 'figure-7' rim

- 197 Necked jar, as L & J type 1.14. Fabric 5.
(2.100, 2.101, 2.157 and 2.158)

Jars with everted thickened rims

- 198 Jar, with short swollen rim; perhaps a hybrid of Neatham types 75 and 76. Fabric 5. The Neatham jars are dated later 2nd century to second half of the 4th (Millet 1979, 127).
(2.104)
- 199 Jar with double groove on interior of the neck. For the rim, cf L & J type 1.31, dated late 2nd to late 3rd century. Fabric 5.
(2.104)
- 200 Jar, everted swollen rim; cf L & J type 1.26. Millet shows a similar rim (1979, fig 4, no 23 (lower)), identified with Neatham type 76 but not illustrated in the Neatham report. He notes a wide range of detail, also that in general

earlier versions have, as here, a more pronounced angle between rim and body (1979, 127). An overall range of late 2nd to second half 4th century is suggested. Fabric 5, burnt. (2.100 and 2.101; sherds from Guildford Museum acc TRB.2682)

Beaker

- 201 Body sherd, beaker, as Evans 1974, fig 13, no 81. Fabric 2, burnt and abraded. (2.158)

Bowl/dish with bead rim

- 202 Dish or bowl with bead rim; cf L & J type 5A.1. Fabric 4/10. (2.100)

'Surrey'/'Atrebat' bowl

- 203 'Surrey' bowl; cf L & J type 5.5. Fabric 1. (2.104)

Plain dish

- 204 Straight-sided dish, grooved below rim; cf L & J types 6A.5-7, but they are normally slipped. Fabric 2. A 3rd-century date is likely. (2.182)

'Gallo-Belgic' dishes

- 205 Dish, derived from earlier Gallo-Belgic forms; cf Neatham type 6. Probably the same vessel as Bird 1984, fig 6, no 16, from the 1979 Wanborough excavation. Fabric 2. (2.100)
- 206 Dish derived from earlier Gallo-Belgic forms; cf Neatham type 6. Fabric 2. (2.182)

Lid

- 207 Lid, cf Neatham type 130. Fabric 2. (2.143)

3.3.6 The other pottery by phase

See tables 21-29 (microfiche 43-58)

3.4 THE BUILDING MATERIALS, by Joanna Bird

3.4.1 The Tessellated Floor

The cella of the temple clearly had a tessellated floor, of which 1244 individual identifiable tesserae were recovered. Some 80% of these tesserae were ironstone cubes, a further 13% were cut from tile, and 7% were pieces of cut flint or pale stone, mainly Malmstone (see the report on the samples of building and other stone, 3.4.7, microfiche 59-60). The sizes of the cubes were somewhat variable, but the average was approximately 30mm square; there were also a few (a maximum of ten) tile and pale stone tesserae which had been cut to triangles rather than squares, presumably to fit into angles.

The proportions of the three types of tesserae suggest a floor of ironstone cubes with decoration - perhaps an inset square border - of tile and paler stone. While the individual tesserae are large and rather clumsily shaped, the whole floor may well have had a sombre bronze-like lustre that would have been impressive in the dim temple interior. Floors of ironstone tesserae are recorded elsewhere in Surrey, including Binscombe, where an inset decoration of tile cubes was similarly indicated (Smith 1977, 21), and Broadstreet Common, where there was a more elaborate border of smaller coloured tesserae (Sibthorpe 1831).

While none of the cubes was found *in situ*, a high proportion of them retained traces of the coarse white mortar into which they had been set. These traces were visible on the bases and approximately three-quarters of the way up the sides. A small number of the tesserae bore signs that the floor had later been at least partially covered with pink mortar, perhaps an *opus signinum* floor. This pink mortar covered the tops of the cubes and went over the sides, usually clearly covering the earlier white mortar.

Six tesserae were recovered from Phase 4 (2.197 and 5.503); the remainder came from the destruction levels of Phase 6 (2.135 and 2.178, which shared 44% of the total, 2.179, 5.501 and 5.503), and from Phases 7-9. Three tesserae recorded from the disturbed natural subsoil (2.105) are likely to be intrusive.

3.4.2 Painted Plaster

The nineteen pieces of painted plaster recovered from the site were all very fragmentary – apart from one piece measuring 74 × 71mm, the average size was 21 × 15mm – but a number of colours had survived. Discernible edges to the colours were straight, indicating a design of squares or rectangles, or possibly of straight coloured bands. Four different types of plaster were present, but it is impossible with such tiny pieces to suggest whether they represent successive replasterings, or simply different batches of plaster made up during a single job. The paint traces do suggest more than one phase of painting.

- 1 Off-white, rather coarse plaster with rounded sand, fragments of chalk and black inclusions, finished with a fine white skim. Four pieces, including one apparently from an angle of a wall; all have plain dull red paint. (All from Trench 5: 2 from Phase 6, 5.501 and 5.502, 2 from Phase 8)
- 2 Pinkish-white coarse plaster with chips of tile, chalk and other inclusions, finished with a fine white skim. Three pieces; 1 with creamy-white paint, 2 with creamy-white paint beside/over dull red. (1 from Phase 4 or 6, 2.212, 2 from Phase 6, 2.177)
- 3 Sandy yellowish plaster, finished with a creamy-pink skim. Five pieces; 1 with dull red paint, 2 with dull red paint and possibly creamy-white overpaint, 1 with black and possibly creamy-white paint, and 1 with a yellow stripe 8mm wide over greyish-pink paint (possibly an earlier creamy-white and dull red). (Phase 4, 2.224, and Phase 4 or 6, 2.212)
- 4 Hard buff plaster with chalk and sand inclusions, finished with a greyish skim. Seven pieces; 1 with dull red paint and partial cream overpaint, 1 with dull red paint, and 5 with creamy-white paint over dull dark blue or dark grey. (Phase 4, 2.202 (6 pieces), and Phase 4 or 6, 2.212)

3.4.3 Undecorated Plaster and Mortar

Some 5.4kg of undecorated plaster and mortar were recovered, mostly in rough chunks of varying size. Of this, almost 5kg consisted of a coarse greyish-white mortar containing pieces of chalk and small pebbles up to 30mm across. At least some of this is likely to have come from the mortar bed in which the tessellated floor was set, but one piece from 2.135 had a flat surface and probably therefore came from a wall. This coarse mortar occurred in Phases 4 (2.203, 2.226 and 2.229; 1.6kg), 6 (2.135, 2.177–179 and 2.195; 2kg) and 7–9. Fragments (15g) from the disturbed natural subsoil (2.225) are likely to be intrusive.

The remaining material was noticeably finer, and consisted of a pinkish mortar with inclusions of small tile chips (160g) and creamy or white mortars with sand and other small inclusions (160g). Although there are indications on some of the tesserae of a possible later *opus signinum* floor, none of the pink mortar fragments could be certainly identified as *opus signinum*, while some at least of this mortar was clearly used as a basis for painted plaster (see 3.4.2). It is therefore likely that most of this material represents undecorated pieces of wall plaster, and the colours and textures generally match some of the painted fragments. Apart from two scraps (7g) of orange-tinged mortar from the disturbed natural subsoil (2.230), one piece each (30g altogether) of pinkish-white and of creamy-white mortar from Phase 2 (2.148), and a larger (85g) piece of yellowish mortar from Phase 3 (2.198), it all came from Phases 4 (2.202, 2.224 and 2.229), 4 or 6 (2.212), 6 (2.135 and 5.501) and 7–9.

3.4.4 Daub

A small amount of daub was recovered, weighing 383g altogether. All the pieces were small, a light yellowish-brown in colour, and roughly worked. Three fragments, totalling 40g, were recovered from the disturbed natural subsoil (2.225, 2.230 and 4.403), and several pieces – 59% of the total by weight – from Phase 2 (2.148). The remainder all came from Phase 8, with 29% of the total from the upper levels of Trench 4.

3.4.5 *Tile*

A large amount of tile, *tegulae* and *imbrices*, was recovered from the site, and probably represents a considerable portion of the temple roof. A comprehensive study and analysis of this material is being carried out by John Gower, and it is expected that a detailed report will appear in a future volume of the *Collections*.

3.4.6 *Tiles with Animal Prints*, identified by Pat Nicolaysen

Nine pieces of flat tile bore imprints of animal feet on the upper surface, presumably made while the tiles were laid out to dry before being fired. They consist of: one piece with one sheep hoofprint; one piece with two sheep hoofprints; four pieces with one dog pawprint; and three pieces with two dog pawprints. All came from Trench 2, one from Phase 4 (2.197), five from Phase 7 (including four from 2.184) and three from Phase 9.

3.4.7 *Building and Other Stone*, identified by Kathryn Knowles

See microfiche 59-60

3.5 THE ANIMAL REMAINS, by Pat Nicolaysen

3.5.1 *Animal Bones*

There were 880 bones from this site, of which 206 (23%) were assigned to species, 326 (37%) were cattle/horse size and sheep/pig size fragments and 348 (40%) were unidentifiable fragments. No sieving was done on the site, and some contexts had been disturbed by treasure-hunting activity. Bones of the following species were present: sheep (*Ovis aries*) 106, pig (*Sus scrofa*) 51, cattle (*Bos taurus*) 30, horse (*Equus sp*) 1, dog (*Canis familiaris*) 2, red deer (*Cervus elaphus*) 2, hare (*Lepus capensis*) 9 and domestic fowl (*Gallus sp*) 2. The distribution of species by phase is shown in table 30, but several contexts are represented only by unidentifiable fragments. Sheep were the most common species found. No deciduous lower third molars, horn cores or metapodials of goats were identified. The four deciduous lower third molars recovered were all from juvenile sheep, as there were no common interlobar pillars between the cusps in any of these teeth (Legge & Dorrington 1985). This evidence is in contrast with that from the temple site at West Hill, Uley, where goats were well represented (Levitan 1977).

There is no evidence for votive offerings in the form of whole or part carcasses; the hare bones found in context 2.135 included the skull with maxillae and one mandible (with almost complete dentition), the complete pelvis, both femora and tibiae/fibulae, and one calcaneum, but were not articulated. This may have been a natural death; the context was that of the levelling layers of rubble produced by the demolition of the temple (Phase 6) and does not support the likelihood of this hare being a sacrificial animal.

Phase	Sample size	Sheep	Pig	Cattle	Dog	Horse	Other
Disturbed natural subsoil	20	15	4	1			
2	113	61	32	19	1		
3	11	5	5	1			
4	3	1	1	1			
5	5	1	4				
6	16	3	1	1			1 red deer 10 hare
7	4	2		1			1 domestic fowl
8	17	8	3	3	1		1 red deer 1 domestic fowl
9	17	11	1	4		1	

TABLE 30 Distribution of species by phase from identifiable bones and teeth.

The body part analysis (table 31) shows a fairly high proportion of jaws and feet and lower limb bones. There is little evidence of very young animals from unfused limb bone shafts or loose epiphyses, although one mandible of a calf no more than six months old was present, in context 2.148. In this same context were the bones of a pig probably just over a year old. Gnawing by carnivores, probably dogs, was found on 23% of the identified bones, although no dog bones and only two dog teeth were identified; this contrasts with the evidence from the Harlow temple site (Legge & Dorrington 1985), where less than 1% of bones showed marks of gnawing by carnivores.

Bone	Sheep	Pig	Cattle	Hare	Dog	Red Deer	Horse	Chicken	Cow Size	Sheep/pig Size
Antler						2				
Skull & max		1		2						4
Mandible	4		1	1					8	20
Scapula	1	2	1						1	3
Humerus	1	6	1					1		
Radius	7									
Ulna	1	2								
Rad/ulna			1							
M/carpal	7	3	2							
Phalanx 1	1	4	2							
Phalanx 2	1	1	1							
Phalanx 3									1	
Pelvis	1	1		2					1	1
Femur		1	1	2						
Tibia	5	2								
Tibia/fibula				2						
Astragalus	3		1							
Calcaneum	2			1						
M/tarsal	9	2	2							
Rib	1		1						13	60
Thor vert.		1	2							
Lumbar vert.		2								
Furcula								1		
Loose teeth	62	23	14		2		1			
Limb bones									28	149
Vert frags									1	10

TABLE 31 Minimum number of bone elements

Types of butchery marks would suggest that most of the bones were the remains of food eaten on or near the site. Chop marks were present on 21 sheep bones, 20 pig bones, 7 cattle bones, 98 sheep/pig size and 67 cattle/horse size bones. Many chops were made both vertically and transversely through limb bone shafts of identified and unidentified fragments. If these butchered bones were from food remains, and given the absence of whole or part carcasses mentioned above, it may be that sacrificial animals were eaten after slaughter, and the bones broken up after removal of the meat. This is believed to have occurred at the Roman site of Zwammerdam, Netherlands (van Mensch 1974).

Apart from small numbers of fragments with degrees of burning to black or brownish/black, there were 13 identified and 151 unidentified calcined fragments. These included 7 sheep and 6 pig bones, and 76 sheep/pig size and 3 cattle/horse size fragments. The animal bone report by Geraldene Done from the 1979 excavation at Wanborough dealt with 24 bone fragments of which eight were burnt to calcination (Done 1984). It is possible

to surmise that such a degree of burning might result from the practice of burnt offerings, but there is no proof of this.

Of 107 identified teeth in jaws and loose teeth, 62 are from sheep, 23 from pig, and 14 from cattle. There are also one fragment of horse cheek tooth, two dog teeth (possibly from the same animal), the hare skull and maxillae and one mandible with dentition, and two unidentified tooth fragments. Eruption and wear on the jaws and teeth of cattle, pig and sheep were recorded using the stages defined by Grant (1982). The ages at death of the sheep range from 18 months to about 2½ years, an older age range than that of the sheep at the Harlow temple, where the great majority died at between six and nine months. The pig ages at death range from 15 months to about 2½ years, except for one individual that might have been as old as 4 years. The cattle ages at death were generally between 2½ and 4 years, with the exception of the very young calf mentioned above.

The evidence discussed above has been drawn mainly from the phases preceding the temple and its ancillary buildings, and relating to their construction, use and demolition. Only one context yielded a bone group of any significant size - 2.148, which dated up to cAD 160/170 and which preceded the temple; it included 104 fragments of identified bones, jaws and teeth, plus 420 unidentified fragments.

The two red deer bones were pieces of antler, possibly worked. One was a shed antler base, with possible cut marks on the surface, and the other was the chopped-off tip of a tine with shallow surface cut marks. Six more fragments of bone from context 2.148 were found in the soil block with one of the more complete sceptres (copper alloy object no 17). Four of these fragments appear to be of the same type of bony material, possibly antler, with green stains on both surfaces from association with either bronze objects or bronze-stained soil. The two largest fragments seem to be very slightly curved, with discernible exterior and interior surfaces. Of the remaining two fragments, one is possibly part of the distal end of a sheep first or second phalanx, or a small pig metapodial; the other is possibly a shaft fragment of a bird long bone. Both pieces are calcined, mixed white and bluish-grey in colour.

This small sample from Wanborough was not as specialised either in its main species or in the age of slaughter of the animals, as the two other temple sites which have recently been published, Uley and Harlow. There is nothing which positively distinguishes the finds here from domestic food remains. The preponderance of sheep bones in this assemblage may demonstrate actual higher numbers of sheep present at the site when the temples were in use; the use of sheep, and possibly also domestic fowl, pigs and cattle, as sacrificial animals cannot be inferred with certainty from these bones, but remains a possibility.

3.5.2 Shells

Two marine types were present: oysters (table 32), and one whelk (from Phase 8, 2.103) which was probably brought to the site with the oysters. As oysters are conditioned to stand long exposure to tidal effects, they will keep fresh for up to ten days when removed from their native habitat and transported to the point of consumption. It is possible that these shellfish originated in the Thames estuary, were brought upriver to the junction of the Thames and the Wey and carried up the Wey to a suitable landing-place. The final stage of the journey might have been by packhorse to Wanborough. Oyster shells are ubiquitous on Roman sites in Britain, but the oysters would almost certainly have been eaten only during the cooler months of the year.

Three individuals of land snails were recovered, all of species requiring a moderately dry and open habitat, on calcareous soils of grassland and hedgerows. One was *Cermeilla virgata* (Phase 6, 2.135). The other two were either *C. virgata* or *Helicella itala* (Phase 8, 2.141).

Phase	Context	Upper Shell	Lower Shell
Disturbed natural subsoil	2.230	1	1
2	2.148	55	36
	2.231	1	
3	2.198		1
4	2.224	1	
	2.229		2
6	2.135	1	
	2.178	2	1
	2.179	1	
	5.501	1	1
7	2.199	4	3
8	2.103	3	1
	2.134	1	
	2.134/177	1	
	2.140		2
	2.151	1	
9	2.100		1
	2.104	1	
	2.136	1	1
	2.156	4	5
	2.182	1	

TABLE 32 Distribution of oyster shells by phase and layer

Chapter 4: Discussion (MGO'C)

4.1 TEMPLE RECONSTRUCTION

When contemplated in the light of recent research, (see in particular the seminal work of Lewis (1966), Wilson (1975) and latterly Rodwell (1980)), Wanborough is a typical example of a Romano-Celtic temple, in terms both of plan and general dimensions. In overall size Wanborough is marginally above the norm, measuring 15.20m², making it larger than Farley Heath (Lowther & Goodchild 1942-3, 31-40) or Titsey (Graham 1936, 84-101), the two other temples in Surrey of this type. The plan consists of an almost square cella within a square ambulatory, with a ratio between those elements of 1:1.9, which accords favourably with the average figure calculated by Lewis (1966, 27). Although most examples prefer an eastern alignment (Lewis 1966, 32) Wanborough inclines more to the north-east and it is on this eastern side that the entrance can be expected to have stood. The slight elongation of the north and south cella walls (see 2.5) appears to have been a characteristic feature of rectangular cellae, where the sides generally exceed the front in length (Lewis 1966, 28-29).

In the absence of any surviving superstructure, we must now consider what can be inferred from the foundations. Wilson (1980, 12-14) has eloquently demonstrated the limitations of such evidence, particularly with regard to the relative width of cella and ambulatory footings, but, at the same time, stresses the much greater value of comparative depth and strength in structural analysis. At Wanborough (see 2.5) there is little difference in width, but as far as depth and robustness are concerned, there is marked discrepancy in favour of the cella, whose upper wall was provided with a much more substantial support

than the ambulatory (see fig 13). Such a bias is significant when it is remembered that in the most generally accepted reconstruction of this type of temple, the cella forms a tower-like structure, rising above the roof of the ambulatory (Lewis 1966, 12-24; Wilson 1980, 8-12). The argument for an offset ambulatory wall on a wider foundation has been discussed above (see 2.5) but is important in this context, as well as providing our only idea of the dimensions of the former.

The appearance of shaped greensand blocks on the uppermost levels of the foundations (flint and chalk being reserved for the actual footings), the use of that stone for two possible altar bases (see 2.5) together with the large quantities found amongst the demolition and levelling material (see 2.7), indicate the importance of greensand in the construction of the temple walls. A tiled roof can also be presumed on the basis of the size of the assemblage recovered from excavation and we await Dr John Gower's report (in preparation) with anticipation. In common with similar temples (Lewis 1966, 33), internally a tessellated pavement graced the cella, while fragments of painted plaster indicate wall decoration. Externally a metalised surface apparently surrounded the temple (see 2.5 above).

The temple, as the repository of the cult image or statue of the divinity worshipped, would have been one element, albeit a major one, in a religious centre and subsidiary buildings can be expected. An examination of such elements is vital to our understanding of the organization and active life of centres like Wanborough but, for the present, little can be added to the discussion of the ancillary building(s) (see 2.5 and 2.6) discovered in Green Lane. At other sites, excavated examples have been interpreted as storehouses, subsidiary chapels and possibly priests' quarters (Lewis 1966, 36-7).

Temene have been identified at a number of locations, including Farley Heath and Titsey (Lewis 1966, 1331-2) but, despite geophysical surveying, one was not detected at Wanborough. The boundaries of temene need not always have been substantial features and their subsequent disappearance must be expected in some areas. More fieldwork is required to assess whether this was the case at Wanborough. A possible association of the temple with a nearby pond has already been alluded to by Bird (1987, 187) and merits investigation.

4.2 CONCLUSIONS

It can be seen from the above report that the site at Wanborough is, as yet, imperfectly understood and that there is a need for more extensive field work in the environs of the temple. Any hope of elucidating the circumstances surrounding the deposition of the coin hoard has probably been lost, however, as a result of the destructive nature of recent treasure hunting. Nevertheless, it is a worthwhile exercise to set out here provisional conclusions regarding the history of the site which can then provide the basis of future research.

A shrine of some sort, possibly a sacred grove or some insubstantial structure, was already in existence at the time when the site was chosen for the deposition of a large coin hoard in the period following the Roman conquest of Southern England. Many Romano-Celtic temple sites had their origins in the Iron Age or even earlier (Lewis 1966, 49; Rodwell 1990), and there is circumstantial evidence for an earlier shrine at Wanborough (see 3.2.1).

With the coming of more stable conditions in the south and the development of farming settlements in the vicinity (O'Connell 1984, 185-6), the shrine grew in size and prosperity, focusing on the worship of a Celtic Jupiter (see 3.2.1). Early in the latter half of the century a stone temple and ancillary buildings were erected, perhaps replacing earlier structures. Dedicatory rites preceded this foundation and priestly regalia, including head-dresses and sceptre-handles, were ceremoniously deposited. Votive offerings included elements of the coin hoard which were scattered, together with the other items in a random fashion. Religious life probably continued at Wanborough into the latter half of the fourth

century when demolition apparently took place, the site was levelled and building stone robbed for use elsewhere.

By the medieval period the existence of a temple had been forgotten. Green Lane, a thoroughfare of some antiquity (see 1.3), significantly marking the line of a parish boundary, bisects the temple site and is on a different alignment to the former, indicating that no substantial remains of the buildings intruded into the landscape which could have influenced the path of the track.

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