

## **Green Lane, Wanborough: excavations at the Roman religious site 1999**

DAVID WILLIAMS

with contributions by

RICHARD ABDY, JOANNA BIRD, CLIVE CHEESMAN, BARRIE COOK, JONATHAN COTTON,  
BRENDA DICKINSON, PAUL C ENSOM, NEIL and PAUL LINFORD, MALCOLM LYNE,  
QUITA MOULD and ALAN PIPE

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### **Summary**

*Following a geophysical survey of the field to the south of the known Romano-Celtic square temple a series of trial trenches was opened. Pre-Roman activity was largely confined to what may be a ritual well or shaft that appears to be connected to the site occupied by the later temples by a curving trackway, thought to be ceremonial. To the west of the square temple an apparent ditch terminal was succeeded by a small, probably circular, enclosure, at the centre of which may have been a prominent tree. This phase, which began in the middle of the 1st century AD, was associated with the burial of lambs and other votive deposits and might have been the focus for the coin hoard deposited c AD50–60, and which was robbed and largely dispersed in the 1980s.*

*This phase was succeeded before the middle of the 2nd century by a hitherto unsuspected flint-built temple of sub-circular form with an eastern entrance porch and possibly a wooden floor and which appears to be a formalisation of the plan of the earlier enclosure. This temple appears to have suffered a dramatic structural failure and seems to have collapsed partially shortly after construction. The circular temple was quickly replaced, following a re-dedication ceremony, by the square temple in about AD160/170. In any event it had been dismantled by the late 2nd century and its site largely respected by later activity, with the exception of a few, possibly ritually positioned, pits. Later activity is confined to the construction of a parish boundary bank across the site and an associated small group of medieval pennies, which may indicate a memory of the religious site.*

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

### **Archaeological background**

The Wanborough Roman site underlies Green Lane, at a point some 1.5km north-west of the hamlet of Wanborough and at a similar distance north of the chalk ridge of the Hog's Back. The setting (fig 1), its archaeological background and its relationship to other Roman sites in the area have been given in detail elsewhere (O'Connell 1984; O'Connell & Bird 1994) and will not be repeated here. It will suffice to say that the earliest archaeological intervention took place in 1979 when elements of a building which incorporated a curving wall were found within Green Lane itself (O'Connell 1984). This discovery was followed by the looting of a large coin hoard, and this prompted a rescue excavation organised by Surrey Archaeological Society in 1985–6. The destruction of much of the site by treasure hunting is now well known. The 1985–6 work (O'Connell & Bird 1994) revealed the foundations of a Romano-Celtic temple of familiar concentric square form which had been constructed *c*AD160/170 over a deposit of a group of ritual regalia and other material, a deposit thought to be dedicatory. The coin hoard itself was considered to have been placed on the site *c*AD50–60. It was clear from this work, therefore, that evidence was lacking for activities on the site during the period between the placing of the hoard and the building of the temple.

The excavations at Wanborough in the summer of 1999 were undertaken by the Society at the invitation of English Heritage. The work was preceded in 1997 by a geophysical survey, carried out by the Ancient Monuments Laboratory, of the field to the south of Green Lane and the Romano-Celtic temple excavated in 1985–6. The primary aim of the new work was to examine various features identified by the survey and also to define the extent of the site so that an area could be proposed for Scheduling as an Ancient Monument. Sporadic treasure hunting had continued on the site since 1986, being largely confined to areas adjacent to or within those excavated previously, leaving a number of large pits, still clearly visible.

The 1999 work, which began on 19 June, was scheduled to continue for three weeks, with a largely voluntary team drawn mainly from the Society. The work was directed by the author and was under the overall supervision of David Graham, who acted as Project Manager. This work began by concentrating on the features suggested by the geophysical survey before moving on to areas within Green Lane. Following the discovery of a circular building, to the west of the known temple, the excavation was extended for a further five weeks. The decision to excavate the newly found building completely was taken by the Society, both in the light of its obvious importance and in view of the previous and continuing intermittent vandalism to the site, and after consultation with Dr David Bird, Principal Archaeologist, Surrey County Council, and Gerry Friell and, later, Rob Perrin of English Heritage. The work was funded by the Society and an appeal to members allowed the employment of a small professional team to help complete the work on the site.

The 1997 geophysical survey (see below) showed a limited number of anomalies, each varying in degrees of probability and these were investigated by trial trenches 1–7 (fig 2). Three trenches (24–26) were also opened on the eastern edge of the field to the west of Area 1 (Area 2), where Roman material had been found in the 1960s. During this work two trenches (4 and 24) encountered features of an earlier date than found in the ensuing main excavation and these are described separately under Phase 2.

Within Green Lane (Area 3) itself a number of trenches were excavated near the site of the temple excavated in 1985–6 (trenches 8–15) as well as a series of slots dug further east to trace the extent of metalled surfaces (trenches 16–22). Trenches 8 and 13 in Green Lane were expanded into a larger excavation, hereafter referred to as the main excavation, following the recognition of the circular temple. The remainder of the trial trenches in Areas 1–3 are described after the report on the main excavation.

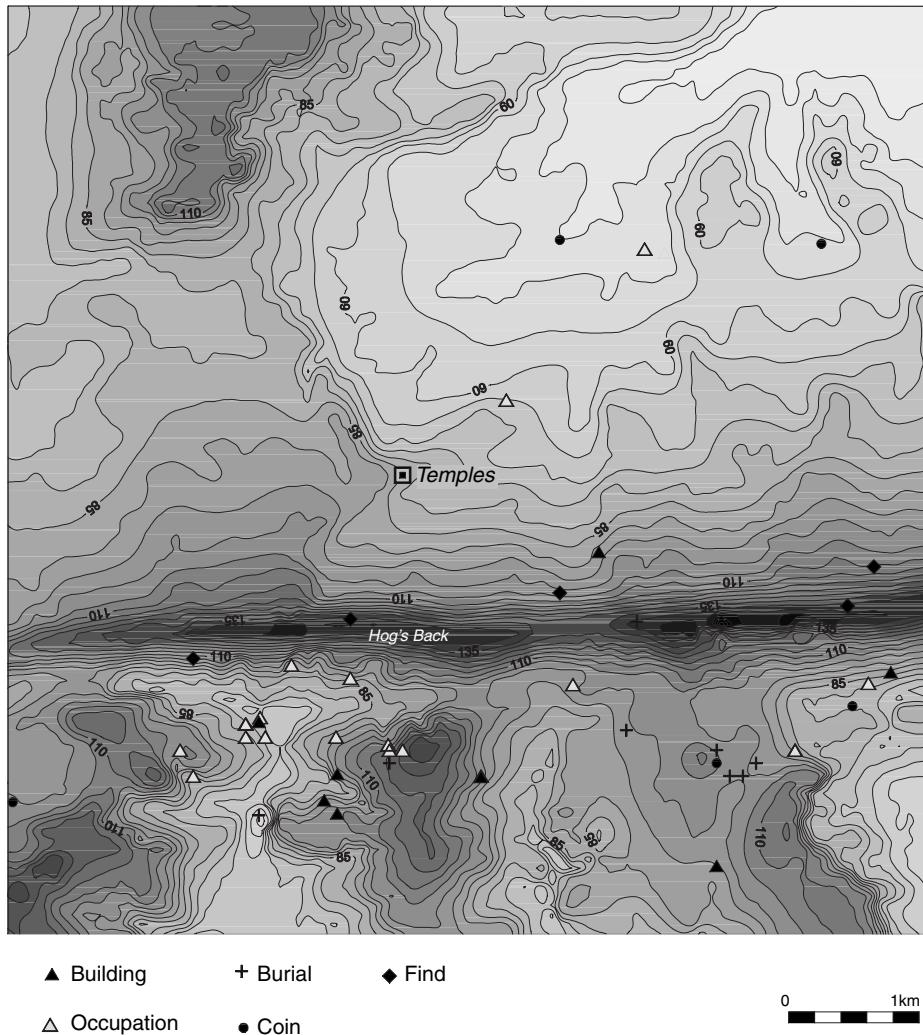


Fig 1 Wanborough. Shaded contour map showing the location of the temples and the distribution of known Roman sites in the vicinity. Contour heights in metres. North is at the top. (Illustration by Audrey and David Graham). © Crown copyright Ordnance Survey. All rights reserved).

Context numbers were allotted sequentially within each trench. Within the main excavation these ran from contexts [1]–[117] and then from contexts [250]–[275] inclusive. In the absence of a convenient bench mark in the local area all levels were reduced from the easterly of two concrete water hydrant posts standing within the site of the square temple. During the excavation, intensive use was made of metal detectors both within the excavation, during machine removal of topsoil and on the spoilheaps. There were seldom fewer than two detectors in operation at any one time and often more. Detecting was also carried out on a more wide-ranging basis both in the wooded areas close to the site, where possible, and in the surrounding fields. Roman period finds were on the whole sporadic and this is likely to reflect the fact that past illicit detecting had already removed most objects.

On completion of the main excavation, the foundations of the Phase 4 circular temple were left largely intact. Apart from the section taken through the south-east arc in 1979, and the removal of the southern wall of the entrance passage in 1986, the wall forming the west

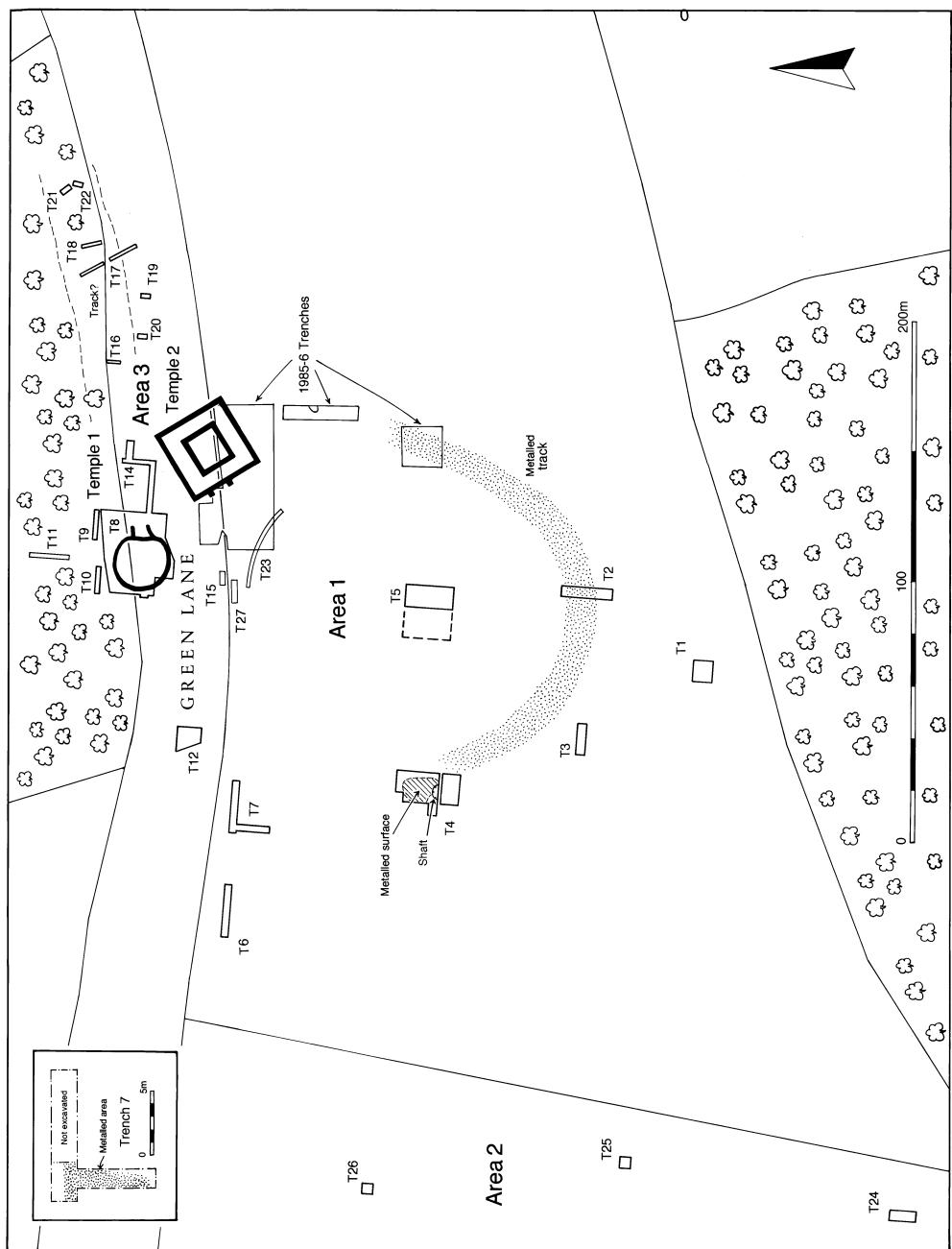


Fig 2 Wanborough. Plan of the site showing locations of the main excavation and trial trenches in relation to the 1985–6 excavation. Trench 13 is located within trench 8 (see fig 24).

end of the entrance passage was removed in 1999 together with a section taken through the north-east arc. Bearing in mind the difficulties encountered in locating the positions of earlier trenches, the excavated area was covered with a spread of yellow builders' sand prior to backfilling. This was done in order to avoid similar uncertainty in future.

### **The 1997 geophysical survey, by Neil and Paul Linford (fig 3)**

#### BACKGROUND

During October 1997, the Ancient Monuments Laboratory carried out a geophysical survey in the vicinity of the Roman remains at Wanborough to try to identify their full extent. The site of the temple itself has been the subject of two previous geophysical surveys, the first by R Poulton in 1980 using the earth resistance technique (O'Connell 1980), and the second by A J Clark of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory in 1985 where the original survey was extended using both earth resistance and magnetometry (O'Connell & Bird 1987). Excavation evidence suggests that Roman buildings may have extended north of Green Lane but this area was found to be heavily wooded rendering geophysical survey unfeasible. Hence, the 1997 survey concentrated on the field to the south.

A grid of 30m squares was laid out around the area where the temple remains were excavated (fig 3a). It was orientated parallel to the field boundary separating the field from the lane and located using an electronic distance measurement instrument. The dark shaded squares shown in figure 3a were surveyed with a fluxgate gradiometer with a traverse separation of 1m and reading interval of 0.25m. A greyscale plot of the results at 1:1250 scale is depicted in figure 3b. A larger earth resistance survey was also carried out covering all the 30m squares depicted in figure 3a, with a traverse separation and reading interval of 1m. The unprocessed results of this survey are shown in figure 3c as a greyscale plot at 1:1250 scale.

#### THE MAGNETOMETER SURVEY

In the plot of the magnetometer results the median of each traverse has been set to zero to suppress heading errors and high-amplitude dipolar anomalies caused by near surface ferrous anomalies have been removed using an adaptive thresholding median filter (Pratt 1978). Each traverse was then filtered in the Fourier domain with a 1D Butterworth band-reject filter to remove a low-amplitude periodic effect due to operator gait.

It was hoped that the magnetometer would respond to magnetically enhanced soils caused by anthropogenic activity associated with the temple, thus providing a rapid means of locating areas of archaeological interest. However, it is clear from figure 3b that the area surveyed is almost devoid of significant anomalies and that the site is magnetically quiet. Indeed the standard deviation of the data after the removal of high-amplitude surface iron anomalies is only 0.49nT. One possible linear anomaly has been detected towards the east of the survey but this is likely to be a response to the disturbance caused by trench 3 of the 1985 excavation.

#### THE EARTH RESISTANCE SURVEY

Numbers in brackets in the following description refer to the annotated locations in figure 3c.

The mean background resistivity was low ( $14.00 \Omega m$ ) over most of the site as might be expected over a clay subsoil. High-resistance anomalies caused by the Roman temple remains can be discerned at the northern edge of the survey about 45m west of the north-east corner (1). Also near this position, the outline of trench 2 of the 1985 excavation (O'Connell and Bird 1987) is visible as an approximately rectangular area of slightly raised resistivity.

Further south, in the vicinity of Surrey Archaeological Society's trench T3, the eastern terminal of a large arc-shaped linear anomaly may be discerned (2). The anomaly is some

### a) Location of geophysical surveys

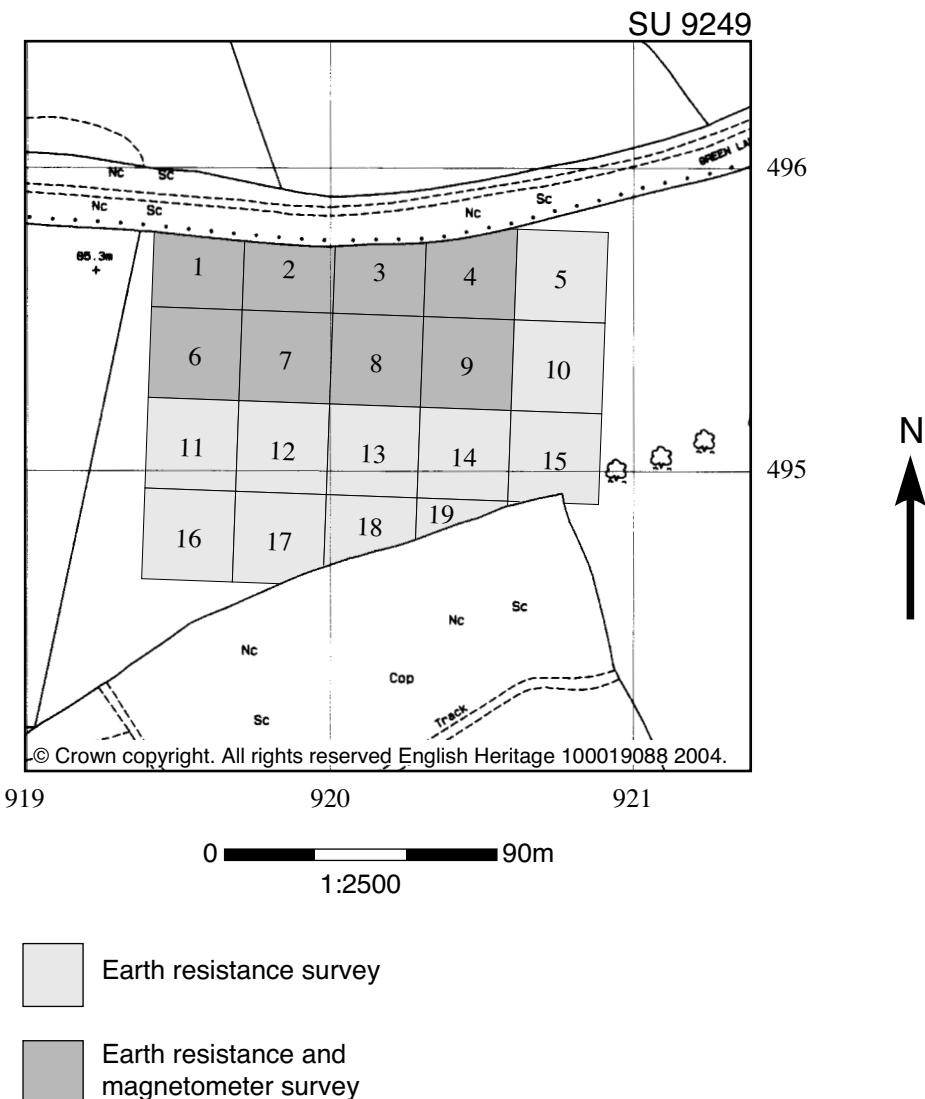
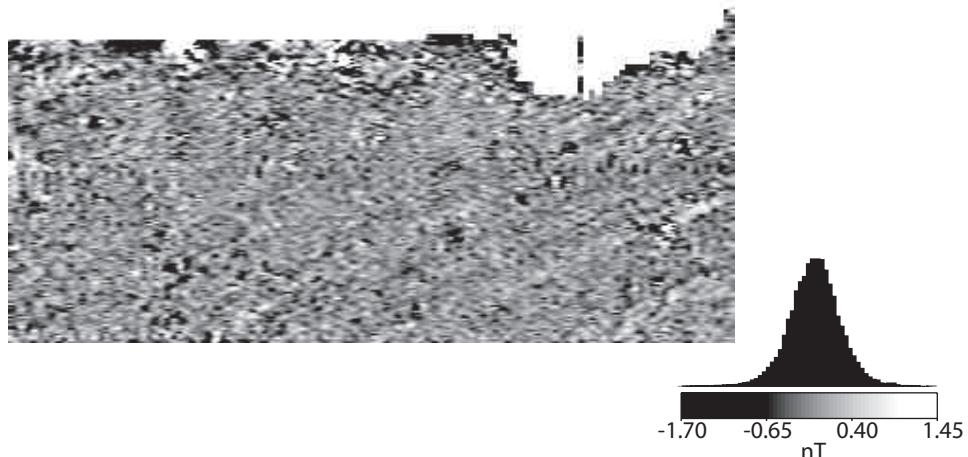


Fig 3 (above and overleaf) Wanborough. Location and results of the 1997 geophysical survey. (Illustration by Neil and Paul Linford).

b) Magnetometer survey



c) Earth resistance survey

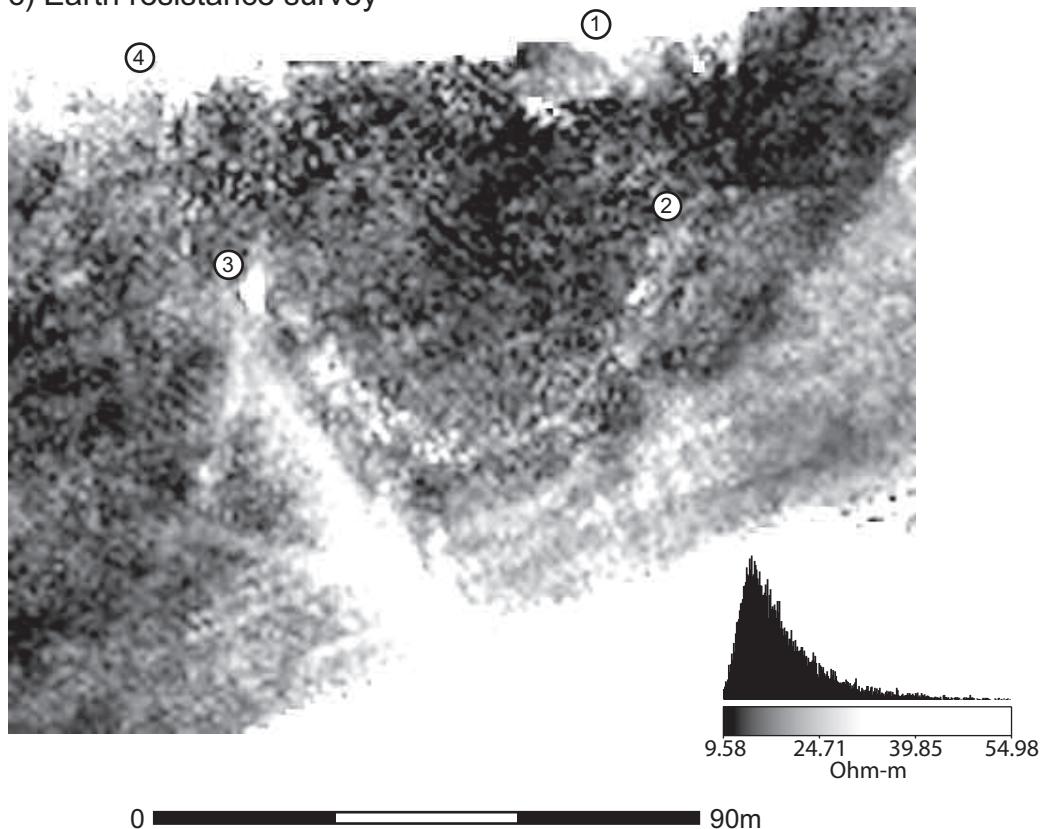


Fig 3 (continued)

7m wide and over 60m long with a mean resistivity (26.47 | m) significantly higher than the general background level (14.00 | m). O'Connell & Bird (1987, 29) report that a trackway of uncertain antiquity was discovered in trench 3:

consisting of a linear spread of flints, interspersed with small pebbles to form a metalled surface. 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.

Geophysical evidence now suggests that not only did this trackway not continue further to the north, but also that it did not head far in the south-westerly direction detected in the trench but gradually turned northwards in an arc, suggesting that it might have had a decorative rather than practical function. Near the western terminal of the trackway is a discrete anomaly of extremely high resistivity (51.54 | m), measuring about 5 x 7m [3]. It is likely to be caused by non-porous stone buried near the surface; however, its shape is not diagnostic and it is not possible to determine whether it represents a Roman feature associated with the temple (see trench 4, below p162).

Towards the north-west corner of the survey another amorphous region of high resistivity is apparent similar to the anomalies caused by the excavated temple remains (4). The region extends south into the field from the northern field boundary. Given the proximity of this boundary, and that the field has been cultivated for arable crops in the recent past, such a feature might be dismissed as being due to an accumulation of agricultural debris. However, the similarity in character and extent between this region and that of the temples remains suggest that an explanation as a second rubble spread should also be borne in mind (see trench 7, below p188).

A number of other anomalies are visible in the earth resistance survey but all are considered likely to be due to geological features or recent agricultural practice.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE EXCAVATION

#### **Phasing of the site**

Five principal phases of activity were identified in the 1999 work. These are presented below in isolation from those identified in the 1985–6 work. However an attempt has been made to integrate them with the phases identified in 1985–6. These phases and those activities represented solely by deposits found in the 1985–6 work are given in italics. A number of contexts identified in 1999 were later found to have no significance individually and finds from these have been regarded in the post-excavation phase as unstratified. A few contexts were found to be part of the same feature and have been combined to form a single context. A small number of contexts have been allotted to a particular phase on the grounds of probability.

1999	1985–6	
Phase 1		Prehistoric activity
Phase 2		Late pre-Roman Iron Age (largely confined to Area 1, trench 4, and Area 2, trench 24)
Phase 3A and 3B	<i>Phase 1</i>	Early Roman ritual activity (second quarter of the 1st century AD to mid-2nd century (at latest)). <i>Deposition of the hoard c AD50–60</i>
Phase 4		The circular flint temple (mid–late 2nd century (at latest))
Phase 5	<i>Phase 2</i>	<i>Dedicatory deposit (c AD160/170)</i>
Phase 6	<i>Phases 3–7</i>	<i>Construction and use of the square temple</i>
		Activity post-dating the demise of, and on the site of, the circular temple (late 2nd century (at latest) to 3rd century).
Phase 7	<i>Phases 8–9</i>	Medieval (coin hoard) and later activity.

#### PHASE 1: PREHISTORIC ACTIVITY

Earlier prehistoric activity is largely apparent in the form of a very thin scatter of flint debris, in particular in trench 1 (see Trial trenches, below) and a very small number of tiny sherds of Bronze Age date.

#### PHASE 2: LATE PRE-ROMAN IRON AGE (figs 4, 5)

Evidence for activity in the immediate pre-conquest period was largely confined to Areas 1 and 2, to the south-west of the sites of the later temples. Small quantities of pottery of Late Iron Age character were found in residual contexts in Area 3, in the main excavation, which suggests that some form of activity at this period may have taken place here as well. The lower levels of the Phase 3A ditch terminal also contained Late Iron Age pottery together with pottery of a slightly later date.

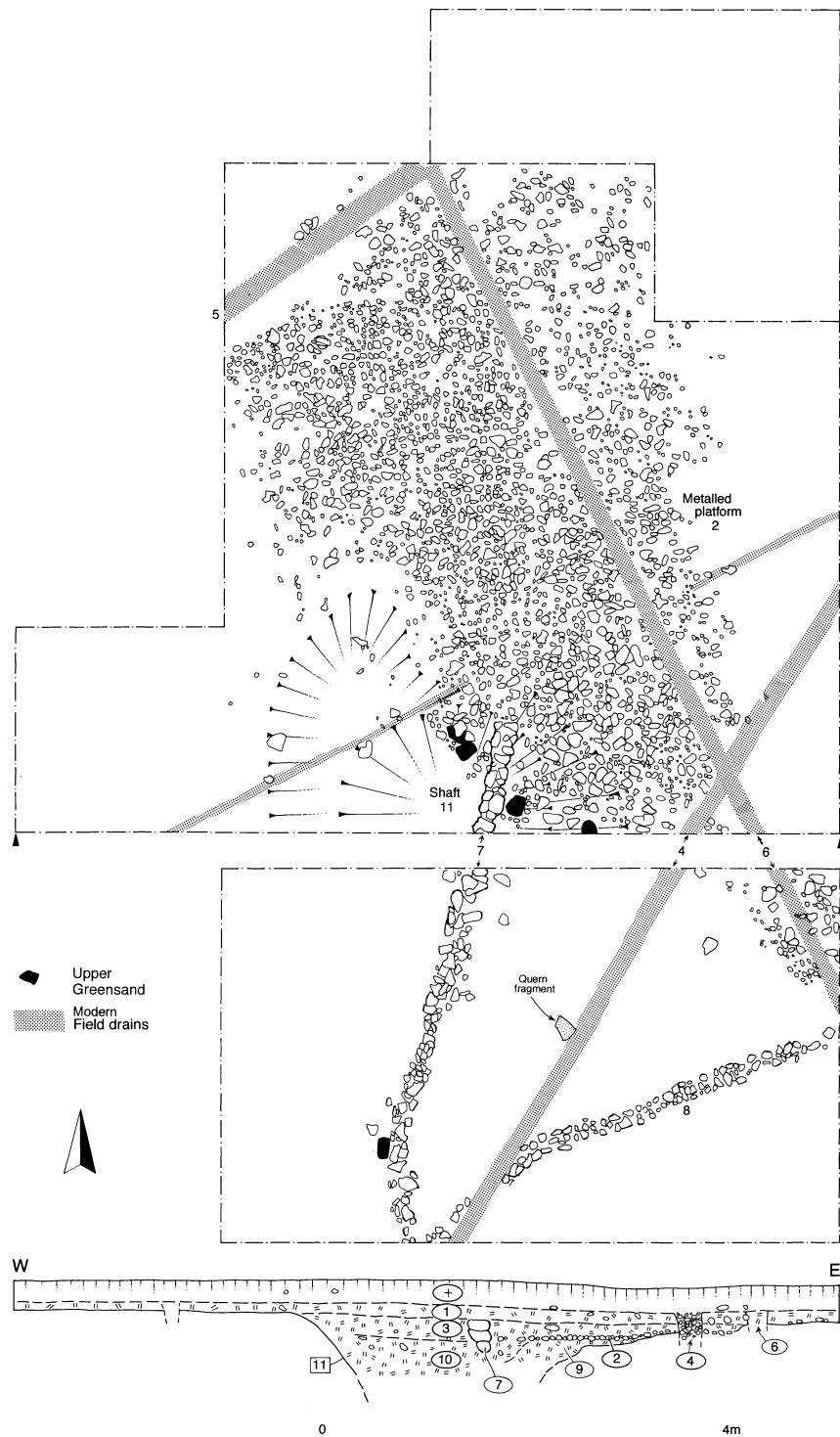


Fig 4 Wanborough. Trench 4. Plan and section of the excavated features.

*Trench 4 (Area 1) (figs 4, 5)*

This trench was situated c 120m to the south-west of the main excavation. A prominent high-resistance anomaly was tested with a trench originally measuring 8 x 2m. This located a surface of tightly packed flint nodules and pebbles [2]. The trench was extended to the north to define the extent of this flint spread and a separate area was opened to the south, the two areas being divided by a baulk of 0.3m.

The earliest feature located in trench 4 was what appeared to be a pit or perhaps a well or shaft [11], at least 2m in diameter, the upper fill of which was partly sealed by the flint spread and which was crossed by the baulk dividing the two areas. North of the baulk no attempt was made to complete the excavation of this feature below a depth of 1m from the ground surface as this work was not felt to be within the scope of the wider project. The pit in all probability extended into the southern area but was not apparent here at the level at which excavation stopped. The lowest deposits encountered within [11] were grey clay flecked with charcoal [10] and yellow/brown clay [9], which merged vertically. The spread of flints ([2]) lay mostly beyond



Fig 5 Wanborough. Trench 4. Flint platform, context [2] (background), and field drains, looking north.

this pit to the north but at one point sloped down into it, partly sealing contexts [9] and [10]. A number of rough blocks of Upper Greensand, with a few overlying sherds of Roman pottery, formed the edge of the flint spread at this point. A layer of iron-stained, grey/brown clay [3] formed the uppermost fill of the pit and also sealed that part of the flint spread that sloped into it. It did not prove possible to define context [3] to the south of the pit although a fragment of rotary quern (fig 27, no 1) was positioned centrally in the separate southern area and may have been contained within the pit fill. Covering all these layers and below the ploughsoil was a spread of yellow/brown clay flecked with tile fragments [1].

A number of mole drains and field drains ([4]–[8]) crossed the area one of which was not visible as it crossed the flint spread. Three at least of these had cut context [1] but two further flint-filled field drains ([7] and [8]) were sealed by it. Drain [7] consisted of flint nodules which filled a narrow slot 0.4m deep, and appeared to commence on the edge of the flint spread.

#### *Trench 24 (Area 2) (fig 6; supplement S101, see p152)*

This trench, the southernmost of three excavated in Area 2, revealed a pit [2], 0.4m deep, which contained much charcoal, flecked with burnt bone, as well as pottery. Adjacent to the pit a slab of Lower Greensand lay at the base of the plough-soil together with spreads of charcoal associated with pottery. The pottery from the pit as well as that associated with the charcoal spreads is of Late Iron Age character. Pottery dating from the 1st to 4th centuries AD and a quern fragment were contained in the topsoil.

#### *Trench 25 (Area 2) (fig 6; supplement S101, see p152)*

Only the base of a possible posthole, c50mm deep, and a patch of charcoal and stones were found in this trench, together with pottery dating from the Late Iron Age to the late 4th century.

#### *Dating and interpretation*

In trench 4 the lowest excavated fills of the well or pit, [9] and [10], contained small quantities of pottery of Late Iron Age character which were predominantly of fabrics not present, or rarely present, on the nearby temple site. Lyne, below, suggests a date in the first half of the 1st century AD for the pottery in this deposit. Overlying the flint layer [2] was most of a beadrim jar dating to cAD25–60 as well as later material. The overlying clay layers [3] and [1] contained pottery which ranged in date from the Late Iron Age to the late 3rd century. In view of the paucity of Late Iron Age material on the site generally its presence in contexts [9] and [10] seems unlikely to be explained as residual.

In the absence of further work it must be emphasised that only a tentative interpretation can be advanced for these features. Their position at the apparent western terminus of the curving trackway (see trench 2, *Trial trenches* below, and figs 2, 4), which appears to link them to the site of the later temples, suggests that this may be a well or pit of a ritual nature and that the track itself may be ceremonial. The area of flint adjacent to the pit and apparently linked to the track may have been intended as an area of hardstanding from which offerings may have been cast into it. The only object found in trench 4 which may reasonably be interpreted as a votive deposit, however, is the large fragment of quern the position of which below the plough-soil suggests that it had lain in the upper fill of a deeper feature. A ceremonial and ritual interpretation for these features is explored further below. The field drains are all considered to be of modern date; drains [7] and [8] appear to be the earliest of those encountered and although these are sealed by context [1] it is felt unlikely that they are of Roman date.

The limited nature of the excavation in Area 2 makes it difficult to comprehend what activities may be represented here, although these need not necessarily be of a ritual nature.

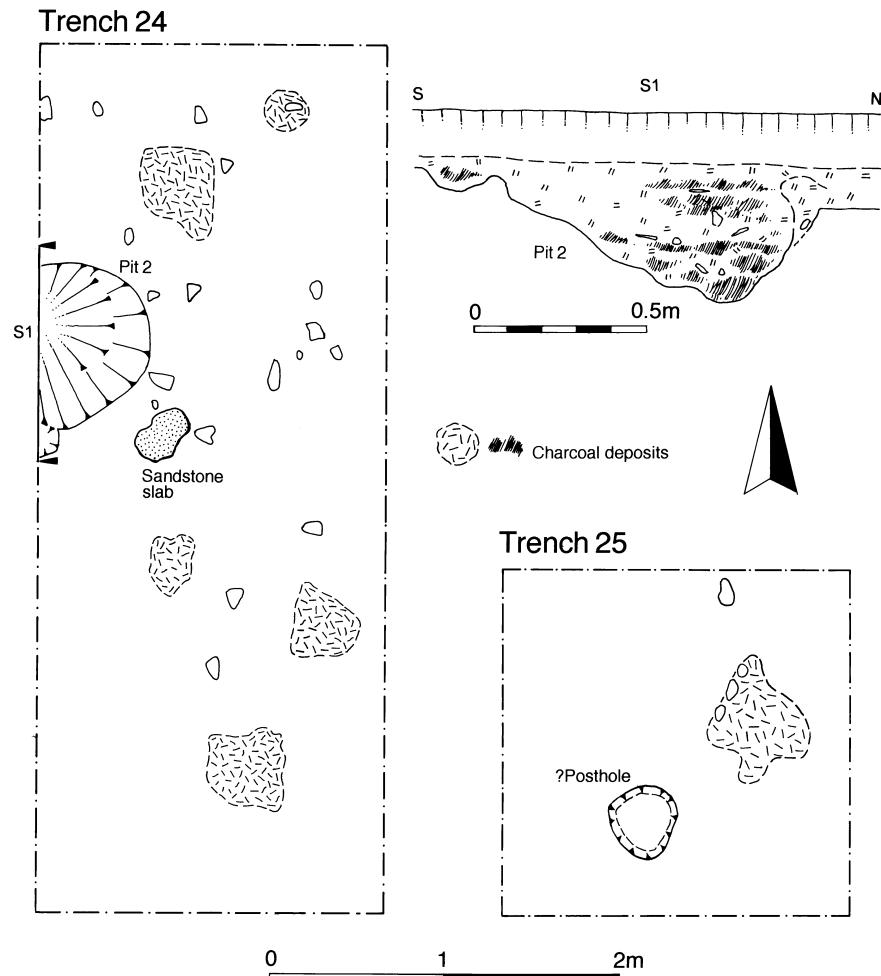


Fig 6 Wanborough. Trenches 24 and 25. Plans and sections of excavated features.

### The main excavation (Area 3) (figs 7–23)

Within the boundaries of Green Lane trench 8 was laid out to examine further the building represented by the curving wall located in 1979 and 1985–6 and involved the removal of an area of scrub between the metalled track currently in use and the northern boundary of the lane. The trench quickly located this curving wall and was extended to the west to trace the extent of the wall, which soon appeared to be semi-circular. Trenches 9–11 (described later on) were then laid out to the north of the lane on the premise that the curving wall had formed an extension to an otherwise rectilinear building but failed to find evidence for any such structure. Consequently, trench 13 was opened on the northern tail of the hedge bank and rapidly revealed that the curving wall had formed part of a circular building.

Following this discovery both trenches 8 and 13 were subsumed into a larger excavation laid out to encompass the circular building. Part of the surface of the wooded area to the north of Green Lane, together with approximately 20m of hedge bank, were removed using a small tracked Kubota excavator. Unfortunately, it proved impractical to remove three substantial oak trees which stood on or adjacent to the hedge bank and these had to be retained within the area of excavation. The bank itself proved to be composed largely of humic soil.

The remains of the building lay close to the surface of the lane and without an intervening demolition horizon. Recent disturbance was almost entirely confined to the three earlier trenches of 1979 and 1985–6 the extent of which proved extremely difficult to trace. This was due in part to the hot and dry weather and to the fact that one trench had been mislocated in the earlier excavation report. This trench (7), as shown in the published report of the 1985–6 excavation (O'Connell & Bird 1994, fig 2), located a wall that is incorrectly positioned; it should be approximately 3m further west. The difficulty of tracing the extent of the earlier trenches was also caused by the large quantity of flint nodules contained in their backfill. Some of these dumps of flints, particularly those in the entrance area of the temple, gave the convincing impression of walling where they had been piled against the straight edges of the earlier trench. As a consequence, the true position of the northerly entrance wall, which can now be seen almost certainly to lie beneath a tree, was not at first recognised and this resulted in an area of stratification being left undug within the entrance. In early 2002, by which time the site of the two temples had been designated as a Scheduled Monument, permission was granted to resolve the question of the position of the northern entrance wall by re-excavating the northern part of the entrance passage. This attempt, after a spell of wet weather, had to be abandoned because of water seepage through the surrounding backfill. A further request to English Heritage to resolve the issue in drier weather the following summer was unfortunately not granted.

#### PHASE 3: EARLY ROMAN RITUAL ACTIVITY (figs 7–9)

As already described, activity assigned to Phase 2 was confined largely to Areas 1 and 2, although it is possible that the Phase 3A ditch terminal [253] may be pre-conquest in origin.

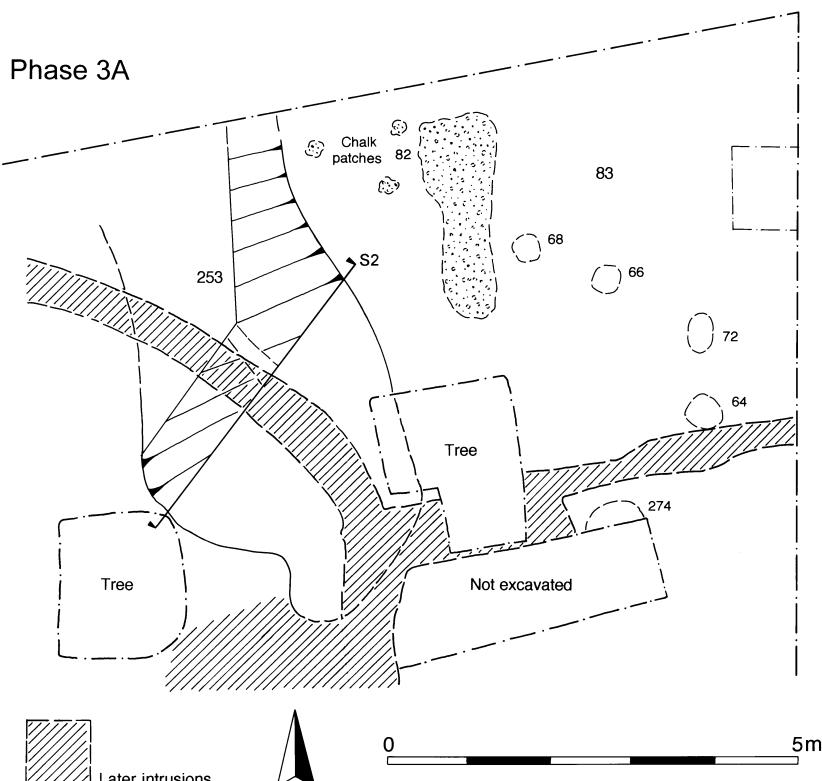


Fig 7 Wanborough. Trench 8. Plan of Phase 3A features.

Such was the almost wholesale removal or truncation of earlier deposits caused by the construction of the Phase 4 temple, which had been terraced into the sloping ground, that remains of earlier phases survived mostly on the lower ground in the east and north-east of the excavated area.

### *Phase 3A* (figs 7, 9)

The earliest feature recognised is interpreted here as the terminal of a substantial ditch [253], though it may possibly be a large pit, which extended into the excavated area from the north. This feature was cut by the Phase 3A gully [93] and also extended beneath the north-east arc of the Phase 4 temple wall, which had subsequently subsided into its fill. Pressures of time, as well as spatial restrictions imposed by this wall and the adjacent standing tree, made complete excavation of the ditch impossible. While the eastern side was reasonably clear, it did not prove possible to trace the whole of its western extremity. An attempt was made, during backfilling, to cut a machine trench across the ditch on the northern edge of the excavated area but, with limitations on time, this also failed to resolve the position of the western side of the ditch. However, it proved possible to cut a section by hand through the ditch where it was crossed by the wall of the Phase 4 temple.

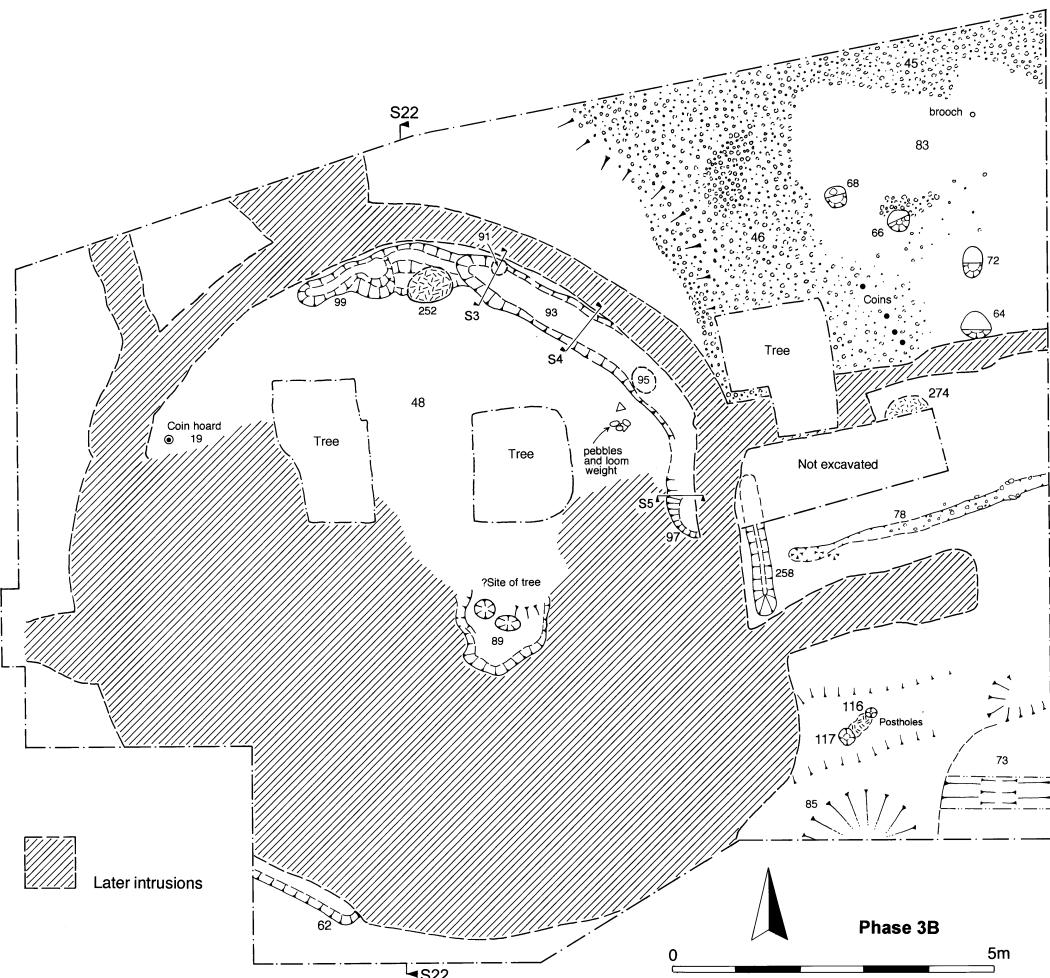


Fig 8 Wanborough. Trench 8. Plan of Phase 3B features.

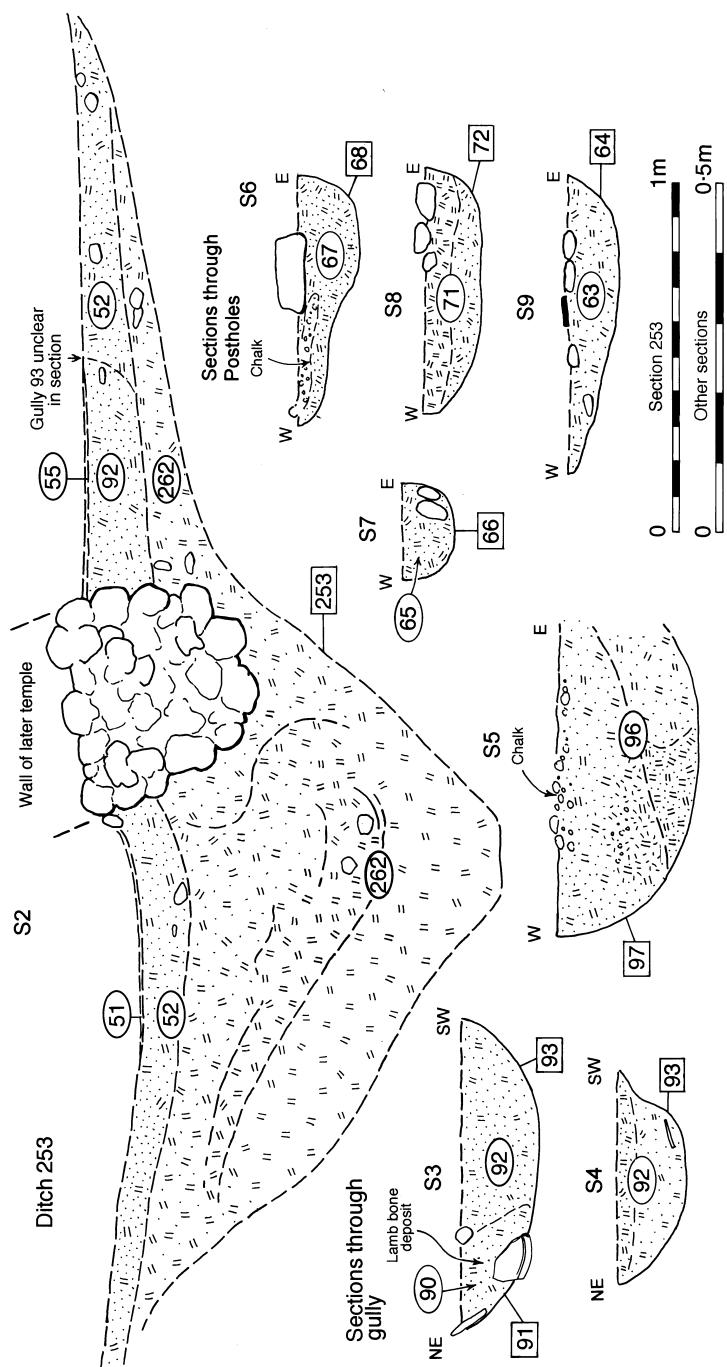


Fig 9 Wanborough. Trench 8. Sections of Phase 3 features. The location of S2 is shown on figure 7; S3–S9 are shown on figure 8.



Fig 10 Wanborough. Trench 8. Group of three beach pebbles and one worked stone in surface of context [52]. (Scale in 10mm units)

Ditch terminal [253] proved to be up to 3.5m wide and had a depth of 1.2m and was largely filled with a mixture of merging dry and unyielding brown and grey clays [262] that proved difficult to distinguish from the natural deposits through which it had been cut. At one point there was an intervening sloping lens, 50mm thick, of grey/green coarse sand flecked with charcoal [261] (not visible in the drawn section). Above this largely clay fill was a layer [52] of grey/brown charcoal-rich clayey soil, c0.20–0.30m deep, which contained bone (mainly sheep/goat) and pottery fragments together with pieces of chalk, pebbles and fragments of fired clay loomweights. In the surface of this layer, near the terminus of the feature and within the area covered by the later temple (but probably to be associated with Phase 3B activity), was a deposit, possibly ritually placed, comprising a compact group of three large beach pebbles (cat nos 5–7), a smooth squared corner fragment of Upper Greensand (figs 10, 38) and part of a triangular clay loomweight much damaged by root activity. The uppermost fill was a thin (c15–25mm) skim of greasy black charcoal-rich soil [51/55] which formed the surface of the depression caused by the settling of the contents beneath and may relate to Phase 6.

A number of layers and features to the east of the ditch terminal (eg context [46]) may relate to either Phases 3A or 3B; for simplicity, they are referred to under Phase 3B.

#### *Phase 3B (figs 8, 9)*

Just within the wall line of the Phase 4 temple and in its northern quadrant, was a shallow gully, or interlinking gullies, [93] and [99], about 0.60m wide and varying from 0.20–0.30m in depth (figs 6, 7). These features were initially difficult to separate with precision from the surrounding weathered natural clay [48] that covered much of the area within the northern half of the Phase 4 temple. Where gully [93] crossed the Phase 3A ditch it was also difficult to distinguish its precise course; the southern terminal was also uncertain. However, in places,

especially where seen against the natural clay, the gully was more clearly defined. The west end of gully [93] appeared to cut another length of shallow gully of less regular form [99], but the relationship between the two, if there were in fact two separate features, was far from clear. Gully [99] ended with a shallow rounded terminal beyond which the ground had been truncated horizontally and had removed any traces of a continuation. Some pottery from this gully was of similar date to that from the underlying Phase 3A ditch and some may be residual. However, the gully was most carefully excavated and there was no sign of any later disturbance. It is important to point out that the projected floor level of the Phase 3 temple would have been around 0.60m above the surface of the filled-in gully, thus rendering it difficult to introduce later material during the life of that building. Just south of the junction of [93] with [99] was an orange oval area [252], 0.70m across and 40mm deep, composed of fragments of what appeared to be fire-reddened clay. About 1m beyond the point to which gully [93] was traced was a pit, or possibly a posthole [97], 0.40m deep by at least 0.85m wide, which had been truncated to the east by the later temple wall and whose northern extent was also unclear in the fill of feature [253]. It contained a number of fills of grey or yellow/brown clayey soil together with chalk fragments in its upper fill and a little pottery. A little to the east of this and on the northern periphery of the later temple entrance was a burnt, reddened feature [274] associated with 1st century pottery and two large beach pebbles (cat nos 9–10), which appeared to be sealed by gravel surfaces associated with the entrance of the Phase 4 temple. This feature was found in 2002 but unfortunately, for reasons explained above, it was not possible to examine this further.

Within the fill of gully [93] was a small, ill-defined, feature ([95], fill [94]; fig 11), only 0.40m in diameter and 0.10m deep. This contained a dense mass of bones, mainly articulated juvenile sheep bones, representing a minimum of three infants, together with most of a single chicken (see Pipe, below), a small Colchester-type brooch (fig 30, no 24) and a fragment of a jar (Alice Holt/Farnham, Fabric 9B) dating to cAD70–120. Near the western terminal of, and on the edge of, gully [93] was a further deposit of mainly lamb bone [91] together with the larger part of an Alice Holt/Farnham Type 6B flanged dish (Fabric 9D) dating to cAD130–70 (fig 27, no 28) and a large rounded pebble (cat no 8). In neither case was there a clearly visible cut. Gully [93] itself contained a small Palaeolithic axe (fig 42, and see Cotton, below) and animal bone, which mainly derived from infant sheep, as well as chicken (see Pipe, below).

To the east of the Phase 3A ditch terminal, beyond the wall of the Phase 4 temple, and overlying natural clay was a weathered natural surface of brown clayey soil [83], c60mm deep, and which contained occasional flint nodules and pebbles together with pottery, a group of three Iron Age coins (cat nos 9, 16 and 32), a brooch of mid-1st century form (fig 29, no 14) and a 4th century *nummus* (cat no 66), the latter presumably intrusive. Context [83] had been penetrated by four apparent postholes [64], [66], [68] and [72] which formed a rough arc. These measured 0.10, 0.15, 0.10 and 0.10m in depth, and 0.45, 0.28, 0.40 and 0.43m across, respectively. Postholes [68] and [72] both contained groups of packing stones. Posthole [68] also contained chalk flecks. Their attribution to Phase 3, rather than Phase 4, must remain uncertain as none was sealed, although neither of the two sherds recovered from postholes [68] and [72] dates to later than cAD150. To the west of these postholes was a thin linear spread of chalk [82] with smaller patches nearby, which lay on the surface context [83].

Overlying contexts [82] and [83], but not the four postholes, was a dense spread of rounded pebbly gravel [46] that ended abruptly on the west at the edge of the Phase 3A ditch terminal (and which may thus belong to Phase 3A). This layer of metalling ran along the northern edge of the excavated area where it became intermixed with larger flints and other material [45]. Elsewhere this deposit became more diffuse or was entirely absent. Above [46], and sealed below [33] a rubble spread assigned to Phase 4, was a layer of silty clay [36].

Corresponding to [83] but occupying the northern part of the interior of the Phase 4 temple was a further deposit of weathered brown clayey soil [48] overlying natural. The wide date range of the pottery from this layer, which includes 3rd century material, is thought to reflect the difficulty during excavation of separating this layer from the post-temple clay infill layers



Fig 11 Wanborough. Trench 8. Animal burial, context [95], in Phase 3B gully [93]. The white  $\infty$  represents the position of the brooch. (Scale in 10mm units)



Fig 12 Wanborough. Trench 8. Group of nine Roman coins within context [48]. (Scale in 10mm units)

(eg [13]) that overlay it. Just within the wall line of the Phase 4 temple and within [48], was a small tightly packed group [19] of nine bronze coins (cat nos 1–9) of the emperors Vespasian and Domitian (fig 12).

Within the area of the entrance to the Phase 4 temple were two features. Neither contained dating material although both were sealed by deposits associated with Phase 4. Context [78] was a 4m length of shallow and very narrow (up to 0.20m wide) gully orientated east–west that continued beyond the excavated area. Just beyond its western terminal was a further gully [258], up to 0.40m wide and 0.10m deep, which was orientated north–south and contained a dark charcoal- and chalk-flecked silty clay. Although only a 1.4m length of this gully was excavated it clearly continued further north. Its northern terminal, like its southern, may have ended within a short distance of the entrance wall of the later temple. Flecks of chalk provided a common component of the fills of a number of features belonging to this phase which may reinforce their contemporaneity as chalk was otherwise notable by its absence in later phases. These features included postholes [66] and [68], and features [97], [95] and [258], as well as the chalk patch [82]. None was however recorded from the fill of gully [93/99].

In the south-west of the excavated area was a 1.8m length of gully [62], 0.15m deep with a flat base and near-vertical sides. This contained pottery contemporary with Phase 3 and was apparently cut by the wall of the Phase 4 temple.

To the south of the entrance to the Phase 4 temple was a group of features sealed by a later metallised surface. Features [73] and [85] were shallow (0.40 and 0.20m deep respectively) and were both filled with brown clayey soil. Each appeared to be natural in origin and may have been tree-throw hollows. Close by was a pair of small shallow postholes [116] and [117] set at either end of a short clay-filled trench.

Four metres to the south of the Phase 3B gully [93] and its associated burials was a poorly defined shallow feature [89] (fig 8) that had been cut by a pit [87] belonging to Phase 5. This feature had survived within the area truncated horizontally by the construction of the Phase 4 temple, and had evidently originally been of greater depth. It survived as a shallow scoop, no more than 0.15–0.20m deep, and was clearly defined on the south where its fill of brown clayey soil, occasionally flecked with chalk, contrasted against the natural yellow clay. To the north, however, it merged with [48], the truncated weathered natural surface. On its west side was a narrow channel, while elsewhere was a series of three sub-circular disturbances penetrating the natural clay. This feature gave the appearance of being of probable natural origin and may be interpreted as the site of a tree, with the various disturbances being the positions of root channel and tap roots.

#### *Dating and interpretation*

#### Phase 3A

Pottery recovered from the lower levels of the Phase 3A ditch terminal ranges in date from cAD30–70, while that from the upper level [52] suggests a slightly later date of cAD50–80. Thus a date around the middle of the 1st century AD for the primary fill of this feature is proposed with a date for its final filling of cAD80. Further discussion of this feature [253] would not be fruitful in view of the limited extent exposed, although it appears to have silted up quickly or been backfilled rapidly. Its close proximity to gully [93] as well as to the entrance to the Phase 4 temple suggests that a ritual explanation must be considered a possibility. The group of beach pebbles and other objects in the upper fill of this feature is thought most likely to have been deposited during activity associated with Phase 3B.

#### Phase 3B

The pottery from gully [93] appears to include residual material from the upper layer of the Phase 3A ditch terminal but in any case provides a date range of cAD30–90. That from the

pit or posthole [97] also dates to the second half of the 1st century as does that from the truncated gully [62]. However, the pottery from the burnt patch [252], while ranging in date from the late Iron Age to *cAD*60, also includes a sherd from a bowl dating to *cAD*125–150. The large fragments of a flanged dish associated with lamb bones in deposit [91], were contained within gully [93]; the dish has a date range of *cAD*130–170 and represents the latest find from this phase. The brooch associated with the lamb and chicken burial [95] is of a type in use *cAD*50–70 and the associated pottery dates to *cAD*70–120. The pottery from feature [89] forms a small group for which a date of *cAD*70–90 is suggested, while that from the two hollows [73] and [85] ranges in date from *cAD*50 to 150. The small group of coins (nine) of the Emperors Vespasian and Domitian may have been deposited in the AD80s perhaps for votive purposes (fig 10). The pottery from [83] ranged in date from *cAD*50 to the early 3rd century and beyond, much of which must be intrusive and this reflects the fact that this layer was only sealed in part by later deposits. The pebble spread [45/46] was associated with mainly late 1st century pottery as well as a coin of Vespasian (cat no 25), while the overlying soil layer [36] contained nothing that need be later than *cAD*150.

Thus, a date in the range of *cAD*70–80 for the commencement of Phase 3B, to some time in the latter part of the first half of the 2nd century is proposed.

Any discussion of the nature of the activities represented by Phase 3B must take into account the apparent close similarity in positioning of the gully [93/99] and associated features (especially [62], [97] and [258]) to the ground plan of the Phase 4 temple. It can be suggested that all or most of these features could relate to the Phase 4 temple. However, their position in the untruncated north-east sector of the interior of that building does strongly suggest that these features all relate to an earlier phase. Gully [93/99] appears to be the north-east arc of a small, perhaps sub-circular, enclosure and is closely followed by the line of the north-east arc of the Phase 4 temple to the extent that the later wall appears to follow the sudden change of direction of the earlier gully at two points. Gully [62] appears to be a remnant fragment of the opposite side of this enclosure, the internal dimension of which is thus no more than *c*9m. Although the Phase 3B features have been heavily truncated, enough survives to suggest that, in plan at least, the Phase 4 temple may be a formalisation of whatever may be represented by the Phase 3B features. It may also be significant that the pit or posthole [97] is positioned adjacent to the entrance passage of the Phase 4 temple while gully [258] is situated across it. Excavation of [274] was unfortunately not permitted so its nature and relationship to the adjacent series of postholes remains unclear. The purpose of gully [78] remains obscure although its alignment with the Phase 4 temple entrance is surely significant (although its phasing is uncertain). The area of pebble metalling [45] and [46] appears to relate to activities associated with the four postholes. Its western edge appears to respect the Phase 3A ditch terminal, which was presumably a slight surface hollow by this time.

There is nothing here to suggest that the group of Phase 3B features that lie below the Phase 4 temple represent any sort of standing structure, with the exception of the possible posthole [97]. None of the gullies, nor the nature of the deposits within them, are suggestive of either a foundation trench or an eaves-drip trench but their precise purpose remains uncertain, unless they were simply demarking an area.

A number of aspects of the deposits associated with the gullies strongly suggest a ritual explanation for this group of features. These include the two burials within the gullies themselves, one of which contained a small brooch and the other with a pebble, and a small Palaeolithic axe from between the two burials. Two beach pebbles were also associated with [274] and a group of three large beach pebbles and other objects was found adjacent to lamb burial [95] (figs 11–12).

Feature [89] (fig 13) has been interpreted as the site of a tree, and a similar interpretation can be advanced for the shallow hollows [85] and [73] that lie beyond the Phase 4 building. To what extent the position of a large tree within the small Phase 3B enclosure can be seen as the focus for that enclosure or had influenced its siting in some way is to an extent

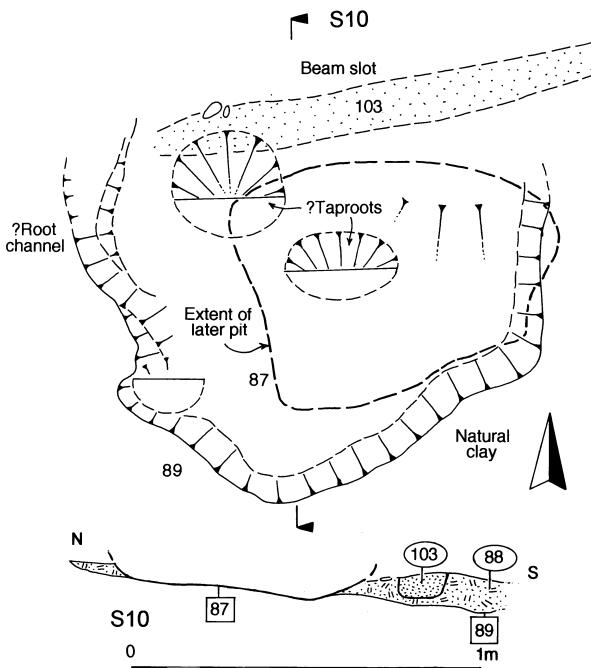


Fig 13 Wanborough. Trench 8. Plan and section of possible tree hole [89].

dependant on the dating of the pottery from the associated features. The pottery within tree hole [83], if that is the correct interpretation of this feature, can hardly have arrived there before the removal of the tree. Thus, given the dating outlined above, while the presence of a standing tree within the Phase 3B enclosure is quite possible, the evidence suggests that it may not have continued to stand during the life of the enclosure.

#### PHASE 4: THE CIRCULAR FLINT TEMPLE (figs 14–20)

In Phase 4, a circular building of flint construction with an entrance passage on its eastern side was built. The remains of this building, although close to the surface of the lane and without a demolition horizon, survived well, although there appeared to be a certain amount of disturbance to the western part of the interior. The three earlier excavations of this area (those of 1979 and trenches 6 and 7 of 1985–6) had removed sections through the wall in its south-eastern and western arcs as well as the foundations of the southern wall of the entrance passage. No contemporary robbing of the foundations had taken place although localised disturbances ascribed to Phase 6 had cut into the exterior of the wall in three places.

##### *Phase 4A Construction and use*

The ground surface at this point slopes slightly down to the north and the construction cut [53] for the Phase 4 building involved a terrace being cut into the slope together with deeper foundation trenches. In creating this platform all earlier deposits, with the exception of [89], were removed within the southern part of the interior of the new building, thus exposing the natural clay. In the south of the interior an undug sector was left which created a higher, crescent-shaped, area adjacent to the inner face of the circuit wall; this formed a step, 0.25m high. The circuit wall itself was c0.60m wide and gave the appearance of having been built

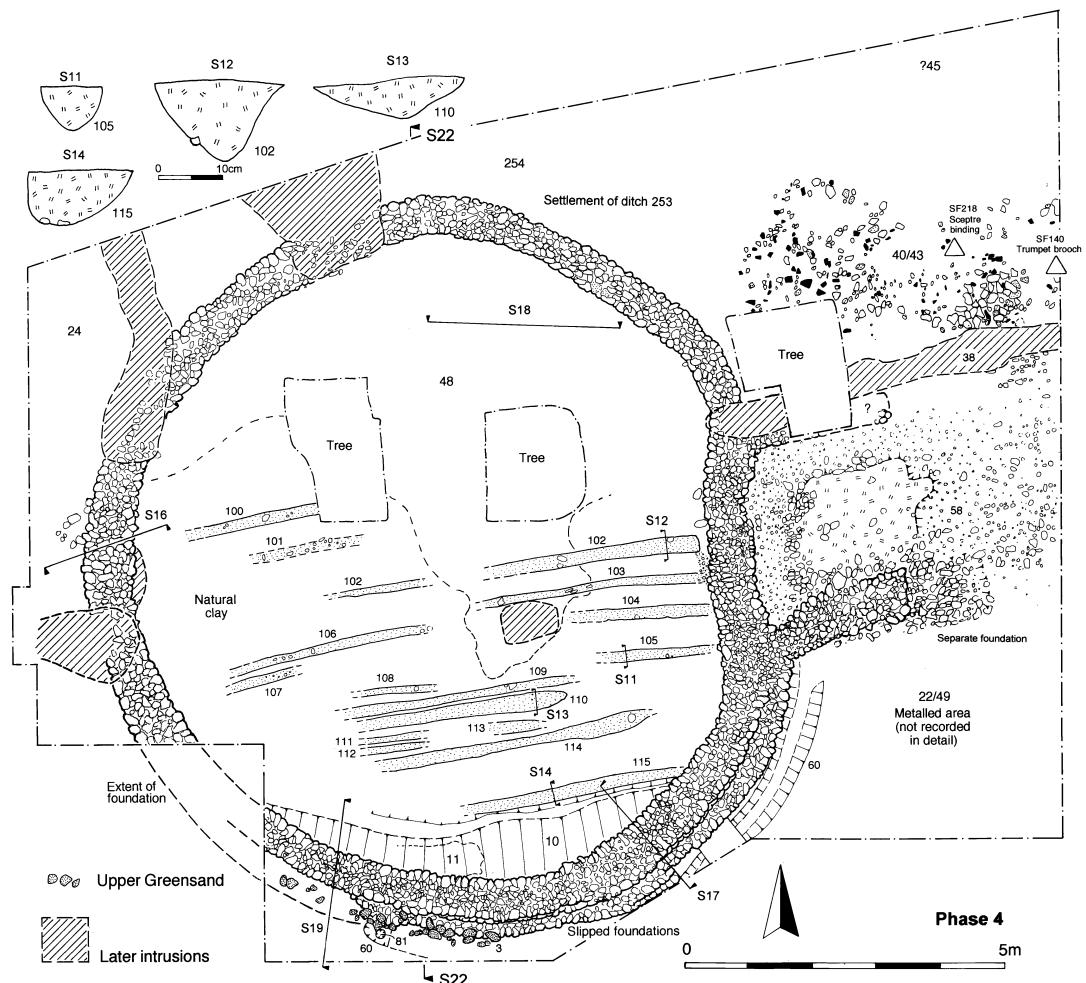


Fig 14 Wanborough. Trench 8. Plan of Phase 4 features.

carefully and solidly with courses of flint nodules, and with pebbles and gravel being intermixed with the flint in the foundations. The only exception to this was in the north-east arc, which appeared to be of less careful construction without the courses of facing flints used elsewhere. Whether this was a rebuilding following earlier subsidence could not be determined. However, with the exception of one tiny patch of yellow mortar in the north-east arc, there was no trace of mortar in the construction of the building, the flints apparently being bonded with a dark clayey soil. As will be described later, the entire southern arc of the building appears to have slid northwards on its foundations, thus apparently bringing about the demise of the building.

In plan the new building, which measures c 11.6m externally from north to south, is not entirely circular (fig 14). In particular the north-east arc is somewhat flattened, which may be intentional or accidental, or it may to some extent be as a result of its subsiding into the fill of the Phase 2 ditch. The circuit wall inturns slightly to meet with the inwardly curving threshold wall at the end of the entrance passage. The plan of the walls of the entrance passage is not entirely clear. That on the north was obscured by a substantial tree and appeared also to have been cut lengthwise by a ditch ([38], see Phase 7) of probable medieval date. Its

junction with the circuit wall was, however, probably identified in the limited work of 2002 (described above) as well as a possible terminal. The foundations of the wall to the south were removed during excavation in 1985–6 and there remains some doubt about its length. This wall, which appears to curve slightly, left a foundation trench formed of two compartments the bases of which were at different levels. The bottom of the compartment to the east is stepped 0.37m above the level of the longer stretch to the west. Assuming that the division between the two compartments represents the wall terminal then this is roughly in line with the presumed terminal of the northern wall; the eastern compartment is difficult to explain. Thus the passage appears to measure c.2.2m long x c.2.5m wide. The overall length of the building from east to west is therefore c.12.8m.

Internally there were no traces of flooring deposits. The northern part of the interior of the building was covered by [48], described under Phase 3B, a truncated weathered natural surface which corresponded to layer [83] outside the building. This merged into the natural clay surface of the southern half of the interior. The clay was examined at a number of points (particularly below the Phase 3B feature [89]) and showed no signs of disturbance although at one point a coin of Vespasian (cat no 17) was recovered from just below its surface.

Across the natural clay surface, and confined to the southern half of the interior, was a group of linear features (figs 14, 17, 20). These are discussed further below and are interpreted as perhaps the impressions of timber flooring supports. Seventeen of these impressions were recognised, each being aligned with the entrance passage; the longest [114] was 4.4m. One [115] lay at the foot of the ‘step’ already described. Each was filled with a grey/brown clayey soil that contrasted with the yellow clay in which they lay. Only one example [102] had a clear terminal, ending just short of the inside edge of the wall, its final 0.5m being filled with red/brown clay. Four examples of these linear features were sectioned, [102], [105], [110] and [115], and these were found to vary in depth from 75 to 150mm and were generally semi-circular to sub-triangular in profile. The surface of [110] contained the points of two nails.

Apart from these impressions, the only internal deposits associated with this building lay on the ‘step’ in the south part of the interior. Here a shallow hollow, wedge-shaped in profile, c.6m long and of uncertain purpose, undercut the arc of the south wall of the temple which leaned considerably at this point. The hollow did not give the appearance of being a deliberate cut and was consequently not given a context number. This feature was filled with two superimposed deposits but it was not clear that the hollow was deliberately cut to contain them. The lower [10] was a dark humic soil that contained pottery and tile fragments as well as twelve iron clenched bolts and nails (fig 35; see Mould, below). Above this, and extending for only 1.7m, was a thin (c.30–40mm) layer of chalky soil [11] that contained a Hod Hill-type brooch (fig 30, no 19) as well as a *denarius* of Hadrian (cat no 32).

The entrance passage was metalled with a layer of pebbles and flints [58], which was contiguous with the construction trenches for both the threshold wall and the north wall of the entrance passage. This layer also sealed three features grouped with Phase 3B – [78], [258] and [274].

#### *Phase 4B Structural failure*

At some point, the circular building appears to have undergone a major structural failure. There is no clear evidence for repair and from this it can be deduced that the building probably collapsed, as was earlier noted by O’Connell (1984, 191). The evidence for this collapse can be seen in virtually the whole of the southern arc, which is approximately one-third of the circumference of the building (figs 18, 19). In this stretch the wall has fallen inwards and for much of its length has slid course-by-course off its foundations, forming what originally was misinterpreted as an external offset [9] (fig 15, section S17). In the south-west segment a section dug into natural clay on either side of the wall showed the lean to be particularly dramatic, being in the order of 45–50° (fig 15, section S19; fig 19). In addition,

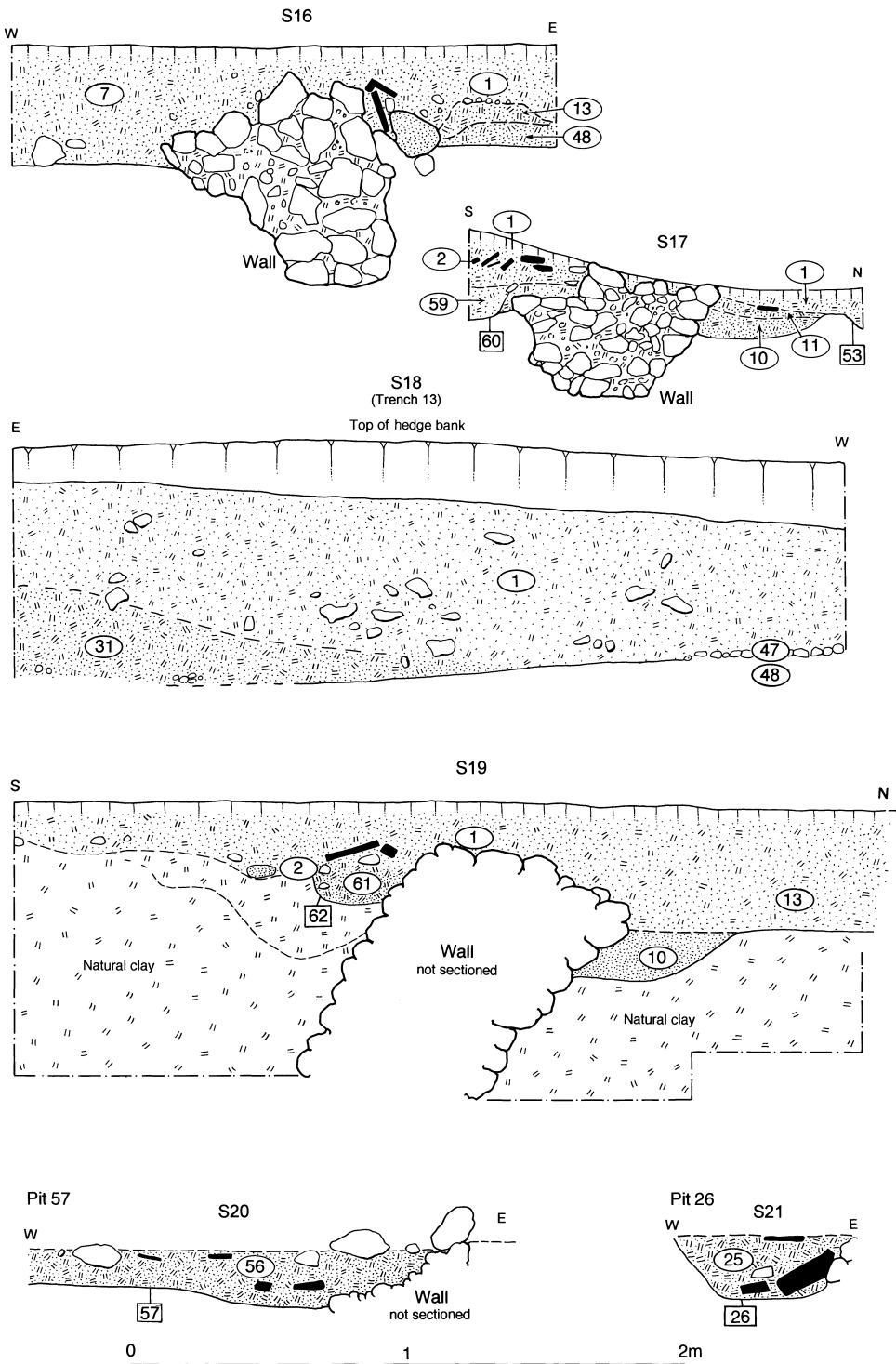


Fig 15 Wanborough, Trench 8. Sections of Phase 4 and 6 features. The locations of S16–S19 are shown on figure 15; S20–21 are shown on figure 22.



Fig 16 Wanborough. Trench 8. View looking west over the southern part of the excavated temple. Entrance area just visible in foreground.

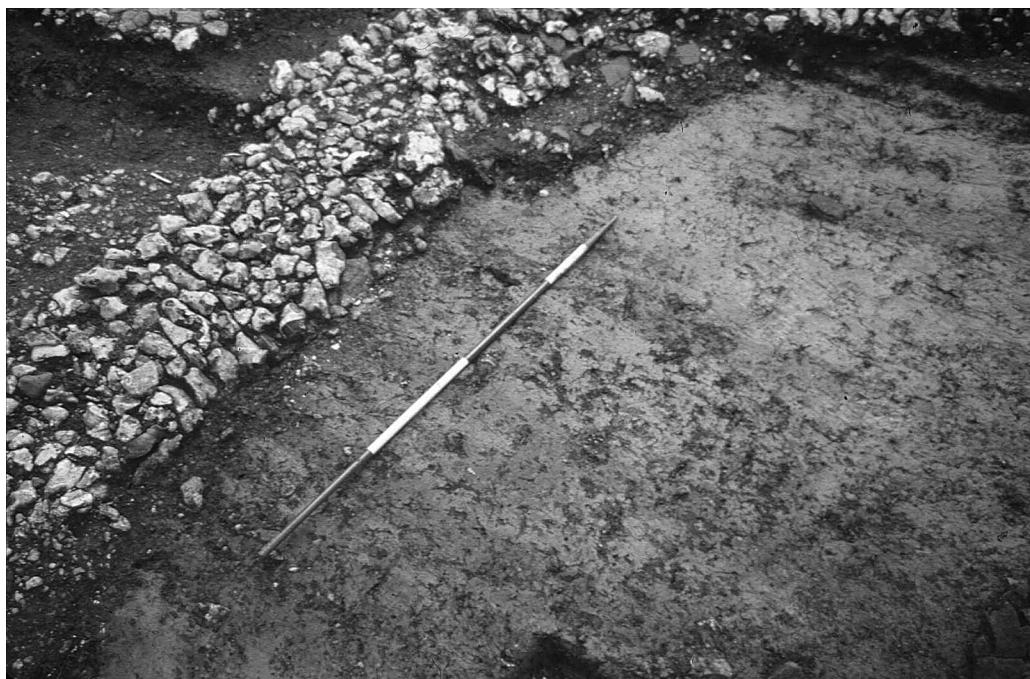


Fig 17 Wanborough. Trench 8. Linear features in eastern part of temple interior.



Fig 18 Wanborough, Trench 8. Southern arc of temple wall, looking west. View shows the slipped foundation course on left and the degree of lean at the far side. Also visible on right, in the interior, is the retained step of undug clay.

in the north-east arc of the building a section of the wall had subsided into the filling of the underlying Phase 3A ditch terminal [253], resulting in a lean outwards at an angle of about 70–80° (fig 9).

#### *External deposits*

In the limited areas excavated outside the building were a number of accumulated deposits, the majority of which were poorly stratified or appeared to post-date Phase 4. To the north of the entrance passage were two superimposed and rather diffuse rubble layers comprising mainly flint and tile fragments. The upper, [40], overlay [43], which in turn overlay contexts [46/5] and [83] of Phase 3. Both layers were cut by the Phase 7 ditch [38]. Context [40] contained a small group of fragments of binding, probably from a sceptre handle (fig 21; fig 28, no 6). Context [43] also contained a seal-box lid (fig 33, no 46) and a fixing tack, also probably from a sceptre handle (cat no 10). To the south of the entrance area was a dense



Fig 19 Wanborough. Trench 8. Section taken through natural clay on either side of the temple wall foundation in its south-western arc. The right-hand scale sits against the inner face of the wall and shows the degree of lean.

metalled surface comprising flint, stone and tile ([22] and [49], the two contexts being separated by the 1979 trench) that extended to the east for a considerable distance. As this context sealed deposits associated with Phase 3 and abutted the wall of the building, the metalling is most likely to relate to Phase 4. Concentric with the south-east arc of the wall was a shallow gully [60], 0.60m wide x 0.12m deep, also noted by O'Connell (1979); in the base of the western terminal was a stakehole [81], 0.13m deep. Both features appear to relate to the construction and use of this building, although pottery from the gully suggests a date in Phase 6.

#### *Dating and interpretation*

The date of the construction of the Phase 4 building is unclear. A date in the second quarter of the 2nd century is suggested by the latest material associated with Phase 3B – assuming there was no hiatus between Phases 3 and 4, for which there is no evidence. This dating largely hinges on the presence of the 2nd century flanged dish associated with the lamb burial [91]. Without this evidence, a date towards the end of the 1st century would have been preferred. The only Phase 4 constructional deposit that contained any dating evidence was the metalled area [58], which lay between the walls of the entrance passage; this was unfortunately incompletely excavated. This context contained mainly 1st century material and included a samian sherd of Claudio–Neronian date as well as a coin of Vespasian (cat no 19). The only contexts possibly associated with the occupation of the building, and which contained dating evidence, were the superimposed layers in the southern half of the interior [10] and [11]. These contained pottery that ranged from the middle of the 2nd century to cAD170–190. Context [11] also contained a pre-Flavian Hod Hill-type brooch (fig 30, no 19) and a *denarius* of Hadrian (cat no 26).

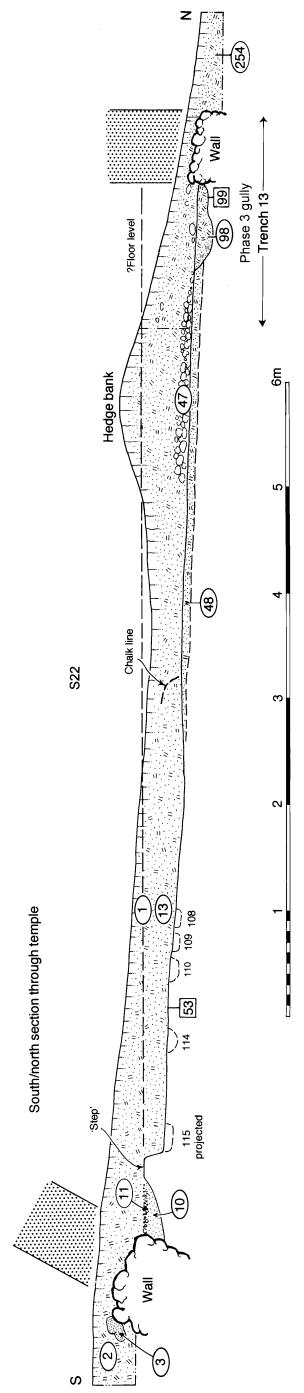


Fig 20 Wamborough. Trench 8. South–north section through Phase 4 temple (see fig 14) and earlier features.



Fig 21 Wanborough. Trench 8. Fragments of sceptre binding *in situ* in context [40]. (Scale in 10mm units)

The metalling to the south of the entrance passage [22/49] contained mainly 2nd century pottery as well as earlier and later material, including two Iron Age coins (cat nos 37–8) and a coin of the House of Constantine (cat no 44). Later material would be expected for a surface that was presumably open and added to during the life of the later square temple. Rubble layer [43] contained pottery mainly of 2nd century date.

Clearly, the Phase 4 remains are those of a temple of unusual form, a very few parallels for which may be found in Britain, and none is closely similar. Evidence has already been presented that the odd plan of the building may owe much to a preceding enclosure, of which little survives. The temple appears to have had a raised timber floor, discussed below. Insufficient of the entrance area has been recorded or has survived for much to be said about its original form. The apparent separate foundation at the terminal of the southern wall could be interpreted as the base of an altar (fig 14).

As noted earlier, much care appeared to have been taken in the construction of the temple. However, any quantification of the length of its survival as a functioning structure must take into account the degree of lean seen in the foundations excavated. As has been described, this was so great that it is likely to have manifested itself shortly after, or even during, construction to the extent that it may have rendered the building dangerously unstable and unusable fairly early on. In any case the evidence from the Phase 5 deposits suggests that the building had been reduced to its foundations before the end of the 2nd century. The period during which this building was standing may have been 50 years at the most but may well have been very substantially less. This period overlaps with the construction of the adjacent square temple in cAD160–170. The relationship between the two buildings is discussed later on as are the reasons for the demise of the circular temple.

An alternative explanation has been put forward, by a chartered building surveyor, for the present angle of the walls/footings below ground level. On clay soils the potential for movement of the surface and subsoils down slopes in excess of 1:10 has long been recognised

and the gradient immediately north of the site appears to exceed this. Progressive continuous movement of the clay over the intervening 1800 or so years may have caused much of the distortion of the walls/footings noted during excavations. If this is the case, then much of the movement is post-Roman and the present angle of the footings is not evidence for a catastrophic collapse of the building in the 2nd century. It is therefore possible that any above-ground structure was deliberately dismantled, for whatever reason, rather than having collapsed, which might also explain the lack of demolition debris.

The present author does not, however, agree with this view. The aspect of the site is one of a gently undulating terrain, though with an increasing slope to the north, and it seems unlikely that such movement has occurred if, as has been suggested, the site was wooded in antiquity. No movement was observed to have taken place on any of the other, more minor, features excavated either in the 1999 excavation or in previous work, nor was distortion observed in the foundations of the adjacent square temple.

As already described, a group of linear features occupied the southern part of the interior of the temple, each cutting into a truncated surface of natural clay. These features offered a number of interpretive possibilities that included plough furrows, wheel ruts and floor joists. As the clay surface would probably only have been exposed during preparations for the construction of the building the exposed surface would have been too deep for furrows to have survived, and in any case the site had been occupied by a lane since the medieval period. A similar argument can be used against their being wheel ruts unless, as seems highly unlikely, vehicles were being deliberately driven over the site during construction. Contexts [1] and [13], which lay above the linear features, appear to represent a stratified accumulation of material with the later material uppermost; there was no sign of disturbance in this deposit. Neither was there evidence for furrows or ruts extending beyond the building (the Phase 2 gully [78] is on a different alignment) or of the walls themselves being disturbed by wheels. It is felt that these are the positions of floor joists, although their spacing appears odd and may reflect internal subdivisions within the building. Their absence in the northern half of the building can be explained by taking into account the slope of the land and the different deposits placed here. Whereas the boarded floor probably sat on the 'step' of undug clay in the south of the interior, the floor level in the north would have been above the level of the surviving foundations. However, the different nature of the deposits in the northern half of the building may not have been suitable for such impressions to appear. It can be speculated that the substantial depth of these surviving impressions of floor joists may have been caused by the weight of masonry collapsing onto the floor above. However, it would be wrong to discount completely the possibility that these are later cart ruts, particularly in view of the nature of the Wanborough clays when wet.

#### PHASE 5: THE DEDICATORY DEPOSIT UNDERLYING THE SQUARE TEMPLE

The deposition of the ritual regalia is dealt with in O'Connell & Bird (1994, 16–19).

#### PHASE 6: ACTIVITY POST-DATING THE DEMISE OF, AND ON THE SITE OF, THE CIRCULAR TEMPLE

*Mid–late 2nd century onwards (figs 22, 23)*

The northern half of the interior of the circular temple was covered with a deposit, c0.15m deep, of flint, stone and pebbles [47]. Above this, and covering the remainder of the interior, was a widespread brown clayey deposit, c0.25–0.40m deep, which was divided into [1] (upper) and [13] (lower); the division into upper and lower levels appeared to correspond to an increase in stone and tile inclusions but was otherwise arbitrary. Context [1/13] was revealed immediately below the humic topsoil and overlay the natural clay surface exposed within the

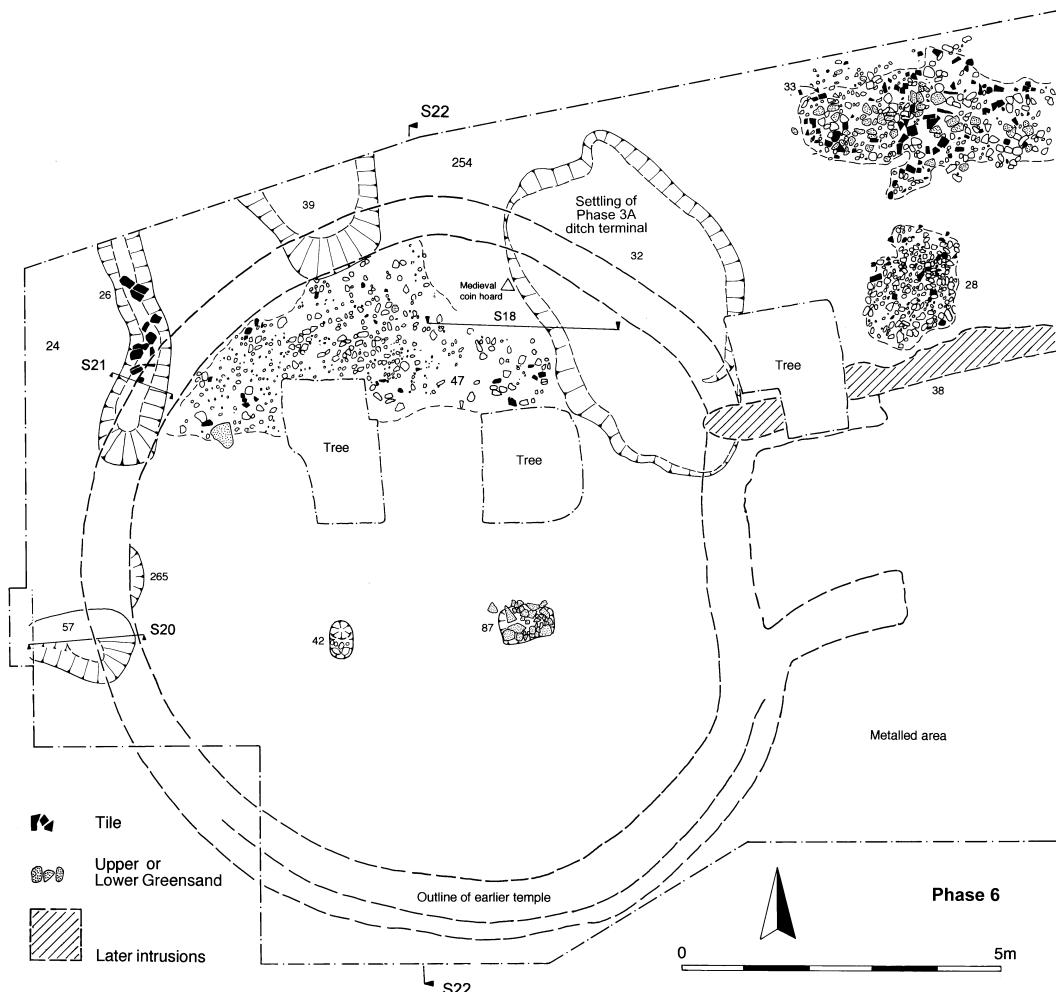


Fig 22 Wanborough. Trench 8. Plan of Phase 6 features.

building, together with the linear features and contexts [47] and [48]. The layer was deeper, as might be expected, on the southern, uphill, side of the building and tailed off to the north beyond this where it merged with the soil that formed the hedge bank.

Within the interior of the former building were two features, both of which had been cut after the accumulation of part of [1/13]. Context [42] was an apparent oval posthole measuring 0.36 x 0.54m and 0.15m deep and which contained a group of packing flints and ironstone fragments in its southern half. About 2.2m further east was a shallow feature [87] that cut the fill of the Phase 3 feature [89] (figs 13, 23). Context [87] measured 0.65 x 0.90m and was only 0.11m deep. It had been filled with a dark charcoal-flecked soil [86], which contained a deposit of many shattered fragments of thin tabular slabs of coarse gritty stone that derive from the Lower Greensand, but no dating material.

Overlying the surface of the foundations of the southern arc of the temple wall was a thin intermittent layer [6] of dark humic material that contained pottery and tile.

Three discrete features lay on the circumference of the building each cutting deeply into the surviving foundations (figs 20, 22). On the western arc, [57] was a shallow pit measuring 1.2m by at least 1.8m and c0.20m deep, which contained tile, flint and much pottery. A little

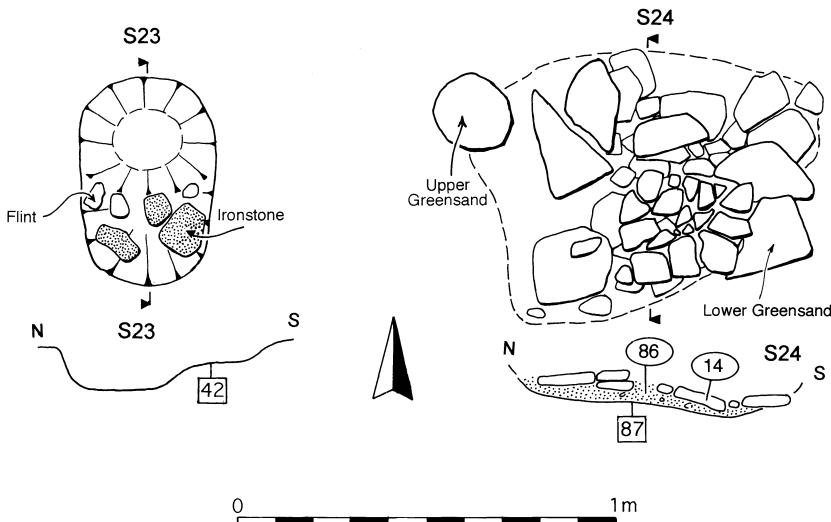


Fig 23 Wanborough. Trench 8. Plans and sections of Phase 6 features [42] and [87].

further north, [26] a curvilinear feature, 0.7–1.2m wide and 0.30m deep, the fill of which contained large amounts of pottery and roof tile, extended beyond the excavated area. Large pieces of tile lay against the base and sides, initially giving the appearance of a lining, though it is not thought that this was intentional. Just to the east of this was a further, poorly defined, feature [39], which also cut into the wall foundation. The latter measured 2.35m across, was 0.23m deep and contained a dark grey clayey deposit [35] above a thin lining of charcoal-rich soil. Context [265], which contained no datable material, was a shallow scoop adjacent to the wall on its western arc, but on the interior.

Lying adjacent to the exterior face of the wall and covering [39] was a shallow rubble spread ([34], not on plan) comprising flints, pebbles and occasional tile fragments as well as pottery.

Below the north-east arc of the earlier circuit wall a hollow [32] had been created by the settlement of the Phase 3A ditch terminal (fig 22). This hollow contained a substantial deposit [31] of dark charcoal-rich soil, which was clearly visible as a diffuse spread in the early stage of excavation, immediately after topsoil removal. Context [31] covered the leaning foundations of the circuit wall in this area and extended some distance beyond the confines of the hollow. This deposit contained four coins (two Iron Age (cat nos 24, 42), one of Tiberius (cat no 12) and a 4th century coin of Valentinian I (cat no 49)), many iron nails, and a few other objects as well as much highly fragmented pottery together with many tiny fragments of burnt bone. The pottery dated mainly from the middle of the 2nd century to the late 3rd century.

To the west, north-west and north of the temple – [7], [24], and [254] respectively – below topsoil and over natural clay, were shallow unstratified humic deposits that contained flint nodules and tile fragments, as well as pottery.

Lying against the southern arc of the building, above the slipped foundation courses and below [1], was a sequence of poorly stratified deposits. Uppermost of these was a line of rough blocks of Upper Greensand [3], which was associated with a dump of tile and flint nodules [44]. Dark humic layers ([2]) with much pottery as well as a few fragments of copper-alloy sheet occurred below these deposits. Context [2] merged into the fill of a gully [60], 0.60m wide x 0.12m deep, that ran concentrically to the south-east arc of the building and contained pottery of similar date to that from context [2]. In the base of the apparent western terminal of this gully was a post- or stakehole [8], 0.13m deep.

In the north-east of the excavated area, beyond the entrance passage, and overlying [46] and [83] of Phase 3, was a series of superimposed layers of flint, stone and tile rubble interleaved with soil deposits. Partly overlying the Phase 3 pebble layer [46] was a dense, tongue-shaped, mound of rubble [33], c.0.10m deep, which sealed a thin soil deposit [36] assigned to Phase 3. This rubble comprised mainly flint nodules together with broken roofing tile and lumps of Upper Greensand and gave the appearance of being a platform or foundation. Above the various deposits of rubble in this area was a layer of dark humic clayey soil [21], which covered the whole area north of the entrance passage below the humus. This contained pottery and other material, which included a complete enamelled trumpet brooch (fig 31, no 29). At one point [21] contained an isolated lens of flint, stone and tile rubble [28], immediately below which lay a clayey soil [29].

#### *Dating and interpretation*

Contexts [1] and [13], apart from a very thin lens of chalk that could be construed as the edge of a tip line, are considered to represent an accumulation of silt and debris which filled the interior of the former temple through natural processes. This appears to have begun to accumulate by around AD200 and to have continued throughout the next century, the bulk of the pottery from this accumulated layer being of 3rd century date. Context [47], in the lower northern part of the building, appears to have been deposited deliberately in the early 3rd century although it also contained a 4th century coin which is considered to be intrusive. The humic soil [6] that covered the southerly arc of the enclosing wall contained pottery dating from the late 2nd to the late 3rd centuries, as well as a *denarius* of Trajan (cat no 30).

The three external features [26], [39] and [57] are each of 3rd century date; pit [26] appears to belong to the first half of the century and pit [39] perhaps a little later and [34], which overlay it, is also of 3rd century date. Pit [57] was filled in the late 3rd century.

Context [31] appears to have begun to accumulate over the foundation of the temple during the latter half of the 2nd century and it continued to be added to at least as late as the late 3rd century. The 4th century coin, in view of the unsealed nature of this deposit, is considered to be intrusive. Contexts [2], [44] and [60], to the south of the temple, were associated with pottery of late 2nd and 3rd century date. The external unstratified accumulations to the north and west, [7], [24] and [54], are also mainly of 2nd and 3rd century date. The rubble layer [33] contained mainly mid-2nd to mid-late 3rd century material. Context [29] contained late 2nd–3rd century material and [21] material of a similar date. Context [31] appears to represent an accumulation of burnt debris that may represent offerings associated with the square temple, and which included pottery, animals or parts of animals, and perhaps nailed boxes. Again, it is not clear what significance may be attached to the positioning of this deposit within the sinkage of the Phase 3A ditch. The obscuring of the north-east arc of the wall by this deposit, in contrast to the treatment of the wall elsewhere, appears to have been deliberate.

There was no demolition horizon covering the remains of the building. Instead, the impression was gained that the partly collapsed building had been removed with a degree of care, the foundations left intact and visible (initially at least), and the materials recovered and removed probably for use elsewhere (perhaps in the adjacent square temple). There appears to have been occasional residual activity but this seems largely to have respected the site of the circular temple; the site was not metalled over or used (with the exception of [31]) for the dumping of rubbish for instance. The three external features, [26], [39] and [57], appear to have been positioned deliberately on the periphery of the building and the slighting of the walls may have had a ritual function, as may have the two internal features [42] and [87]. It is not clear whether any significance may be attached to the apparent alignment of the two latter features on the earlier entrance passage, or to the coincidence of [87] with what

was interpreted as the site of a tree. No explanation is offered for [47], the deposit of debris which covered part of the northern interior of the building.

Thus, using the dating evidence provided by [31] in particular, the circular temple appears to have been removed during the second half of the 2nd century. The latter context appears to provide the earliest evidence on this site for activity following the demise of the temple. There must, however, be a possibility that this material was brought from elsewhere at a later date to infill the hollow. Unfortunately, the nature of this and adjacent deposits was too diffuse for this possibility to be discounted, though it seems unlikely. Nevertheless, the interior of the building appears to have begun to be infilled through natural processes some time before cAD200, which date reinforces the short life of the Phase 4 temple.

#### PHASE 7: MEDIEVAL AND LATER ACTIVITY (figs 14, 22)

Shirley Corke (1994, 10–12) has speculated that the area north of the Hog's Back was covered by extensive tracts of undisturbed oak wood, gradually cleared during the early Middle Ages. The northern bank of Green Lane forms the boundary between the parishes of Wanborough, to the south, and Worplesdon. With the exception of the hedge bank itself the only feature within the main excavation which appeared to post-date the Roman period was a poorly defined ditch [38] (fig 14) that entered the site from the east and which appeared to terminate in the area of the junction between the Phase 4 temple wall and the north wall of the entrance passage. This feature contained two layers of Roman material ([37], [54]) and both appeared to have derived from adjacent layers through which the ditch had been cut. The ditch may be associated with the construction of the adjacent hedge bank for Green Lane, the excavation of which was cut short upon encountering the flint walls of the temple.

A small group of five medieval short-cross pennies, considered to be a hoard, was also found (fig 10; see Cook, below). Three of these were found in contact with each other in humic soil within the northern tail of the hedge bank during the excavation of trench 13 and in close proximity to both Iron Age and Roman coins. A further medieval penny, folded over, was found on the spoil heap but is considered to have lain about 1m from the hoard of three coins; a fifth penny was unstratified. A date early in the 13th century is proposed for the deposition of this group (see Cook, below). These coins were the only objects found, with the possible exception of horseshoes, which could be dated to the period between the end of Roman occupation and the 17th or 18th centuries, thus making their occurrence all the more remarkable. It is tempting to see their deposition as in some way recognising the former presence of a religious site through folk memory as appears to have been the situation at Farley Heath temple (Poulton 2007, 140). The folded coin may be construed as a lucky charm. More recent activity is represented by a few stray losses of coins, clay pipe fragments, pottery sherds and metalwork.

#### **The trial trenches** (figs 2, 24)

##### AREA 1

###### *Trench 1*

This trench (4 x 4m) was laid out to intercept the junction of a number of narrow linear anomalies shown on the geophysical survey (fig 3). No features were found and only the eastern half of the area was proceeded with. Below the plough-soil, which was flecked with tile fragments, and at a depth of c0.40m, was a thin layer [1] of grey clay containing much burnt flint that was more concentrated to the south-east. This layer rested on natural deposits [2] and [3] of yellow/grey clay containing iron-rich nodules. From this trench were recovered 30 pieces of struck flint, including two scrapers, and a possible Late Bronze Age sherd.

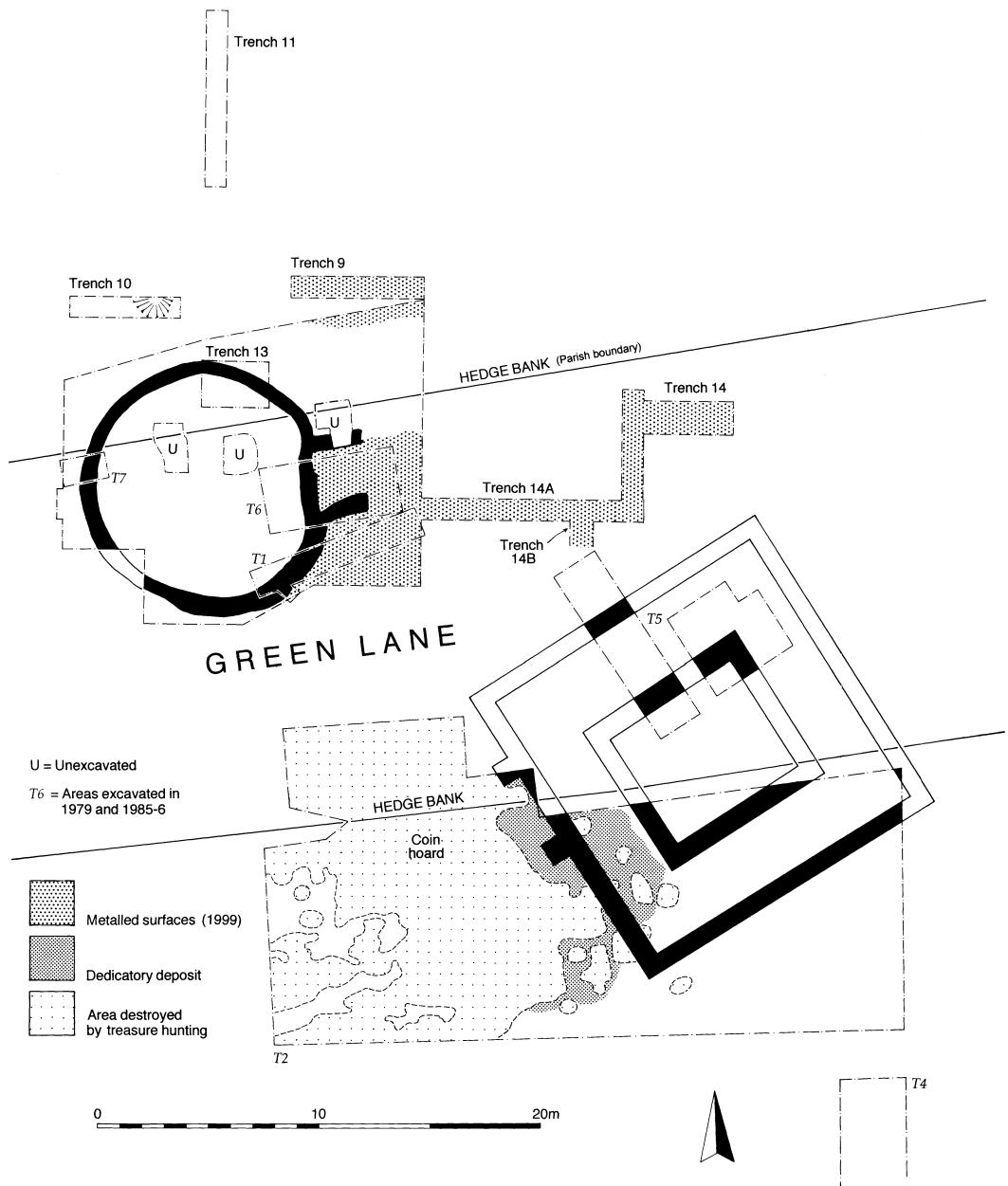


Fig 24 Wanborough. Plan showing the positions of the 1979, 1985–6 and 1999 excavations and the two temples in relationship.

### Trench 2

This trench ( $10 \times 2\text{m}$ ) was laid out to investigate the semi-circular anomaly prominently shown by the survey (fig 3). Considerable quantities of pebbles and flint nodules together with burnt flint were present in the topsoil. These had clearly derived from a metalled surface [1] found below and which extended out of the trench to the north. The area was crossed diagonally by a flint-filled field drain [2]. There was no dating evidence for the metalled surface although the burnt flint suggests a pre-Roman date. Two possible prehistoric sherds were also recovered.

*Trench 3*

This 6 x 2m trench was laid out to cross an apparent wide linear anomaly. No features or anything of significance was found.

*Trench 4*

This trench is described under Phase 2, above.

*Trench 5*

To test the hypothesis that the semi-circular feature examined by trench 2 formed part of a circular enclosure a trench (10 x 10m) was laid out in its projected centre with the aim of locating any features with which it could be associated. Only the eastern half of the trench was excavated. Apart from plough furrows and some very minor undated features and a field drain nothing of significance was found. The topsoil, however, contained fragments of Roman tile together with burnt flint and two gold coins of Verica (cat nos 19–20).

*Trench 6*

This 10 x 2m trench, together with trench 7, was designed to test an area of high resistance in an area bordering on Green Lane. No features or anything of archaeological significance were found; natural clay being found at a depth of 0.25–0.30m.

*Trench 7*

At a depth of 0.38m at the western end of this 10 x 2m trench, a flint surface was encountered. A 6m southerly extension to this trench was dug by machine and revealed the flint surface running the length of the extension.

*Trenches 23 and 27*

These two trenches were dug by machine adjacent to the mound of recently dumped soil which covered the area of the original discovery of the coin hoard and subsequent 1985–6 excavation. The sole intention was to recover further coins and artefacts which may have survived here. Only plough-soil was encountered.

AREA 2 (supplement S101, see p152)

*Trenches 24 and 25*

These trenches are described under Phase 2, above.

*Trench 26*

This trench contained neither features nor pottery.

AREA 3

A number of trenches were excavated within Green Lane itself (trenches 8, 12–16 and 19–20) as well as in the wood bordering the lane to the north and north-east of the site of the two temple buildings (trenches 9–11, 17, 18, 21 and 22). As already stated trenches 8 and 13 were later subsumed within the main excavation (reported above) and are not described separately here.

*Trench 12 (figs 2, 25)*

This trench ( $6 \times 5 \times 3\text{m}$ ) was laid out to the south of the trackway within Green Lane, its western side lying against a gully issuing from the field to the south. Resistivity survey in this area, which followed on from the 1979 excavation (O'Connell 1984, fig 2), suggested a possible rectilinear building in the vicinity. A section cut against the side of the gully revealed Roman building material at a depth of 0.30–0.40m below the surface. However, a test pit further east within the trench failed to locate this layer at a depth of 0.80m, revealing only solid yellow clay. At some point, the area of this trench was crossed by a water pipe, which runs the length of Green Lane, but the course of this could not be seen. In view of the obvious disturbance, it was decided to proceed no further with this trench. The largely uninformative results do not preclude the existence of a building immediately to the east although it too may have been damaged by the line of the pipe. This trench yielded a small amount of 1st and 2nd century pottery.

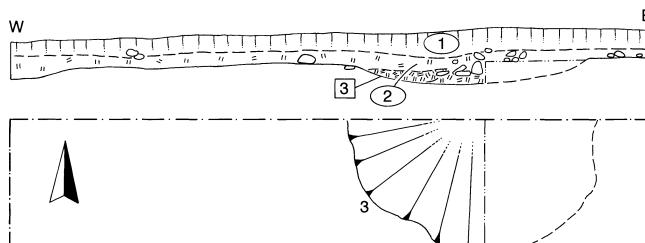
*Trench 15 (fig 2)*

This trench, like trenches 23 and 27, was dug by machine on the edge of the lane to recover further strays from the coin hoard.

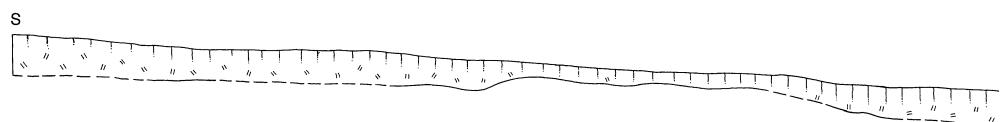
*Trenches 16–22 (fig 2; supplement S100, see p152)*

This series of narrow trenches was dug consecutively to trace the extent of Roman metalling to the east of the site of the temples. A flint surface, with fragments of Roman tile, often disturbed, was traced as far as trench 18. Traffic ruts were recorded in each trench. Trenches 21 and 22 contained no metallled surfaces and probing further east also failed to locate areas of metalling.

Trench 10



Trench 11



Trench 12

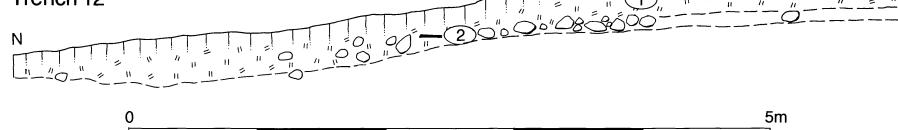


Fig 25 Wanborough. Trenches 10–12. Plans and sections.

*Trench 9 (figs 2, 24)*

This trench, together with trench 10, was originally designed to examine the eventually disproved hypothesis that the curving wall within the lane found in 1979 formed an apse belonging to a rectilinear building located largely within the wood. The trench measured 7 x 1m.

Below 0.10m of humus, a metalled surface composed of densely packed flint, pebbles and tile covered the entire area of the trench. At the east end of the trench a section 0.50m wide was taken down through the metalling which proved to be c.0.20m deep and appeared to represent successive layers. Pottery and burnt bone were recovered and a silver Roman Republican coin was recovered from the surface of the metalling. Pottery spanned the 1st–3rd centuries.

*Trench 10 (figs 24, 25)*

This trench measured 5 x 1m. There was no trace of metalling; the only feature found was a shallow pit [3], c.0.20m deep and 2m wide, containing 1st and 2nd century pottery. This lay below c.0.30m of humus and yellow/brown clayey soil [2].

*Trench 11 (figs 24, 25)*

This trench, which measured 8 x 1m, met with an undulating and featureless natural clay surface below 0.10–0.30m of humus and yellow/brown clayey soil that contained occasional flints and pebbles. A coin of Vespasian (cat no 25) was found nearby and a copper-alloy ring with silver inlay (fig 34, no 60) was recovered, the latter in topsoil adjacent to the trench, together with 2nd–3rd century pottery.

*Trenches 14, 14A and 14B (fig 24; supplement S99, see p152)*

This T-shaped area located a densely packed metalled surface composed of flints and pebbles together with pieces of Upper Greensand and Roman tile. A number of vehicle ruts clearly aligned with the lane were evident but could not be dated. A narrow section was taken through the metalling at the extreme east end; a coin of Eppillus was recovered from the clay surface below the metalling. Trench 14 was later joined to the main excavation by a 1m wide trench (trench 14A) designed to search for a *temenos* wall. A metalled surface extended the whole length of trench 14A but there was no trace of the hypothetical *temenos* wall. A further, uncompleted, trench (trench 14B) led off trench 14A to the south with the unrealised intention of picking up the wall of the square temple.

## CHAPTER 3 SPECIALIST REPORTS

### **The pottery**, by Malcolm Lyne (figs 26–27; supplement S13–S37, see p151)

#### INTRODUCTION

The main excavation area yielded 11,784 sherds (73,525g) of Late Iron Age to 3rd century Roman pottery from 72 contexts: there was no obviously 4th century material. The various trial trenches produced a further 1679 sherds (9624g) of pottery of generally similar date range but also including a few prehistoric and 4th century sherds.

#### METHODOLOGY

All the assemblages were quantified by numbers of sherds and their weights per fabric. These fabrics were classified using a x8 magnification lens with built-in metric scale for determining the natures, sizes, forms and frequencies of added inclusions: finer fabrics were further examined using a x30 magnification pocket microscope with artificial illumination source. A numbered series of Late Iron Age to Roman fabrics was drawn up and cross-referenced, where possible, to fabric codings used in the earlier Wanborough excavation report (Bird 1994b; Fulford 1994).

The sand-tempered Alice Holt/Farnham Fabric 9 variants have been given the suffixes TB for totally blackened, SB for surface blackened, G for grey and O for oxidised in the fabric analysis tables (tables 2–6), as such finishes have chronological significance during the period of transition between Late Iron Age and Roman firing technologies. There is a tendency for totally blackened fabrics to be replaced by surface-blackened greywares and for romanised greywares partially to supplant both during the period AD30–70.

None of the Late Iron Age or Early Roman assemblages are large enough for more meaningful quantification by estimated vessel equivalents (EVEs) based on rim sherds (Orton 1975) but two of the somewhat larger 3rd century ones have been so quantified.

#### THE FABRICS

National Roman Fabric Reference Collection codings (Tomber & Dore 1998) are put in italics after fabric descriptions where applicable.

##### *Prehistoric and Late Iron Age fabrics*

- 1 Lumpy totally blackened handmade fabric with reddish patches and very sparse, up to 2.00mm quartz and shell.
- 2 Friable black fabric with no obvious filler.
- 3 Friable black to brown handmade fabric with coarse grog and sparse up to 1.00mm calcined flint filler.
- 4 Handmade totally blackened fabric with profuse ill-sorted up to 0.50mm alluvial quartz and flint grit. Some sparse 2.00mm or more white and pink quartz and flint protruding from surfaces.
- 5 Chalk-tempered black fabric with profuse up to 2.00mm rounded vesicles where the chalk has leached out.
- 6 Shell-tempered brown/black fabric. Possibly North Kent shell-tempered ware of Late Iron Age date.

- 7 Handmade grog-tempered ‘Belgic’ fabric. This very rare Late Iron Age fabric originates in either Kent or the Silchester area of northern Hampshire.

##### *Silchester ware fabric variants*

- 8A Handmade black fabric with profuse 1.00–2.00mm calcined flint filler (broadly corresponding to Fulford 1994, Fabric 6).
- 8B Handmade black fabric with profuse up to 0.20mm multi-coloured quartz and sparse to moderate up to 3.00mm calcined flint filler.
- 8C Handmade fabric with profuse up to 0.30mm multi-coloured quartz and occasional 1.00mm calcined flint. (Fabrics 8B and C correspond to Fulford 1994, Fabric 3)
- 8D Handmade black to brown fabric with profuse 0.50–1.00mm multi-coloured sub-angular quartz date.

and sparse to moderate up to 0.50mm calcined flint filler.

8E Handmade fabric with profuse up to 0.50mm quartz and occasional up to 3.00mm calcined flint.

8F Handmade fabric fired black to orange with profuse up to 2.00mm multi-coloured quartz and sparse up to 2.00mm calcined flint filler. (Fabrics 8D, E and F are the equivalent of Fulford 1994, Fabric 4)

#### *Alice Holt/Farnham industry fabrics*

(The Alice Holt/Farnham ware Fabric variants 9A–9G listed below are covered by National Roman Fabric Reference Collection coding *ALHRE*)

9A Very fine sanded fabric with profuse up to 0.10mm sub-angular multi-coloured quartz filler.

9B Very fine sanded fabric with profuse up to 0.30mm sub-angular quartz filler (Lyne & Jefferies 1979, Fabric A).

9C Coarser-sanded fabric with profuse up to 0.50mm sub-angular quartz filler.

9D Coarse-sanded fabric with profuse up to 1.00mm sub-angular multi-coloured quartz filler (Lyne & Jefferies 1979, Fabric C, Bird 1994b, Fabric 1).

9E Very coarse sanded fabric with profuse up to 2.00mm quartz filler (Lyne & Jefferies 1979, Fabric D, Bird 1994b, Fabrics 6–8).

9F Very fine sanded grey fabric with profuse up to 0.30mm quartz filler and additional up to 1.00mm brown grog (Lyne & Jefferies 1979, Fabric B).

9G Late Roman Alice Holt/Farnham greyware fabric with profuse silt-sized quartz filler. Frequently with polished self-slip between cAD200 and 300 and applied black/white firing slip bands after cAD270 (Bird 1994b, Fabric 10).

9H Late Roman sandy-buff Overwey/Portchester D fabric. The only sherd in this cAD325–420 dated fabric came from the topsoil in trench 25. *OVWWH*

#### *Other Roman coarsewares*

10 Black-burnished 1 (BB1). A few jar, bowl and dish sherds from the production sites around Poole Harbour are present in 3rd century assemblages from [2], [13], [29], [31], [33], [34] and [47]. *DORBB1*

11 Sandy buff-brown fabric with occasional up to 2.00mm soft red ferrous inclusions. A Wiggonholt kilns fabric of the period cAD70–150 and represented by a few flagon sherds and pieces from an unusual reeded-rim bowl (Bird 1994b, fig 52-192). *WIGWH variant*

12 Hard and brittle very fine sanded bright orange fabric fired polished brown to black. Possibly but not certainly a Hardham/Wiggonholt industry

fabric from around Pulborough in Sussex and represented by a few closed form body sherds.

13 Wheel-turned buff-brown to grey fabric with profuse silt-sized quartz and sparse up to 1.00mm soft white and brown grog filler. A Colne valley product from southern Buckinghamshire, represented by just a few 2nd century sherds.

14 Rowlands Castle ware. The few jar bodysherds ascribed to this source near Havant in south-east Hampshire could be misattributed. The superficial flecky surface reddening on the Wanborough sherds and so typical of Rowlands Castle ware is also occasionally encountered on 2nd century Alice Holt products.

15 Very fine sanded blue/grey fabric fired rough orange externally.

16 Very fine sanded reddish-brown fabric fired polished black. Imitation Dorset Black-burnished ware but wheel turned and represented by a single straight-sided dish. Vessels in this fabric are particularly common on Brentford sites and in southern Hertfordshire. The exact source is unknown.

17 Coarse orange/brown fabric with profuse up to 1.00mm multi-coloured quartz and ironstone filler.

18 Chaff-tempered salt-container fabric from East Kent (Macpherson-Grant 1980).

19 Miscellaneous coarsewares.

#### *The finewares*

20A South Gaulish samian. *LGFS4*

20B Central Gaulish Lezoux samian. *LEZSA42*

20C East Gaulish Trier samian. *TRISA*

20D East Gaulish Rheinzabern samian. *RHZSA4*

21A Soft sand-free buff to cream fabric. Probably a Wiggonholt product from the Pulborough area of West Sussex. *WIGWH variant*

21B Sand-free cream fabric with occasional hard up to 2.00mm black inclusions. Possibly from the same source as the above. *WIGWH variant*

21C Hardham ‘London’ ware. A beaker base and a few fragments from open forms in this distinctive micaceous black fineware came from [29], [36] and [45]. cAD50–150

21D Sand-free white fabric fired grey/black. Beakers and other fineware forms in this terra nigra-like fabric are widely distributed across Sussex and are thought to have been made near Lewes during the period cAD70–200+. Two kilns producing vessels in a coarse-sanded cAD250–350 dated version of the same fabric were excavated at Chiltington in East Sussex (Butler & Lyne 2001). A few sherds from closed forms in Fabric 21D come from [31] and [46].

22 Very fine sanded redware with silt-sized quartz filler. This distinctive near-earthenware-type

- fabric was used to manufacture copies of Central and East Gaulish samian forms during the period cAD250–350. These wares are of unknown origin but are widely, if thinly, distributed across Hampshire, Surrey and Sussex, occurring at Neatham (Millett 1986, fig 40.10–14), Chichester (Young 1981, Fabric 31) and elsewhere. A few sherds occur in the 3rd century temple destruction deposits.
- 23 Sand-free orange/red fabric with brown colour-coat and sand rough-cast. Possibly a Colchester product of the period cAD130–200+ and represented by a single beaker sherd from [8].
- 24A Smooth orange fabric with silt-sized quartz. ?Oxfordshire oxidised fineware (Young 1977, 185). Represented by sherds of a few flagons, beakers, bowls and cups from [4], [13], [25], [29], [31], [34], [49] and [83]: perhaps the most common single fineware after Central Gaulish samian but still insignificant. Most vessels in this fabric seem to have arrived on the site during the 3rd century.
- 24B Oxfordshire Whiteware (Young 1977, 56). This fabric is represented by mortarium sherds from [11], [13], [35] and [47]. *OXFWH*
- 24C Oxfordshire Red Colour coat (Young 1977, 123). This fabric is represented by a single beaker sherd from the topsoil. *OXFRS*
- 25 Sand-free orange fabric with external green glaze over white barbotine trails. Occasional mica and minute white inclusions. Two sherds of a single beaker came from [3] (fig 26, no 50).
- 26 Sand-free buff fabric with polished black colour coat and yellow barbotine decoration. One sherd of a ?late Rhenish beaker came from subsoil [1] (fig 26, no 49). *MOSBS variant*
- 27 Sand-free buff-brown fabric with mica dusting. One beaker sherd each in this fabric came from [10] and [55] and two more from gully [62]. An imitation Gallo-Belgic platter fragment was also present in the assemblage from [13]. cAD70–120
- 28 Lower Nene Valley Colour coat. A flagon rim sherd of Perrin Type 189 (1999, cAD225–75) came from temple destruction context [3]. *LNVCC*
- 29 Verulamium Region Whitewares are represented by flagon sherds from [3] and [49] and an Antonine tazza fragment from [13]. *VERWH*
- 30 Cologne Whiteware with black colour coat. A single rouletted beaker sherd in this cAD130–200+ dated fabric came from [31]. *KOLCC*
- 31 Moselkeramik. A few beaker sherds in this fine metallic fabric came from temple destruction contexts [3], [4], [25] and [31]. cAD200–70. *MOSBS*
- 32 New Forest Purple colour coat (Fulford 1975, Fabric 1A). Beaker fragments are present in the assemblages from the topsoil and [13]. cAD260–400. *NFOCC*
- 33 Miscellaneous finewares.
- 34 Micaceous orange fabric with profuse silt-sized quartz. Probably from Staines (Crouch & Shanks 1984, Fabric A).

#### THE ASSEMBLAGES FROM TRIAL TRENCHES 4 AND 24

##### *Phase 2*

Assemblage 1: from the fills [2], [3], [9] and [10] of [11] in trench 4

The lowest fills excavated, [9] and [10], produced 39 sherds (202g) of pottery between them, comprising four fragments in the wholly calcined flint-tempered Silchester Ware Fabric variant 8A (c25BC–AD60), two, three and four sherds respectively in the Late Iron Age Fabrics 1, 2 and 3, eleven sherds in sand and calcined-flint tempered Silchester ware Fabric 8C (cAD30–60) and ten in early black or grey sand-tempered Fabric 9 variants. A further five sherds are in a soft, oxidised handmade fabric with sparse up to 1.00mm multi-coloured quartz filler of probable Late Iron Age date. Only three rim fragments are present in the assemblage and, together with the fabric make-up, suggest a date of the first half of the 1st century AD.

Fig 26, no 1 Copy of Gallo-Belgic ?cup of CAM 56 type in grey Fabric 9B. 1st century to cAD65.

Fig 26, no 2 Bead-rim jar in friable black Fabric 2. Late Iron Age.

The spread of flints over the pit and sunken into it produced a further 27 sherds (120g) of pottery, most of which comes from a single pot.

Fig 26, no 3 Handmade bead-rim jar in brown/black Fabric 8A with profuse up to 2.00mm calcined flint filler and slipped and polished exterior surface. Ext rim diameter 150mm Paralleled at Silchester in similar fabric and there dated to c25BC–AD60 (Timby 2000, Fabric F1).

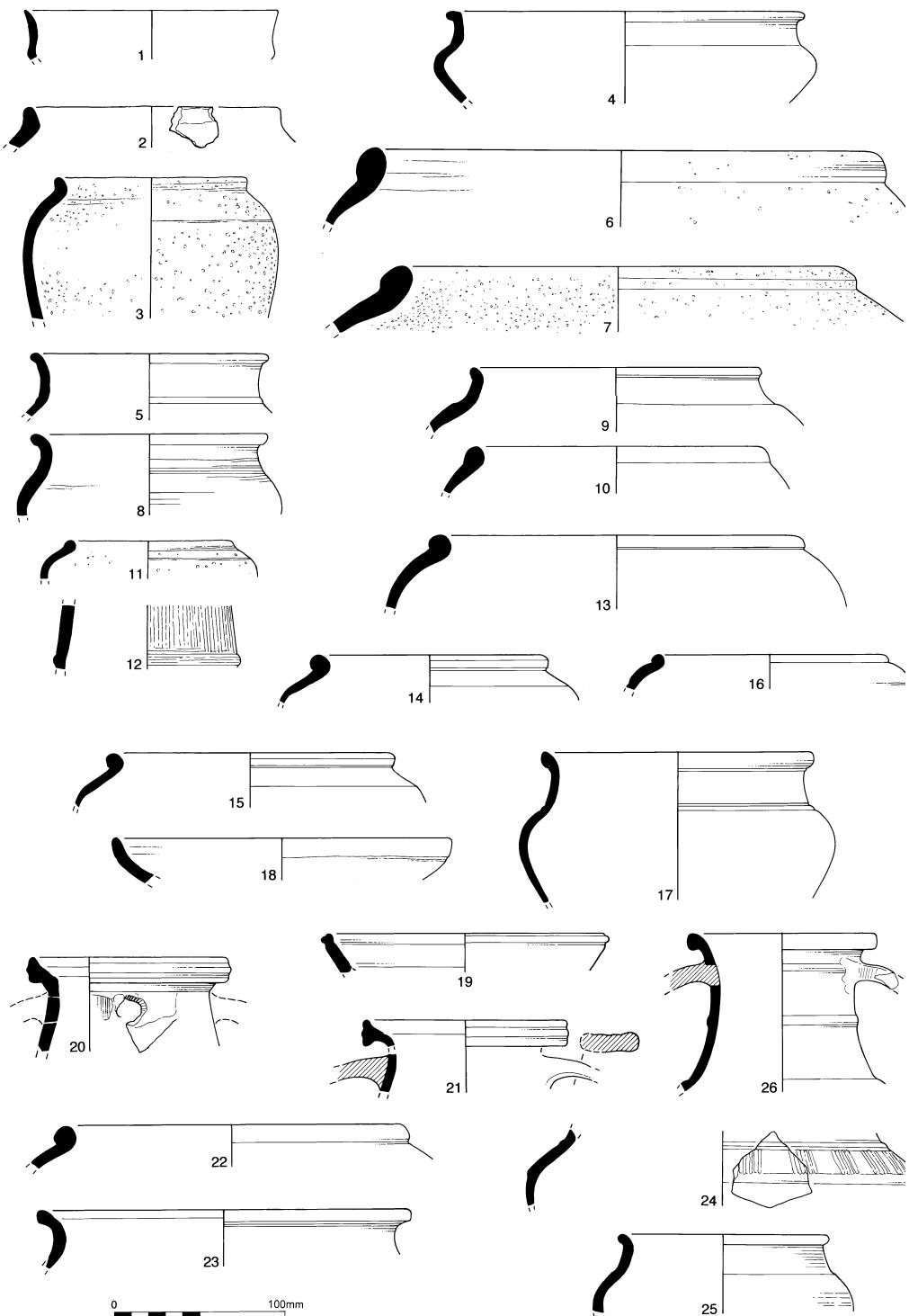


Fig 26 Wanborough. Pottery, nos 1–26.

The clay over the flint layer [3] produced a further 147 sherds (680g) of pottery with a wide date range extending from the Late Iron Age to the late 3rd century. This material includes both Silchester ware sherds and 3rd century Alice Holt storage-jar and cooking-pot fragments.

#### Assemblage 2: from the fill of the pit in trench 24 [2]

The fill of this feature yielded 111 sherds (998g) of Late Iron Age pottery, with Silchester ware Fabric 8 variants E and F fragments making up 55% between them. The rest of the assemblage is made up of early Fabric 9 wares and includes the greater part of the following vessel:

Fig 26, no 4 Handmade necked bowl in black Fabric 9C fired rough orange/brown. Ext rim diameter 200mm. Closely paralleled at Silchester in a similar oxidised sandy fabric (Timby 2000, fig 132, 610). The

Silchester vessel was unfortunately residual in its context but, like the Wanborough example, is stylistically Late Iron Age in date.

Other sherds include the following:

Fig 26, no 5 Cordoned-jar or bowl in dirty grey Fabric 9B fired black with external polish. Ext rim diameter 120mm.

#### THE ASSEMBLAGES FROM THE MAIN EXCAVATION

##### *Phase 3A*

#### Assemblage 3: from the lower fills [259], [260], [262], [268], [269] of ditch [253]

The lower fills produced 132 sherds (1338g) of pottery, which were quantified by numbers of sherds and their weights per fabric (table 2).

Table 2 Number of sherds and weights by fabric from the lower fills of ditch [253]

Fabric	No of sherds	%	Weight (g)	%
7	1	0.8	6	0.4
8E	4	3.0	64	4.8
8F	14	10.6	276	20.6
9A G	8	6.1	50	3.7
9B TB	69	52.3	704	52.6
9C G	21	15.9	142	10.6
9C TB	4	3.0	38	2.8
9C SB	2	1.5	16	1.2
9D TB	1	0.8	8	0.6
9E SS	8	6.1	34	2.5
Total	132		1338	

The overwhelming bulk of the sherds are in the Alice Holt/Surrey Fabric 9 group of sand-tempered wares (86%), of which the majority (73%) are totally blackened and only 26% and 1% romanised grey and black-surfaced respectively. The high proportion of totally blackened sherds, coupled with the presence of calcined flint and sand tempered sherds in Silchester ware Fabric 8 variants (13%) and a single sherd of 'Belgic' grog-tempered ware are indicative of a cAD30–50 date for the assemblage. There are no fineware imports but the lagena fragment (fig 12) indicates that some at least of the assemblage is post-conquest in date. The material includes sherds from the following vessels:

- Fig 26, no 6 Handmade bead-rim jar in sand and calcined-flint tempered Fabric 8F fired black. Ext rim diameter 240 mm. *cAD30–60.* [262]
- Fig 26, no 7 Second example in similar fabric fired brown with grey smudges on the rim. Ext rim diameter 240 mm. *cAD30–60.* [262]
- Fig 26, no 8 Handmade necked-jar in soot-soaked Fabric 9B with polished exterior and top of rim. Ext rim diameter 140mm. Late Iron Age–*cAD50.* [262]

- Fig 26, no 9 ?Wheel-turned cordoned-jar in flecked grey Fabric 9A with polished exterior. Ext rim diameter 150mm. [268]
- Fig 26, no 10 Bead-rim jar in grey Fabric 9C fired rough brown-grey. Ext rim diameter 180mm. [262]
- Fig 26, no 11 Small bead-rim jar in totally blackened Fabric 9E. Ext rim diameter 100mm. One of two. Late Iron Age–*cAD50.*
- Fig 26, no 12 Fragment from neck of two-handled lagena with cordons and vertical burnishing, in grey Fabric 9C. *cAD43–70.* [262]

#### Assemblage 4: from the upper fills, [52] and [261], of ditch [253]

A somewhat larger assemblage came from the upper fills of the ditch. It is still too small for quantification by estimated vessel equivalents (EVEs) based on rim sherds but was, however, quantified by numbers of sherds and their weights per fabric (table 3).

Table 3 Number of sherds and weights by fabric from the upper fills of ditch [253]

Fabric	No of sherds	%	Weight (g)	%
8C	4	1.8	82	4.2
8E	8	3.5	120	6.1
9B G	73	32.0	554	28.2
9B TB	41	18.0	317	16.1
9B SB	59	25.9	564	28.7
9B O	7	3.1	42	2.1
9C SB	2	0.9	10	0.5
9D G	5	2.2	24	1.2
9D TB	10	4.4	194	9.9
9D SB	14	6.1	33	1.7
18	1	0.4	2	0.1
19	2	0.9	16	0.8
20B	1	0.4	4	0.2
34	1	0.4	2	0.1
Total	228		1966	

This assemblage has a considerably wider range of fabrics than that from the lower fills of the ditch, including a sherd in micaceous orange Staines fineware (*cAD50–120*). The grey romanised Fabric 9 sherds now account for an increased 37% of that group of fabrics and sherds in Silchester ware Fabric 8 variants are down to 5% of an assemblage which probably dates to *cAD50–80*. A Central Gaulish Samian sherd from a ?Dr 36 dish is probably intrusive in an assemblage which includes the following:

- Fig 26, no 13 Bead-rim jar of Lyne & Jefferies Type 4.10 (1979) in totally blackened Fabric 9B. Ext rim diameter 180mm. *cAD50–90.* [52]

- Fig 26, no 14 Another example, of Type 4.27, with undercut bead, in similar fabric. Ext rim diameter 150mm. [52]

- Fig 26, no 15 Bead-rim jar with carinated shoulder in surface-blackened Fabric 9B. Ext rim diameter 140mm. This type is not in Lyne & Jefferies 1979 but similar forms occur at Silchester in early Flavian contexts (Fulford 1984, fig 50–354) and at least one other example came from the earlier Wanborough excavations (Bird 1994b, fig 43.10). [52]

- Fig 26, no 16 Small bead-rim jar of uncertain diameter in similar fabric.
- Fig 26, no 17 Necked and cordoned jar of Lyne & Jefferies Type 1.24 in grey Fabric 9B with carinated shoulder. Ext rim diameter 160mm. [52]
- Fig 26, no 18 Imitation Gallo-Belgic platter in similar but surface-blackened fabric. Ext rim diameter 150mm. [52]
- Fig 26, no 19 Beaded-and-flanged dish of uncertain diameter in totally-blackened Fabric 9B. [52]

Fig 26, no 20 Lagena of Lyne & Jefferies Type 8.1 (1979) in grey Fabric 9B. Ext rim diameter 120mm. The handles have been pegged into the neck of the vessel. [52]

Fig 26, no 21 Another example in similar fabric but with blackened surfaces. Ext rim diameter 120mm. [52]

### Phase 3B

Assemblage 5: context [88] (from the fill of tree hole [89])

The small assemblage from this feature was quantified in the same manner as the three assemblages listed above (table 4).

Table 4 Number of sherds and weights by fabric from [88]

Fabric	No of sherds	%	Weight (g)	%
8E	6	10.7	18	7.0
9A G	16	28.6	66	25.6
9A SB	1	1.8	6	2.3
9A/B TB	3	5.4	14	5.4
9A/B SB	27	48.1	144	55.8
9C G	1	1.8	2	0.8
9D G	2	3.6	8	3.1
Total	56		258	

This assemblage is very small and somewhat lacking in diagnostic sherds. Rim fragments do, however, include those from two bead-rim jars of early Flavian character in fine grey Fabric 9A and suggest a date of cAD70–90 for the assemblage.

Assemblage 6: from the trample over the fills [51, 55] of ditch [253]

This assemblage produced 155 sherds (1187g) of Flavian pottery (table 5).

Table 5 Number of sherds and weights by fabric from [51] and [55]

Fabric	No of sherds	%	Weight (g)	%
8A	5	3.2	42	3.5
8E	1	0.6	8	0.7
9B G	65	41.9	448	37.7
9B TB	16	10.3	112	9.4
9B SB	34	22.0	229	19.3
9D TB	5	3.2	134	11.3
9D SB	22	14.2	155	13.0
9D O	3	1.9	40	3.4
19	1	0.6	12	1.0
20B	2	1.3	3	0.3
27	1	0.6	4	0.3
Total	155		1187	

The overwhelming bulk of the sherds in this assemblage are once again in the Alice Holt/Farnham Fabric 9 group of wares (94%), with grey romanised variants accounting for 45%. The six Silchester ware sherds are probably residual. Imported wares include two fragments of Central Gaulish samian and a sherd from a beaker in mica-dusted Fabric 27 (*c*70–120): the presence of the Central Gaulish samian Dr 33 sherds indicates that pottery continued to accumulate until after AD120.

Fig 26, no 22 Bead-rim jar of uncertain diameter in patchy orange/black oxidised Fabric 9D. [55]

Fig 26, no 23 Lid-seated rim fragment from a necked and cordoned jar of Type 1.4 in similar fabric. Ext rim diameter 200mm. [55]

Fig 26, no 24 Carinated shoulder fragment from necked and cordoned jar with groups of

burnished vertical lines. Decoration on the shoulders of necked and cordoned jars of this type is most unusual. [55]

Fig 26, no 25 Necked jar in surface-blackened Fabric 9B. Ext rim diameter 120mm. Three fresh sherds from this pot were associated with a coin of Vespasian. [55]

#### Assemblage 7: from the soil and soil-filled hollows [50], [73], [84] sealed by metalling [49]

The combined 96 sherds (427g) of pottery from these Phase 3B occupation contexts is too small an assemblage for any form of meaningful quantification. None of the sherds is later than AD150 and only six need be earlier than AD50. The fragments are heavily comminuted but the Alice Holt/Farnham Fabric 9 sherds include two pieces from ‘Atrebatic’ lid-seated bowls (Lyne & Jefferies Class 5, *c*AD50–150), three bead-rim jars of Class 4 (*c*AD50–90) and a necked and cordoned jar of Type 1.12 (*c*AD50–120). A late 1st–early 2nd century date is thus indicated for the material.

#### Assemblage 8: from the fills [92], [98], [255] of gully [99/93] and pit [91] fill [90]

The 193 sherds (1551g) of pottery from gully [99/93] were quantified by numbers of sherds and their weights per fabric (table 6).

Table 6 Number of sherds and weights by fabric from gully [99/93]

Fabric	No of sherds	%	Weight (g)	%
8A	7	3.6	43	2.8
8B	3	1.6	22	1.4
8C	1	0.5	4	0.3
8E	29	15.0	452	29.1
9A G	5	2.6	10	0.6
9B Patchy	20	10.4	222	14.3
9B TB	20	10.4	148	9.5
9B SB	51	26.4	358	23.1
9C TB	3	1.6	38	2.5
9C SB	17	8.8	76	4.9
9D G	2	1.0	26	1.7
9D TB	2	1.0	14	0.9
9D SB	25	13.0	96	6.2
19	8	4.1	42	2.7
Total	193		1551	

According to the stratigraphic sequence, the pottery from this feature should be Flavian at the earliest: the fabric breakdown and forms present are, however, more characteristic of the period *c*AD43–60. The reason for this seems to be that the 99 sherds from gully [93] cut through the fills of ditch [253] are for the most part derived from the latter feature. This derived material includes fragments from the following vessel:

Fig 26, no 26 Lagena of Lyne & Jefferies Type 8.3 with pegged in handles in grey Fabric 9C fired black. Ext rim diameter 110mm. [92]

The pottery from gully [99] is heavily broken up and has few good rim sherds. The following fragment is, however, present:

Fig 27, no 27 Jar with undercut, rolled-over rim in wheel-turned grey fabric with profuse silt-sized quartz. Ext rim diameter 140mm. The rim form is similar to that

on some Oxfordshire greyware jars of the period AD50–150 (Young 1977, Type R21). [98]

The true date of gully [99/93] is, however, indicated by the small seventeen sherd (562g) assemblage from the fill of the contemporary context [91], with ritual deposit [90]. This group of sherds includes a large part of the following vessel:

Fig 27, no 28 Flanged dish of Lyne Type 6B.8 in patchy black/grey/orange fired Fabric 9D. Ext rim diameter 240mm. Similar dishes are present in c AD130–170 dated assemblages from Alice Holt

waster dump AH52 (Lyne forthcoming A). A further fragment from this vessel or a similar one came from the gravel metalling [49] to the south of the temple entrance (Assemblage 10).

Assemblage 9: from burnt clay patch [252] to the west of pit [91] and extending across the fill of gully [93]

The 33 sherds (472g) of pottery from this burnt area are nearly all residual and include seven sherds in Silchester ware Fabrics 8D, E and F. A large fresh sherd from the following vessel is, however, also present:

Fig 27, no 29 Small incipient beaded and flanged-bowl in grey Fabric 9G polished on both inner and exterior surfaces. Ext rim diameter 140mm. Different from early 3rd century vessels of this type in having an upward-tilted flange and probably a devolved Class 5 ‘Atrebatic’ bowl. An example without the bead comes from c AD125–50 dated deposits

at Silchester (Fulford 1984, fig 51.392). Further fragments from this pot were present in rubble deposit [34] and temple wall [4]. It is conceivable that the piece from the wall was placed there when it was constructed but the context [4] assemblage is very wide-ranging in date and has a large 3rd century element.

#### *Phase 4*

Assemblage 10: from the metalling to the south of the temple entrance [49]

The 228 sherds (1470g) of pottery from this layer are unsuitable for quantification because of the wide date range of the material incorporated in the metalling. Some of these sherds may have been residual at the time of the laying down of the metalling and yet others were trodden down into it as late as the mid-3rd century. The earlier material includes the following:

Fig 27, no 30 ‘Atrebatic’ bowl in surface-blackened Fabric 9D. Ext rim diameter 240mm. cAD50–140. One of two examples.

The assemblage also includes the cAD130–170 dated flanged dish sherd referred to under Assemblage 8 (fig 27, no 28) and a fragment from the same reeded-rim bowl as illustrated in the report on the previous excavations (Bird 1994b, fig 52, no 192). Further fragments from this distinctive vessel in sandy buff Wiggonholt Fabric 11 came from deposit [2] south of the temple and also from temple wall [5].

Pottery forms specifically datable to the late 2nd century are quite rare on this site and there do not appear to be any assemblages exclusively of this period.

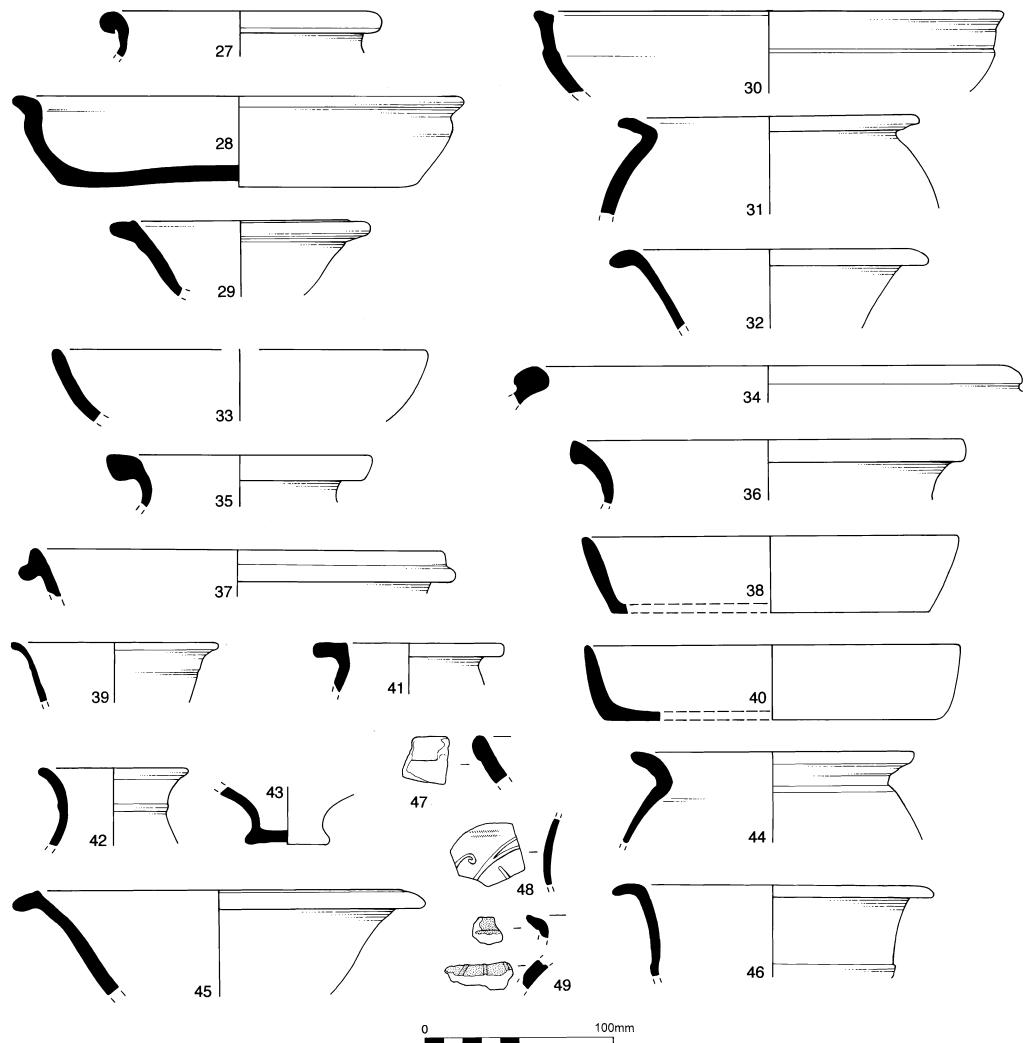


Fig 27 Wanborough. Pottery, nos 27–49.

## Assemblage 11: from layers [10]–[12] within the southern part of the temple

Layer [10] produced 110 sherds (727g) and [11] yielded 29 sherds (194g) of badly broken up pottery: layer [12] was entirely lacking in sherds. Much of this pottery is of late 1st–early 2nd century character and includes an ‘Atrebatian’ bowl of Lyne & Jefferies Class 5 (1979), a Gallo-Belgic platter copy of Type 6.2 and a cordon-jar of Type 1.20. The 2nd century sherds tend to be somewhat fresher: they include a burnt fragment from a Central Gaulish Dr 31/33 variant of Antonine date, and the following:

Fig 27, no 31 Bulbous Class 3B everted-rim jar in grey Fabric 9B. Ext rim diameter 130mm. One of two examples. Jars of this type seem to have been quite rare in the previous excavation and none is illustrated (Bird 1994b). The history of development of the type during the 2nd century at the Alice Holt kilns was made much clearer by the excavation of a sequence of 35 successive drying-sheds and kilns on waster-dump AH52 (Lyne forthcoming A). This showed the type to have remained a quite insignificant product during most of the 2nd century and been restricted to a bulbous form with short, stubby everted rim and with or without burnished acute-latticing on the body. Types like these two Wanborough examples with better-developed rim but still with bulbous bodies appeared during the period

*c*AD180/190 and lasted until *c*AD220 before being replaced by Type 3B.9 (Lyne & Jefferies 1979).

Fig 27, no 32 Flanged bowl of Type 5A.2 in surface-blackened Fabric 9A. This type was dated *c*AD150–220 in 1979 but the excavations on waster-dump AH52 show the type to have made its appearance nearer AD170 although probably still going out of fashion around AD220.

Fig 27, no 33 Dish of Lyne & Jefferies Class 6A in rough brown Fabric 9C. Types like this with curved lower walls made their appearance in Alice Holt *c*AD170 and are transitional between the late Gallo-Belgic platter copies of the early 2nd century and the fully developed straight-sided Class 6A dishes of the 3rd century and later.

### Phase 6

Assemblage 12: from the deposit [13] within the circular temple following its abandonment

This deposit included a substantial 708 sherds (4219g) of pottery; a large enough assemblage for quantification by EVEs based on rim sherds (table 7).

Table 7 Quantification by EVEs of pottery from [13]

Fabric	Jars EVE	Bowls EVE	Dishes EVE	Beakers EVE	Store-jars EVE	Others EVE	Total EVE	%
8E	0.17				0.09 Cl.9		0.26	4.5
9A/B G	0.95	0.33	0.08	0.25	0.09 Cl.1A		1.70	29.2
9A/B SB	1.07	0.56	0.24	0.03	0.05 Cl.1A	0.05 <sup>1</sup>		
						0.20 <sup>2</sup>	2.20	37.7
9A/B TB	0.09						0.09	1.5
9C G	0.07						0.07	1.2
9C SB	0.09						0.09	1.5
9D/E G	0.05						0.05	0.9
9D/E SB	0.14	0.13			0.15 Cl.10		0.42	7.2
9G	0.31				0.20 Cl.1A		0.51	8.7
20B			0.05	18/31		0.03 <sup>3</sup>	0.08	1.4
22						0.07 <sup>4</sup>	0.07	1.2
24A			0.14				0.14	2.4
27			0.05				0.05	0.9
29						0.10 <sup>5</sup>	0.10	1.7
Total	2.73 (46.8%)	1.23 (21.1%)	0.42 (7.2%)	0.42 (7.2%)	0.58 (9.9%)	0.45 (7.8%)	5.83	

Key: <sup>1</sup> lid; <sup>2</sup> biconical; <sup>3</sup> Dr 33; <sup>4</sup> strainer; <sup>5</sup> tazza

Although small amounts of residual 1st and 2nd century pottery are present, the overwhelming bulk of this material can be fitted into the period *c*AD200–250 with just a little late 3rd century material. An even tighter dating for the bulk of the rubbish dumping to *c*AD200–220 may be indicated by the paucity of sherds in the fully developed late Alice Holt/Farnham greyware Fabric 9G (9%).

As with the earlier assemblages Alice Holt/Farnham wares are overwhelmingly predominant (88%). Other wares include a fragment from what may be the same Verulamium Region Whiteware tazza as found in the previous excavations (Bird 1994b, fig 51.159). This tazza is of Frere's Type 925 with toothed rouletting (1972) and is dated cAD150–200. Central Gaulish samian is represented by five fragments, from a Hadrianic–Antonine period Dr 18/31R or 31R platter and an Antonine period Dr 33 cup. Other wares include an abraded Wiggonholt creamware fragment, the rim from an Oxfordshire oxidised fineware ?pentice beaker (cAD250–300), two Oxfordshire Whiteware mortarium sherds, a fragment from a New Forest purple colour-coat beaker (cAD260–340) and the following piece:

Fig 27, no 34 Rim from a ?strainer in red Fabric 22. Ext rim diameter 240mm. Other fragments of this vessel came from [48] and [49]. The rim is

paralleled at Neatham in the mid-3rd century pit [12] assemblage (Millett 1986, fig 49, no 10).

The form breakdown of the assemblage is suggestive of domestic activity, with various types of cooking-pot being most common: somewhat smaller numbers of bowls and dishes are present. A paucity of finewares also suggests a low social status, although the nature of the religious cult practised at the temple complex could offer an alternative explanation for this were it of an austere variety. Yet another interpretation is that the bulk of the pottery from the site is from offerings brought to the temple by low-status rural peasantry. The only certain indication of ritual activity lies in the presence of the tazza brought in from the Verulamium region, presumably for the burning of incense.

The Alice Holt/Farnham wares include four examples of Lyne & Jefferies cordoned-jar Type 1.30 (1979) and the following pieces:

Fig 27, no 35 Cordonned and necked liquid storage-jar of Type 1A.11 in grey Fabric 9G. Ext rim diameter 140mm. cAD220–270.

started being produced at the surprisingly early date of cAD220/230 (Lyne forthcoming A). Successive kilns producing these bowls gave archaeomagnetic dates of AD220 and  $250 \pm 15$  years (Clark forthcoming). One of three examples. cAD220/230–270+.

Fig 27, no 36 Hook-rimmed jar of Type 3C.2 in surface-blackened Fabric 9A. Ext rim diameter 160mm. cAD200–270.

Fig 27, no 38 Straight-sided dish of Type 6A.3 in surface-blackened Fabric 9A/B. One of three examples. c AD200–300.

Fig 27, no 37 Developed beaded-and-flanged bowl in grey Fabric 9A/B. Ext rim diameter 140mm. The excavation on waster dump AH52 in Alice Holt shows that the developed beaded-and-flanged bowl

Other Alice Holt/Farnham industry forms include six examples of flanged bowl Type 5A.2 (cAD170–220), two incipient beaded-and-flanged bowls (cAD200–240) and a Class 10 beehive rim sherd (cAD180–400).

#### Assemblage 13: from the fill of pit [26] cutting the temple foundation [25]

The group of 854 sherds (4932g) of pottery from this pit or gully is also large enough for quantification by EVEs (table 8).

The preponderance of Alice Holt/Farnham wares (90%) is continued in this assemblage; the percentage of the very fine Late Roman Fabric variant 9G is considerably up on that in the previous assemblage (32%) and suggests a date further into the 3rd century for this material.

Wares from sources other than Alice Holt comprise eight samian sherds including two from an Antonine period Central Gaulish Dr 33 cup and two from a Trier Dr 46 (late 2nd–early 3rd century), two sherds from a Moselkeramik beaker, and the following:

Fig 27, no 39 Cup of Young's Type O42.2 in very fine sanded pale orange Oxfordshire Oxidised fabric (1977) with polished surfaces. Ext rim diameter 120mm. cAD70–200.

Fig 27, no 40 Straight-sided dish in reddish-brown very fine sanded Fabric 16 fired polished black. Ext rim diameter 200mm. Dishes in similar fabric are common in southern Hertfordshire and particularly at Brentford and appear to date to cAD250–350.

Table 8 Quantification by EVEs of pottery from wall foundation [25]

Fabric	Jars EVE	Bowls EVE	Dishes EVE	Beakers EVE	Store-jars EVE	Others EVE	Total EVE	%
9A/B G	1.11	0.27	Cl.5B	0.96 Cl.2 0.24 Corniced	0.12 Cl.5D	0.30 3.00	34.2	
9A/B B	1.11	0.16	Cl.5B	0.31 Cl.2 0.15		Flask 0.25 Lid 0.05	2.03	23.2
9D B	0.09						0.09	1.0
9G	0.75	0.39	Cl.5A	1.64 Cl.2 0.12			2.78	31.7
16							0.12	1.4
19 O				0.30			0.30	3.4
20B						Cup 0.11	0.11	1.3
20C						Cup 0.17	0.17	1.9
24A						Cup 0.16	0.16	1.8
31				P			P	
Total	3.06 (34.9%)	0.82 (9.4%)	0.27 (3.1%)	3.45 (39.4%)	0.12 (1.4%)	1.04 (11.9%)	8.76	

The form breakdown is unusual in having a very high percentage of pedestalled Alice Holt/Farnham industry Class 2 beakers; particularly in the late Roman Fabric 9G. These make-up 37% of all the Alice Holt/Farnham wares in the assemblage and may have been used for some kind of ritual drinking. The excavation on Alice Holt waster-dump AH52 (Lyne forthcoming A) showed that this vessel type was the first to be decorated with white-slip by that industry (in the form of vertical white barbotine dribbles) around AD250/260. After 270, all types of wares produced by the Alice Holt/Farnham industry, with the exception of Class 3C hook-rimmed jars and Class 10 beehives, were decorated with white-firing ball-clay slip bands. This Wanborough assemblage now suggests that Class 2 beakers were also among the first vessel types to be made in the very fine late Fabric 9G. None of the Wanborough examples have the white barbotine decoration, however, suggesting that the assemblage is no later than AD250 in date. The deep Class 5D bowl has a profile similar to that of a tazza and may have served a similar function.

Fig 27, no 41 Flask of Lyne & Jefferies Type 1B.1 in surface-blackened Fabric 9A/B. Ext rim diameter 115mm. cAD200–270

diameter 140mm. cAD200–300. Rim sherds from at least another four examples are present.

Fig 27, no 42 Cordonned and pedestalled Class 2 beaker rim in polished grey Fabric 9G. Ext rim diameter 80mm. cAD200–250. One of at least ten examples.

Fig 27, no 45 Incipient beaded-and-flanged bowl in fine grey Fabric 9A/B. Ext rim diameter 220mm. cAD200–240. One of three.

Fig 27, no 43 Pedestal base from another example, in surface-blackened Fabric 9A.

Fig 27, no 46 Deep bowl/tazza of Lyne & Jefferies Type 5D.1 in grey Fabric 9A. Ext rim diameter 140mm.

Fig 27, no 44 Class 3B jar with cavetto-rim in polished grey Fabric 9G. Ext rim

The assemblage also includes fragments from at least four Type 1.30 cordoned jars (*c*AD200–300), three Class 3A jars, two Class 3C jars (*c*AD200–300), two Class 5A bowls (*c*AD170–220) and one Class 6A straight-sided dish. Assemblages of similar make-up and character came from pits [32], [39] and [57].

### *Miscellaneous*

The various spreads of rubble and debris outside the temple produced large quantities of 3rd century and earlier pottery. Among all this material are a number of sherds of intrinsic interest in their own right.

Fig 27, no 47 Rim from bowl in very fine redware Fabric 22. The rim form is similar to that on an example in the same fabric

from Neatham (Millett 1986, fig 49, no 11). *c*AD250–350. Unstratified.

A large badly flaked sherd from a platter copying a Dr 31 prototype and in similar fabric came from context [6] overlying the temple wall and is also paralleled at Neatham (Millett 1986, fig 49, no 14).

Fig 27, no 48 Sherd from beaker in buff Fabric 26 with polished black colour-coat below yellow barbotine decoration. [1]

Fig 27, no 49 Two small sherds from a beaker in sand-free orange fabric with occasional silver mica and minute white calcareous inclusions. Green glazed over vertical white barbotine ridges. *c*AD70–120. [3]

The latest sherds from this excavation are of New Forest purple colour-coat beakers (*c*AD260–340), an Oxfordshire brown colour-coat beaker (*c*AD240–400) and the vessels in red-ware Fabric 22 (*c*AD250–350). This, coupled with a complete absence of Alice Holt/Farnham industry white/black firing slip decorated vessels (*c*AD270–400), indicates a cessation of activity on this part of the site during the third quarter of the 3rd century.

### DISCUSSION

It is unfortunate that none of the pre-3rd century assemblages from the site is large enough for quantification by vessel forms or fabrics. Nevertheless, it appears from the small assemblages which are present that the overwhelming bulk of the pottery in use on the site throughout the Late Iron Age and Early Roman occupation came from the Alice Holt/Farnham kilns and related industries elsewhere in west Surrey.

### *Phase 3A*

The Late Iron Age to *c*AD80 is represented by Assemblage 3, which has early Alice Holt wares accounting for 99% of the pottery by sherd count. Bead-rim and necked storage-jars are in a variety of sand and calcined-flint Silchester ware variants identical to sherds from the Binsted kiln (Lyne 1982) and Wheatley production site (Lyne forthcoming B) to the west of Alice Holt, whereas cordoned jars and smaller bead-rim jars are in a variety of totally blackened, surface-blackened and grey sandy fabrics, also paralleled at Wheatley.

The period *c*AD50–80 represented by Assemblages 3 and 4 shows a continuation of the virtual monopoly of pottery supply to the site by Alice Holt wares (98%). Also supplied to the site during this period was a beaker in micaceous orange Staines fineware. A small chaff-tempered salt-container sherd from the upper fill of ditch [253] indicates trade in sea-salt from coastal East Kent (Macpherson-Grant 1980). Fragments from briquetage containers of this type occur on most Late Iron Age–*c* AD70 occupation sites in Kent and have even turned up in the Late Augustan ditch at Fishbourne, West Sussex (Lyne forthcoming C). Very large quantities of such briquetage were present at Dollands Moor near Folkestone and suggest a

more precise source for this widely traded sea-salt on Romney Marsh immediately to the south-west (Lyne forthcoming D).

Because of the small sizes of the two assemblages belonging to this phase it is impossible to detect any of the expected abnormalities in the percentages of vessel types supplied to what was probably a sacred site. It is noteworthy, however, that fragments from at least two Alice Holt greyware *lagena*e or flat-bottomed amphorae came from ditch [253]: a third example, probably derived from that feature, came from gully [93]. Vessels of this type (Lyne & Jefferies Types 8.1–3) are very much a minority pre-Flavian Alice Holt/Farnham product and to have three examples in the small amount of pottery of this phase is somewhat unusual. Other vessels of this type were recovered from the earlier excavations (Bird 1994b, fig 45, nos 42–44 and possibly 45–50). The only other site where the author has come across significant numbers of this type of vessel is Fishbourne palace where five came from the Period 1 pre-Palace levels (Cunliffe 1971, Type 130).

#### *Phase 3B*

Four out of the five assemblages selected to cover this phase are either small or have high percentages of residual material: they are thus unsuitable for drawing any conclusions as to pottery supply during this period. The fifth assemblage (Assemblage 6) has Alice Holt/Farnham wares still overwhelmingly predominant (94%). Rare imports from other sources include a greyware jar from the Oxfordshire kilns, and a mica-dusted beaker and another greyware jar from uncertain sources. Residual sherds in later assemblages but datable to this phase include fragments from a green-glazed ?Staines beaker (fig 27, no 49), at least one Hardham ‘London’ ware bowl and Wiggonholt creamware flagons and other forms. The small amounts of pottery make it impossible to detect any abnormalities in the supply of vessel types during this period.

#### *Phase 4*

Amounts of pottery associated with what was probably a very short-lived occupation are so small that no conclusion can be drawn other than a general impression that the Alice Holt/Farnham industry probably remained the largest single pottery supplier. Antonine Verulamium Region Whiteware tazza fragments in contexts [13], [48] and [49] form part of a specialised ritual incense burner, originating from kilns 50km to the north-east of Wanborough. Similar vessels were recovered from the earlier excavations (Bird 1994b, fig 51, no 159). Most of the small amounts of Central Gaulish samian supplied to the site probably arrived during this phase: it is noteworthy that nearly all of the sherds in this fabric are from mostly plain Dr 31s, 33s and 36s and, together with a very limited range of other finewares, suggest a fairly low level of material culture.

#### *Phase 6*

The large quantities of pottery attributable to the 3rd century may relate to the adjacent square Romano-Celtic temple. Assemblage 12 indicates a continued virtual pottery supply monopoly by the Alice Holt/Farnham kilns (92%) during the period AD180/190–220, continuing into the mid-3rd century, as shown by Assemblage 13 (90%).

The form breakdown of Assemblage 12 is that of a fairly low-status rural occupation site, although a complete lack of large Alice Holt/Farnham Class 1C storage-jars and amphorae of any description may have some significance. Specialised activity may, however, be registered in Assemblage 13, where an abnormal number of Alice Holt/Farnham ware Class 2 beakers hints at some kind of ritual activity. Once again, the assemblage is totally lacking fragments from large storage-jars and amphorae, as are all the other 3rd century assemblages from the site.

Other, rare, imports during the early to mid-3rd century include BB1 cooking-pots, bowls and dishes, East Gaulish Rheinzabern and Trier samian bowls and dishes and at least one cup (Dr 46), Moselkeramik beakers, very fine oxidised Oxfordshire wares, one whiteware mortarium and a brown colour-coated beaker from the same source and a Lower Nene Valley Colour-coat flagon. These were joined during the third quarter of the 3rd century by New Forest purple colour-coat beakers and very fine redwares in Fabric 22 from an unknown source before the termination of activity.

The near complete lack of large storage jars and mortaria and total lack of amphorae in the assemblages from both excavations on the site could be interpreted as indicating that little if any preparation and storage of foodstuffs took place at the temple and that most of the potsherds are from vessels brought in with food and drink offerings by the local rural population. This would explain the apparent poverty of the pottery assemblages at what is apparently a fairly important rural religious complex.

Some evidence for 4th century activity was obtained from trenches 24 and 25 topsoil assemblages at the extreme western edge of the examined area. The sherds of this date from the two trenches indicate a continued predominance of Alice Holt/Farnham wares: a fragment from a buff Overwey rilled jar was also present in the topsoil assemblage from trench 25.

### **Samian ware**, by Joanna Bird

#### SUMMARY

The 1999 excavation at Wanborough produced more samian than was recovered in 1985–6 but the basic pattern is the same (cf Bird 1994b, 134). Of a possible maximum of 78 identified forms, only three are South Gaulish products of 1st century date: a Claudio–Neronian cup of form Ritt 9 and two pre-Flavian to Flavian plates of forms Dr 18 and Dr 15/17 or 18. This suggests a relatively low level of activity on the site during the second half of the 1st century, since sites in continuous occupation from shortly after the Roman conquest show a significantly higher proportion of South to Central Gaulish ware (cf Marsh 1981). While the probable use of the pottery at Wanborough for ritual or offerings means that it cannot be compared directly to occupation sites, a broadly similar pattern is likely to apply.

The majority of the samian vessels, a maximum of 67, come from Central Gaul and probably all from Lezoux. They date from the Hadrianic–Antonine period, but the majority are Antonine, including fifteen examples of the bowl forms Dr 31 and 31R and up to 32 of the cup form Dr 33. Both the identified potters' stamps, of Iullinus ii and Quintus v, are on Dr 33 and of mid-late Antonine date. The only other form recovered in any quantity is the dish Dr 36 with eight examples. There is a single decorated bowl by the Cinnamus group, dated cAD150–170.

There is a small amount – eight vessels – of East Gaulish ware, all products of Trier or Rheinzabern. They include a badly abraded decorated bowl of form Dr 37 in Trier ware, dating from the first half of the 3rd century and of interest in showing that samian was still reaching the site at that period.

#### Catalogue

Where context numbers have been combined, the original number is given in italics at the end. All derive from Area 3 unless stated otherwise.

#### Context

- [1] Dr 18, South Gaul, Neronian–Flavian
- Dr 31, Central Gaul, Antonine
- Two x Dr 31R (three sherds), Central Gaul,

mid-late Antonine

Dr 33, stamped JNTIM: see separate report by Brenda Dickinson, below

Dr 33, Central Gaul, Antonine; slip almost gone

Dr 36, Central Gaul, Antonine

Mortarium (Dr 43 or 45), Central Gaul, late C2

Dr 46, East Gaul (Trier), late C2–early C3  
(probably = pot in [26] [25]) Central Gaulish sherd, Hadrianic–Antonine

- [2] Dr 18/31R or 31R, Central Gaul, Antonine  
 Dr 31 probably, Central Gaul, Antonine  
 Dr 33, Central Gaul, Hadrianic–Antonine (= pot in [8])  
 Two x Dr 33, Central Gaul, Hadrianic–Antonine; slip almost gone  
 Cup, probably Dr 33, Central Gaul, Hadrianic–early Antonine
- [3] Dr 18/31, Central Gaul, Hadrianic–early Antonine  
 Dr 31 or 31R (three sherds), Central Gaul, Antonine  
 Dr 33, Central Gaul, Antonine; burnt  
 Central Gaulish sherd, Hadrianic–Antonine; burnt
- [4] Dr 33, Central Gaul, Hadrianic–early Antonine  
 Dr 36 probably, Central Gaul, Hadrianic–early Antonine
- [6] Dr 31, Central Gaul, Antonine; worn foot  
 Dr 31R/Ludowici Sb, East Gaul (Rheinzabern), late C2–mid-C3
- [7] Dr 36 probably, Central Gaul, Hadrianic–Antonine
- [8] Dr 33, Central Gaul, Hadrianic–Antonine (= pot in 2)
- [10] Dish with plain outer profile and groove inside; probably a variant Dr 31/33, as Stanfield 1929, fig 14, no 65, stamped by Osbimanus. Antonine; burnt
- [13] Dr 18/31(R) or 31(R), Central Gaul, Hadrianic–Antonine  
 Two x Dr 33, Central Gaul, Antonine; one slightly burnt
- [21] Three x Dr 31, Central Gaul, Antonine  
 Dr 33, stamped IVLLINI.OF : see separate report by Brenda Dickinson, below. Some wear on foot  
 At least three x Dr 33, Central Gaul, Antonine  
 Dr 36 probably, Central Gaul, Antonine; slightly burnt  
 Curle 15, East Gaul, late 2nd–early 3rd century  
 Two Central Gaulish sherds, Hadrianic–Antonine
- [26] Dr 33 (two sherds), Central Gaul, Antonine; slip almost gone [25]  
 Dr 46 (two sherds), East Gaul (Trier), later C2–early C3; slip almost gone (probably = pot in [1]) [25]  
 Two Central Gaulish sherds, Hadrianic–Antonine; slip almost gone, and one burnt
- [29] Dr 33, Central Gaul, Hadrianic–Antonine
- [31] Dr 31, Central Gaul, Antonine  
 Dr 31/Ludowici Sa (three sherds), East Gaul (Rheinzabern), late C2–early C3  
 Two x Dr 31R, Central Gaul, mid–late Antonine; burnt, one heavily  
 Two x Dr 33, Central Gaul, Hadrianic–Antonine
- Dr 33, East Gaul (Trier), late C2–early C3; slightly burnt  
 Dr 33 (two sherds), East Gaul (Rheinzabern), late C2–early C3  
 Dr 38, Central Gaul, Antonine  
 Ludowici Tg, Central Gaul, mid–late Antonine; burnt
- [33] Dr 33, Central Gaul, Hadrianic–early Antonine; worn foot  
 Dr 37, East Gaul (Trier), first half C3; slip and decoration almost gone
- [34] Dr 36, Central Gaul, mid–late Antonine  
 Dish, probably Dr 36, Central Gaul, Antonine
- [38]/unstratified Ritterling 8 (four sherds), South Gaul, Claudio–Neronian (= pot in [58]) [74]
- [39] Dr 33, Central Gaul, Hadrianic–Antonine [35]
- [47] Dr 31R (two sherds), Central Gaul, mid–late Antonine. The slip has almost gone, the sherds burnt to a light brown colour  
 Dr 33 (two sherds), Central Gaul, mid–late Antonine
- [48] Dr 15/17 or 18, South Gaul, pre-Flavian  
 Dr 36, Central Gaul, Hadrianic–Antonine; the leaf is in a different coloured clay, the slip almost gone
- [52] Small dish, probably Dr 36, Central Gaul, Hadrianic–early Antonine
- [55] Two x Dr 33, Central Gaul, Hadrianic–Antonine; one burnt
- [57] Dr 18/31, Central Gaul, Hadrianic–early Antonine [56]
- [58] Ritterling 8, South Gaul, Claudio–Neronian (= pot in [38]/unstratified [74])
- Unstratified Dr 31 probably, Central Gaul, Antonine; burnt  
 Dr 31R (three sherds), Central Gaul, mid–late Antonine  
 Dr 31R/Ludowici Sb, East Gaul (Rheinzabern), late C2 – mid-C3  
 Dr 33, stamped Q[ : see separate report by Brenda Dickinson, below. Worn foot  
 Eight x Dr 33 sherds, possibly all different vessels; Central Gaul, Antonine. Four with the slip largely gone, two burnt [one 266]  
 Dr 37 (three sherds), in the style of Cinnamus of Lezoux, with his ovolo 2 (Stanfield & Simpson 1958, fig 47), the head of a figure and a probable foliage motif. cAD150–170; abraded [266]  
 Dr 37, Central Gaul, mid–late Antonine [266]  
 Walters 80, Central Gaul, mid–late Antonine  
 Five Central Gaulish sherds, Hadrianic–Antonine; one with slip gone [three 266]
- Trench 9 (unstratified)  
 Dr 31, stamped JIIL[: see separate report by Brenda Dickinson, below]

## **Samian potters' stamps**, by Brenda Dickinson

### AREA 3

- 1 IVLLINI OF on form 33: Iullinus ii of Lezoux, Die 1a. Although there is no useful internal evidence for the date of this stamp, the potter's record clearly shows activity in the later 2nd century. His forms include 31R, 79 and 80 and his wares occur on Hadrian's Wall and in a group of late Antonine samian recovered off Pudding Pan Rock, Kent. cAD160–190. [21]
- 2 [QUI]NTIM on form 33: Quintus v of Lezoux,
- Die 5a. A stamp common on Hadrian's Wall and in the Pudding Pan Rock material (see no 1 above). It was used on forms 31R, 79 and 79R. cAD160–200. [1]
- 3 Q[ on form 33, Central Gaulish. Antonine. Topsoil.
- 4 JIIL[ on form 31, Central Gaulish. Antonine. Trench 9, topsoil.

## **The brooches and non-ferrous small objects**, by Joanna Bird (figs 28–34; supplement S38–S41, see p151)

The catalogue of the brooches and non-ferrous small objects from the 1999 excavation at Wanborough comprises 73 items, mostly of metal but including three bone objects, two glass vessels and two pottery spindle-whorls; a further 100 small fragments of copper alloy of probable Roman date, many of them burnt or melted, are listed in the supplement. Almost all the finds are likely to have been votive gifts, either as simple offerings to the deities or for use during the rituals at the temple.

### PRIESTLY REGALIA

The most unusual object is a small gilded silver plaque (no 1), its embossed image of ripe corn enhanced by the golden surface. The spacing of the grains and the long awns are characteristic of emmer wheat, *Triticum dicoccum*, a staple crop of the Roman world (Reynolds 1979, 56–65). This image was also used on the gold coinage of Cunobelin and Epaticcus, and Creighton argues that it is derived from Augustan imagery of a Golden Age, expressing the abundance of nature (2000, 115–16; for coins from Wanborough, Cheesman 1994, pl 8, nos 847–52). Such symbolism may also be reflected by the two silver ears of corn, modelled in the round, from the Late Iron Age Lexden tumulus at Colchester. Foster suggests that these ears were attached to a costume (1986, fig 31 and pl 17, no 65), but it is perhaps more likely that they were part of a wreath, and wreaths of corn are regularly shown as attributes of Summer on mosaics of the Seasons (eg Dunbabin 1999, fig 109).

The delicacy of the plaque and the small holes punched through it indicate that it was attached to a larger item: not to a life-like wreath, but perhaps to a diadem, in the manner of the silver ornaments soldered to the bronze crowns and diadems from Hockwold-cum-Wilton and Cavenham (Henig 1984, 136–7 and fig 59; Layard 1925, pl 27). Part of a slightly tapered silver plaque decorated with the impressed veins of a leaf or feather, almost rectangular in shape and surviving to a length of 61.5mm, has recently been found at Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Norfolk (R P J Jackson, in DCMS 2003, 25); it has no holes for attachment but could have been soldered in place. A similar element was used in a fragmentary head-dress from the Stony Stratford hoard which is composed of bronze discs with applied silver ornament, chains and at least nine small rectangular silver plates comparable in size to the Wanborough plaque. The plates are decorated on the long edges with stylised leaf or feather ornament and have a hole at each end to carry the chains, some of which are still attached (Lysons 1817, pl 35, no 3; Bird 1996, 86).

Compared with the 1985–6 excavation, finds of priestly regalia were rare, perhaps indicating that most of the regalia used at the first temple found its way into the dedication deposit for the second (Bird 1994a, 93–8). A silver ring, a second possible ring and chain fragments (nos 2–4) may have come from chain head-dresses. One incomplete sceptre handle

was recovered, in the form of a narrow cylinder decorated with lightly incised lines (no 5); there were several pieces of spiral sceptre binding and one tack of the type used to secure the binding to the wooden shaft (nos 6–10). A ring similar to those found in 1985 in association with head-dresses may also have been worn by the priests (no 11).

#### OTHER OBJECTS OF POSSIBLE RITUAL USE

The bronze vessels found on the site, which may have been used for libations or other offerings, are unfortunately all very fragmentary. They include a *patera* (no 52), two bowls or dishes (nos 53, 54) and a handle which probably comes from a bowl (no 55); to judge from similar handles at Camulodunum, this is of early date, perhaps from around the conquest. Some of the pieces and fragments of bronze sheet may also have come from vessels (nos 63–65 and supplement). For comparable vessels from the temple at Farley Heath, see Bird 2007, copper-alloy objects nos 104–108, and Ayres 2007, copper-alloy object no 11.

The worn silver-plated ring (no 60) clearly saw heavy use over a considerable period; it might have functioned as a component of an expensive carriage or litter, but it is also possible that it was attached to the base of a cult statue so that it could be carried in procession. A bronze statue of a horse from Neuvy-en-Sullias stands on a base with a dedication to the Gaulish god Rudiobus, and there are similar heavy bronze rings at each corner by which it could be carried (Green 1997, fig on 81). The ferrule (no 61) probably protected the end of a pole and this could have been used for the transport of such a statue, among a number of other possibilities. Even as late as the 6th century the procession of statues was a feature of pagan life, and Gregory of Tours records an image of Cybele being carried through the fields near Autun to ensure their fertility (*Liber in Gloria Confessorum*, 77; Henig 1984, 110).

The tulip-shaped bell (no 51) is sufficiently large to suggest that it either hung round the neck of an animal, or was used during the rituals. It had clearly been heavily used, and the clapper, now missing, had probably been repaired or replaced. Bells were seen as having apotropaic powers and are often found as votive gifts, sometimes with dedicatory inscriptions, in a variety of shrines, including those of Romano-Celtic deities (Furger & Schneider 1993, 166–70). The two bone hinges (nos 58, 59) probably come from one or more boxes, and these could have been used to hold dedications or valuable offerings such as coins. Some of the studs (nos 36, 37) and some of the pieces and fragments of bronze sheet may also have decorated boxes (nos 63–65 and supplement), and there were comparable finds, including two handles and a small bronze hinge, from the Farley Heath temple (Bird 2007, copper-alloy objects nos 85–87, 96–102, iron object no 15). Quite Mould notes (below) that there are 67 small iron nails of a suitable size for boxes or other relatively light items. The dome-headed studs (nos 38–41) could also have decorated wooden objects, or have been used to hold up small votive bronze or lead tablets; there are six such studs from Farley Heath (Bird 2007, copper-alloy objects nos 91–95; Ayres 2007, copper-alloy object no 14). The two enamelled seal-box lids (nos 45, 46) may have come from tablets recording vows, as Bagnall Smith has argued for the much larger group of seal-boxes from Great Walsingham, Norfolk (1999, 48–51).

#### JEWELLERY AND OTHER PERSONAL OBJECTS

Jewellery and small personal objects such as hairpins and cosmetic items are among the most common of votive gifts, and represent the offering of something very personal to the donor; they are often well used, and one of the brooches at Wanborough has had a new iron spring to replace its original bronze one (no 14). There were at least nineteen brooches, rather more than were found in 1985 (Bird 1994a, nos 40–49) but still considerably less, in both number and in range of types, than are recorded from the Farley Heath temple (Bird 2007, silver object no 3, copper-alloy objects nos 12–49; Ayres 2007, copper-alloy objects nos 1–4). Most are bow brooches of 1st century date, including four or five Nauheim Derivatives (nos 12–16,

the last made of iron), a second iron brooch (no 17), two or three Hod Hill types (nos 19–21), two Colchester B brooches (nos 22, 23, the latter apparently burnt), three Colchester BB types (nos 24–26, including a probable pair) and a Colchester Derivative (no 27). A poorly preserved brooch has elements of both Colchester Derivative and Trumpet types, and is likely to be of later 1st century date (no 28). The most ornate brooch is an elaborately enamelled Trumpet (Backworth) type of later 1st–2nd century date (no 29), closely similar to one from Farley Heath (Bird 2007, copper-alloy object no 24). Only two or three later brooches were recovered: an enamelled round plate type of 2nd century date, decorated with a rosette motif (no 30), and an enamelled oval brooch dating between the mid-2nd and 3rd centuries that would originally have carried a framed intaglio (no 31); the enamel intaglio found separately (no 32) may well be from the same one.

Apart from brooches, only one other item of jewellery was found, a bracelet formed of four strands of twisted wire which may have been deliberately bent when it was dedicated (no 33). Six similar bracelets, made from between two and five strands of wire, were found at Farley Heath (Bird 2007, copper-alloy objects nos 58–63). The contrast with Farley Heath is considerable: there the jewellery also included finger-rings, other styles of bracelets, earrings and glass beads (Bird 2007, silver objects nos 1–2, copper-alloy objects nos 1–11, 50–57, 64–68, glass beads nos 1–28; Ayres 2007, copper-alloy objects nos 5–8, glass beads nos 1–2).

Other personal items consist of a hairpin, of a later 3rd–4th century type decorated with a glass bead at the head (no 34), and three nail cleaners (nos 42–44). Comparable items from Farley Heath are also few: three hairpins and a cosmetic or medical instrument (Bird 2007, copper-alloy objects nos 69–71 and 114). The small craft objects recovered also probably represent votive gifts: two needles, one of bone (nos 47, 48), and two spindle-whorls fashioned from potsherds (nos 49, 50). It has been suggested that jewellery and small personal possessions such as these, most of them likely to be the gifts of women, are characteristic offerings associated with healing and fertility cults (Woodward 1992, 74–78).

#### EVIDENCE FOR METALWORKING

Apart from votive gifts, the excavation produced seven small pieces of roughly finished silver sheet, which had been deliberately cut up (nos 67–73). Cupel fragments found in the 1985 excavation were examined by Dr Justine Bayley, who noted that the metal being refined was silver with a few percent of gold and a somewhat larger percentage of copper (Bird 1994a, 129). Possibly these pieces of silver were raw material for metalworking. It is highly probable that local workshops produced votive goods for sale at shrines (cf Henig 1984, 147); a documented example is the silversmith Demetrius, known to have made items for sale at the temple of Diana at Ephesus (*Acts of the Apostles* 19, 23–41). Evidence for bronze-working at Wanborough is less conclusive; fragments of melted bronze recovered in 1999 could have resulted from an ordinary fire (supplement; see also comments by Dr Justine Bayley cited in Bird 1994a, 125, nos 64–66).

#### SUMMARY AND DATING

The finds from the 1999 excavation, then, consist of simple offerings, items for priestly use and possible raw materials for silver-smithing. Unlike the 1985 finds, where the three wheel head-dresses provided evidence of a solar cult connected with the Celtic Jupiter (Bird 1994a, 93–4), there is no direct indication of a specific deity. Nevertheless, the finds of jewellery and small personal items suggest the presence of a healing and fertility cult at the site, while the gilded plaque (no 1) points to a specifically agricultural aspect.

The items of priestly regalia are likely to be contemporary with the similar objects which were placed in the dedication deposit for the square temple, dated cAD160/170 (Bird 1994a, 97–8), but they are not themselves closely datable. The more complete of the two Farley Heath head-dresses and others from Newnham Croft, Stony Stratford and

Felmingham Hall all show signs of repair, suggesting that such hallowed objects may have continued in use over a considerable period (Bird 1996, 87). The glass bottles (nos 56, 57) date between the mid-1st century and the early 2nd, but, apart from the bowl handle (no 55), which is probably early, the metal vessels are too fragmentary to date.

Among the smaller items, the brooches are mainly of pre- or early Flavian date, with only one or two (nos 31, 32) dating as late as the mid-2nd to 3rd century. The bracelet is of a simple design made from twisted wire, but finds elsewhere suggest that these are mainly of later date (Crummy 1983, 37–8, for example), and the single hairpin certainly belongs to the late 3rd or 4th century (no 34). The three nail cleaners are of mid-1st to 2nd century date (nos 42–4), and enamelled seal-boxes (nos 45–6), like enamelled plate brooches, date from the 2nd century to around the middle of the 3rd.

While a high proportion of these objects are rather earlier than the dating for the temples or the evidence of the samian ware might suggest, it should be remembered that, as noted above, votive offerings were frequently well used before being offered, adding to the value they had for their donors and the personal nature of their offering. This is certainly likely to be the case with the repaired brooch (no 14), while the bowl (no 55) may well have been an heirloom, as was probably the case with the ladle from Farley Heath (Bird 2007, copper-alloy object no 109).

#### *Catalogue of brooches and non-ferrous small objects*

Unless described otherwise, the finds listed below are of copper alloy. Some of the metal identifications come from notes made by the conservator, Margaret Brooks, at the Ancient Monuments Laboratory, English Heritage. Context numbers are shown in square brackets. All derive from Area 3 unless stated otherwise.

#### Possible head-dress fittings

- 1 Narrow leaf-shaped silver plaque, gilded on the upper face; at least 50mm long, but now missing the lower end and a piece from the middle. The upper face carries an ear of corn in high relief, probably originally with six pairs of grains; more delicate relief has been used to depict the awns. There are five holes for attaching the plaque, probably to a head-dress; the larger one at the top was punched from the back, perhaps at a later date, while the pairs at the sides and at the base were punched from the front. [24], unphased soil build-up.
- 2 Plain silver ring, diameter c20mm. The round section is bevelled on the interior and unsuitable for a finger-ring; it may come from a chain head-dress (cf Bird 1994a, fig 24, no 6). [6], Phase 6.
- 3 Piece of thick wire, round in section and now rather distorted at one end. Possibly part of a ring from a chain head-dress: cf Bird 1994a, fig 24, no 6. Unstratified.
- 4 (Not illustrated) Two fragments of round wire, clearly twisted during manufacture; both are 10mm long, with a diameter of less than 2mm. Both are slightly curved and may be fragments of chain from a head-dress: cf Bird 1994a, fig 24, no 6. Unstratified.

#### Sceptre fittings

- 5 Part of a sceptre handle, a cylinder 13mm in diameter; no original edge survives. There is a group of lightly incised lines towards one end. Despite its relative narrowness, the thickness of the metal and the decoration indicate a handle rather than a cylindrical binding (cf Bird 1994a, pl 26 and fig 30, no 26; pl 28 and fig 31, no 31). Unstratified.
- 6 Thirty-nine pieces and small fragments of sheet metal from a spiral sceptre binding. The strip is 19mm wide with a rib at one side; one piece has a tack hole. Cf Bird 1994a, pls 23, 24 and figs 28, 29, nos 17, 18 and 22. [40], Phase 4 or 6.
- 7 (Not illustrated) Two fragments of sheet metal, probably joining, from a spiral sceptre binding similar to no. 6. There is one probable edge with a rib behind it, and a tack hole 5mm in. [29], Phase 6.
- 8 (Not illustrated) Piece of sheet metal with no surviving edge; now 28 x 19mm maximum. There is a rib 3mm across at least 9mm from any edge, and a tack hole; probably part of a sceptre binding as no 6, but with the rib much further from the edge than usual. Unstratified.
- 9 (Not illustrated) Piece of sheet metal with no surviving edge; now 21 x 16mm maximum. There is what may be a shallow rib or linear motif close to the centre, with a raised dot at each side. The 'rib' is too far from the edge to be compared with other Wanborough sceptre bindings; there is a possible parallel with the embossed binding from Farley Heath, but there the motifs are much more sharply impressed (Bird 2007, copper-alloy object no 78). Unstratified.
- 10 (Not illustrated) Part of the shaft of a nail or long tack, square in section. A similar nail was used to attach a sceptre handle to its shaft: Bird 1994a, pl 21 and fig 29, no 20. [43], Phase 4.

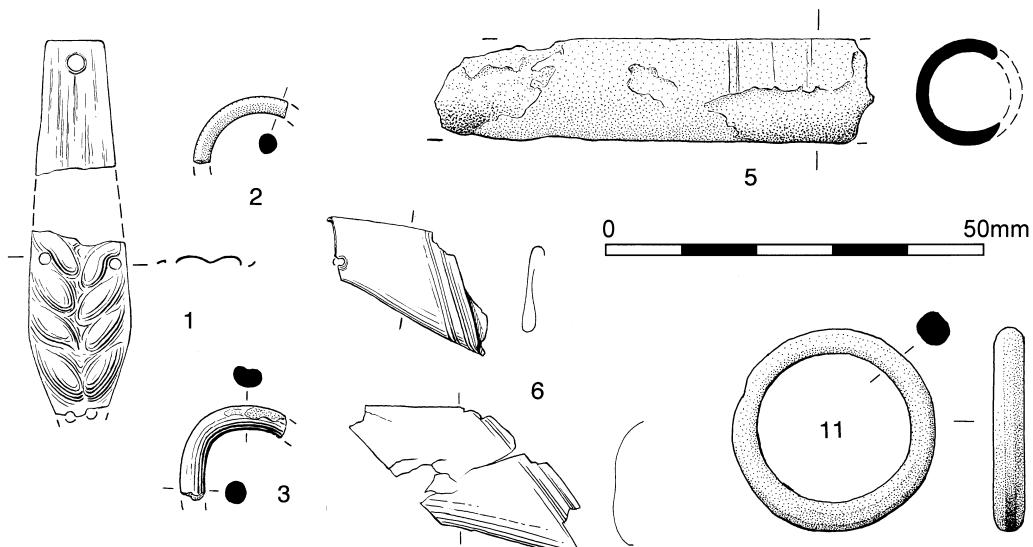


Fig 28 Wanborough. Small finds, nos 1–11.

## Ring

11 Plain ring 27mm in diameter; the inner face is slightly convex, the outer convex with a flat central band, and there are no signs of wear. Although such rings could serve a number of purposes, a similar ring from the earlier excavation at Wanborough was associated with a head-dress and may have been an item of priestly regalia (Bird 1994a, fig 34, no 50). [23], unphased.

## Brooches

12 One-piece bow brooch of Nauheim Derivative type with solid catchplate. There is a row of milling down the centre of the bow for some two-thirds of its length; the lower bow is square in section, tapering to a point at the foot. The forward curve at the top of the bow is all that survives of the spring and pin, and part of the catchplate is also missing. The type dates up to the pre-Flavian period. Unstratified.

13 Small one-piece bow brooch of Nauheim Derivative type. The bow is plain, its head curving forward to form the spring and pin; most of the pin, the foot and the catchplate are missing. Date as no 12. [13], Phase 6.

14 One-piece bow brooch of Nauheim Derivative type with solid catchplate. The bow is plain, its head curving forward to form the spring, of which one coil remains. The rest of the spring has been replaced with iron, following the original arrangement but incorporating an iron axial bar to reinforce it. The pin is missing. Date as no 12. [83], Phase 3B.

15 Iron one-piece bow brooch of Nauheim Derivative type, the bow squareish in section. Now in two pieces, and missing most of the pin, the foot and the catchplate. Date as no 12. [83], Phase 3B.

16 Pin and part of the spring from a bow brooch; the curve of the spring suggests a Nauheim Derivative type, of similar date to no 12. Unstratified.

17 Iron bow brooch, comprising the bow below the head and most of the catchplate but lacking the head, spring and pin. Iron brooches were made up to the middle years of the 1st century. [55], Phase 3A.

18 Fragment, perhaps from the plain bow of a mid-1st century brooch. [1], Phase 6.

19 Three-piece bow brooch of Hod Hill type. The hinge-case is present but bent; below is a transverse moulding across the head of the bow. The upper bow is a triangular plate with a prominent round lug at each side; it has at least two vertical ribs but the details are lost. Below is a pair of transverse mouldings with a further moulding at the foot. The brooch is in poor condition and lacks part of the lower bow and part of the catchplate. The pin, now separate, has a short prong; it was hinged on an iron bar. Pre-Flavian. [11], Phase 4.

20 Part of a three-piece bow brooch of Hod Hill type, consisting of two joining pieces from the bow. The central area carries four ribs, the two outer ones probably forming the edges, and there is a transverse moulding below: Hattatt 2000, fig 181, no 849, is probably a similar brooch. Tin plated; there are traces of finishing marks on the back and beside the catchplate. Pre-Flavian. [13], Phase 6.

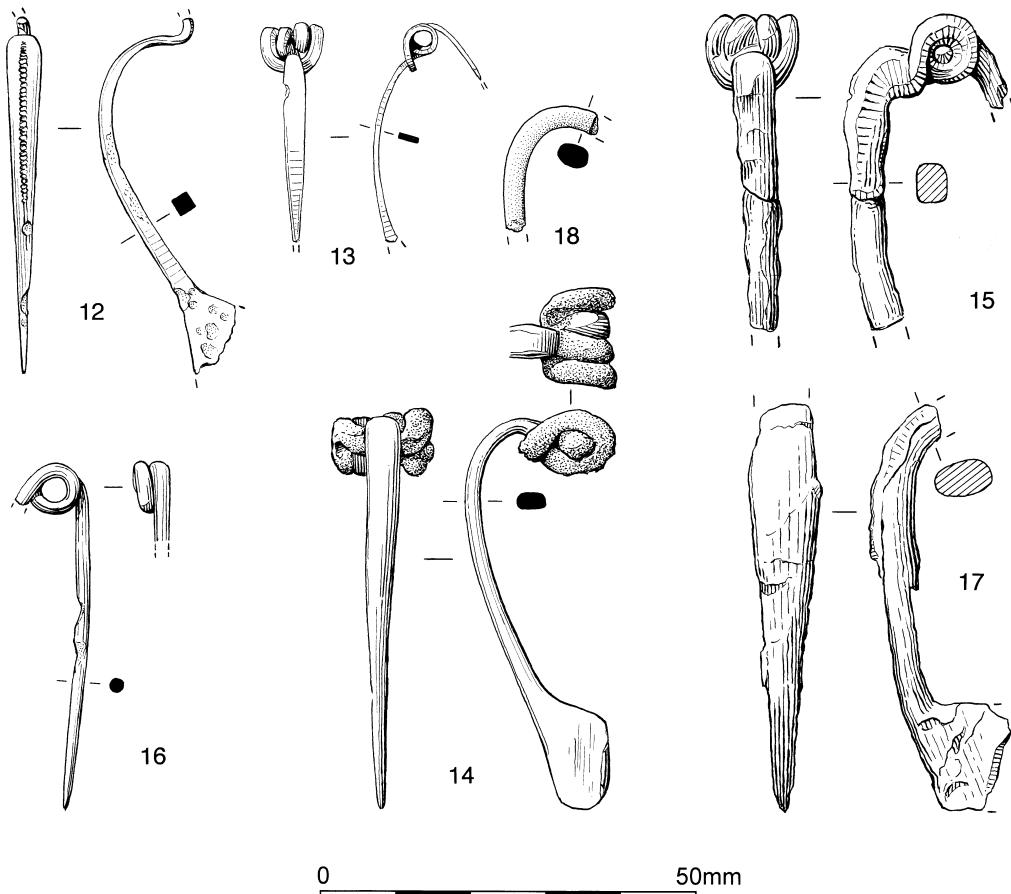


Fig 29 Wanborough. Small finds, nos 12–18.

- 21 Part of a three-piece bow brooch, probably of Hod Hill type. The hinge-case is present, with part of the pin on an iron bar. Only the central part of the upper bow survives: there is a transverse moulding at the head, and at least two vertical ribs set close together, with traces of zigzag decoration (cf Hattatt 2000, fig 179, nos 311, 312, or fig 181, no 319). The lower bow and catchplate are missing. Pre-Flavian. [1], Phase 6.
- 22 Two-piece bow brooch of Colchester B type. The bow has a short crest at the head, then a vertical milled groove; the side-wings have a vertical line at the end. The spring has four coils at each side, and the catchplate is solid. cAD50–70. [29], Phase 6.
- 23 Two-piece brooch of Colchester B type. The bow has a short crest at the head, then a central rib with zigzag milling. The side-wings are plain, the catchplate solid. Apart from stumps inside the two holes behind the head, the spring and pin are missing and the bow is chipped. Distorted and blackened, and covered in sooty material when found. cAD50–70. [1], Phase 6.
- 24 Small two-piece bow brooch of Colchester BB type. The bow and side-wings are plain, the head simply cut away at each side of the pierced crest which holds the chord of the spring. The spring is finely wound, with three coils at each side, and the catchplate is solid. Now in four pieces but lacking only the tip of the pin. cAD65–80. [94], Phase 3B.
- 25 Small two-piece bow brooch of Colchester BB type. The bow has a vertical groove with fine milling at each side; the side-wings are plain, with horizontal finishing marks. There is a slight ridge down the back of the bow from the casting. The spring has three coils at each side; the foot of the bow and the catchplate are missing. Tin plated; closely similar to no 26 and probably a pair to it. cAD65–80. [8], unphased.



Fig 30 Wanborough. Small finds, nos 19–28.

26 Small two-piece bow brooch of Colchester BB type, closely similar to no 25 and probably a pair to it. On this brooch, the central groove is fainter, with the milling at each side of it almost joining in the middle. The side-wings are plain, with horizontal finishing marks, and the back of the bow carries traces of the casting. The catchplate is solid;

the top of the crest, spring and pin are missing. Probably tin plated. cAD65–80. [23], unphased.

27 Two-piece bow brooch of Colchester Derivative type. The surviving upper part of the bow has a thick rib, notched at the head, decorated with a vertical groove and milled at each side. The side-wings have a vertical line at the outer end. Most

- of the spring and the external chord are present, but the lower bow, catchplate and pin are missing. Pre- or early Flavian. Unstratified.
- 28 Two-piece bow brooch with elements of both Colchester Derivative and Trumpet types; now in very poor condition. The head has the lug with two holes for the axial bar and chord of the spring, characteristic of Colchester types; the spring, of which two coils remain on one side, has an iron axial bar. The side-wings are incorporated with the head, in the manner of Trumpet brooches; the bow is very thin, terminating in a moulding at the foot, again like a Trumpet type. Most of the catchplate and spring and the pin are missing. A date in the later 1st century is likely. [20], unphased.
- 29 Three-piece bow brooch of Trumpet (Backworth) type. The spring has three coils at each side and the external chord is formed into an upright loop, held in place by a separate collar; the collar has three triangular cells, their enamel now coloured blue-green. The head and upper bow are elaborately enamelled: two pairs of yellow triangles and two blue crescents on a background that is now brown but was probably originally red. The central acanthus moulding has three narrow cordons above and below, and is flat at the back. The lower bow has a central rib of raised lozenges; the enamel in the cells at the sides is now brown but was probably originally red. The foot has a stud with a central boss, and the catchplate is solid. The spring and pin are apparently in a different alloy from the rest, and are still in excellent condition; the surface of the brooch itself is corroded but it only lacks the rebate of the catchplate. Later 1st–2nd century. [21], Phase 5.
- 30 Round plate brooch decorated with a raised six-armed rosette. The surviving enamel between the rim and the rosette is now largely blue-green, but traces of red remain at the inner edges; the enamel between the rosette and the small central boss is also red. The pin was sprung, with the spring on an iron bar, and is now missing; pieces are also missing from the edges and from the catchplate. 2nd century. Unstratified.
- 31 Oval plate brooch with a concentric inner oval; both borders are plated, probably with tin. The enamel in the space between the two is now dark green, and this may have been the original colour. The inner oval would have carried a framed intaglio, similar to no 32 and possibly no 32 itself (cf Hattatt 2000, fig 223, top row); it now contains only a rough black substance, probably decayed adhesive, which is also present on the back of no 32. The underside shows file marks; the pin, originally hinged on an iron bar, and part of the catchplate are missing. Mid-2nd to 3rd century. [31], Phase 6.
- 32 Bevelled oval frame containing an intaglio with a draped bust facing left. The intaglio is of enamel, now blue-green but originally coloured to resemble a gemstone; the bust was probably impressed into the surface (Martin Henig, pers comm). There are traces of plating, probably tin, on the frame, especially at the back. From a similar brooch to no 31, and possibly the same one; there is a black substance, probably decayed adhesive, on the back, as in the oval setting of no 31. Mid-2nd to 3rd century. Trench 13 [4], unphased.
- #### Bracelet
- 33 Bracelet formed from four strands of twisted wire; one of the strands is wound over the others and stands proud of them. A bracelet from Farley Heath, made from three strands of wire, uses a similar effect, with the raised strand in a different coloured alloy (Bird 2007, copper-alloy object no 61). Despite the simple design, the evidence suggests a later Roman date for this type (eg Crummy 1983, 37–38). Distorted, with both ends missing; now approximately 97mm long. [13], Phase 6.
- #### Hairpin
- 34 Hairpin of Cool (1990) Group 14, B, originally set with a glass ball in the cup at the top, where traces of glass remain. The cup is decorated with rather roughly incised lattice, perhaps imitating a pinecone, and below are three narrow and somewhat uneven mouldings. The round shaft is largely missing. Cool 1990, fig 9, nos 3–5, are closely similar; her Group 14, B, is dated late 3rd–4th century. [4], Phase 6.
- #### Studs
- 35 Heavy domed stud with a small round lug at each end and, beneath, a T-shaped lug at each side for attachment. The face consists of a raised circle with eight enamelled cells round a central hole, which probably held a riveted boss. Blue enamel survives in three cells and traces of red-brown in one, indicating a pattern of alternate blue and, probably, red. An arm of one of the T-shaped lugs is now missing. The weight of the stud suggests attachment to a heavy leather strap such as a harness. Trench 14, unphased.
- 36 Stud, its head in the shape of a ten-petalled rosette. The edges are chipped, and the faceted shaft survives to only 6mm. [1], Phase 6.
- 37 Flat plain stud 28mm in diameter, the edges slightly bevelled; only the stump of the shaft survives on the underside. [21], Phase 6.
- 38 Dome-headed stud. The head is 6mm in diameter; the faceted round shaft tapers and is at least 17mm long. Unstratified.
- 39 (Not illustrated) Dome-headed stud. The head is 9mm in diameter, the round shaft now only 4mm long. [2], unphased.

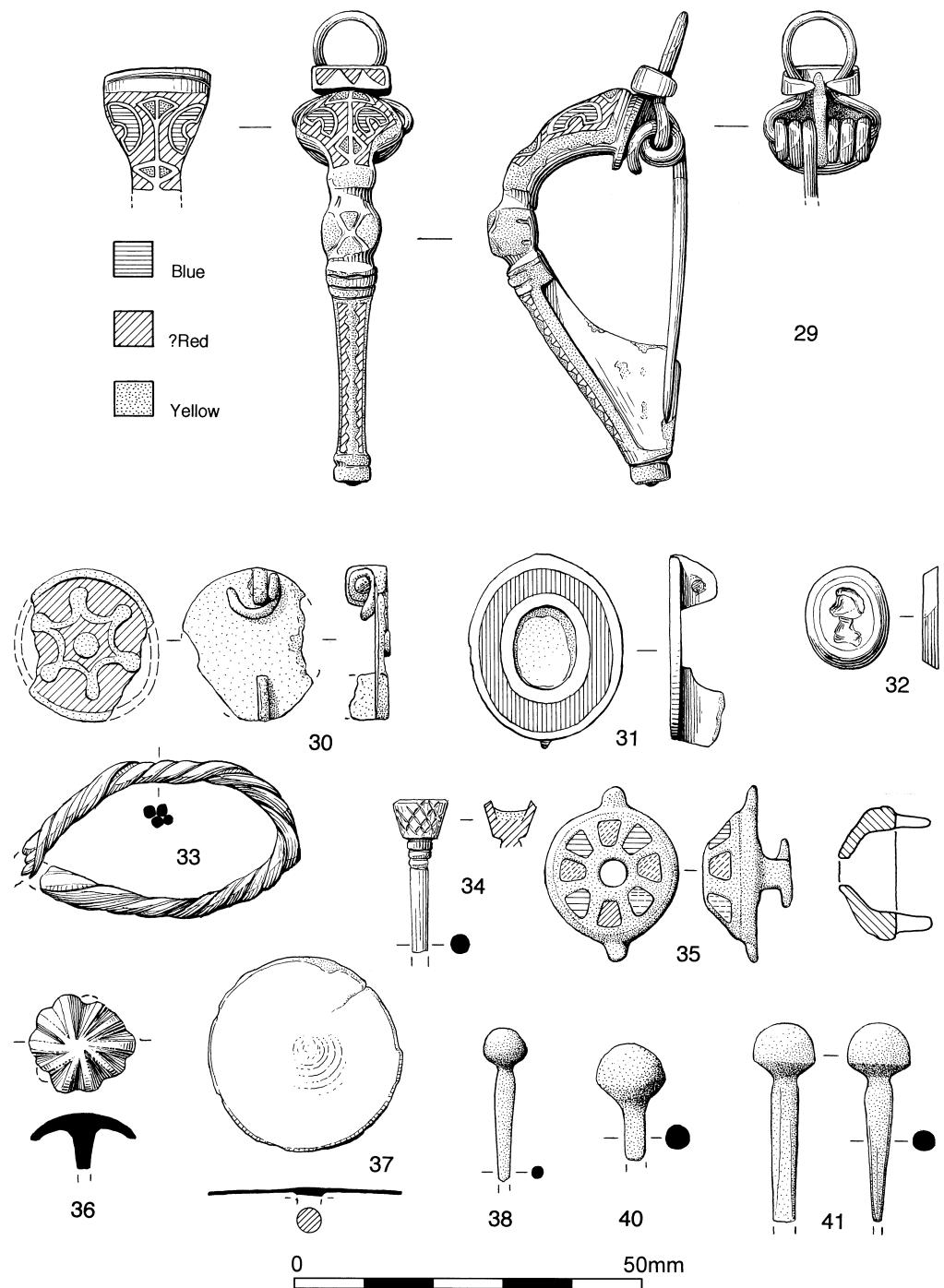


Fig 31 Wanborough. Small finds, nos 29–41.

40 Dome-headed stud. The head is 10mm in diameter, the round shaft now 9mm long. Unstratified.

41 Dome-headed stud. The head is 11mm in diameter, the faceted round shaft at least 21mm long; the tip is bevelled at each side to give a sharp chisel-shaped end. Unstratified.

#### Nail cleaners

42 Nail cleaner with a ring at the head for attachment to a cosmetic set (cf London Museum 1930, pl 39). The handle is rather unevenly decorated with incised lines which run in a spiral pattern down from right to left on the sides and front, and, more faintly, from left to right on the back and one side, where they overlap the first set. The blade is narrow with a forked tip. Filing marks are present from the finishing. [13], Phase 6.

43 Nail cleaner; the head is missing but would have had a ring as no 42. The handle is decorated with fine incised lines in a spiral pattern; the narrow leaf-shaped blade has a forked tip, now broken. Cf Crummy 1983, fig 62, no 1872, dating from the 1st century, probably into the 2nd. [1], Phase 6.

44 Nail cleaner, rather unevenly cast. There is a ring at the head on a short plain handle, which is set at right angles to the blade. The blade is narrow and leaf-shaped, with a forked tip. Filing marks are present from the finishing. Date as no 43. [58], Phase 4.

#### Seal-boxes

45 Tear-shaped seal-box lid. The edge is hatched, with a V-shaped notch at the tip; within are three concentric circles and a pierced central roundel. Traces of enamel remain in the three circles, the central roundel and the tip; that in the two outer circles suggests alternating cells of two colours, one now orange-red, the other blue-green, possibly with contrasting spots set in them. The central roundel is also orange-red and the triangular cell at the tip blue-green. Part of the hinge and a chip from one side are missing. Probably dating from the 2nd century up to the middle of the 3rd. Trench 14 [1], unphased.

46 Tear-shaped seal-box lid. The edge is hatched; within are two concentric circles, the outer enamelled in blue, the inner now red-brown. X-ray photography shows a central spot, probably a hole below the enamel as on no 45. Pieces are missing from the edges, including the hinge and most of the tip. Date as no 45. [43], Phase 4.

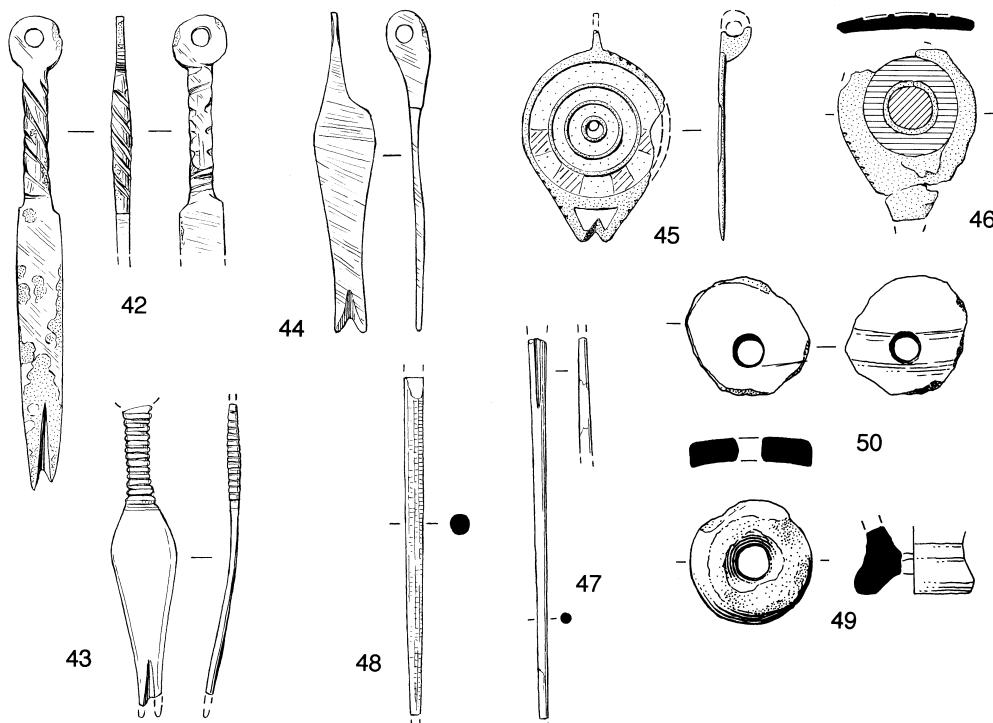


Fig 32 Wanborough. Small finds, nos 42–50. (Scale 1:1, except nos 49–50, 1:2)

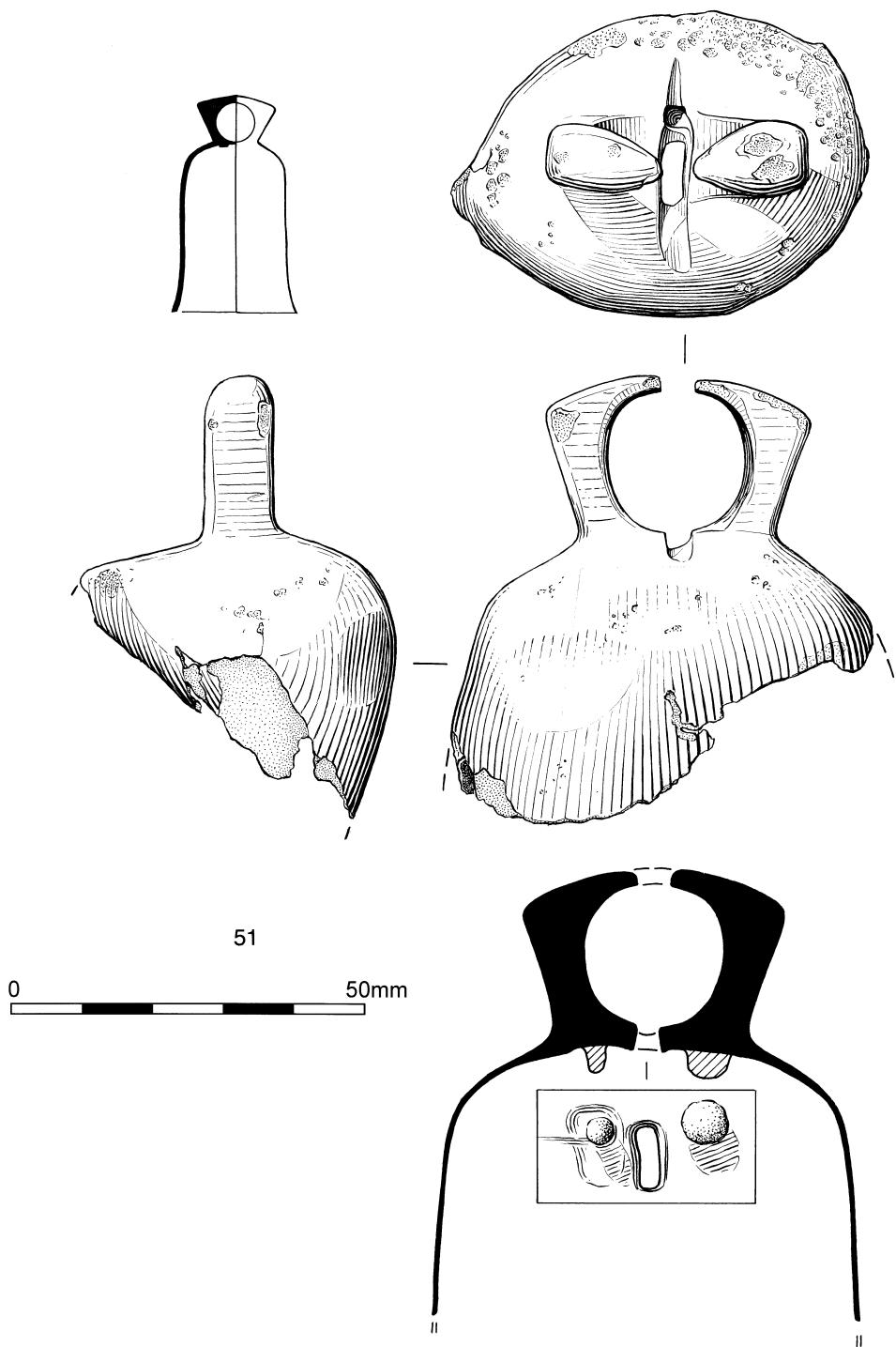


Fig 33 Wanborough. Small finds, no 51.

## Needles

- 47 Part of a needle, now in two pieces. The head, eye and tip are missing, but the lower end of the slot for the eye is present (cf Crummy 1983, fig 70, no 1993). Now 62mm long. [58], Phase 4.
- 48 Part of a bone needle, probably, rather than a hairpin, as indicated by its thinness (cf Crummy 1983, fig 70, no 1959). Faceted round section; now 44mm long, and lacking both head and tip. [36], Phase 3B.

## Spindle-whorls

- 49 Base, small pottery jar or beaker in dark-surfaced Alice Holt/Farnham ware (cf Millett 1986, fig 61, no 79, and fig 66, no 102). The body of the pot has been roughly cut off and a hole bored through the base. [47], Phase 6.
- 50 Sherd, large pottery jar in light grey Alice Holt/Farnham ware, with a hole bored through; the hole is off-centre and the whorl would probably not have spun evenly. [31], Phase 6.

## Bell

- 51 Upper part of a tulip-shaped bell; a small fragment of what is probably the lower edge is present but does not join. The angled suspension loop, cast in one piece with the bell, is now broken in the middle, probably due to wear. The top of the bell has a rectangular hole set in a slot, while on the interior, below the ends of the loop, are two iron stumps; either of these features could have held the clapper, and it is possible that the iron stumps represent a later replacement. A complete tulip-shaped bell of similar size was recovered from the Thames at London (Wardle 1980). Unphased. Recovered from topsoil in the area of trench 11.

## Vessels

- 52 Central piece from the base of a cast *patera*, elaborately turned on the underside. The interior is tinned, with an incised circle in the centre. For the type, cf London Museum 1930, fig 40. Area 1, unstratified.
- 53 Two joining pieces from a cast dish, its precise dimensions not now measurable. The exterior is plain apart from a bevel, which may mark the top of the wall below the rim. The interior has a narrow bead moulding, above which the profile is convex and probably curves out to form the rim. The shape may have been similar to the samian dish form Dragendorff 36. Unstratified and [20], Phase 6.
- 54 Footring fragment from a cast dish or bowl with a shallow convex moulding on the interior. The diameter of the foot is approximately 100mm. [1], Phase 5. Three further fragments (not illustrated), one from [29], Phase 5, and two unstratified, may be further small pieces of the same footring.

55 D-shaped handle with a short gap of some 4mm on the straight side; the section is lozenge-shaped, tapering to a point at each end. There are two closely similar handles from Camulodunum, the larger one still pivoted in a mount for use on a vessel (Hawkes & Hull 1947, pl 99, nos 9 and 10). [58], Phase 4.

56 Two joining rim fragments from a mould-blown bottle in natural blue-green glass. Such bottles were common in the second half of the 1st century and the early decades of the 2nd: cf Charlesworth 1972, fig 75, nos 12–15. [31], Phase 4.

57 (Not illustrated) Four fragments, two joining, from the shoulder of a mould-blown bottle in natural blue/green glass. Date as no 56. Trench 13 [4] and unstratified, Phase 4.

## Box or furniture fittings

58 Part of a bone hinge 25mm long; the drill used to make the hole in the missing portion has cut into the opposite side. Such hinges were used for boxes and cupboards: for their function, see Waugh & Goodburn 1972, fig 53, with similar hinges on fig 54, nos 188 and 190. Unstratified.

59 Part of a bone hinge 23mm long, as no 58; the similarity of size and shaping of the two hinges suggests that they were part of the same object. [31], Phase 6.

## Other fittings

60 Heavy brass ring 52mm in diameter; the round section is 9mm thick. A narrow slot on the exterior holds the two edges of a thin sheet of silver, which once covered the ring, of which further traces remain on the surface. One side of the ring is missing and both sides are heavily worn; such wear on a ring of this strength, together with the silver plating, suggests long use on a heavy object. Trench 11 [1].

61 Heavy cast terminal, probably from the tip of a pole, in the shape of a narrow cone swelling into a round base. There is a hole for a nail set neatly in a slot just below the rim. The diameter of the rim is 26mm; the hollow interior follows the shape of the exterior. Unphased, from the base of the hedgebank crossing Area 3.

## Unidentified metal objects

62 Fragment, probably from a composite object; the surviving part is probably from one end, as the sides are longer and also flattened. It consists of a wide and a narrow moulding, with a smaller angular extension on each; the interior is hollow. Unstratified.

63 (Not illustrated) Seventeen pieces and small fragments of bent sheet metal; at least two pieces join. Such thin sheet was used to cover boxes (eg

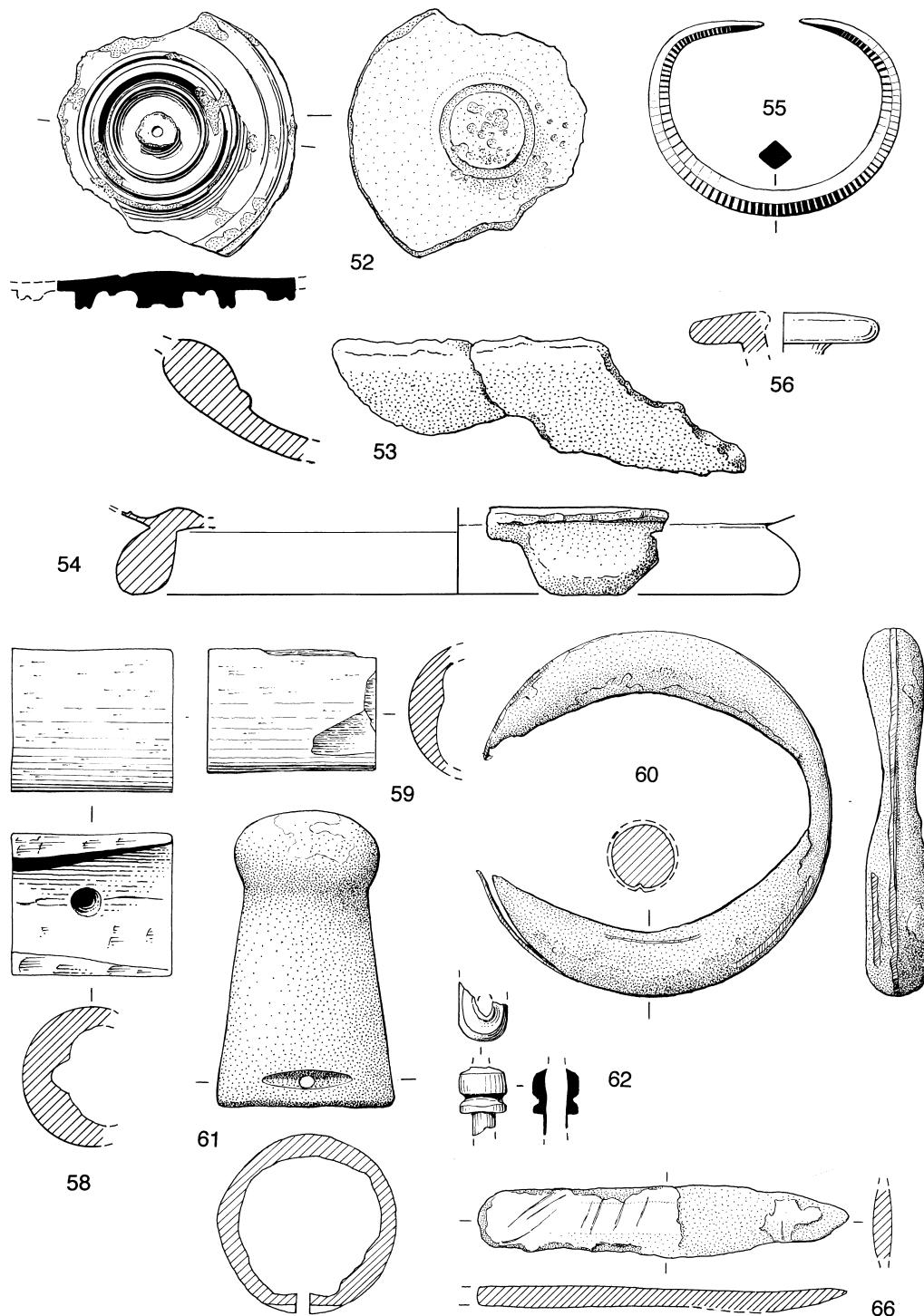


Fig 34 Wanborough. Small finds, nos 52–66. (Scale 1:1, except 56, 1:2)

- Stead & Rigby 1986, figs 31, 33), and also for thin-walled vessels (eg Waugh & Goodburn 1972, fig 42, no. 139). The two largest pieces measure a maximum of 53 x 40mm and 56 x 40mm, with a thickness of less than 1mm; numerous holes are the result of corrosion. [2], Phase 4.
- 64 (Not illustrated) Two pieces of bent sheet metal; like no. 63 these may come from a box or a vessel. They measure a maximum of 54 x 21mm and 34 x 22mm, with a thickness of less than 1mm. [2], Phase 4.
- 65 (Not illustrated) Piece of bent sheet metal; like no. 63 it may come from a box or vessel. Maximum at least 137 x 127mm, but bent, with a thickness of less than 1mm; a hole is due to corrosion. [47], Phase 6.
- 66 Narrow object with no surviving edges; both faces are slightly convex. It now measures a maximum of 55 x 10mm and is 3mm thick. The metal and patina suggest a possibly prehistoric (Bronze Age) date rather than Roman. Unstratified. Pieces of cut sheet silver (not illustrated).
- 67 Rectangular fragment of silver sheet, with four straight cut edges; two corners are bent over. 11 x 8mm, less than 1mm thick. [21], Phase 6.
- 68 Fragment of sheet silver, bent, with one straight cut edge. Maximum 10 x 12mm, less than 1mm thick. [31], Phase 6.
- 69 Fragment of sheet silver, bent, with one straight edge and one probably roughly cut, giving a point at one end. The surfaces appear unfinished. Maximum 28 x 12mm, 1mm thick. Unstratified.
- 70 Fragment of sheet silver, probably cut on two opposed edges; one face is unfinished. Maximum 14 x 18mm; the thickness varies up to 1mm. Unstratified.
- 71 Fragment of sheet silver, bent, with one straight cut edge. Maximum 20 x 10mm, less than 1mm thick. Unstratified.
- 72 Fragment of sheet silver, slightly bent, with one straight edge and one other apparently cut. Maximum 24 x 18mm, less than 1mm thick. Unstratified.
- 73 Fragment of sheet silver, bent; cut on two opposed sides to form an uneven narrow strip. Maximum 17 x 6mm, less than 1mm thick. Unstratified.

### **The ironwork, by Quita Mould (figs 35, 36; supplement S42–S59, see p151)**

#### INTRODUCTION

A small assemblage of ironwork, some 763 items, was recovered, almost all from Area 3. The material mainly consists of timber nails of known Roman types. Two iron brooches, an oxgoad, a small number of craft tools and bar iron were also present. In addition, a small amount of post-Roman and modern ironwork was recovered. This material has been recorded for the archive but is not commented on further here. Individual aspects of the iron assemblage from the excavations are considered below followed by a summary by phase of the metalwork from each context and a catalogue of the illustrated items.

#### CONDITION OF THE MATERIAL

The majority of the ironwork is lightly encrusted with a small proportion being more heavily encrusted so that original shape is obscured. A quantity of material, however, has no corrosion products present. While this is expected for material of recent date recovered from topsoil or deposits high up in the sequence it was notable that uncorroded iron was found along with corroded material in stratified Roman contexts. Though many of the deposits were damp none was considered waterlogged nor was vivianite observed on the ironwork, which might indicate a waterlogged burial environment that could limit corrosion. These objects with no corrosion products present are considered to have been burnt, and for the purposes of this study 101 iron objects, found in twenty individual contexts, fall within this category. The amount of burnt material represented is increased by the addition of evidence provided by the appearance of the iron in radiographic image (Bick 1963, 133–4, pl 24). Evidence for burning could be seen in radiographic image on items from sixteen contexts, including three contexts not previously identified from the presence of uncorroded iron, so that in all 23 individual contexts may contain burnt material and a maximum of 108 items are considered to be burnt. The implications of this are considered below.

### *The nails*

A range of timber nails of known Roman types was recovered. As is usually the case, the vast majority of the nails had flat heads and square or rectangular shanks (fig 35, nos 6–9 and fig 36, nos 12–13) and fall into Type 1b of Manning's classification (1985, 134–7 and fig 132). Five larger examples of this type of nail, Manning's Type 1a (fig 35, no 14), were found, along with four nails with triangular heads of the same thickness as the shank of Manning's Type 2 (fig 36, no 15), in contexts dating from cAD140–160 onwards. These larger nails were used for structural timbers. Seven headless nails, small examples of Manning's Type 5 (fig 36, no 16), were found, two in Phase 6 contexts (cAD160–300) the rest in unphased deposits. A 'brad' nail with an L-shaped head of Manning's Type 4 was found in topsoil. This nail would appear to be modern though examples believed to be of Roman date have been found elsewhere (*ibid*, 135). These nails with insignificant heads and nails of Type 1b might have been used for a range of structural carpentry. A single nail with a large, round, flat head and a short shank (fig 36, no 17), a variation of a Type 1b classified by Manning as Type 7, was found in a Phase 6 context. It has been suggested that nails of this type may have been used for upholstery (*ibid*, 135).

As might be expected, the number of unbroken nails recovered was limited; however, it was notable that the majority of the nails recovered were of small size. Of the 85 complete or near complete Type 1b nails measured, over 75% (67) were less than 38mm (1½in) in length, and of these half had heads smaller than 13mm in diameter (fig 35, no 8; fig 36, nos 12–13). The smallest complete nail recovered (fig 36, no 13) was of a size resembling a 'carpet tack' used today. It is suggested that these small nails (less than 38mm in length) particularly those with short shanks and small heads may have been used in the construction of biers or boxes rather than associated with structural timbers or other structural carpentry. Small nails of similar dimensions, many also burnt, were found in cremation deposits from the 3rd century Romano-British cremation cemetery at Brougham, Cumbria. These small nails are thought to come from wooden biers and boxes burnt on the funeral pyre and boxes subsequently placed within the burials (Mould 2004). Their small size suggests that they might have been used to secure upholstery or hold decorative bone inlay in place on the wooden frame of the bier or casket. The small nails from Wanborough may also derive from pyre debris.

### *Clench bolts*

A group of clench bolts, representing no less than twelve examples, was found in an internal layer [11] in the southern part of the circular temple. Another fragmentary clench bolt was found in topsoil. The clench bolts (fig 35, nos 1–5) had domed heads 20–22mm in diameter and lozenge-shaped rove plates 25–30mm in length with bevelled edges. Complete examples varied in shank length between 31 and 39mm. A clench bolt was also found associated with the demolition of the adjacent square temple during earlier excavations (Bird 1994a, 128 and fig 36, no 6). Clench bolts were used in plank-built construction not only for boats but domestic woodwork of plank and ledge construction such as doors, shutters, hatches and well covers. In later periods they were used in the construction of coffin lids. The Wanborough clench bolts are of similar dimensions to the smaller of the two sizes of clench bolt found at Fishbourne (Cunliffe 1971, fig 55, no 7). At Fishbourne a 'considerable number' of clench bolts were recovered from destruction debris on the floor of room N11 and it is suggested that they had been used in the timber partition that had divided this room in the mid-2nd century (*ibid*, 128). The two rooms created by the partition had tessellated floors, one with a mosaic of simple design. At this time Fishbourne was 'one of the foremost country houses in Britain' (Cunliffe 1971, 185) suggesting that any internal constructional features would have been of high-standard workmanship.

### *Dress accessories*

The remains of two iron brooches were found and are discussed by Joanna Bird elsewhere (cat nos 15 and 17 above). They do not appear to have been burnt and are more likely to be the result of casual loss rather than deliberate deposition. A small quantity (37) of hobnails (fig 35, no 10) from footwear of nailed construction or sandals with nailed soles was found occurring in contexts dating from the mid-2nd century onward (*cAD*140–160+). A small number (4) of hobnails from context [31] had been burnt, suggesting that footwear had been among the cremated material that appears to have composed part of this deposit, either worn on the body or placed separately on the funeral pyre.

### *Craft tools*

Evidence of metalworking was found. The handle broken from a pair of smith's tongs and bar iron, including a small handling rod, were found in rubble dumps outside the circular temple attributed to Phase 6. The arm from a pair of blacksmith's tongs (fig 36, no 18), and a rectangular shank with a central punched slot, along with a possible second example, both likely to be smithing stock, were found in a rubble dump [34]. A small shank (fig 36, no 19) with a hammered end at right angles to it was found in a rubble dump [43] dated to the 2nd century. Other examples found elsewhere have been identified as scrap from a manufacturing process (Mould 1997, 83, fig 4.4, no 2). Their shape suggests they are small handling rods gripped by the blacksmith's tongs when forging an object and subsequently snapped off and discarded when work was completed. They have been found in some numbers at the late Roman industrial complex at Ickham, Kent (Mould forthcoming) and in a 3rd/4th century pit fill at Asthall, Oxfordshire (Mould 1997, 83, fig 4.4, no 2), a late Roman settlement also with much evidence for smithing.

A single piece of bar iron was also found in Phase 3A ditch fill [55] (*cAD*50–80), another (fig 35, no 11) was found in an internal layer [11] within the southern part of the temple (*cAD*140–160+) and another in a pit [26] cutting the temple foundations (*cAD*220–250). A small chisel or punch for metalworking, or possibly a wedge for splitting wood, was noted in topsoil. Iron smithing slag, from a hearth bottom, was found from the construction phase of the adjacent square temple during earlier excavations (O'Connell & Bird 1994, 129) and it has been suggested (*ibid*) that some of the ironwork used in that temple structure might have been made on site.

Other craft tools were found in pre-temple deposits and derive from early Roman activity. While it is possible that the leatherworker's awl (fig 36, no 20) might have been deliberately deposited, the broken chisel blade (fig 36, no 21) would appear to be the result of rubbish disposal.

### *Oxgoad*

A broken oxgoad (fig 36, no 22) was found in a dump of rubble [33] outside the temple dated AD130–300. Two oxgoads were also found previously during excavations of the adjacent square temple (Bird 1994, 128, fig 36, nos 2–3). Oxgoads were used to drive on the ploughing teams and may well have been lost during agricultural activity; however, it is tempting to speculate that these examples found around the precincts of the temples might have been used when driving sacrificial animals to the altar.

### PHASE 3: EARLY ROMAN (*cAD*50–*c*140) PRE-TEMPLE DEPOSITS

A leatherworking awl (fig 36, no 20), the edge broken from a chisel blade (fig 36, no 21) and a piece of bar iron were found in fill [55] of ditch 253, along with a small quantity of nails, some of which had been burnt. Single nails were found in two other fills of the ditch ([52],

[262]). An iron brooch and a nail shank were found in a layer [83] beyond the curving gully, while a fragment of nail shank was found in the ‘tree hole’ [89] and with the lamb burial [91] within the curving gully. A small group of nails was found in pebble metalling [46] and a small nail was found in rubble [45].

#### PHASE 4: (cAD140–160+)

##### *Circular temple*

A larger group of ironwork was recovered from internal layers in the southern part of the circular temple ([10], [11]). The remains of no fewer than twelve clenched bolts, probably used in the construction of a door, shutter or partition, were found in one layer [11], along with nails, a length of bar iron, and a hobnail (fig 35, nos 1–11). Five of the clenched bolts and two nails recovered from the layer [11] appear to have been burnt. The nails in the layer above [10] showed no signs of burning.

Nails including a Type 2 and a headless nail of Type 7 (Manning 1985, 135) were found in layers of humic soil covering the wall foundations ([4], [6]). No indication of burning was visible on the ironwork from these deposits. An oxshoe was also found indicating later, medieval, contamination [4].

A group of nails, a hobnail and a small fragment of strap were recovered from rubble [3] to the south of the temple. The nails included burnt nail shanks, a particularly small nail and a single nail of Manning’s Type 2 (*ibid*). A nail shank and a burnt shank were found in beam slots [103] and [110].

##### *External metalling and other deposits*

Nails, including a larger example (Manning Type 1a), and hobnails were found in soils to the north-east of the temple building ([29], [36]). Two of the nails appear to have been burnt [29]. A small number of nails, including small burnt examples, were recovered from metalling to the south of the entrance ([22], [49]) and metalling in the entrance area [58] dating to the 2nd century. Similarly, a small group of nails was found in deposits to the south of the temple [2] dating from AD150–270+.

A wider range of objects was found in rubble dumps [33], [34], [40] and [43] including items associated with metalworking. The arm from a pair of blacksmith’s tongs (fig 36, no 18), and two pieces of bar iron were found in context [34]. A shank with a hammered end (fig 36, no 19), interpreted as a small handling rod, was found in a 2nd century context [43]. A broken oxgoad (fig 36, no 22) was found along with hobnails and nails in context [33], dated AD130–300. Two items from the rubble dumps had been burnt. A single nail was found in the edge of a possible structure that was not excavated [79].

#### PHASE 6: (cAD160–300) ACTIVITY POST-DATING THE CIRCULAR TEMPLE

A larger group of ironwork was found in the lower level of widespread accumulation [13] filling the temple. Three hobnails and nails were found along with a split-spiked loop and fragments from a second example. The split-spiked loops are likely to represent a simple hinge from a box. A nail shank was found in the fill [87] of a feature cutting the accumulation [13].

A piece of bar iron, three hobnails and nails, some apparently burnt, were found in pits [26] and [39] cutting the foundations. Three hobnails and a small number of nails were found in rubble spread [47] over the north half of the interior dating to the early 3rd century.

A group of ironwork comprising nails and hobnails (6) was part of the large deposit [31] in a hollow caused by the settling of the Phase 3A ditch. Nearly half the iron items found (34 of 73, 46.5%) in this context [13] had been burnt. This deposit also contained broken pottery, burnt animal bone and charcoal, suggesting that the material derived from pyre debris.

## UNPHASED DEPOSITS

Larger groups of material were found in unphased deposits. Strap fragments, hobnails and a nail were found in disturbed rooty soils [21] below topsoil to the north-east of the temple, containing mainly 2nd–3rd century material. A hobnail, nails and a small range of modern material including a handle fitting, fragments from a vessel, probably a bucket, and a horseshoe were found in a widespread deposit below topsoil [1].

Nails and small fragments of modern origin were found in external build-up below topsoil – [7], [24], [254] – to the west and north of the temple, containing mainly 3rd century material. Three nails and a shank were found in backfill [8]; one of the nails was burnt.

## TOPSOIL

A range of ironwork including an iron brooch, hobnails, a clench bolt and wallhook of Roman date along with fragments of modern bucket, barbed wire, nailed binding, an oxshoe, and a boot iron were found in topsoil. A quantity of Roman and modern nails was also found. A large ring-headed hook was found in topsoil in the woods and a socket broken from an implement was found in topsoil in Area 1.

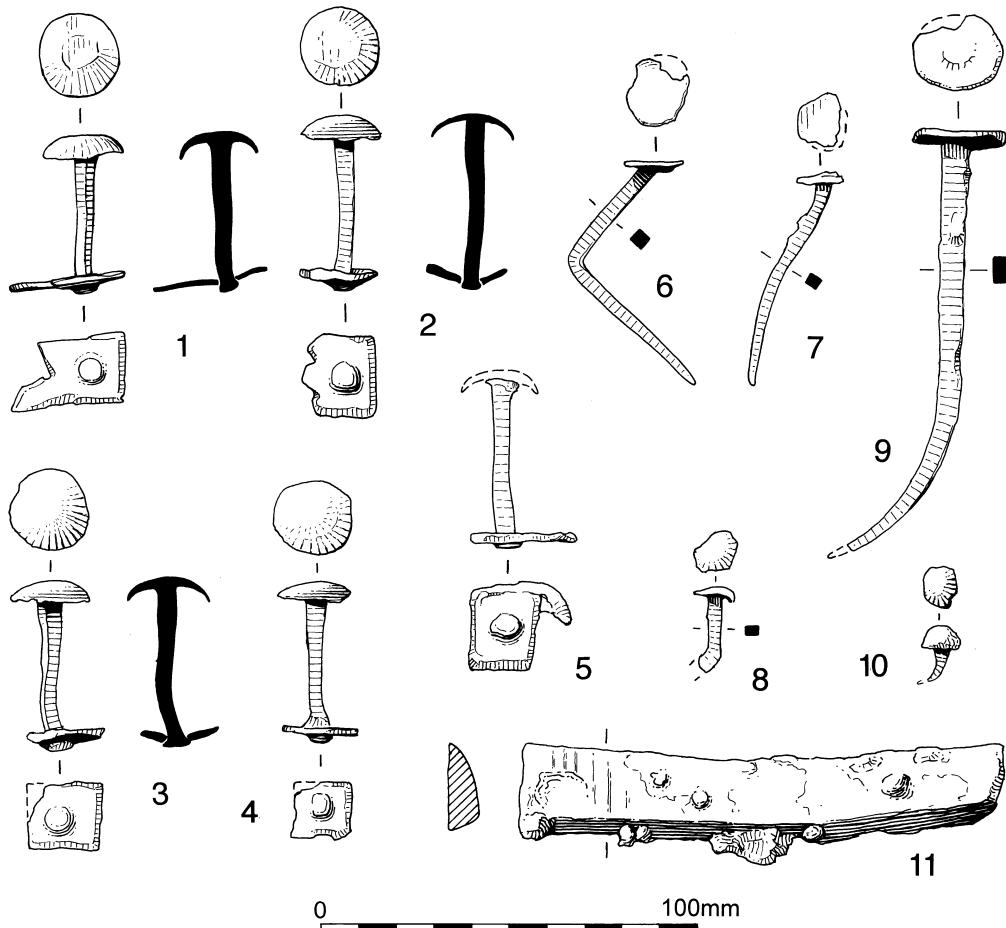


Fig 35 Wanborough. Ironwork, nos 1–11, from context [11]

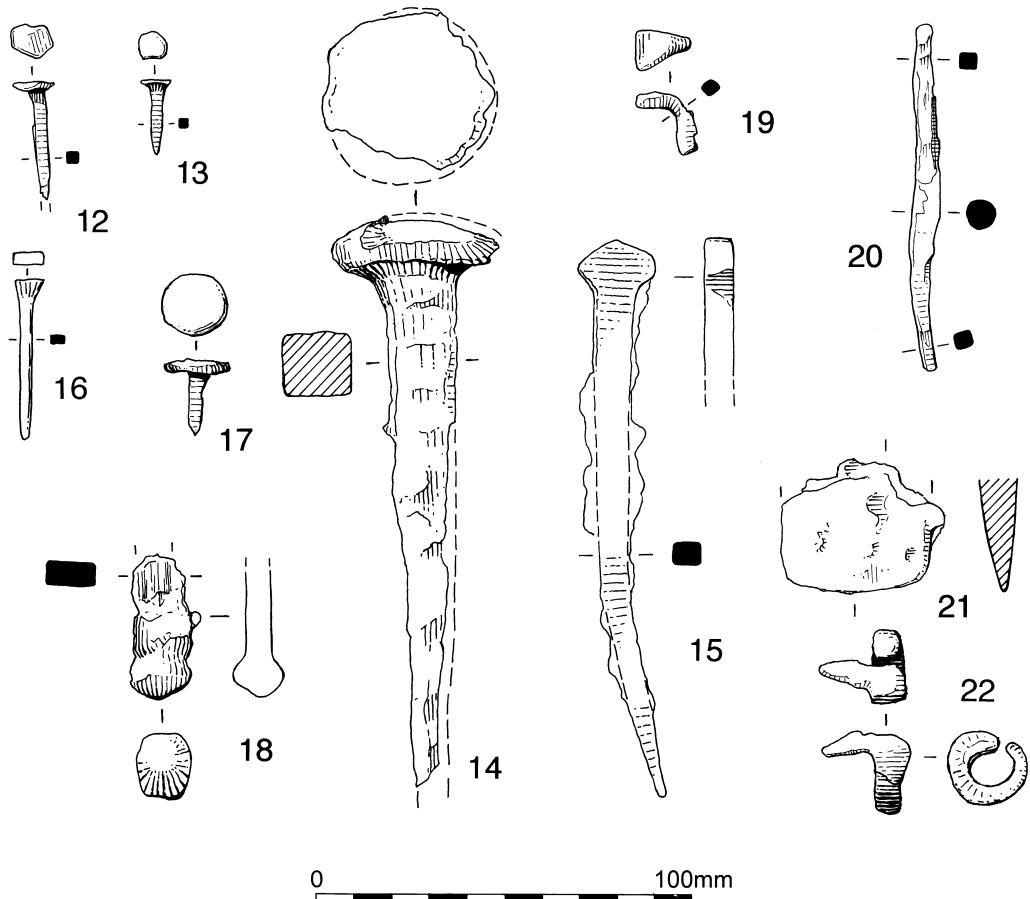


Fig 36 Wanborough. Ironwork, nos 12–22.

*Catalogue of illustrated iron (figs 35–36)*

All are from Area 3

- 1–5 Clench bolts with round, domed heads, lozenge-shaped plates with bevelled edges and round-sectioned shanks. Shank length 31–36mm, head diameter 20–22mm, plate length 25–30mm. [11], Phase 4.
- 6 Nail with flat head and square-sectioned shank, clenched. Manning Type 1b. Uncorroded. Shank length 32/43mm, head diameter 19mm. [11], Phase 4.
- 7 Nail with curved shank, as 6 above. Uncorroded. Shank length 55mm, head diameter 13mm. [11], Phase 4.
- 8 Nail with small head and broken shank, as 6 above. Uncorroded. Shank length 20mm, head diameter 11mm. [11], Phase 4.
- 9 Nail, as 6 above. Shank length 110mm, head diameter 23mm. [11], Phase 4.
- 10 Hobnail with domed head and curved shank. Length 14mm, head diameter 10mm. [11], Phase 4.

- 11 Bar with a bevelled side and broken ends, slightly twisted and distorted. Length 125mm, width 25mm. [11], Phase 4
- 12 Small nail as 6 above. Shank length 28mm, head diameter 11mm. [55], Phase 3A.
- 13 Small nail as 6 above. Shank length 19mm, head diameter 7mm. [49], Phase 4.
- 14 Nail with round, slightly domed head and square-sectioned shank. Manning Type 1a. Shank length 140mm, head diameter 45mm. [29], Phase 6.
- 15 Nail with triangular head and rectangular-sectioned shank. Manning Type 2. Length 145mm, head width 20mm, thickness 8mm. [6], Phase 6.
- 16 Headless nail with rectangular-sectioned shank. Manning Type 5. Length 42mm, max width 8mm. [31], Phase 6.
- 17 Nail with large flat head and square-sectioned shank. Manning Type 7. Shank length 15mm, head diameter 17mm. Sf 29. [6], Phase 6.

- 18 Arm of smith's tongs with rectangular-sectioned shank and conical, knobbed terminal. Length 37+mm, terminal diameter 17mm. [34], Phase 5.
- 19 Small handling rod fragment, curved shank flattened and expanded at one end. Length 30mm, max width 11mm. [43], Phase 4.
- 20 Awl with round-sectioned shoulder tapering to a square-sectioned point and tang. Length 91mm, max width 8mm. [55], Phase 3A.
- 21 Chisel blade fragment with straight edge and sides, expanding in thickness. L 34+mm, width 40mm, max thickness 9mm. [55], Phase 2A.
- 22 Oxgoad, coiled fragment and fragment with pointed tine. Tine length 13mm, min diameter 13mm. [33], Phase 3A.

## The coins

IRON AGE COINS, by Clive Cheesman

Table 10 Catalogue of Iron Age coins

(Note: BMC = Hobbs 1996; VA = Van Arsdell 1989; U = Unstratified)

No	BMC	VA	Weight (g)	Comments	SF no	Context	Area	Phase
<i>Early uninscribed silver</i>								
1	647	—	0.25	fragment	267	U	1	—
<i>Commius</i>								
2	735	355–3	0.98		239	1	3	—
<i>Tincomarus</i>								
3	946	371	1.24		47	U	3, T15	—
4	781	366	1.04		83	13	3	5
5	946	371	1.23		87	U	3, T15	—
6	926	370	1.30		104	8	3	—
7	946	371	1.26		186	8	3	—
8	930	372	1.26		282	U	1	—
9	880	397	1.25	TINCOM[ . . . ] A (?)	299	83	3	3B
10	911/917/922	381	0.79		300	U	1	—
11	946	371	1.23		306	U	1	—
12	946	371	1.22		322	U	3	—
<i>Eppillus</i>								
13	1010	435	1.26		58	1	3	5
14	1119	421	0.20		84	1	3, T14	—
15	1061	416	1.31		94	U	3, T15	—
16	1016	415	1.24		271	83	3	3B
<i>Verica</i>								
17	1207	467	1.15		1	U	1	—
18	1241	470	1.37		2	U	1	—
19	cfl207	cf 467	1.18	rev: VII (?)	17	U	1	—
20	1279	470var	1.36		18	U	1, T5	—
21	1590	—	0.17	two pieces	88	U	1, T27	—
22	1279	470var	1.26		91	U	3, T15	—
23	1356	470var	0.87		92	U	3, T15	—
24	1521	510–15	0.08		176	31	3	5
25	1538	553	0.21		212	33	3	5
26	1207	467	1.19		273	13	3	5
27	1485	471	1.25		275	U	3	—
28	1559	556	0.32		295	73	3	3B
<i>Epaticcus</i>								
29	2042	580	1.30		3	U	1	—
30	2024	580	1.27		4	U	1	—
31	2024	580	1.44		75	U	3, T15	—
32	2331	585	0.22		307	83	3	3B

No	BMC	VA	Weight (g)	Comments	SF no	Context	Area	Phase
<i>Icenian silver</i>								
33	4348/4360/							
4431 etc								
			0.78		178	1	3	5
<i>Durotrigan bronze</i>								
34	2790	1290	0.93		97	U	3	—
35	2790	1290	2.91		159	1	3	5
36	2790	1290	1.46		171	25	3	5
37	2790	1290	1.73		255	49	3	3
38	2790	1290	2.63		281	49	3	3
<i>Bronze forgeries of coins of Cunobeline</i>								
39	1851 (forgery of 1837)	0.78			76	U	3	—
40	cf 1851 (but horse to left)	1.43			118	U	3	—
<i>Uncertain bronze</i>								
41	—	—	1.48		135	3	3	5
42	—	—	0.94		177	31	3	5
43	—	—	0.77		297	76	3	5
<i>Bronze core with silver plating</i>								
44	—	—	0.59		96	U	3	—

## ROMAN COINS, by Richard Abdy (table 11)

As would be expected with a southern site with continuity from the Iron Age, the Wanborough coin list is a very strong indicator of early Roman activity. Nearly 40% of Roman coins are from the early imperial period. In contrast, the mean Roman-British site coin list devised by Richard Reece (Reece 1987, 83) shows a heavy bias towards the post-AD260 coinage by more than a factor of six (eg Abdy 2002, 26). In particular, the presence of four Republican and Julio-Claudian *denarii* are a good indicator of 1st/early 2nd century activity since British hoards show that they had been systematically removed by the end of the reign of Hadrian (*ibid.*).

The purse group consists of nine Flavian *aes*. With the exception of one *sestertius* they are all small denomination *dupondii* or *asses*. The latter are typical of the circulation in the early province – the Vespasianic coins are all mint of Lyon while the two Domitianic *asses* are of the AD86–7 shipment (Carradice 1983 (for a production survey of Domitian's bronze coinage); Hobley 1998; Walker 1988).

*Summary:*

Republican, 2

Early Imperial (32 + 9 from purse group)

Late Imperial (1 radiate + 24 *nummi*)

Uncertain (59 – all probably late imperial)

Table 11 Catalogue of Roman coins  
(Note: BMC = Hobbs 1996; Crawford = Crawford 1975; LRBC = Hill *et al.* 1965)

## THE PURSE GROUP

## VESPAZIAN (6)

No	Obverse/Reverse	Bust – Denom.	BMC	RIC	Wt (g)	SF no	Context	Area	Phase
1	Obv: [IMP CAE]SAR VESPASIAN [AVG COS III] Rev: FORTVN[AE REDVCI] S C (Fortuna sig. I.)	A1 – <i>dp</i>	815	739	10.85	107c	48	3	3B
2	Obv: illegible Rev: [ROMA] in ex. / S C (Roma std. I.)	A1 – <i>dp</i>	cf 818A	741	9.14	107d	48	3	3B
3	Obv: IMP CAES VESP[...] Rev: S C / SPQR on shield (Victory flying I.)	Z – <i>dp/as</i>	cf 839	cf 743	9.37	107f	48	3	3B
4	Obv: [IMP CAE]S VESPASIAN AVG [COS] VIII [PP] Rev: FORTVNAE REDVCI S C (Fortuna sig. I.)	A1* – <i>as</i>	844 <sup>a</sup>	761	8.42	107b	48	3	3B
5	Obv: [IMP CAE]S VESP[...] Rev: FORTV[NAE REDVCI] S C (Fortuna sig. I.)	A1* – <i>as</i>	cf 844 <sup>a</sup> etc cf 761 etc	8.57	107i	48	3	3B	
6	Obv: Uncertain but probably Vespasian Rev: illegible	Z – <i>dp/as</i>	–	–	6.76	107e	48	3	3B

## DOMITIAN (3)

No	Obverse/Reverse	Bust – Denom.	BMC	RIC	Wt (g)	SF no	Context	Area	Phase
7	Obv: IMP CAES DIVI VESP F DOMITIAN AVG PM Rev: TR P COS [VII (or VIII) DES VIII (or VIII) PP] (Minerva sig. I.)	A1* – <i>sext</i>	261/274	233/240	24.72	107a	48	3	3B
8	Obv: IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM COS XI CENS POT PP Rev: SPQR (on shield) S C (Victory flying I.)	A1*( <i>avg</i> ) – <i>as</i>	355	302	99.82	107g	48	3	3B
9	Obv: IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM COS [XI] CENS PER PP Rev: MONETA AVG STI (Moneta sig. I.)	A1*( <i>avg</i> ) – <i>as</i>	cf 365	cf 301	11.00	107h	48	3	3B

## THE SITE COINS

REPUBLIC (2)	
All <i>denarii</i>	
No	Obverse/Reverse
10	Obv: (Bearded head r., wearing winged diadem) Rev: Q TITI Pegasus r.)
11	Obv: (Head of Venus r., wearing diadem) Rev: CAESAR (Aeneas adv. l., carrying Anchises & palladium)

EARLY/MID IMPERIAL (32)  
TIBERIUS (2)

No	Obverse/Reverse	Bust – Denom.	<i>BMC</i>	<i>RIC</i>	Wt (g)	SF no	Context	Area	Phase
12	Obv: T CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVSTVS Rev: PONTIF MAXIM (fem. fig. std. r.)	A1* – den. (plated)	34	26	2.07	156	31	3	6
13	Obv: [T] CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVSTVS Rev: [PONTIF MAXIM] (fem. fig. std. r.)	A1* – den.	34	26	3.10	22	U	3	–

## REIGN OF VESPASIAN (12)

No	Obverse/Reverse	Bust – Denom.	<i>BMC</i>	<i>RIC</i>	Wt (g)	SF no	Context	Area	Phase
14	Obv: [IMP CAESAR] R VESPASIAN [AVG COS (III or III)] Rev: PAX AVG S C (Pax sig. l.)	A1 – <i>dp.</i>	cf.805B/816	475/740	9.39	234	1	3	6
15	Rev: PAX AVG S C (Pax sig. l.)	A1 – <i>dp.</i>	cf.805B/816	475/740	9.27	228	13	3	6
16	Rev: PAX AVG S C (Pax sig. l.)	A1 – <i>dp.</i>	cf.805B/816	475/740	7.60	121	U	3	–
17	Obv: [IMP CAESAR] VESPASIAN AVG [COS III] Rev: [SEICVR] TAS AVGVSTI S C (Securitas std. r.)	A1 – <i>dp.</i>	808	479	10.27	304	below 48	3	3
18	Obv: [IMP CAESAR] VESPASIAN AVG COS III Rev: [VICTORIA] AVG VSTI S C (Victory adv. l.)	A1* – <i>as</i>	811B	502	10.60	291	58	3	4
19	Obv: [IMP CAES VESPASIAN A] AVG COS VIII [P PI] Rev: [FORTVNAE REDVCI] S C (Fortuna std. l.)	A1* – <i>as</i>	844 <sup>‡</sup>	761	7.78	231	13	3	6
20	Obv: T CAES IMP AVG F TR P COS VI CENSOR Rev: FELICITAS PVBLICA S C (Felicitas sig. l.)	A1* – <i>dp.</i>	856	775	11.22	276	55	3	3A
21	Obv: (illegible) Rev: illegible (fem. fig. std. l.) (Lyons)	A1* – <i>dp.</i>	?	?	10.14	172	24	3	–
22	Rev: illegible (fem. fig. std. l.) (Lyons)	A1* – <i>as</i>	?	?	7.19	45	1	3, T11	–
23	Rev: illegible (fem. fig. std. l.) (Lyons)	A1* – <i>as</i>	?	?	6.65	199	U	3	–
24	Rev: illegible (standing draped fig.)	Z – <i>dp./as</i>	?	?	7.43	185	1	3	5
25	Rev: illegible (standing draped fig.)	Z – <i>as</i>	?	?	8.20	248	46	3	3B

## DOMITIAN (4)

No	Obverse/Reverse	Bust – Denom.	<i>BMC</i>	<i>RIC</i>	Wt (g)	SF no	Context	Area	Phase
26	Obv: IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM P M TR P X Rev: IMP XXI COS XV CENS P P (Minerva std. l.)	A1* – den.	182	155	3.00	154	1	3	6
27	Obv: illegible	Z – <i>dp.</i>	?	?	10.99	110	U	3	–
28	Rev: illegible	Z – <i>dp./as</i>	?	?	6.82	111	U	3	–
29	Rev: illegible	Z* – <i>as</i>	?	?	5.33	50	U	3	–

TRAJAN (1)									
No	Obverse/Reverse	Bust – Denom.	BMC	RIC	Wt (g)	SF no	Context	Area	Phase
30	Obv: IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P COS V P P Rev: S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIP[er] (Virtus sig. r.)	A3* – den.	233	204	3.10	28	6	3	6
HADRIAN (2)									
No	Obverse/Reverse	Bust – Denom.	BMC	RIC	Wt (g)	SF no	Context	Area	Phase
31	Obv: HADRIANVS AVG COS III P P Rev: SPES P R (Spes adv. l.)	A1+ – den.	733	274	2.91	318	U	3	–
32	Obv: (illegible) Rev: illegible (fem. sig. l.)	Z – sext.	?	?	22.07	26	11	3	4
REIGN OF ANTONINVS PIVS (2)									
No	Obverse/Reverse	Bust – Denom.	BMC	RIC	Wt (g)	SF no	Context	Area	Phase
33	Obv: DIVA AVG FAVSTINA Rev: PIETAS AVG (Pietas sig. l.)	E1* – den.	311	394	2.81	217	1	3	6
34	Obv: [ANTONINVS PIVS PP TR P XVIII] Rev: [BRITANNIA COS III SC] (Britannia std. l.)	A1* – as	1971	934	11.10	294	73	3	3B
UNCERTAIN EMPEROR (8)									
No	Obverse/Reverse	Bust	Denom.	BMC	RIC	Wt (g)	SF no	Context	Area
35	Rev: illegible perhaps Pius or Marcus	Z	sest. dp./as	?	?	14.39	42	U	3
36	Rev: illegible perhaps Vespasian or Titus	Z	dp./as	?	?	5.38	44	U	3
37	Rev: illegible	Z	dp./as	?	?	7.32	49	U	3
38	Rev: illegible	Z	dp./as	?	?	5.55	235	1	3
39	Rev: illegible	Z	dp./as	?	?	6.72	57	U	3
40	Rev: illegible	Z	dp./as	?	?	2.68	309	U	3
41	Rev: illegible	Z	dp./as	?	?	6.36	198	U	3
42	Rev: illegible	Z	dp./as	?	?	3.52	72	U	3
3RD CENTURY RADIAE (1)									
No	Obverse/Reverse	Bust	RIC	SF no	Context	Area	Phase		
43	Obv: illegible Rev: illegible (?Providentia sig. l.)	Z	?	95	U	I, T23	–		

LATE ROMAN (24)  
 (All bronze/billon *nanno*)

HOUSE OF CONSTANTINE (4)  
 TRIER (3)

No	Obverse/Reverse	m.-m.	Bust	<i>RIC</i>	SF no	Context	Area	Phase
44	Obv: [CONSTANTINVS AVG] Rev: [BEATA TRANQVILLI] ITAS VOT/IS/XX on altar	-//PTR	H1+	(VII) 303	287	49	3	4
45	Obv: CON[.] Rev: [GLORI]A EXERCITVS (2 soldiers, one standard)	-//TR[	D1 (diad.)	(VIII) cf 49 etc	284	U	3	-
46	Obv: [FL IVL HELENAE AVG] Rev: PAX PVBLICA (Pax sig. l.)	-//[]TR	E2*	(VIII) 63	59	1	3, T13	6

UNCERTAIN MINT (1)

No	Obverse/Reverse	m.-m.	Bust	<i>LRC</i>	SF no	Context	Area	Phase
47	Obv: FLAV MAX FAVSTA AVG Rev: SALVS REPVBLICAE	-//?P	E1+	cf 37 etc	285	U	3	-

HOUSE OF VALENTINIAN I (9)  
 ARIES (3)

No	Obverse/Reverse	m.-m.	Bust	<i>LRC</i>	SF no	Context	Area	Phase
48	Obv: D N VALEN[...] Rev: [GLORIA ROMANORVM] (emperor dragging captive)	- //PCON	Z	cf 494 etc	149	21	3	6
49	Obv: [D N GRATIANVS AVG AVG] Rev: [GLORIA NOVI SAECVL] (emperor stg. r.)	OF [ // ]	Z	cf 517 etc	192	31	3	6
50	Obv: [D N GRATIANVS] AVG AVG Rev: [GLORIA NOVI SAECVL] (emperor stg. r.)	OFII// [CON]	Z	cf 517 etc	65	4	3, T13	6

## UNCERTAIN MINT (6)

No	Obverse/Reverse	m.-m.	Bust	LRC	SF no	Context	Area	Phase
51	Obv: illegible Rev: [GLORIA ROMANORVM] (emperor dragging captive)	0 FII//[] Lyons or Arles	Z	cf 279etc/512etc	191	33	3	6
52	Rev: [SECVRITAS REIPUBLICAE or GLORIA ROMANORVM] (Victory adv. I.)	?	Z	?	244	47	3	6
53	"	?	Z	?	323	U	3	-
54	"	?	Z	?	319	U	3	-
55	"	?	Z	?	116	U	3	-
56	"	/	Z	?	184	29	3	6

## UNCERTAIN 4TH CENTURY NUMMI (11)

No	Obverse/Reverse	m.-m.	Bust	LRC	SF no	Context	Area	Phase
57	Obv: illegible Rev: illegible	?	Z	?	90	U	3	-
58	"	?	Z	?	73	3, T13	3	6
59	"	?	Z	?	57	U	3	-
60	"	?	Z	?	113	U	3	-
61	"	?	Z	?	254	44	3	4
62	"	?	Z	?	188	13	3	6
63	"	?	Z	?	155	21	3	-
64	"	?	Z	?	119	U	3	-
65	"	?	Z	?	93	23	3	-
66	"	?	Z	?	301	83	3	3B
67	"	?	Z	?	155	21	3	-

## UNCERTAIN FRAGMENTS (59)

No	Obverse/Reverse	m.-m.	Bust	LRC	SF no	Context	Area	Phase
68	illegible <i>ae</i> (? 3rd or 4th cent.)	-	-	-	103	U	3	-
69	"	-	-	-	311	U	3	-
70	illegible (possibly irregular)	-	-	-	310	U	3	-
71	illegible <i>ae</i>	-	-	-	54	U	3	-
72	"	-	-	-	164	1	3	-
73	"	-	-	-	41	3	3	-
74	"	-	-	-	16	U	2	-
75–130	55 illegible radiates, <i>nummi</i> and irregular copies of the 3rd and 4th centuries. Said to have been found just to the west of the site. Deposited by the finder Mr C Kilk.				200	U	-	-

## COINAGE AND THE WANBOROUGH TEMPLES: A DISCUSSION, by Clive Cheesman

Since 1994 and the publication of the report of the 1985–6 excavations at Wanborough, much has happened in the field of Iron Age numismatics. Colin Haselgrave's important article on the phasing of the ancient British coinage (Haselgrave 1993), coming out just too late for consideration in the 1994 report, has been followed by Richard Hobbs' British Museum catalogue (Hobbs 1996) and Simon Bean's valuable monograph on Atrebatic issues (Bean 2000). A more generally archaeological and (to the extent that this is possible) historical treatment of the Atrebatic kingdom as a coherent realm is Martin Henig's interesting work, *The Heirs of King Verica* (Henig 2002). On the material front the passage of the Treasure Act and the institution of the Portable Antiquities Scheme have led to the declaration of more finds and the consequent increase in knowledge of the spread and characteristics of pre-Roman coinage in Britain generally; Hobbs (2003) gives an idea of the trends involved. Learned debates, in part sparked by Wanborough itself, have been carried on regarding the nature of Iron Age ritual sites and the deposition of material wealth; the most recent contribution to this debate, a weighty collection of essays on coinage and ritual (Haselgrave & Wigg-Wolf 2005), is clearly a work that will repay close attention. We may still not understand in historical terms the evidence of Iron Age coins and the circumstances in which they are found, but the methodical analysis of what we are really entitled to induce from that evidence, even if it appears to diminish our stock of beliefs, is actually progress – a fact some still resist (cf Van Arsdell 1998).

One of the more ambitious aspects of the 1994 report on the coins was that it embarked on a general numismatic reassessment of those sections of the Atrebatic coinage that were represented among the Wanborough finds. This seemed justified in view of the fact that the coins from Wanborough (even in the reduced quantities in which they reached the British Museum) made up a very sizeable proportion of all known Atrebatic coinage. The more recent excavations have added only small numbers to those previously recovered, and in any case the book by Simon Bean referred to above (Bean 2000) has dealt with the broader picture of Atrebatic coinage as a whole in a thorough and scholarly way that it would be impossible to try and match here. Instead this section will be limited to listing and discussing the new finds, and then dealing with the more general question of the nature of the Wanborough coin deposits.

*The size and dispersal of the Wanborough assemblage*

The 1994 report listed 978 Iron Age coins, with a further 66 Roman coins and one piece of uncertain date. The unfortunate circumstances of the looting of the site before, during and after the excavations of 1985–6 released large numbers of coins from Wanborough onto the market, both in England and abroad. Most of these have proved difficult to trace with certainty and, as discussed in the 1994 report, this has led to much speculation over the true number involved. The estimates have ranged from a very conservative total in the region of 1500 (J P C Kent, recorded in Haselgrave 1987, 2–3), to the 5000–7000 suggested by Philip de Jersey of the Celtic Coin Index in Oxford (Hobbs 2003, 142–4), and beyond to figures of 20,000–30,000 reported by Van Arsdell (1987, 455) who, however, preferred a total closer to 10,000 (1994, 209). Specific difficulties have been the ease with which looters and dealers have passed off Wanborough coins as emanating from other hoards or deposits, and the contrary problem of sellers implying a Wanborough attribution in order to shroud some other as yet undisclosed illicit excavation. Bean's considerable familiarity with the market for Atrebatic and other relevant coin series, however, led him to suggest a figure around 3000–4000 (Bean 2000, 275).

Apart from nineteen possible Wanborough coins in the National Museum of Wales listed in the 1994 report at p90, no attempt was made there to identify any of the 'lost' coins. Thanks to Bean's work it is possible to identify several specific small groups of coins which, although purportedly from elsewhere, may very well have been illicitly dug up at Wanborough:

- 1 The 1986 group of seventeen coins said to come from Selsey, a rich source of Atrebatic coins over a long period (Bone & Burnett 1988; Bean 2000, 269–70, 277).
- 2 Four staters of Tincomarus, offered for sale in 1988 and ascribed to Finkley Down, near Andover, Hampshire, where a small group had been found a decade earlier (Van Arsdell 1989, 548; Bean 2000, 275).
- 3 Six uninscribed Danebury-type silver units (Hobbs 1996, no 614) stated in 1990 to have been found at Stockbridge in Hampshire (Bean 2000, 279).
- 4 Two silver units of Verica (Hobbs 1996, no 1485) reportedly found together at New Timber Hill near Henfield in Sussex, around 1986 (Bean 2000, 278).

Obviously this barely scratches the surface of the mass of material that has gone unrecorded, and it is highly unlikely that this situation will change in the future. But it is not a fact that can be ignored: as discussed briefly in 1994 and now given close consideration by Haselgrove (2005, 406), the internal proportions of the assemblage (to use what is hoped to be a relatively neutral term) bear closely upon the question of its nature. This is further discussed below.

It is clear that the Wanborough site, and particularly the area between the two temples, to the north-west of the square structure and the south-east of the round one, continued to function as a deposition place for small quantities of low-value coinage into the late Roman period. Wanborough thus assumes some of the characteristics of a site such as Down Ground in the Isle of Wight, which has yielded a similar selection of coinage from the Late Iron Age all the way through to the end of the Roman period (Wellington 2001). No temple structure has yet been detected at Down Ground, and the evidence that the circular building at Wanborough at least was disused by the 3rd century would suggest that this kind of gradual, small-scale accumulation probably has less to do with the presence of a functioning temple than popular association of a site with a less formal sort of votive deposition. In the case of Wanborough, the one activity doubtless grew out of the other, and it is quite right of Haselgrove (2005) to point out that the new discoveries militate against treating the earlier Roman bronze from the first excavation as intrinsically a distinct phenomenon from the contemporary and earlier precious metal coins, as was done in Cheesman 1994. Observed over time, however, the phenomenon is not completely smooth: the focus of deposition drifted towards the round temple and the area of recent excavation in the Flavianic period (cf 27 coins from this period here against only one in the 1994 report), tailing off all but completely in the 3rd century and resuming over the whole of the temple site in the 4th century.

With regard to the Iron Age coins, the new discoveries throw up few surprises; only two pieces (the Danebury minim and the Icenian unit) are types not found in the 1994 report. With regard to proportions, insofar as a small group like this gives a reliable basis for conclusions, the picture broadly confirms the one given by the coins recovered in the 1980s, though the proportion of gold is higher (suggesting that some selective looting took place). In particular, the quantity of early coins is very low indeed, the only identifiable forgeries are of non-local coins, and late Durotrigan issues make up a sizeable proportion of the non-local issues present.

#### *Wanborough: hoard, votive offerings, temple deposit or something else?*

This question was much discussed even before the publication of the 1994 report. On one side the discussion merged, as it still does, with a wider debate on such questions as the character of metallic wealth deposits from Iron Age contexts, the function of temples or other religious sites in the Late Iron Age, and the methods and purpose of coin hoarding in the ancient world generally. On the other side it grew out of more immediate questions such as the legal status of the Wanborough coins themselves and even the remedies available to the authorities against those who had looted the site in the 1980s. Indeed the legal aspect of the question has led some to suggest that identification as a hoard, both at Wanborough and in late pre-Roman and early Roman Britain generally, was made solely in order to satisfy the requirement of Treasure Trove law to prove intention to recover (Millett 1994; Bean 2000,

253). This seems unwarranted: as we shall see, there are many explanations for the presence of monetary wealth at religious sites, of which classic hoarding is far from the only one to offer the ‘intention to recover’ necessary to satisfy the now superseded law of Treasure Trove (Cheesman 1996; cf Johns 1996). Whatever may have been the case elsewhere, the identification of the Wanborough finds as a hoard was done on the basis of the knowledge of Iron Age coin hoards available at the time. But that does not mean that the opportunity to re-evaluate and if necessary revise that decision should now be spurned.

As a first step, it is worth considering the evidence of those who looted the Green Lane site in 1985–6. As reported first by Van Arsdell (1994, 210; cf Bean 2000, 259), hearsay had it that the coins were found in clumps or batches across the disturbed area, and not as a single mass. The theory was expressed that many coins had been in small bags or purses; some appeared to be in rolls or stacks, ‘as if they had been rolled in coin-tubes’. The weight to be given to this sort of evidence is obviously difficult to assess. The looting was considerable and the disturbance to the ground very great; later looters may simply have been reporting the ravages of the earlier ones. It is also hard to regard this evidence as disinterestedly scientific. However it remains of great interest and cannot be discounted out of hand. Does it suggest, as Bean argues, that the recovered material was not part of a hoard?

Certainly the presence of coins in stacks or rolls does not in itself argue against their being constituents of a hoard; to cite just one case, the 3rd century Neftenbach hoard, painstakingly analysed while still in its original container, contained at least eight such stacks, apparently added to the assemblage while still in their cloth rolls (Von Kaenel 1993). The same applies to the idea that some or many of the coins had been in small bags. It is scarcely surprising that large hoards should be made up of smaller collections. Secondly, the partial scatter of the coins in batches or clumps may well be due in part to imperfect dispersal by the plough; the bulk of the looted area was, after all, in a field that was common land until 1805 and has been arable since then (Corke 1994). In less than two centuries, any plough-dispersal will surely be considerably ‘lumpier’ or ‘blotchier’ than the much longer-term phenomenon to which many ancient hoards have been subjected. The position of the coins hard up against the edge of the field, where cultivation will be less easy, may also have had a similar effect. If one considers also the strong possibility that we are dealing not with one hoard but two or more (the numbers of coins involved clearly allow for this), deposited in close proximity to each other, the slender information we have about the recovery of the coins is not inimical to the hoard theory. Haselgrove has drawn a parallel with the Market Harborough finds, where fifteen distinct hoards were found in an area of less than 50m<sup>2</sup> (Haselgrove 2005, 383, 407; the Market Harborough coins, which amount to more than 5000, are discussed by Williams (2003)). It should also be recalled that Van Arsdell relayed a report that some coins had been found under a layer of roof tiles; this could be positive evidence of an attempt to conceal a deposit.

Much more telling, however, than the uncertain evidence of the looters’ reports is the fact that the Wanborough coins fit a broad pattern of finds made at temple sites. Bean’s extremely useful survey of multiple finds of Atrebatic coins (2000, 253–7) shows that there are certain characteristics common to temple-site groups: in comparison with hoards not associated with temples, they are more likely to be mixed-metal and tend to have a higher proportion of silver, of lower denominations and of plated cores, to be made up of coins produced over a longer time span, and to show more significant numbers of coins minted in outlying areas. As reported here in 1994, and probably as originally constituted, the 1985–6 Wanborough find fits this broad pattern.

Working from this, Bean concludes that the Wanborough coin finds represent ‘specific episodes of deposition [...] rather than long term hoarding and immobilisation’ and offers the hypothesis that the coins recovered in the mid-1980s were a mass of single or small-scale votive offerings made in a pond or bog (Bean 2000, 258–9). The general aspects of this picture will be looked at very shortly, but it is worth dealing with the specific suggested context of a bog or pond now. The basis for this proposal, that ‘the great majority of the Celtic coins

recovered by the excavation from this site came from a dark layer overlaying a depression in the clay', does not seem borne out by a detailed reading of the excavation reports; the bulk of the coins came from the disturbed natural soil which certainly sat over a clay layer, while over 50 of them were found in the clay layer itself. Furthermore, for all that the 1985–6 dig itself suffered serious waterlogging, the elevated position of the Wanborough temple, near the ridge of the Hog's Back, seems a slightly unlikely spot for a natural pool. It certainly seems to be the case that much Iron Age wealth was cast into water and bog for ritual reasons, and indeed it is argued by many that this happened much more often than archaeology has traditionally allowed (cf Johns 1996, 11–13); but Wanborough, where what is known about the character of the ancient landscape suggests woodland with the occasional clearing rather than standing water, need not have fitted this pattern.

With regard to the general idea that the Wanborough assemblage is the result of gradual, multiple deposition rather than a single hoard (or a small number of similar hoards), Bean finds some support from Haselgrove's more recent (2005) analysis both of the coins excavated or recovered in the 1980s and of those from the recent excavations. Bringing the more recently discovered coins into consideration, and re-examining the Roman coin list from the 1994 report, Haselgrove argues that the deposition of coins at Wanborough did not cease with the plated copy of a Claudian *denarius* of AD50–51 treated as the *terminus post quem* in Cheesman 1994, but continued haphazardly into the Flavian period, gradually falling off thereafter before a late refLOURISHING in the 4th century. Making use of his own phasing of the Atrebatic coinage (Haselgrove 1993), adjusted in line with Bean (2000), Haselgrove concludes that the great bulk of the Wanborough assemblage is made up of issues minted in or after the first two decades of the 1st century AD. There are no coins from continental Gaul, and no coins pre-dating the mid-1st century BC, and though there are almost no forgeries of local issues, outlying issues are mainly present as plated cores. This profile differs quite sharply from that of the coins found at two other temple sites, Hayling Island and Harlow, but Haselgrove points out that in the former case, as at Wanborough, the bulk of the coinage recovered came from an area to the south-east of the earliest cult centre; since, at Hayling Island, this coinage was certainly accrued through small votive deposits, a similar explanation may apply at Wanborough. He also points, more generally, to axial relationships between the Wanborough coin deposits and the cult constructions, in a way that recalls observations made regarding certain Continental sites by Wigg-Wolf in a valuable essay in the same volume (Wigg-Wolf, 2005). Haselgrove's picture of Wanborough is, in short, of a great quantity of depositions made in the mid-1st century, roughly around the time of the Roman invasion, continuing into the succeeding decades.

However, the question of whether to interpret these depositions as 'abandoned' votive offerings made singly or in very small quantities, as proposed by Bean, or as a number of moderately sized collections, as at Market Harborough, clearly remains undecided for Haselgrove, and at points he shows a distinct tendency towards the latter (cf especially AD405–6), noting the survival of one group of fourteen coins in the middle of the natural soil, and suggesting it was the remains of a larger cluster. For Haselgrove, of course, as is clear from the titles of his essay and the volume in which it appears, whatever the size of the deposits made at Wanborough, their social context will have been a ritual one. In this he concurs on the one hand with Bean, and on the other with a growing body of archaeological opinion according to which much material recovered from Bronze Age and Iron Age sites and previously considered lost or casually discarded – not just monetary wealth, but artefacts of all sorts – is likely to have been deposited in a religiously significant manner (eg Hill 1995). But whether this points sharply away from a hoard hypothesis is another matter. Money and other forms of wealth might gravitate to religious sites for many reasons, ranging from the clear-cut *Aulularia* model of private hoard-burial in a divinely protected area to the unadulterated votive offering, intended to remove material from the human economic sphere. Somewhere along this spectrum will rest such phenomena as the safeguarding and management of a treasury by and for the temple authorities; the temporary entrustment of

wealth to a site; the placing out and taking in of wealth on loan; the payment of dues, rents and fines; the receipt of largesse and immunity.

All these forms of deposition and recovery will have had their ritual aspects, inasmuch as they were conscious interactions with the divine, and also because ritual is not a closed category relating only to religion – a point emphasised by Haselgrove's reference to 'social ritual' at the outset of his paper (2005, 381). It will be very difficult to differentiate between them archaeologically at the best of times, and some of the distinctions involved – being intentional and not functional – simply cannot show up through excavation. It is best to accept that temples accumulated wealth in various ways, much of it very far from 'abandoned', and it must not surprise us to find large assemblages of it in monetary form. The former, rather crude, categorisation of such assemblages as hoards is certainly to be regretted, if it was liable to be interpreted as meaning private hoards only. But it would be wrong, in rejecting it, to imagine that the ritual character of activity at religious sites meant that monetary wealth found there has to be explained in non-economic terms, without reference to a possible continuing aggregate function.

In the case of Wanborough the range of plausible explanations for the accruing of a large mass of monetary wealth in the mid-1st century AD may be limited by the lack of archaeological evidence for any permanent temple structure before the first, round temple. However, this lack of evidence clearly does not mean that whatever stood here had no imposing physical presence, no personnel and no clearly defined extent. The trench 4 features, the curving 'ceremonial' track, and the Phase 2B features identified in this report – the gully, possibly accompanied by a bank, and the postholes for a structure of some sort – indicate that the ritual environment was not in an untouched, 'natural' state, even if it was some natural feature (such as a fulminated oak) that stood at its centre. It is to be noted that the current state of knowledge regarding the Market Harborough site also suggests an environment of earthworks without any sign of permanent superstructure (Priest *et al* 2003).

With the construction of the round temple the physical appearance of the site must have changed strikingly but there is no reason to suppose that the economics of the cult underwent a radical alteration. In fact there is reason to believe that there was some degree of continuity, with the cult treasury preserving its identity and ritual significance well into the 2nd century. Certainly this is implied by the apparent fact that a foundation deposit of very old material was made when the second temple was constructed – this being the interpretation offered in the 1994 report (O'Connell & Bird 1994, 97–8) and accepted by Haselgrove (2005, 402; cf 1987, 287) for the 50 or more Iron Age coins and the hoard of priestly regalia found in the clay beneath the *cella* and ambulatory.

On the basis of the above discussion, it seems implausible that the wealth found at Wanborough can be accounted for by a single explanation. It is quite probable that what we are looking at is a mixture of private hoards and large and small gifts or payments; indeed, the same component parts of the assemblage may have more than one explanation, having been deposited first in a votive act, retained as part of the cult funds, and then deposited again to mark a refoundation – or simply lost and forgotten when the temples were finally abandoned. Probably only small parts of it, if any, can be regarded as having left the human economic sphere, while all of it doubtless came into the cult area in a way that can be defined as ritual. There is no real conflict here, and the long-term transition of the site into a centre for small-scale deposition, lasting into the late Roman period, is really to be seen as the survival of one strand of what was originally a complex, but interwoven, set of behaviour patterns.

### **The rotary querns**, by David Williams (fig 37)

Six quern fragments were recovered, four from the main excavation and one each from trial trenches 4 and 24. The quern from trench 4 may have lain in the upper fill of the shaft and, with that from trench 24, may be of Late Iron Age date. Two querns from the main excavation derived from topsoil: one came from the weathered natural surface in the north

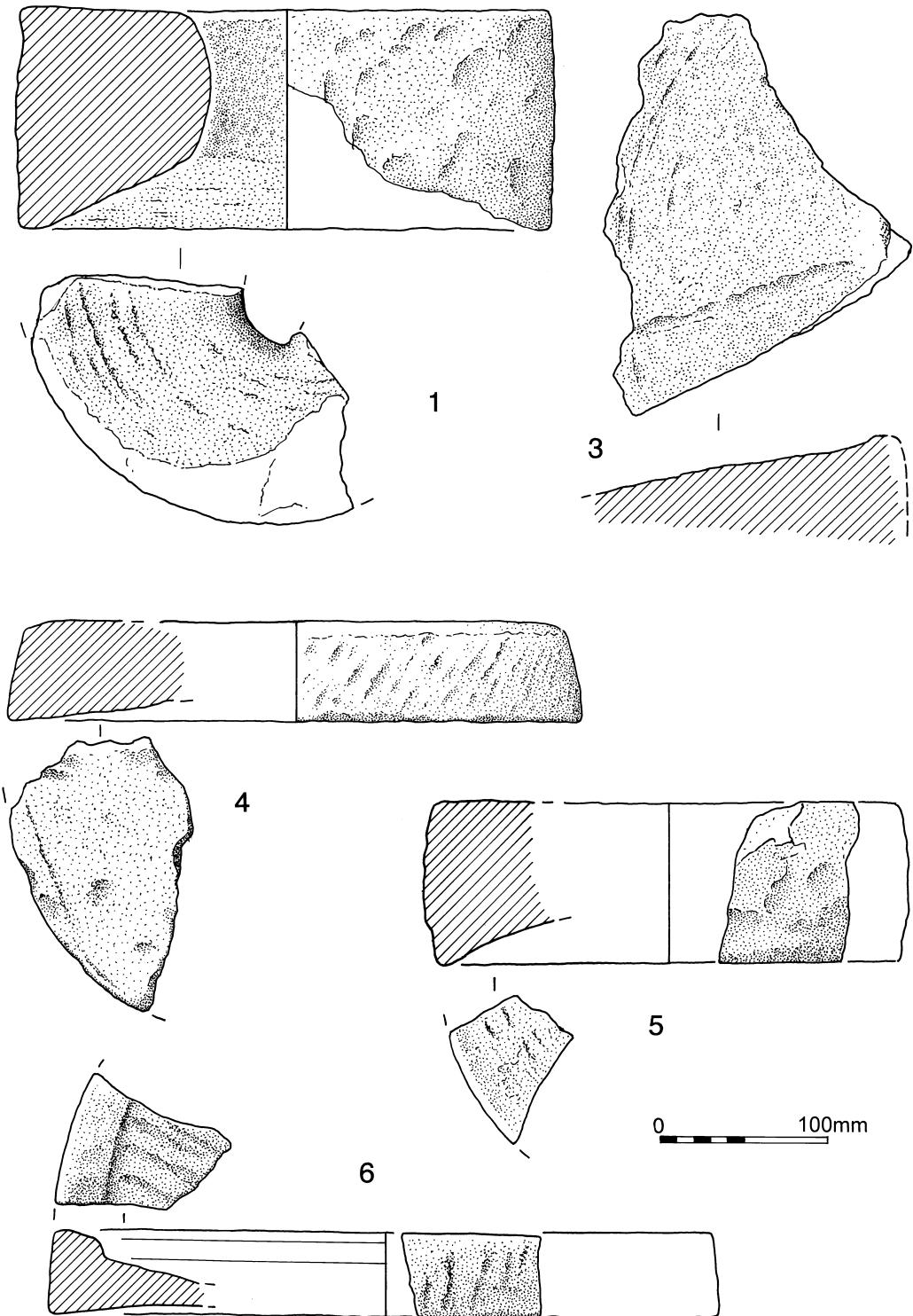


Fig 37 Wanborough. Rotary querns.

part of the Phase 4 temple, and one from the soil and rubble deposits to the north-east of the temple. Like those from the earlier excavation (Bird 1994a, fig 40), the quernstones probably all come from the Hythe Beds of the Lower Greensand, and almost certainly from a quarry at Lodsworth (Peacock 1987). Context numbers are shown in square brackets.

- 1 Upper stone from a rotary quern; cf Peacock 1987, fig 3, no 4. Area 1, trench 4 [3].
- 2 (not illustrated) Surface fragment. Area 2, trench 24, unstratified.
- 3 Fragment probably from the upper stone of a rotary quern. Area 3 [48], Phase 3B.
- 4 Upper stone from a rotary quern; cf Peacock 1987, fig 3, no 13. Area 3, unstratified.
- 5 Upper stone from a rotary quern; cf Peacock 1987, fig 3, no 4. Area 3, unstratified.
- 6 Upper stone from a rotary quern; cf Peacock 1987, fig 3, no 14, but dressed with a deeper and more defined rim. Area 3, [29], Phase 6.
- 7 (not illustrated) Fragment of the upper surface of the lower stone of a rotary quern with edge of central hole. Area 3, [1], Phase 6.

### **Objects of worked stone**, by David Williams (no 1) and Paul C Ensom (no 2) (fig 38)

#### INTRODUCTION

Unless otherwise stated, this specimen report is based on the examination, by the author (PCE), of a hand specimen using a binocular microscope. No thin sections have been cut for examination under a petrological microscope, and the report should be read with this in mind. While every effort has been made to give accurate identifications of the constituents, and the rocks they form, only microscopic examination of thin sections is likely to confirm these identifications.

- 1 Part of what appears to be a corner fragment of a block of Upper Greensand. There are traces of parallel chisel lines on at least one face. This object was found with three large pebbles and fragments of a loomweight and appears to form part of a ritually deposited group of objects. Area 3, [52], Phase 3B, (fig 38)
- 2 A near-cube of a finely grained light grey sandstone with a pinkish tinge. Five sides have been smoothed to a flat surface; the remaining side is rough and may exhibit signs of impact.

#### SPECIMEN 2

##### *Description*

The specimen is roughly cubic with three sides more or less complete, but missing a significant portion of three sides. The edge measurements range from 40mm to 50mm. All but one of the sides are smooth sometimes almost flat, but also showing a slightly wavy surface. The final surface, though only partially preserved appears to have been convex, and is battered. The question arises as to whether these flat surfaces are natural or prepared. A comparison of the broken surface with the smooth surfaces suggests the latter. Though the grain size makes such observation difficult, even under a binocular microscope, the surfaces do appear to cut through grains in such a way that it is concluded that they have been produced by design. Under low-raking light, one surface shows what appear to be fine linear grooves running from the edges onto the flat surface, becoming shallower as they do so. The battered surface may be original or could have been generated at a later stage.

Apart from some minor mineral impurities on the surfaces the object appears to be composed almost entirely of similarly sized, angular to sub-angular, transparent, quartz grains. Two flakes of a white (?muscovite) mica were noted. There is some faint iron staining giving a slightly pinkish tinge especially noticeable on parts of the outer surfaces. This may be a product of burning.

Observed in bright light under a binocular microscope, there are areas surrounding many grains which catch the light, cf crystal faces. No carbonate has been detected on one of these,

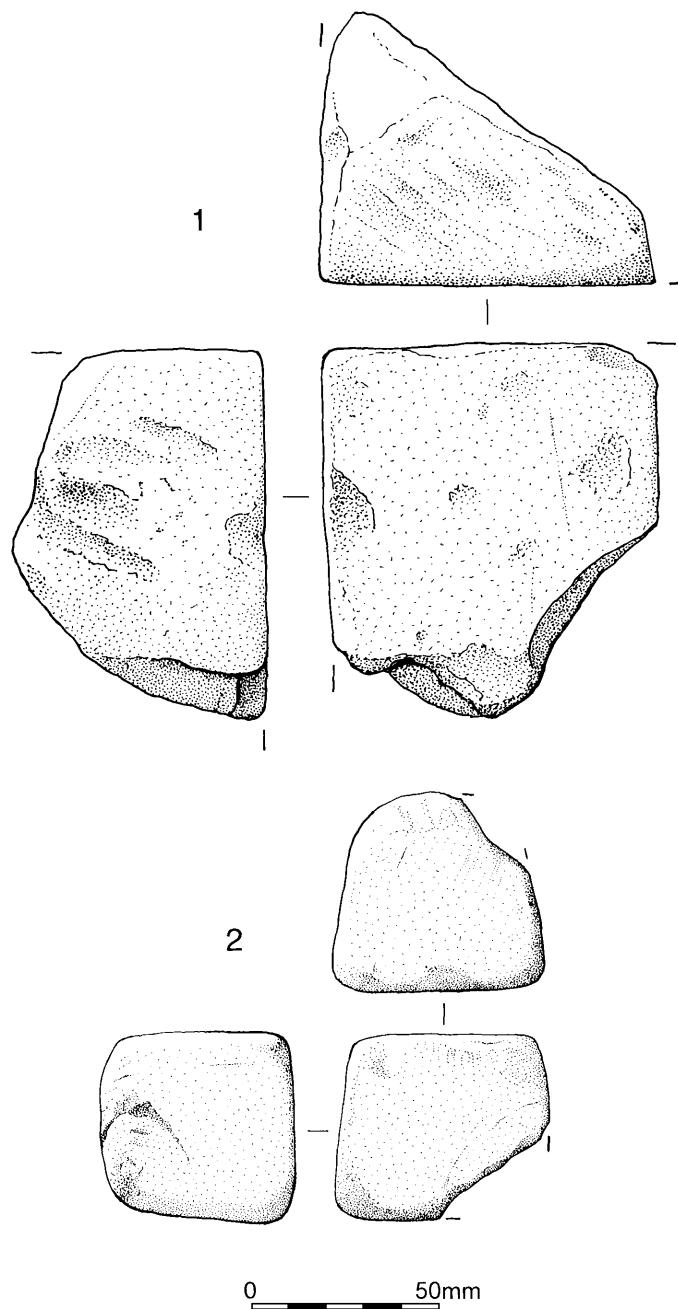


Fig 38 Wanborough. Worked stone.

or elsewhere on the specimen. These are areas of crystalline quartz forming the cement around the quartz grains. No bedding structures are obvious on the smooth surfaces, unless the grooves previously noted are a product of weathering, picking out some fine structure not otherwise visible. The author (PCE) is disinclined to this view as similar congruent grooves

would be expected on other surfaces and they are not present. The ‘quartzite’ is so tough as to suggest that these may be the result of its use for the sharpening or similar of an edge. The battered surface does appear to show a line of weakness which runs out onto a smooth surface and does appear to be picking out some less-well-cemented layer.

#### *Rock type*

The rock is a well-cemented, fine-grained quartz sandstone – orthoquartzite (= sedimentary quartzite, as opposed to metamorphosed sandstone (= metaquartzite).

#### *Source*

It is not considered that a rock of this type has come from an *in-situ* outcrop of the pre-Quaternary of south-east England. The author (PCE) is not familiar with such a lithology from the Lower or Upper Greensand of the South East. Very pure silica sands (Lower Greensand) are quarried in the South East, but these are unconsolidated and in the author's experience coarser grained. There is a chance that it may have been prepared from a derived cobble/large pebble from Quaternary gravels for example, but personal experience of these is such as to be wary of making such a link. It may have been imported from a more distant location. In the UK, one is looking to the south-west of England, Wales and other areas where Palaeozoic rocks are present if it has been extracted from *in-situ* strata. Area 3, unstratified.

#### **The fired clay objects**, by David Williams (fig 39; table 12: supplement S60, see p151)

Small quantities of fired clay, the majority of which probably represent daub or loomweights, were recovered from a number of contexts both in the trial trenches and in the main excavation. Very few pieces were large enough or well enough preserved to be identified with

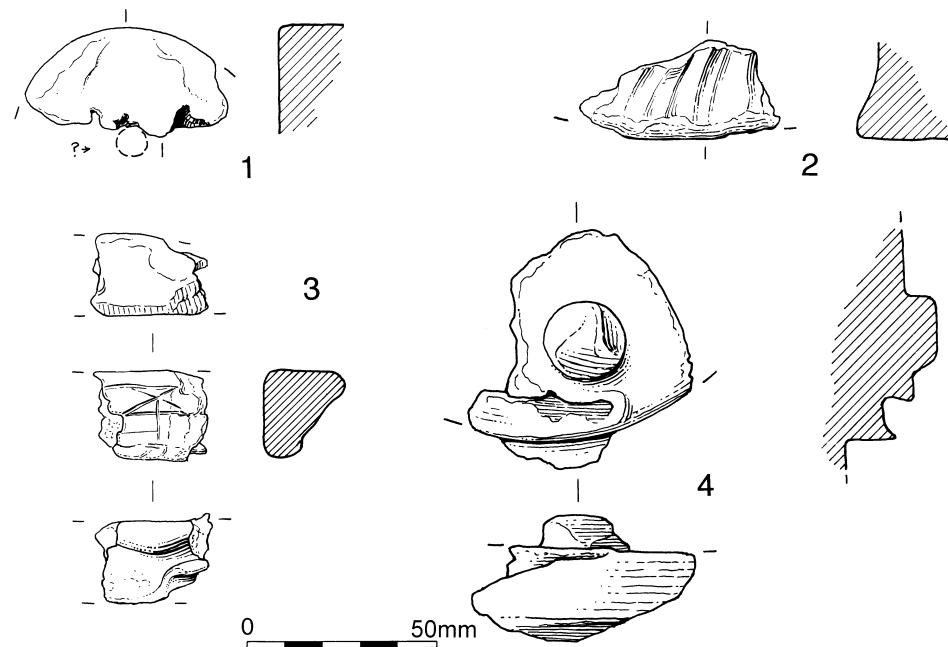


Fig 39 Wanborough. Objects of fired clay.

any certainty. Twenty or more fragments of loomweight or daub were recovered from trenches 24 and 25 and are thus probably of Late Iron Age date. Part of a triangular loomweight was also recovered from [52], adjacent to a group of large pebbles, but was too damaged by root action to be recoverable. Only four objects were felt to be worth illustrating.

- 1 Fragment, perhaps from the apex of a loomweight of triangular form. There are suggestions of an aperture piercing the flat surface. Trench 11 [1].
- 2 Corner fragment, possibly from a loomweight, with finger impressions. Trench 11 [1].
- 3 Fragment, apparently from a bar of triangular section. One surface has been decorated with lines and crossing incisions. [98], Phase 3B.
- 4 Part of an object in a tile-like fabric, very roughly wedged and prepared, fired unevenly drab orange and grey; this is probably the same fabric as that used for the loomweights recovered from the previous excavation (Bird 1994b, fig 39, nos 1–5). The incomplete upper part is circular, approximately 100mm in diameter and 15mm high, standing on a fragmentary broader lower piece. There is a rough round knob 6mm high and 20mm in diameter placed some 12mm in from the edge. Perhaps a bung or similar functional object. [13], Phase 6.

### **The animal bone**, by Alan Pipe, Environmental Archaeology Section, Museum of London Specialist Services (table 13: supplement S61–S90, see p151)

#### INTRODUCTION

This report identifies, quantifies and interprets the animal bone assemblage recovered from phased groups at Wanborough Roman temple. Table 13 gives the complete recovery of all animal bone in terms of phase, date, feature type, species, carcass part, age, side and modification. The text considers all phased groups but, in view of the very small size of the assemblage as a whole, deals in greater detail with the larger groups.

#### METHODOLOGY

The animal bones were recorded directly onto the Museum of London Specialist Services (MoLSS) Environmental Archaeology Section external sites database with no preliminary paper record stage. The bones were weighed to the nearest 0.1g using an electronic balance. Identifications of species and skeletal element were made using the MoLSS reference collection together with Boessneck (1969) and Schmid (1972). When accurate identification of species and/or skeletal element was impossible because of poor preservation or excessive fragmentation, bones were assigned to the approximate categories ‘unidentifiable mammal’, ‘ox-sized mammal’, ‘sheep-sized mammal’, ‘sheep/goat’ and ‘longbone fragment’. Interpretations of age-at-death were made using epiphysial fusion (Schmid 1972; Amorosi 1989) together with tooth eruption and wear stages (Grant 1982; Amorosi 1989). Whenever applicable, each bone was recorded and interpreted in terms of side (Schmid 1972), burning (Lyman 1994) and butchery marks. The material was described in terms of the characteristics of the whole assemblage and then grouped with respect to phase, date and feature type in an attempt to reveal any patterns of intra-site spatial and temporal distribution.

#### RESULTS/GENERAL COMMENTS (table 13)

##### *Quantification*

This small assemblage produced 1407 fragments/4.368kg, of mammal and bird bones from phased deposits in contexts [1], [2], [3], [4], [6], [10], [11], [13], [21], [24], [25], [29], [31], [33], [35], [36], [40], [43], [45], [46], [47], [48], [49], [51], [52], [55], [58], [67], [69], [73], [83], [84], [86], [88], [90], [92], [94], [96], [98], [100], [252], [254], [261], [262], [264] and [268]. The context groups varied from 1 to 166 fragments and 0.002 to 0.548kg.

### *Preservation*

Preservation was generally moderate with some slight surface damage generally insufficient to prevent identification of butchery marks or determination of epiphyseal fusion states and tooth eruption and wear stages.

### *Fragmentation*

Fragmentation was generally severe with much of the material between less than 25mm and 75mm in greatest length. As a result, there was no recovery of complete long bones, and no potential for calculation of stature as withers height.

### *Species composition*

The material derived almost entirely from the major domesticate mammals. The assemblage was quantitatively dominated by sheep/goat (*Ovis aries/Capra hircus*) fragments including much material definitely identified as sheep (*Ovis aries*), but no definitely identified goat. Ox (*Bos Taurus*) and pig *Sus scrofa* were recovered from many contexts but were generally far less abundant than sheep/goat. There were also single finds of horse (*Equus caballus*) from pre-temple deposit [268], and dog (*Canis familiaris*) from layer [83] and pre-temple deposit [268]. The remainder of the assemblage derived from occasional recovery of chicken (*Gallus gallus*) from ?3rd century deposit [1], disturbed soil [21], rubble dumps [33], and [43], and particularly from gully [94]; and a single find of hare, probably brown hare (*Lepus europaeus*), the only wild species from the whole assemblage, from rubble dump [33].

### *Carcass-part recovery*

The major domesticates, sheep/goat, ox and pig are all represented by all major carcass parts including the skull, mandibles, ribs and vertebral column, upper and lower limbs, feet and toes, although no horncore fragments were recovered either from sheep/goat or ox. The remaining species, chicken, horse, dog and brown hare are, with the exception of a probably largely complete chicken skeleton from gully [94], all generally represented by so few fragments that no comment on carcass-part distribution is justified.

### *Age at death*

Throughout the assemblage, sheep and sheep/goat remains derived from adult, sub-adult and very young animals. The main retrievals of infant lambs and ovicaprids were from contexts [3] (rubble south of circular temple/c AD140–160+), [90] (pitfill/AD130–170), and [94] (gully/AD70–120). Contexts [1], [4], [29], [46], [52], [55] and [98] also produced one or two fragments of infant or juvenile ovicaprid.

With a few exceptions, the majority of the ox and pig remains derived from young adult or older animals. Contexts [33] and [268] each produced fragments of ox tooth probably derived from sub-adults. Contexts [21], [33], [43] and [94] each produced single fragments from pigs in the first year of life; context [90] produced a tibia from a foetal or neonate piglet.

### *Butchery*

Occasional clear evidence of butchery was noted throughout the assemblage on ox, sheep/goat, pig and chicken. There are definite indications of use of cleavers and knives for sagittal ('mid-line') division of carcass and skull, together with subsequent sub-division at the 'hip', 'knee', 'elbow' and 'ankle' joints. There are also indications of skinning, particularly of ovicaprids. This evidence will be given in more detail during discussion of the grouped material.

### *Burning*

Calcined bone fragments of the major domesticates – ox, sheep/goat and pig – were recovered from [1], [2], [3], [4], [21], [29], [31], [36], [43], [46], [47], [48], [49], [52], [55], [83], [90], [92], [94], [96], [98], [252], [262] and [268]. The majority of this material derived from sheep/goat, including definitely identified sheep, although calcined ox fragments were recovered from [1], [2], [4], [21], [31] and [47]; calcined pig fragments from only [4], [55] and [94]. When bones are subjected to increasing temperature they undergo a colour change from black, through various stages of grey, to white (McKinley 1994, 77). Experimental studies on modern animal bone to determine changes in bone colour with variation in fire temperature have been undertaken by several researchers, including Mays (1998, 217). The results of this study have indicated that bone changes to a white or pale yellow colour at temperatures of between 645 and 1200° Celsius, while black and grey discolouration generally occurs at temperatures of between 285 and 525° Celsius. In most cases the calcined fragments were greyish-white in colour indicating a combustion temperature of at least 700–900° Celsius equivalent to a hardwood fire or cremation pyre (Lyman 1994, 386). This suggests that the fire was well tended and managed to allow a free flow of oxygen throughout; the fragments showing patches of grey coloration may have been at the edges of the fire or towards the bottom in a layer of ash.

### RESULTS/THE MAJOR GROUPS (table 13)

#### *Phase 3A*

Context [52], the upper ditch fill, produced 81 fragments, 0.262kg, of animal bone derived mainly from sheep/goat, including definitely identified sheep, with a few fragments of ox and pig. The sheep/goat material all derived from a foetal/neonate lamb and at least two older but still juvenile lambs, and included elements of the head, vertebra, upper and lower limbs and fore and hind feet. The ox material consisted only of a tooth, rib and radius; the pig only of lower jaw and forefoot. A metatarsal ('hind-foot') midshaft showed many fine knife cuts suggesting that the animal had been skinned. Only two fragments of 'sheep-sized' longbone were calcined.

Context [55] showed the same overall faunal characteristics except that there was no butchery and a greater incidence of calcination on sheep/goat fragments with a single calcined pig skull fragment.

#### *Phase 3B*

Context [92], the fill of gully [93], produced eighteen fragments, 0.065kg, of animal bone derived almost entirely from sheep and sheep/goat with a single young adult ox tooth. Sheep and sheep/goat were represented by elements of the head, upper and lower fore-limb, and lower-hind limb, all possibly from a single infant animal. A single 'sheep-sized' longbone fragment was calcined.

Context [90], within gully [93], produced 63 fragments, 0.247kg, of animal bone. This derived mainly from sheep and sheep/goat with a single fragment of ox skull and three fragments of infant pig pelvis and tibia (shin). The sheep and sheep/goat material derived from elements of at least two and probably three very young lambs in the first few months of life. All carcass areas were represented. Two lamb femurs showed butchery marks, respectively a chop through the proximal articulation which would have detached the hind leg at the hip, and a knife cut on the midshaft which may have been associated with meat removal. Only a single fragment of 'sheep-sized' longbone was calcined.

Context [94], also within gully [93], produced 144 fragments, 0.271kg, of animal bone derived almost entirely from sheep and sheep/goat with a single fragment of ox vertebra and four fragments of infant pig skull, femur and toe. The sheep and sheep/goat material derived

from a minimum of three infant animals in the first few months of life. All carcass parts were represented. In addition, there were sixteen fragments of adult chicken vertebral, sternal and limb bones all probably derived from the same bird; a tibia showed a knife cut across the distal articulation which would have detached the foot. Only two fragments of pig skull were calcined.

Context [96], the fill of pit [97], produced only five fragments, 0.159kg, of animal bone derived from 'sheep-sized' rib and femur and pig scapula. Two 'sheep-sized' long bone fragments were calcined.

Context [36], produced 53 fragments, 0.137kg, of animal bone derived from ox, sheep/goat and pig. The ox material derived from pelvis and rib, the sheep/goat from head, vertebra, rib, pelvis, upper and lower fore-limb and toe. The pig remains derived only from the head and pelvis. All the fragments were probably from adults. The pig skull had been split down the midline, probably to allow removal of the brain. Three fragments of 'sheep-sized' longbone were calcined.

Context [45] produced only sixteen fragments, 0.117kg, of animal bone. These derived from ox, sheep/goat and pig. The ox remains were from the head upper fore-limb, lower hind-limb and hind-foot; the sheep/goat material from the head and fore-foot, and the pig from the head and lower fore-foot. There was no evidence for the presence of sub-adults. None of the bone had been burnt.

Context [46] produced 35 fragments, 0.128kg, of animal bone derived mainly from sheep/goat with occasional fragments of ox and pig. The sheep/goat material derived from the head, ribs and lower limbs. The ox remains were only a tooth and a rib fragment; the pig remains only a tooth and an ulna. A sheep/goat mandible and radius indicated infant animals. Only three 'sheep-sized' fragments were calcined.

Context [83] produced 29 fragments, 0.134kg, of animal bone derived mainly from sheep/goat head and lower limb with two fragments each of ox lower hind-limb and pig tooth and a single humerus from an adult dog. All the material derived from adults. Only two fragments of 'sheep-sized' longbone were calcined.

#### *Phase 4*

Context [43], a dump of rubble, produced 93 fragments, 0.329kg, of animal bone derived mainly from sheep/goat/'sheep-sized' mammal with a few fragments each of ox and pig and a single fragment of chicken tibia. The ox material derived from longbone, rib and foot; sheep/goat from head, rib, upper and lower limb. The pig remains derived from the head and lower hind limb. All identifiable fragments were probably from adult animals. Only a few fragments, of sheep/goat/'sheep-sized' mammal, were calcined.

#### *Phase 6*

Context [31] produced 87 fragments, 0.548kg, of animal bone. This group differed markedly from those previously discussed in that it derived mainly from ox, with a smaller component of sheep/goat and only a single recovery of pig. The ox bones included identifiable fragments of skull, mandible, vertebrae, rib, lower fore-limb, forefoot and toe, all from animals in at least young adulthood. The sheep/goat material derived from teeth, ribs, upper fore-limb and lower hind-limb, probably from adult animals; a few of the fragments were calcined. There was a single, sub-adult pig phalange (toe joint).

Context [33] produced 111 fragments, 0.352kg, of animal bone mainly derived from ox and sheep/goat with a smaller component of pig. There were single finds of adult chicken femur and adult brown hare radius, the only recovery of a wild species from the whole assemblage. The material derived mainly from sheep/goat and, to a lesser extent, ox with a small component of pig. The ox bones represented the head, vertebrae, pelvis, upper limb, lower limb and toes, all from young adult or older animals. The sheep/goat material consisted mainly of head, ribs, lower limb and toe, again all from adult animals. The pig fragments

were from the head and upper and lower forelimb, probably from sub-adult (s). None of this material was calcined.

Context [4], a layer of soil which covered the wall foundations, produced 166 fragments, 0.207kg, of animal bone derived predominantly from sheep/goat with much smaller numbers of ox and pig. The sheep/goat material included fragments from at least two individuals, an infant lamb and an older sub-adult. The ox material consisted mainly of longbone fragments. The three pig fragments were possibly all elements of a right hind leg from a young adult. Much of the group was calcined.

Context [1], below topsoil, produced 46 fragments, 0.189kg, of animal bone predominantly derived from sheep/goat/'sheep-sized' fragments with a small number of ox fragments and single recoveries of chicken and pig. The sheep remains derived from adult, sub-adult and infant animals. The ox fragments included material from adults; the single pig metatarsal derived from a sub-adult. A single fragment of ox and several fragments of sheep/goat were calcined. The sheep/goat remains probably represented the bulk of the skeletons from at least two individuals, an infant and a slightly older juvenile both probably in the first six months of life. There was very little evidence of butchery and only 'sheep-sized' longbone and rib fragments showed definite calcination.

#### *Unphased*

Context [3], a layer of rubble south of the circular temple, produced 97 fragments, 0.195kg, of animal bone predominantly derived from sheep/goat and sheep with two fragments of pig and a single fragment of ox. The sheep/goat remains probably represented the bulk of the skeletons from at least two individuals, an infant and a slightly older juvenile both probably in the first six months of life. There was very little evidence of butchery and only 'sheep-sized' longbone and rib fragments were definitely calcined.

#### DISCUSSION/CONCLUSIONS

This very sparse but moderately well-preserved assemblage does allow some worthwhile interpretation although the fragmentation, burning and immaturity of much of the bone effectively precluded measurement and accurate determination of age at death. As a result, comment is only justified on species composition, carcass-part recovery, butchery and the incidence of burning. As shown in table 13 and the group summaries, the material is generally dominated quantitatively by young, usually infant, lambs, with a small component of older lambs, ox and generally very young piglets. In no case was there definite identification of goat: it is therefore probable that all sheep/goat material may be regarded as lambs. The small size of even the larger faunal groups prevents worthwhile statistical examination of the data beyond the suggestion of minimum numbers of individuals. In no case were more than three individual animals definitely present in any deposit. The larger groups, [90] and [94], show that lambs were represented by all carcass areas including head, vertebral column and rib, upper and lower limbs, feet and toes. There was no recovery of horncores from either ox or sheep, although this is probably a function of the very young age of the lambs and the sparsity of the ox material rather than an indication of removal of the horncores for horn working prior to subsequent use of the carcasses. These groups differ from the remainder of the assemblage in that they show deliberate deposition of unbutchered and unburnt lambs, with a prepared chicken carcass in [94], and a very occasional component of ox and young pig rather than disposal of a more age-variable, mixed group of ox, sheep and pig, often with a larger component of calcined bone, seen in many of the smaller contexts.

The bones show no evidence of gnawing by wild or domestic carnivores suggesting immediate deposition rather than accessible exposure at ground level. As with the material from Franks' Sandpit, Betchworth (Pipe 1997), in general, the Romano-British bone group differs markedly from the, admittedly scanty, contemporary faunal assemblages from the rural

south-west of the Greater London area. For example, the larger and more species-diverse fauna recovered from the Iron Age/Romano-British villa site at Beddington Sewage Farm (BSF86) in south-west London (Pipe & Locker 2005) provided considerable evidence for the presence of domestic carnivores, dog (*Canis familiaris*), cat (*Felis catus*), and the exploitation of domestic poultry, goose (*Anser anser*), chicken (*Gallus gallus*) and wild species including wild ducks, hare – probably (*Lepus europaeus*) – roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus*), and red deer (*Cervus elaphus*), together with only a relatively tiny incidence of calcined ‘cattle- and sheep-sized’ rib and long-bone fragments. Although present as individual or occasional fragments, chicken, dog, horse and the only wild species, brown hare, serve by their scarcity to highlight the differences between the specialised Wanborough assemblage and that recovered from a contemporary post-consumption deposit. Comparison of the Wanborough assemblage with other temple deposits also shows marked differences in faunal composition. The ritual complex at West Hill, Uley in Gloucestershire produced a considerable quantity of sheep, goat and domestic chicken, all attributes of the god Mercury, worshipped at the site (Ellison 1978). The scanty recovery of chicken and possible absence of goat at Wanborough provides clear distinctions. Indeed, the sample of chicken at Uley was sufficiently large to warrant further study of the age composition which suggested the presence of just one variety with representation of a wide age range (Brothwell 1998). The Hayling Island temple produced a small assemblage derived entirely of sheep/goat and pig with sheep/goat providing 61% of the fragment count and no recovery of ox (Downey *et al* 1979, 7), itself unusual in view of the known association of ox skulls with Romano-British ritual as at Muntham Court, Sussex (Sibun 2001, 109). The assemblage of a little over 200 bones from the temple at Henley Wood, Somerset, is dominated by sheep/goat with smaller fragment counts of cattle and pig, and only occasional recovery of horse, dog, chicken, deer and hare (Watts & Leach 1996, 134). Further diversity among temple faunal assemblages is shown by the area of Temple 2 at Chanctonbury Ring, a site intervisible with Muntham Court and another Romano-British temple at Lancing Down, Sussex. Here, the sample is dominated by pig which provided 99% of the fragment count, with only occasional retrieval of ox and sheep/goat, and a single fragment of horse. Much of the pig assemblage derived from fragments of the skull and teeth which alone produced a calculated minimum number of individuals of 84, all aged less than 2 years. This may indicate a genuine bias in deposition or may be partially a function of the extreme resistance of teeth to decay in comparison with other areas of the skeleton. The very small assemblage at Lancing Down showed a preponderance of sheep mandibles (Sibun 2001, 109). Finally, although it seems that the main characteristics of the Wanborough fauna – such as the bias towards sheep/goat, but with small numbers of chicken, ox and pig, and the high incidence of calcination – appear distinctive, there is no obvious bias towards particular skeletal areas, and the possibility is that animals were deposited, often after burning, as complete carcasses.

Finally, it must be emphasised that although it is tempting to speculate on functional differences between these sites, the constraints on interpretation of the Wanborough group imposed by small sample size, extreme fragmentation, and distortion caused by calcination should not be ignored and it is probable that much of any less robust bone, particularly that of poultry, did not survive.

### **The oyster shell**, by David Williams (table 14: supplement S91, see p152)

A very small quantity of oyster shell was recovered from the excavations, amounting to no more than 24 complete shells and five fragments. Approximately half this amount derived from a rubble layer [43].

### **The ceramic building material**, by David Williams (table 15: supplement S92–S93, see p152)

A total of *c*357kg (4323 fragments) of Roman tile and brick was retained from the 1999

excavation. Of this total, 32.6kg (9.12%) was recovered from the trial trenches (excluding trenches 8 and 13). No attempt was made to recover tile fragments from the unexcavated metalled areas in trench 14. Of the total quantity of building material recovered 36% (131.3kg) comprised identifiable *tegulae*, 13% (44.8kg) *imbrices* and other curved tile, 8% brick, and 43% miscellaneous tiles. Of the miscellaneous material, an estimated 90% or more is thought to comprise *tegulae* fragments. In no instance were nail holes identified, nor was there mortar adhering to any examples.

#### FABRICS

Four fabric types were provisionally identified with the unaided eye. It is regretted that neither time nor greater expertise could be made available to refine this observation further. Fabric 1 appears to comprise the bulk of the tile. In diminishing order of quantity, these fabrics comprise:

##### *Fabric 1*

A generally well-fired, hard, orange to red fabric, sometimes overfired to grey, with infrequent visible inclusions.

##### *Fabric 2*

A buff to light orange fabric, easily scratched by finger nail. Visible inclusions comprise bands of yellow/buff clay and red/brown iron-rich grits.

##### *Fabric 3*

A soft buff grogged fabric. The lower surfaces, and occasionally the fabric itself, contain grits of white or light grey burnt flint.

##### *Fabric 4*

A soft, grey/brown easily scratched fabric, containing occasional large inclusions, sometimes up to 20mm.

#### *TEGULAE*

These comprised the bulk of the excavated tile but only two fragments retained complete dimensions. These were a length of 440mm and a width of 320mm, from contexts [25] and [33] respectively. Signature marks, arcs made using finger tips, were particularly frequent on, and may be confined to, tiles of Fabric 1.

#### *IMBRICES*

A total of 419 fragments of curved tile were recovered, the bulk of which are likely to represent *imbrices*. No complete dimensions were present. Thicknesses varied from 15 to 20mm.

#### RIDGE TILE

A small number of fragments of curved tile substantially larger than *imbrices* were identified but not counted separately. On one large fragment, from context [8], an original length survives of only 320mm and a parallel-sided, rather than tapering, shape is suggested. This fragment has a thickness of 27mm, and a diameter of 320mm. These may be fragments of

ridge tiles. It is hard to see a use for such tiles in the traditional reconstruction of Romano-Celtic temples, whether round or square, and it may be that they were used on other buildings with horizontal roof lines, and so far unlocated.

#### BRICKS

Eighty-four fragments of brick were recovered. None retained any complete dimensions. Thicknesses ranged from 35 to 50mm.

#### PAW IMPRINTS

Four fragments of *tegula* were recovered with the paw imprints of cat or dog from [13], [33], [43] and [46].

#### TILE FROM PHASE 3

Very small quantities of tile were recovered from Phase 3 contexts and none from gully [99] or related features or from the ditch terminal [253]. Tile was however recovered from contexts [45], [46], [48], [55], [83], [88] and [252]. With the exception of [88] (the filling of the tree hollow [89]) none of these deposits was well enough stratified to exclude intrusive material. That from [88] suggests that this feature may have been open for longer than suggested by the pottery (ie cAD70–90).

**The fossil echinoids and sponge**, by David Williams (fig 40; table 16: supplement S94, see p152)

Three fossil sea urchins, all deriving from the Upper Chalk, and one fossil sponge were recovered from Area 3 in contexts post-dating the Phase 4 temple.

Identifications by Simone Wells, Department of Palaeontology, Natural History Museum. Context numbers are shown in square brackets.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1 Fossil echinoid, <i>Micraster coranguinum</i> , Upper Cretaceous, Upper Chalk. [1], Phase 6. | 3 Fossil echinoid, <i>Echinocorys seutata</i> , Upper Cretaceous, Upper Chalk. [2], unphased. |
| 2 Small fossil echinoid, <i>Conulus sp</i> , Upper Cretaceous, Upper Chalk. [13], Phase 6.     | 4 Spherical fossil sponge. [13], Phase 6.   |

The connections between fossil sea urchins and recent folklore are well known (eg Oakley 1965; Westwood 2002). Along with other fossils (eg belemnites) and prehistoric axes, fossil echinoids were known as thunderstones or thunderbolts and appear to have been intended as lightning averters among other uses. What significance fossil sea urchins may have had in antiquity is less clear although they have been identified with the 'Druids' snake's eggs' (*anguinum*) mentioned by Pliny in his *Natural History* as being objects of great magical power. Oakley (1965, 118 and fig 8) draws attention to their amuletic use in the Roman period and mentions the finding of a fossil sea urchin together with part of a polished flint axe in an Iron Age cremation burial from Tunbridge Wells, Kent (*ibid*, pl XXIIa). Four fossil echinoids were found during Martin Tupper's mid-19th century excavations of the Farley Heath Romano-Celtic temple (eg Atkins 1983) and a further three have been recovered from the site of the Titsey temple (Graham 1936, 99). Oddly, these three Surrey temples appear to be the only recorded instances of echinoids from Romano-British religious sites, although one suspects there may be others (cf Bird 1987, 187 and note 67). In France, 22 fossil echinoids were recovered from a Roman temple site at La Mare-du-Puits, Seine-Maritime, and four from

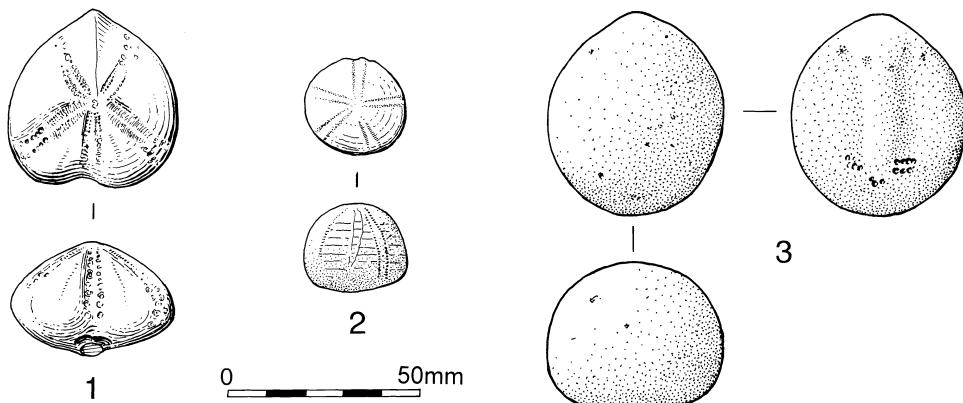


Fig 40 Wanborough. Fossil echinoids.

Saint-Augin-sur-Gaillon, Calvados, at both sites in association with prehistoric axes (Turner & Wymer 1987). In view of the nature of the site and parallels of similar finds from other temple sites, the Wanborough fossils are likely also to have been deposited for votive purposes.

**The water-rolled pebbles,** by David Williams (fig 41; table 16: supplement S94–S95, see p152)

A number of pebbles, some massive, and few if any of which are likely to have had an origin in the immediate locality, were recovered from various deposits in Area 3. A few of the larger examples appear to show signs of mechanical impact and may have been used as pestles, but this is uncertain. Pebble 5 appears to show signs of heating in a fire.

Pebbles 1 and 2 were examined by Paul C Ensom, former Head of Curation (Palaeontology) at the Natural History Museum. The remaining detailed identifications of the flint pebbles are by Dr Reimar Seltmann, Department of Mineralogy, Natural History Museum. Context numbers are shown in square brackets.

1 Flat, pear-shaped pebble. Probably a metasedimentary, that is a sedimentary slightly altered/metamorphosed. It appears to have a slight cleavage. It is difficult to see what the constituents are, but it appears to be a muddy sandstone with some mica flakes – an immature sediment. A Palaeozoic source is suggested. Wt 125g. 92 x 48mm. Unstratified (fig 41, no 1).

2 Flat, roughly pear-shaped, grey pebble. A poorly sorted immature sandstone, slightly micaceous, with quartz veins. Probably again a Palaeozoic source. The spalled surface looks as though it may have flaked off due to heat. Wt 150g. 90 x 51mm. Unstratified (fig 41, no 2).

Both these specimens, which derived from the topsoil, are therefore exotic within central southern England, and share a similar source. Geologically they could have been picked up on an East Anglian beach, but the shapes are much more typical of river erosion. This implies a source in Devon or Cornwall or south Wales, if they originated in the United Kingdom, or a similar Continental geology (ie Brittany). There is no evidence of their having been used as whetstones. Although both these pebbles were found in humic rich topsoil, this contained very little post-Roman material and it is felt safe to conclude that they were deposited in the Roman period.

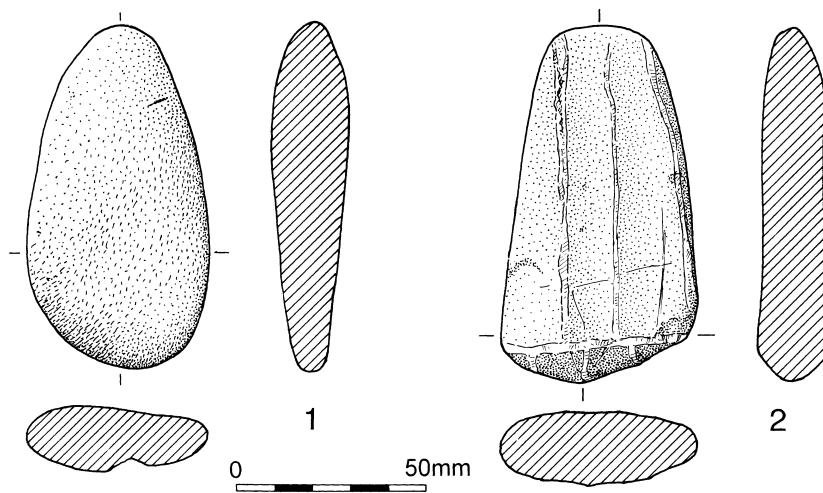


Fig 41 Wanborough. Pebbles.

- 3 Broken fragment of a large, grey, flint pebble, probably originally pear-shaped. Wt 200g. 60 x >70mm. [13], Phase 6.
- 4 Oval, dark grey, pebble. Wt c 140g. 72 x 40mm. [52], Phase 3B.
- 5 Large, medium grey, beach pebble. Sediment (conglomerate) with shelly limestone component and rounded fragments (pebble in pebble) of silica material, probably chalcedony. Wt 1.175kg. 155 x 85mm. [52], Phase 3B.
- 6 Large, dark grey, oval beach pebble. Chalcedony, flintstone. Wt 1.7kg. 155 x 95mm. [52], Phase 3B.
- 7 Large fragment of a dark grey beach pebble. Chalcedony, flintstone. Originally of similar size to 6 & 7. Wt 0.77kg. [52], Phase 3B.
- 8 Large, grey, pear-shaped pebble. Wt 375g. 106 x 65mm. [91], Phase 3B.
- 9 Medium-sized, black, oval pebble. Chalcedony, flintstone. Wt 350g. 85 x 60mm. [274], Phase 3B.
- 10 Medium-sized, brown, oval, slightly concave, pebble with part broken away. Chalcedony, flintstone. Wt 260g. 75 x 67mm. [274], Phase 3B.
- 11 Small, dark grey, oval, pebble. Wt 100g. 55 x 38mm. [262], Phase 3A.
- 12 Small, light grey, oval, pebble. Wt 50g. 45 x 38mm. [262], Phase 3A.

Pebbles 11 and 12 were recovered from the base of the Phase 3A ditch terminal [253] and, although small, may have had ritual significance. Pebbles 5–7 are of massive size and were found grouped together in the surface of the ditch terminal together with a squared fragment of Upper Greensand and the remains of a triangular loomweight. This group, together with pebble 4, may relate to Phase 3B as do the two pebbles 9 and 10. Pebble 8 was found with the westerly of the two Phase 3B lamb burials [91].

Some of these pebbles, and particularly the larger examples (nos 5–7), derive from shallow water coastal zones and limnic sediments and are likely to derive from beach deposits (as may nos 9–10), probably from the south coast. Pebbles 1 and 2 come from even further afield. As with the fossils, and aside from practical functions such as pestles or whetstones, these objects may have been used as amulets or placed here for some other ritual purpose. More than twenty pebbles and stones, described as being of ‘various substances and forms which appear to have been used for polishing or pounding’ (Atkins 1983), were found at Farley Heath and may repay study, if they survive. The possible 1st century shrine site at Betchworth, Surrey (Williams *in prep*) also yielded a polished pebble as well as a large reddish-brown, pear-shaped pebble, which may derive from the north of England, as well as a number of deliberately collected natural flints of curious forms.

### The struck flint, by Jonathan Cotton (fig 42; table 17: supplement S96, see p152)

In all, 101 pieces of struck flint were recovered from 23 separate contexts during the excavations. With the exception of context [1] in trench 1, no individual context produced more than a handful of flints. Few are usefully stratified and still fewer diagnostic as to date.

One bifacially worked piece, described in more detail below, could be Palaeolithic, while a single unstratified and broken inversely retouched microlith from trench 24 is likely to belong within the earlier Mesolithic. A Neolithic/Bronze Age date is probably applicable to a majority of the remainder, though some of the shattered thermal fragments could be later still. These may be linked with the single abraded undecorated flint-tempered body sherd of likely Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age date recovered from trench 2, [1].

The lithic assemblage is summarised by context and type in table 17.

#### THE BIFACIALLY WORKED PIECE

Of most interest is the single slender bifacially worked piece from context [92]. This was recovered from the fill of the Phase 3B curving gully [93] which was cut by the foundations of the Phase 4 circular temple.

The piece has neat shallow radial flaking across both faces and a slight S-twist in profile. It measures 55mm in length, 45mm in width, 14mm in thickness, and weighs 39.57g. It is knapped from grey/brown flint, which has developed a lustrous ochreous staining. The high points and edges are worn but not rolled. There is also evidence of more recent damage (shown unshaded and marked with a '+' on fig 42), especially at the butt and tip. The form and profile of the butt in particular are clearly defined.

The general form and condition of the piece are consistent with its identification as a small Palaeolithic biface. Such artefacts are rare occurrences on London Clay subsoils, and it is more likely to have been brought to the site at a later date. The terrace gravels of the river Wey in the Farnham district 3 or 4km to the west (eg Oakley 1939) provide one plausible source.

Its stratigraphic position on the site (ie within a gully pre-dating the circular temple and adjacent to several lamb burials) offers the tempting possibility that the piece represents a deliberate offering rather than a fortuitous occurrence – which rather implies that it was recognised as something of a curio during the early Roman period.

This is not impossible, however, since Neolithic stone axes and natural objects such as fossil sea urchins (*Echinidea*), water-worn pebbles and pieces of rock crystal have been found elsewhere on Roman cult sites (eg Merrifield 1987, 10–11; Turner & Wymer 1987, 55–7). Palaeolithic axes have also been recorded on occasion. The religious complex at Ivy Chimneys, Witham in Essex, for example, produced no fewer than 44 small pointed bifaces from the bottom of two gravel-floored depressions or 'ponds' (Wymer & Turner 1987).

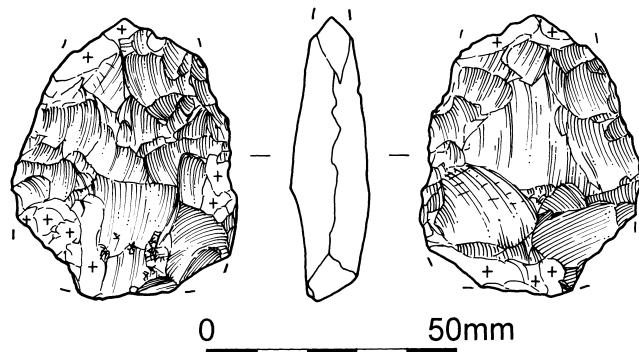


Fig 42 Wanborough. Palaeolithic biface. (Drawn by Jonathan Cotton)

In the light of Continental evidence, and of Roman texts and traditions, these were interpreted as representing ‘thunderbolts’ (*ceraunia*) used in the worship of Jupiter or a local Celtic equivalent. Although small and not particularly prepossessing, it is conceivable that the Wanborough piece can be similarly interpreted. This conjecture is perhaps strengthened by the presence elsewhere on the site of several fossil sea urchins.

### **Burnt flint**, by David Williams (table 18: supplement S97–S98, see p152)

Burnt flint was recovered in small quantities from a variety of contexts in the excavation of Area 3 (90 pieces in total, weighing 1.68kg) and in greater quantities in the trial trenches. Within the latter the greater quantities were recovered from trench 1 (96 pieces, wt 3.05kg), trench 2 (137 pieces, wt 3.3kg), trench 5 (98 pieces, wt 2.95kg), and trench 24 (63 pieces, wt 1.26kg). All the burnt flint was weighed and counted then disposed of on site.

### **The sources of building stone and other deposits of geological material**, by David Williams

Stone types used in building and surfacing at Wanborough derived from a small number of locally derived deposits.

#### CHALK

The nearest deposit of chalk is the ridge of the Hog’s Back, which lies 1km to the south of the site. Chalk occurs infrequently; in Phase 3 it is confined to context [82] and appears also in flecks in other contexts of this phase. In Phase 4 it was confined to context [11].

#### FLINT

Nodules of flint were widely used in the construction of both temples as well as in the metalled surfaces between and leading away from them. It is likely that the flint derived from quarries along the chalk ridge nearby.

#### UPPER GREENSAND

This soft building stone, which outcrops at the southern foot of the chalk ridge, was used commonly at Wanborough, mainly as unworked, or roughly worked, lumps. A linear group of stones of this material [3] lay adjacent to the south wall of the Phase 4 temple. Pieces of this stone also occurred frequently within dumps of rubble (eg [33] and [40/43]) and in areas of metalling, particularly in trench 14.

#### LOWER GREENSAND

Tabular slabs of this coarse-grained stone were almost entirely confined to context [87] of Phase 6, which contained a large quantity. One large piece of this stone also occurred in Phase 6 [47] and one slab overlay the foundation of the south-east arc of the Phase 4 temple. Extensive areas of Lower Greensand occur to the south of the Hog’s Back chalk ridge, and these are also likely to have been the source of pieces of hard ironstone which occur occasionally on the site.

#### PEBBLES AND GRAVEL

Occasional deposits of pebbles were found, in one case forming a metalled surface (Phase 3, [45]). No origin is suggested for this material but it is likely to have been local. One type of

pebble deposit was particularly distinctive, being largely composed of small pebbles of a pink or reddish hue. These occurred in large quantities in Phase 6 [47] and were also present on the surface of the 'step' in the south part of the Phase 4 temple interior, and in Phase 4 [13], and elsewhere. It has been suggested that this material derives from the heaths in the Bagshot/Chobham area.

### **The medieval coins, by Barrie Cook**

Five medieval coins (fig 43a and b) were found in or close to the area of the circular Roman temple during the 1999 work in Area 3, although all were poorly stratified. All the coins are pennies of the English Short Cross coinage produced between 1180 and 1247, and thus are of fine silver, around 92.5% fine metal. Their details are as follows (finds numbers are shown in angled brackets):

- 1 Penny class IVb (*c*1194–1204/5) moneyer: Henric mint: London  
Reverse legend: +hENRIC.ON.LVND Wt: 1.40g  
Area 3, trench 13 [1] <60>
- 2 Penny class Ib (1180–9) moneyer: Osber mint: Worcester  
Reverse legend: +OSBER.ON.WIRIC Wt: 1.41g  
Area 3, trench 13 [1] <61>
- 3 Penny class Ib (1180–9) moneyer: Robert mint: Wilton  
Reverse legend: +ROBERT.ON.WILWt: 1.37g  
Area 3, trench 13 [1] <63>
- 4 Penny class Ib (1180–9) moneyer: Raul mint: London  
Reverse legend: +RAVL.ON.LVNDE Wt: 1.33g  
Unstratified, found some 2m away from coins 1–3 <105>
- 5 Penny class V–VI (1204/5–c1217) moneyer and mint illegible  
Reverse legend illegible Wt: 1.57g  
Unstratified, found about 1m north of coins 1–3 <146>

There are three explanations which might be offered to account for this group of material. First, they may simply be a group of singly lost items. This, however, is unlikely. Accumulations of single finds generally consist of a much broader range of material, and for the Short Cross period cut fractions dominate over full pennies. Secondly, the coins may be a single group of material lost or deposited on one occasion. As they are all of the Short Cross type, they could certainly have circulated together in theory, and the find might represent a deposit dating between 1205 and *c* 1220. However, the group would not be a typical one from this period. Four of the coins, the class Ibs and the class IVb, can very easily be viewed as a single group. They are from early in the Short Cross coinage, Ib being the principal recoinage class and class IV the next largest of these early issues, ie those pre-dating the partial recoinage of 1204–5. They are of good weight and in good condition. Hoard evidence suggests that the recoinage of 1204–5 had a significant effect on the composition of the currency, in that groups of coins deposited after this date generally have coins of class V predominating, with few if any pieces from the start of the coinage surviving. The one later coin in the Wanborough group differs from the others in being doubled over. It is sometimes suggested that this bending is a feature of coins given as offerings, though this has not been conclusively established. The third option is that the find represents two deposits of material, one of fourpence made in the 1190s, and the loss or deposit of a single later coin in the 1210s.

On balance, the second option is to be preferred as the likeliest within the range of probabilities. Thus the find represents a single group of material deposited perhaps around 1205, before the full effects of the partial recoinage of that time had been felt on the currency.



Fig 43 Wanborough. Medieval coins.

## CHAPTER 4 DISCUSSION

The results of the earlier work at Wanborough may now be seen in context in the light of the 1999 work which, in particular, has provided some of the missing background of activity in the immediate pre-conquest and early Roman periods. This discussion will attempt to integrate the results of the two campaigns before viewing the site and details of it in both local and wider contexts (fig 44).

Apart from a palaeolith thought to have been imported in the Roman period, prehistoric activity is largely confined to an extremely sparse scatter of flint waste across the site, with a particular concentration in trench 1 (see Cotton, above) together with rare small pottery sherds and a possible metal implement (fig 34, no 66). This activity is likely to be of Neolithic and Bronze Age date and this picture is similar to that noted in the earlier work; there is no need to attach any specific locational significance to it. More concentrated activity appears to begin in the 1st century AD sometime before the Roman conquest. While not wholly unexpected in view of the scatter of residual, arguably pre-Roman, pottery found in this and earlier work (eg Fulford 1994), the identification of possible features belonging to this period fits in well with evidence from a number of southern British temple sites which have demonstrated to various degrees a pre-Roman origin for the commencement of religious activity.

As a number of writers following Lewis (1966, 4) have reiterated, the most recent being Smith (2001), the nature of Celtic religion did not generally allow for images of deities or purpose-built places of worship, preferring instead open-air sites such as woods, lakes and rivers. Although a small number of shrines have been recorded in excavations, each with differing degrees of conviction, the present excavations provide no evidence for a pre-Roman constructed shrine at Wanborough, although too little may have been excavated for this possibility to be entirely discounted. The pre-Roman period appears to be represented in Area 1 by the upper filling of a deeper feature [11] in trench 4, which is tentatively interpreted as a pit, well or shaft, and also by a focus of activity in Area 2. Wait (1985, 51–82) discusses ritual shafts and notes their distribution with a particular concentration in west Kent and Surrey. A contemporary connection between the features found in trench 4 and the arcing trackway which appears to join them to the temple site (fig 2) has been advanced. While there is no independent dating for the track the presence in its construction of burnt flint, common in prehistoric contexts, suggests a pre-Roman date, while its alignment, its limited length, and its position all strongly point to its being processional and ceremonial in purpose. Ploughing may have removed the northern continuation of this slight feature. A case can be advanced for a physical and temporal connection between the trench 4 features and whatever was the pre-Roman focus of attention on the site of the later temples. This may have been a particular prominent tree or a grove of trees, as suggested by Bird (1994a, 97), or perhaps an open space in a wooded landscape. In view of the proposed associations with Jupiter and his attributes of thunder and lightning it may not be too fanciful to suggest that a prominent oak struck by lightning might have been the venerated object. However, on the present evidence all such suggestions must remain provisional. No close parallels for the curving track come immediately to hand although the construction of ceremonial routes has a long tradition in prehistory. Another metalled track, with an associated fence line, was excavated by the author at Betchworth in 1995–6 (Williams in prep). This track, of Late Bronze Age date and much earlier than the example under discussion, contained much burnt flint and appears to have had a ceremonial function. Another metalled path connects two Roman buildings at Brigstock, Northamptonshire, one of which is certainly a temple (Greenfield 1963). Without further excavation pit [11] in trench 4 must remain somewhat enigmatic and its depth, extent and construction date unknown. Further work could also elucidate the nature of pre-Roman activity in Area 2 and its relation to the site in Green Lane.

In the middle of the 1st century AD the focus of activity at Wanborough became concentrated on areas in the vicinity of the present Green Lane. Within Phase 3 can now be

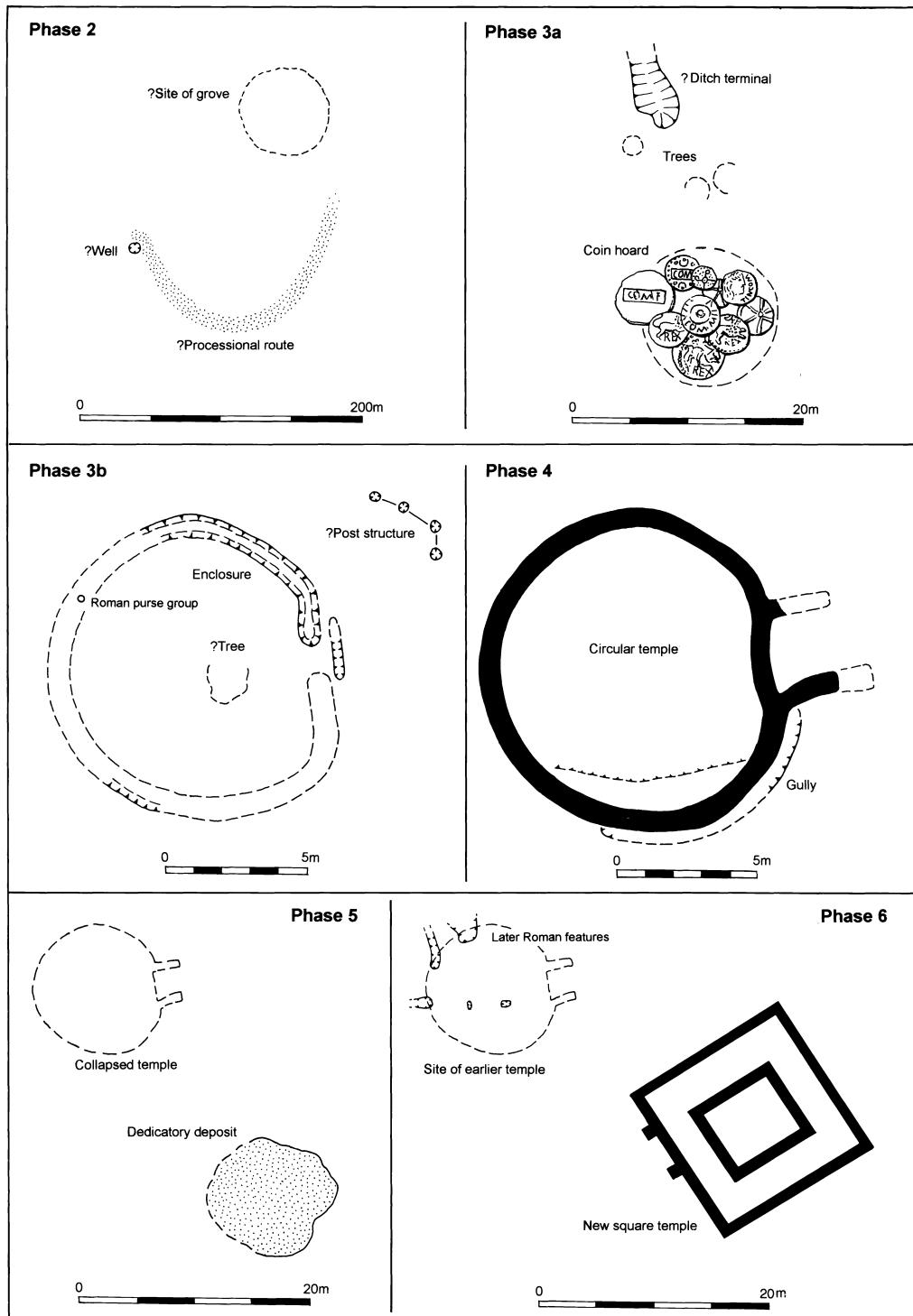


Fig 44 Wanborough. Outline plan of phases.

placed the huge coin hoard, for which a deposition date of *c*AD50–60 has been advanced (Cheesman 1994, and above). The dating of Phases 3A and 3B are not sufficiently precise to allow clearly the placing of the hoard into either sub-phase. The lack of coinage associated with the Phase 3 features is remarkable in view of the large amount found in the earlier excavation scattered throughout later contexts and this suggests that the hoard lay intact and undisturbed until well into the 2nd century. The three Iron Age coins and the contemporary brooch found to the north-east of the Phase 3B enclosure may themselves be votive and deposited separately from the hoard. The apparent ditch terminal [253] cannot be explained without further work.

Phase 3B provides the first clear indication for ritual activity on the site. This seems to be represented by remnants of a small enclosure associated with votive deposits. This may or may not have held or somehow been related to a structure. It is unlikely that the shallow gully [93/99] alone would have remained visible for long and the enclosure may have had a low bank to define it more clearly. Unfortunately, it is impossible to be certain whether the focus of the enclosure was a standing tree although the position of [89] close to the putative axis of both the enclosure and the later temple suggests that it may have been. The adjacent postholes [64], [66], [68] and [72] suggest a nearby structure of a fairly rough sort about which little can be said.

This enclosure was replaced perhaps towards the end of the first half of the 2nd century by a flint-built temple and this alone suggests that the postulated enclosure was indeed the focus of the earlier religious activity. Most traces of this earlier religious focus appear to have been swept away through cutting a terrace [53] for the new building. In plan the new building seems to have been a deliberate attempt to emulate the plan of the earlier enclosure, if not its form as well, in more permanent materials and this could suggest that the earlier enclosure had an entrance passage of similar alignment and form. Concurrent with the construction of this building a wide area of metalling was laid out to the east, abutting the south-east arc of the temple wall and the south wall of the entrance passage. As previously discussed the Phase 4 temple building appears to have enjoyed only a short life before structural problems manifested themselves and ensured its collapse. At this point a number of possibilities are raised in which the only fixed point is the construction of the square temple in *c*AD160/170. There is nothing in the dating evidence which need necessarily contradict the suggestion that the two temples were constructed contemporaneously. Multiple temples do occur on a number of sites (cf the circular and polygonal temples at Brigstock) though a circular and a square temple being built together is less easy to parallel. One argument against the contemporaneity of the two buildings is the differing methods of construction. Mortar was used in the foundations of the square temple but is absent from its circular partner. The circular temple appears to have had a timber floor while the other seems to have been tessellated, although the ambulatory may have been boarded. Neither were there indications of painted plaster in the circular temple. By the middle of the 2nd century, by far the most common plan of temple was the familiar concentric square type. The interpretation advanced here is that the square temple was a replacement for its circular neighbour which was abandoned and dismantled very shortly after its construction because of its collapse.

Some activity within the circular temple after the middle of the 2nd century is indicated by contexts [10] and [11]. What these deposits represent is unclear but they contain pottery types which seem to make an appearance after *c*AD170 (see Lyne, above). In view of the position of these deposits along the base of and extending under a heavily leaning wall they may have been placed here either before the wall began to lean, and thus perhaps close to the time of construction, or shortly after the building was dismantled. If the former, then this might imply a later construction date than seems plausible, although still perfectly possible. However, such a late construction date does not take into account the different methods of construction between the two buildings noted above. These deposits are not of sufficient solidity in themselves that they could have been used to stem the lean of the wall and it is hard to see that as their purpose. It could be argued that the building was dismantled over

a period and its materials perhaps used initially in the construction of its successor. This would have left a collapsing ruin which was finally reduced to foundation level before the end of the 2nd century. Context [10] contained a group of clinch bolts and nails, some burnt, and possibly from a door or partition, and it seems more appropriate to see these as being deposited after demolition. However, these two contexts remain without a clear explanation.

The lack of any demolition horizon is remarkable in view of the amount of debris that must have been generated, although some of the rubble dumping to the north-east of the temple may derive from its demolition. It appears that the site of the building was carefully cleared of debris and perhaps deliberately displayed as a foundation which was avoided out of respect for its continued sanctity (cf the three pits [26], [39] and [57]). The only exception to this is context [31], the deposit of burnt debris, perhaps pyre debris, which was allowed to accumulate within the hollow formed by the sinkage of the Phase 3A ditch terminal and which clearly relates to activity associated with the square temple. The foundations of the circular temple may have been still visible to some degree until well into the 3rd century.

The curious sub-circular plan of the temple at Wanborough finds no close parallels, although a small number of circular buildings interpreted as temples or shrines have been recorded from Roman Britain. The plan may reflect that of the circular dwelling houses with entrance porches which were typical of pre-Roman Britain (Lewis 1966, 8). Certainly the most remarkable of these temples is that at Hayling Island, Hampshire (eg King & Soffe 1999), which originated in the early to mid-1st century BC and which was replaced in stone (limestone and sarsen) in the AD60s or 70s. The stone temple at Hayling Island is slightly larger than Wanborough and forms the centre of a square, walled *temenos*, which has no parallel at Wanborough. Other circular buildings have been identified at Nettleton 2, Wiltshire; Kelvedon, Essex; Brigstock 2, Northamptonshire; Collyweston 4, Northamptonshire; Thistleton 1, Rutland; Maiden Castle, Dorset; and Muntham Court, Sussex (Smith 2001). None of these, however, provides a close parallel for Wanborough although some have evidence for an earlier shrine. At Brigstock 2 (Greenfield 1963), the circular shrine has a pennanular ditch of probable Iron Age date beneath it, and a similar sequence has been proposed at Frilford, Oxfordshire, though doubt has been cast on the religious nature of the earlier phase that comprised two circular structures (Smith 2001, 63–4). At Harlow, Essex (France & Gobel 1985), there is an enigmatic circular feature of Iron Age date below the forecourt of the square temple.

After Hayling perhaps the closest parallel to Wanborough is the flint-built temple within Chanctonbury Ring, West Sussex (Rudling 2001) which, although polygonal, is of similar size and shares an eastern entrance porch with both Hayling and Wanborough. Circular temples find greater numbers of parallels in Roman Gaul: Perigueux, the *cella* of which still stands to a height of 24m, being a splendid example, with others of similar plan being Beaumont-le-Roger and Barzan (Fauduet 1993).

*Temene*, for which there is no evidence at Wanborough, are discussed by Smith (2001, 151). Sixty-five per cent of the sites he discusses have archaeologically traceable enclosures and he argues that at other sites the position of the temple in a cleared space implies the provision of a more insubstantial demarcation.

The appearance of the building at Wanborough, if indeed it was ever finished, cannot be known for certain but it is reasonable to speculate that it may have been, or was originally intended to be, a tower. This may be given some support in view of the location of the site, occupying a low ridge with good views, especially to the north where a tower would have stood out against the southern horizon, assuming the area was of open aspect. It is difficult to conceive of a low building suffering the degree of lean observed in the circular temple, unless the alternative clay-slip theory referred to on pp181–2 is accepted. For similar reasons it is felt unlikely that the extant foundations supported a timber superstructure. The lack of a demolition horizon also prevents much detail from being added regarding the internal or external appearance of the temple although it is reasonable to assume it had, or was intended to have had, a conical tiled roof. The processes which led to the collapse of the building must

remain a subject for debate. The apparent lack of any bonding medium other than clay might have played a substantial part in the demise of the temple, as could the poorly drained and plastic nature of the clay subsoil, particularly as the wall foundation would have attracted rainwater and acted as a drain.

Seen in the context of a replacement for the short-lived circular temple, itself a replacement for a sacred enclosure of similar plan, the construction of the square temple and its preceding deposit of religious regalia and feasting debris become clear. One may quite reasonably surmise that the regalia were used, or were intended to be used, in the circular temple and may thus be of a slightly earlier date than indicated by the deposit itself. Equally, this deposit can now perhaps be seen as terminatory as well as dedicatory.

The nature of the activities carried out at Wanborough throughout the Roman period may have changed with time. The recent excavation allows a little more detail to be added to that gained from the 1985–6 excavation. Joanna Bird (1994a) has concluded that the likely deity worshipped here was a Celtic form of Jupiter, a solar and sky god, one of whose attributes was the thunderbolt. This connection with Jupiter may be strengthened by the discovery of a small Palaeolithic biface (see Cotton, above) in the Phase 3B gully as well as the three sea urchin fossils found in later contexts. Both these objects are connected in folklore with thunder. The significance of the placed pebble deposits can only be guessed at, but the presence of two pebbles that have clearly each travelled long distances is of great interest. From the animal bone record (see Pipe, above) it is clear, particularly from Phase 3B, that lambs in particular, as well as chickens, were deposited as both complete or semi-complete carcasses, as well as in cremated form, and may be regarded as sacrificial. This compares interestingly with Chanctonbury (Rudling 2001), where the greater bulk of animal bone was of pig. Burnt bone was found scattered in tiny pieces through many contexts and, together with the presence of many burnt iron nails, particularly in context [31], this suggests that the scattered debris of pyres containing boxes or biers may be represented. It is clear that the disposal of human remains played no part in activities at Wanborough at any period. In the pottery record Lyne, above, draws attention to the presence of a tazza, presumably for the burning of incense, as well as the presence of lagena, flat-bottomed amphorae from Alice Holt, in Phase 3 (and also from the earlier excavation) which suggest the presence of liquids brought to the site in the 1st century. However, he points out the lack of amphorae, mortaria and storage vessels in the later phases, which suggest that food preparation was not among the activities carried out at the temple. There is some evidence, in the form of solidified debris and silver offcuts, which suggests that metalworking took place on the site, as noted earlier (O'Connell & Bird 1994, 129), but there was no direct evidence and the offcuts at least may well be votive. With the exception of Phase 3, objects placed with an obvious votive intention were few but certainly include the sceptre binding fragments as well as the enamelled trumpet brooch. However, Bird (above), advances such an explanation for the presence of many of the other objects which may also include the quern fragments, coins, fossils and pebbles. Smith (2001, 25) feels that most coins found on temple sites would have been used as ritual offerings. He has also drawn attention (*ibid*, 25–6) to the presence at a number of temple sites of seal-boxes, two of which were found at Wanborough, and discusses their significance in terms of *nuncupationes*, a promise to pay a gift in return for a divine service, although the writing tablets in the boxes which they sealed may have held other intentions.

Looking at Wanborough in its wider setting there is evidence for a metalled routeway leading directly to the site from the east. Smith (2001, 25) regards such defined routes as being a fundamental feature of most constructed sacred sites. Whether the metalling found in trench 7 can be regarded as the surfacing of a road continuing westwards can only be speculation at the moment.

A priority for future work at Wanborough should be the nature of the activities represented by the Late Iron Age deposits in Area 2 and the deep feature in trench 4. The form of the entrance could also be usefully checked along with the unexcavated deposits within the entrance. Some thought could also be given to tracing the possible extent of the Phase 3A

feature [253] and to establishing conclusively the presence or otherwise of buildings in Green Lane to the west of the circular temple.

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Visitors to the site on a number of occasions included Jonathan Cotton and Rosamond Hanworth and, during the latter part of the work, Martin Henig, David Neal and Graham Soffe.

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