The profile of the end of the barrel could be seen in the backfilled pit BF17, even although nothing of the vessel survived (FIG. 44). The sides of the pit were near vertical and the base flat and horizontal with a groove 35 mm wide and 40 mm deep around its perimeter where the staves had projected beyond the head. The clearly defined groove combined with the fact that the base of the pit was flat and horizontal show that the head had not been prized out before the barrel was set in the ground in the way that was done when barrels were reused for wells (Boon 1975, 52; Wilmot 1982, 47).

The barrel would have been only about 0.8 m long if the top of it had been flush with the ground, which is too little for a full-sized version. Thus it would seem that the barrel had been cut down in length to make a tub (one example comes from Segontium, Boon 1975, 53–4) or it had projected out of the ground to a height of perhaps as much as 1.3 m.

The lowest 0.3 m of the fill of the barrel consisted of horizontal layers of charcoal (oak and ash, *see* pp. 390–1) presumably derived from at least one pyre. These deposits were capped by a clayey layer, 0.15 m thick. No fragments of cremated bone or pottery were recovered from the charcoal-rich layers. However, there were quite a number of other finds from it, including heat-affected copper-alloy fragments, some nail and stud fragments (10.11 g; TABLE 33) and a large, heat-affected, iron plate (FIGS 45, 74). The plate and nails may have been parts of a wooden box or chest. The heat-affected copper-alloy objects were similar to the heat-affected material from the adjacent chamber BF6 and the pyre-site BF1/16, although nothing from the barrel can be related to any of the objects represented by the fragments found at the other two places. There were slight traces of burning in the backfill around the upper edges of the barrel and olive-coloured staining in the groove formed by the lower ends of the staves.

Interpretation of the fill of the barrel and its relationship to the chamber is difficult. The barrel seems to have been filled, or at least largely filled, with only charcoal and ash. Nothing else was put in the barrel when it was being used. The clayey layer over the charcoal layers seems to have been part of the mound which was raised over the chamber and barrel when they were both no longer needed. In time, the charcoal layers would undoubtedly have shrunk considerably in thickness as any unburnt organic material in them decayed and the charcoal was compressed. If, as seems likely, the original ground-level was about 500 mm above the top of the charcoal layers, then the latter must have compressed to almost one-third of their original volume if the barrel had been filled to the top with charcoal. As FIG. 44, Sx 24, clearly shows, part of the uppermost layer of the charcoal deposits had slid and stretched down into the chamber, as did part of the clayey layer (*i.e.* the mound) which sealed it. The parts of the layers which had moved downwards into the chamber were sealed by the most easterly edge of the remains of the timber roof of the chamber. But this sequence is misleading. The edge of the roof did not (in fact could not) have sealed the top of the barrel; the impression that it did was brought about by the slumping and settlement of the upper parts of the sides of the chamber-pit into the void of the chamber as its timber walls degenerated.

The charcoal layers in the bottom of the barrel were all bedded horizontally, showing that they are not the result of one backfilling episode but the product of a sequence of discrete depositions probably made over a period of time which was long enough to allow each deposit to settle and compress. This does not square with the most obvious interpretation for the charcoal layers, *i.e.* that they all derived from the pyre used to burn the body associated with the broken grave goods in chamber BF6. Maybe the sequence of layers points to the burning of more than one pyre during the life of the chamber.

It is not clear what purpose the barrel served and why sequences of pyre-related charcoal should have been placed in it. The absence of bone may indicate that the material is the sifted residue after the removal of the human remains. But then why keep the charcoal and take so much trouble over its storage? Perhaps the barrelful of charcoal is a high-status equivalent of the pits filled with pyre-related debris found elsewhere?

Finds

BF17.1 FIG. 74. SF117. B133. Iron dome-headed stud attached to a small fragment of iron sheet with traces of mineral-replaced wood on the underside. Diameter 9 mm, height 10 mm. Weight 0.93 g.

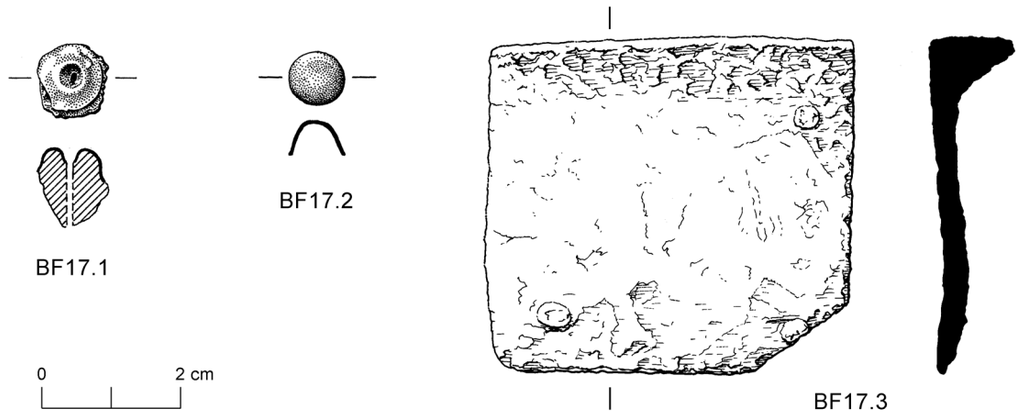


FIG. 74. Pit with pyre debris BF17: finds of iron (BF17.1 and BF17.3) and copper alloy (BF17.2) (scale 1:1).

BF17.2 FIG. 74. SF115. B155. Small ?brass dome-headed boss with iron corrosion on the underside, probably from an iron shank. Diameter 8.5 mm, height 5 mm. Weight 0.24 g. A similar stud from a grave at Emona was in association with a lock-plate and therefore identified as a box fitting (Plesničar-Gec 1972, Taf. 19, 80.8).

BF17.3 FIG. 74. SF162. B220.

a Most of a heat-affected iron fitting, originally found with burnt flint pebbles and charcoal adhering to it. It consists of a more or less square plate, with the remains of nail or rivet shanks for attachment in the corners, with a short right-angled return on one edge. No means of attachment have been located on the return. Dimensions 48.5 by 51.5 mm, return 12 mm. The section as shown at the angle is not original. This is probably a corner plaque from a box or chest.

b Not illustrated. Fragments of four iron nails, one complete, 32 mm long.

SF112. B142. Fragment of an iron nail in two pieces. The head is flat and probably originally round, the shank is square in section. Length about 31 mm.

B144. About eighty small fragments of iron, one the tip of a nail shank. Total weight 24 g.

B229. Iron nail with flat ?sub-circular head and bent shank. Length 52 mm.

TABLE 33: HEAT-AFFECTED AND RESOLIDIFIED COPPER ALLOY FROM BF17

No.	*Find*	*Small find no.*	*No. of pieces*	*Weight (g)*	*Notes*
	B133	116	1	0.14	
	B144	311	5	0.17	4 fragments are of sheet metal
	B154	114	4+	8.31	small fragment of iron sheet, 25 by 30 mm, with separate small pieces of at least one copper-alloy stud, including the shank; largest piece of copper alloy 22 by 14 mm, shank 13 mm long
BF17.2	B155	115	1	0.24	
	B221	159	2	1.25	copper-alloy disc (in two pieces), diameter 28 mm; resolidified pellet
	B156	110/111	–	–	specks of copper alloy with charcoal and soil
totals			**13+**	**10.11**	

PIT CF7 (FIGS 2, 75)

Cremated bone	55.8 g	adult of indeterminate age and sex
Pottery vessels	CF7.1	grog-tempered jar
Other finds	CF7.2	part of a boss-on-bow brooch (*Knotenfibel*)
	CF7.3	iron pin or needle
	CF7.4	iron fragments — remains of a ?chain
Residual finds		none

A small circular pit (CF7) containing pyre-related debris lay approximately 25 m south-east of Enclosure 5 (FIG. 2). The pit included some of the sherds from a broken Late Iron Age pottery jar (FIG. 75, CF7.1), the upper half of a Late Iron Age brooch (FIG. 75, CF7.2), an iron needle or pin (FIG. 75, CF7.3), and several fragments of iron (CF7.4), some of which may be from a chain. These, with an admixture of charcoal and a small amount of cremated human bone (adult), were found throughout the fill of the pit rather than on its floor, showing that the material was probably redeposited pyre debris rather than parts of deliberately broken grave goods. The irregular profile of the pit and the absence of a flat base support this view (FIG. 75). The jar CF7.1 is the earliest of all the pots associated with the Stanway cemetery. It is entirely pre-Roman Iron Age in typology and technique, and could have been made any time in the 1st century B.C. Although traditional potting techniques survived the Roman occupation but apparently not the Boudican revolt, so providing a conventional latest date of *c.* A.D. 65, the most likely date range for its manufacture based on typology and technology is 75–25 B.C. Allowing a couple of decades for an heirloom or kitchen cupboard factor, the latest date of deposition is likely to be *c.* 5 B.C.

The brooch (CF7.2) is of the La Tène III boss-on-bow type (*Knotenfibel*). While there are very close parallels between *Knotenfibeln* of precious metal, the details of the construction and decoration of the copper-alloy brooches varies considerably, making most brooches distinctive in some way or another. The distinguishing features of the Stanway fragment are the slightly expanded head and its narrow moulding, the lozenge-shaped section of the bow both above and below the button, and the latter with its accompanying mouldings. Many brooches of this type have expanded heads, ranging from slight, as here, to almost approaching a full trumpet shape (*e.g.* Stead 1976, fig. 1, 1–2), but the narrow moulding behind the head of the Stanway fragment is unusual. The lowest moulding on the button is unique, with its raised sides and lowered points at front and rear, the points matching the angles of the lozenge-shaped section of the lower bow. While this particular detail may be unparalleled, a related extended development of the lowest element of the button can be seen on several brooches from Deal, Folkestone, and Faversham in Kent (Stead 1976, fig. 2, 2–3, 5, fig. 3, 1), and on the most developed a small horn is set in this position (Hull and Hawkes 1987, pl. S7, 10, 14). The Stanway brooch has characteristics that suggest it may be late within the usual date range for the form: the button is set high up on the bow, and the chord is set below the spring (*i.e.* is inferior). The brooch is discussed further on pages 314–15, where a date range of *c.* 60–25/20 B.C. is proposed.

The needle or pin (CF7.3) is of a form found in the Middle and Late Iron Ages in iron, copper alloy, and bone. There are two copper-alloy examples from Maiden Castle (Sharples 1991, fig. 129, 9–10), one from the Glastonbury lake village (Bulleid and Gray 1911, pl. 42, E43), and several from Danebury, where the majority were found with pottery of ceramic phase 7, *c.* 300–100/50 B.C. (Cunliffe and Poole 1991, 359, fig. 7.31, especially 3.278–80). The fragments of iron (CF7.4) are too damaged for accurate identification. Most are narrow strips, two may be parts of chain links.

The pit CF7 clearly pre-dates Enclosure 5. The brooch provides a likely date for it of *c.* 60–25/20 B.C. with which the pot CF7.1 is in agreement although it is not so tightly datable.

Pottery vessels (FIG. 75)

CF7.1 FIG. 75. Bases: C33, C34, C36, C43 (the largest sherds), all join; intermediate sherd: C35 (joins base C36 and rim C39); rims: C31, C33, C39 (no joins). Ripple-shouldered jar; hand-shaped body, probably wheel-finished rim. Fabric GTW, with visible coarse sand and flint, also voids at the surfaces caused by the leaching of calcareous and/or organic inclusions; roughly burnished at rim and shoulder and base. Decoration: burnished lattice on deliberate matt ground.

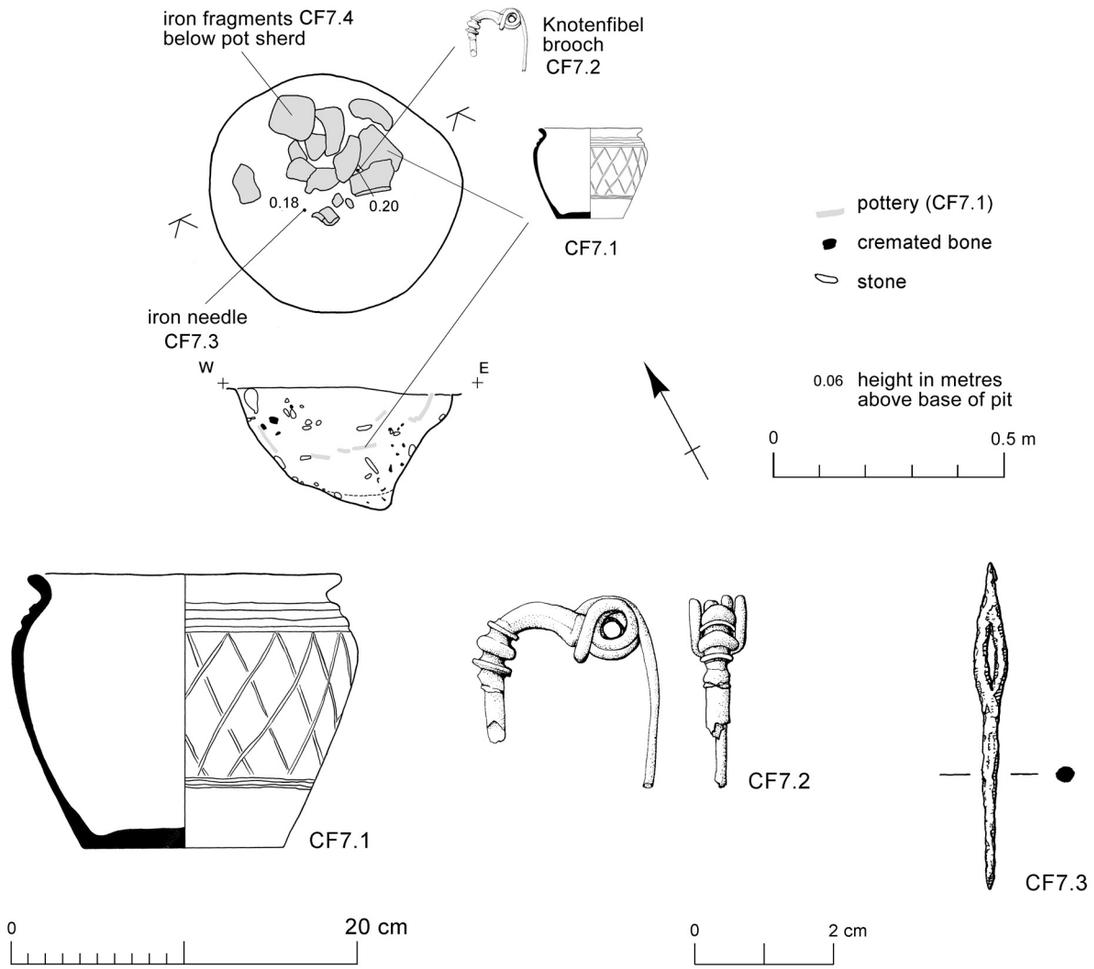


FIG. 75. Pit with pyre debris CF7: plan showing location of finds and section (scale 1:15), pottery vessel (scale 1:4), copper-alloy brooch (CF7.2), and iron needle or pin (CF7.3) (scale 1:1).

Condition: heavily burnt and discoloured after firing, probably when the pot was placed in or near the funeral pyre. Fragmented; bases join to produce complete circuit, rim and upper body sherds form less than half of the rim circuit.
Condition at deposition: The pot was fragmented before being placed in the pit. Only a selection of sherds were collected for deposition. The fragmentation seems to have occurred at or after the cremation.

Other finds (FIG. 75)

CF7.2. FIG. 75. SF198. C44. The upper part of a brass boss-on-bow brooch, with a detached part of the bow. The spring has four coils and an inferior chord. The head, more or less circular in section, is very slightly expanded and has a narrow moulding at the back next to the spring; the chord is neatly set below it. The button lies just below the curve of the bow, and there are two narrow mouldings above it. The upper moulding does not pass fully around the bow, which is of more or less circular section at this point, as are the button and the mouldings themselves. Below the button is one narrow moulding, flattened at the back, and below that, a wider one which passes all round the bow. It has lowered points at the centre front and rear of the bow, and raised sides, giving a zigzag lower edge following the contours of the bow, which is lozenge-shaped in section below it. Length (including detached piece) 33 mm.
CF7.3. FIG. 75. SF199. C45. Iron needle or pin with an elongated lozenge-shaped head and eye of a similar form. Length 48 mm.
CF7.4. SF200. C30. Eleven fragments of iron. Two are hooked and may be parts of figure-of-eight chain links, the rest are mainly narrow strips. Length of longest strip 41 mm, length of longest hooked fragment 28 mm.

PIT WITH BROKEN FUNERARY GOODS

PIT AF48 (FIGS 2, 6, 76–8)

Cremated bone	3.4 g	adult of indeterminate age and sex
Pottery vessels	AF48.1	grog-tempered jar
	AF48.2	grog-tempered bowl
Other finds	AF48.3	?wooden box bound with iron strips and a drop handle
	AF48.4	either two earrings or one finger-ring
Residual finds		Middle Iron age sherds and a flint flake

Late Iron Age pit AF48 lay between AF18 and AF25 in the northern half of Enclosure 1 (FIGS 2, 6). It was somewhat irregular in shape and up to 0.5 m deep with a slightly rounded base (FIG. 76). A small quantity of cremated human bone (3.4 g) from an adult was scattered mainly in the lower fill. A series of narrow iron and copper-alloy strips (FIG. 76, AF48.3) came from the lower fill close to the northern edge of the pit. These were mostly excavated in the museum laboratory from a soil-block lifted *in situ*, and were associated with traces of decayed wood. Other objects from the pit include a copper-alloy ?drop handle (now missing) and the remains of either a copper-alloy spiral ?finger-ring or a pair of earrings (FIG. 76, AF48.4).

Parts of at least two vessels in Late Iron Age technique were scattered mainly in the lower fill (FIG. 76; FIG. 77, AF48.2). The sherds are unburnt, and there are no joins with pottery from the other features in Enclosure 1 or elsewhere. Pot AF48.1 is paralleled by the cremation urn in burial AF18 (AF18.1) and so is presumably of the same date of manufacture within the 1st century B.C. (p. 167). The pit also contained some small, abraded residual Middle Iron Age sherds and a flint flake fragment (SF16).

The metal strips (FIG. 77, AF48.3a–d; FIG. 78) appear to be the remains of a wooden object (AF48.3) which was bound with iron strips and decorated with thin sheets of both copper alloy and iron. No hinges were found, but the presence of many solid and completely flat strips, and the absence of bucket mounts, established by real-time X-radiography before the soil-block was excavated, implies that the object is most likely to have been a box. The lost ?drop-handle would be consistent with this interpretation. No angled corner fragments survive. The ?box had apparently been deliberately damaged in antiquity. Iron and bronze strip mounts and fittings occur in a number of richly furnished burials of the late 1st century B.C. to mid 1st century A.D. Where they have not been directly associated, or recorded as directly associated, it has often been assumed that each represents a different item, the iron a large object, the copper alloy a smaller one (*e.g.* Stead 1967, table 1). In AF48, there can be no doubt of their close association, but the exact size and identification of the object they represent are not clear.

The lack of attachment nails or studs on the iron strips and copper-alloy sheet from AF48 is particularly unusual. One possible method of fixing an iron strip over a wooden object without the use of nails or studs would be to pass it around the object (be it round/oval or square/rectangular) and weld the ends of the strip firmly together at the point of junction. As the metal would have needed to be white-hot for the weld to be formed, this seems unlikely. Brazing the ends together using hard solder, a copper-zinc alloy with a low melting point, might be more suitable (Hodges 1976, 6, 86–7). Traces that may be from solder were found on iron binding strips from a Late Iron Age wooden tub in Grave 20622 at Westhampnett, West Sussex (Montague 1997, 101). The ingenuity of the craftsmen of that period should also be taken into consideration. The copper-alloy sheeting ornamenting the wooden buckets from the rich Augustan grave at Fléré-la-Rivière, Indre, France, was fixed in place by an unusual method. Rows of thin pieces of sheet copper alloy were inserted edgewise into the wood, then bands of ornamental sheet were fixed vertically to them by brazing or soldering (Ferdière and Villard 1993, 1–114).

The original object in AF48 can be assumed to be a piece of furniture consisting of flat boards. The comparative scarcity of copper-alloy to iron fragments further suggests (if not the result of differential survival) that one part of the object was more ornamented than any other. These two factors may be taken together as evidence for a box, chest, or casket, although the

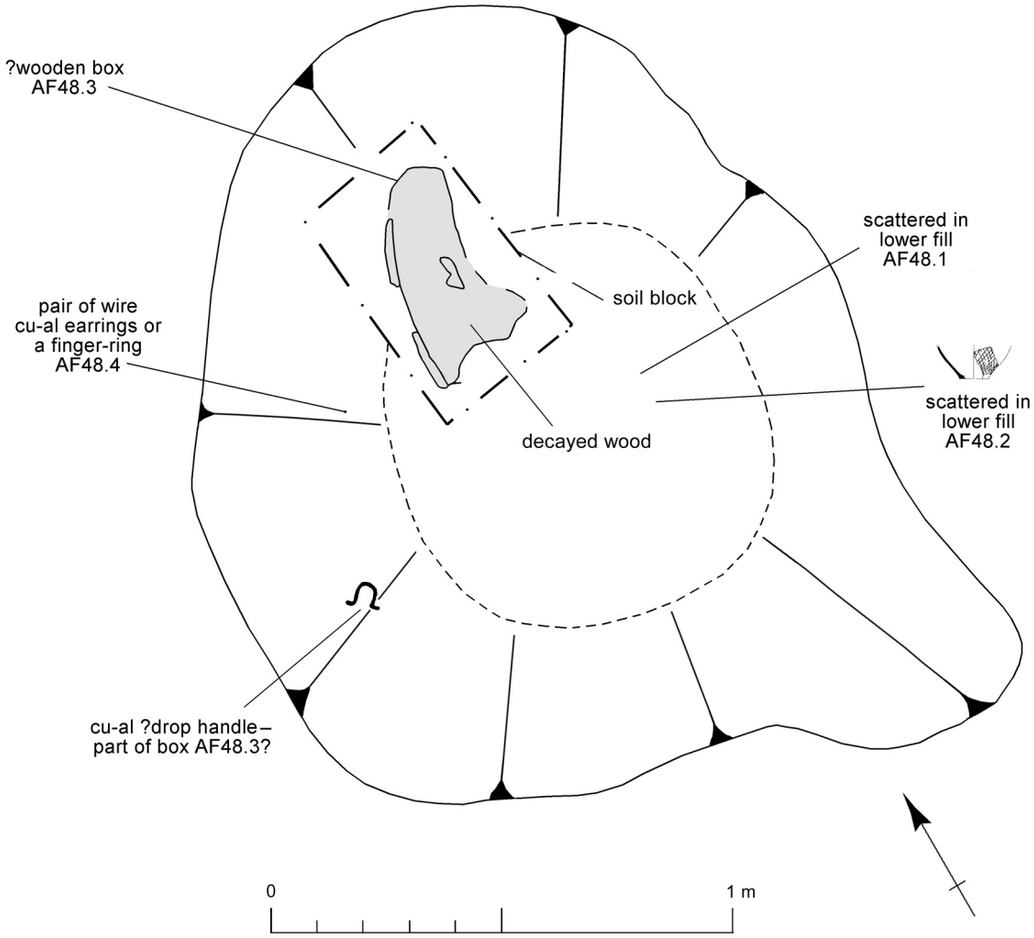


FIG. 76. Pit with broken funerary goods AF48: plan showing location of finds (scale 1:15)

possibility that the fragments derive from a more elaborate wooden object with metal fittings cannot be dismissed. In the Lexden Tumulus, fragments of iron plates overlaid with copper alloy, curved iron strips, embossed copper-alloy plates, and wood have been interpreted as together deriving from a box (Laver 1927, 249, pl. 53, fig. 1, pl. 59; Foster 1986, 95).

The repoussé decoration on the copper-alloy strips in AF48 is of typical La Tène style (FIG. 78). The fluid tendrilled scrolls with central bud detailing are similar to that on a panel from the Stanfordbury B burial, except that there the scroll is a single continuous line while here it appears to be a series of horizontal Ss (Stead 1967, 56; Jope 2000, pl. 223, g).

A second style of decoration is represented in AF48 by the small fragment, running at right angles to the main section, which shows a line of small bosses between pairs of linear mouldings (FIG. 78). This motif is also typical of the late La Tène period, occurring, for example, on a decorative sheet of a Fléré-la-Rivière bucket (Ferdière and Villard 1993, 1–113), on that of the large box in the Lexden Tumulus (Laver 1927, pl 59), on the plaque from the Stanfordbury B burial (Jope 2000, pl. 234, a–b), and on the frame of the Cadbury face-mask (Alcock 1972, pl. 12; Kilbride-Jones 1980, 26; Foster 2000, fig. 71, 14). Lines of bosses also occur on the side-plates of the Birdlip bucket (Green 1949, 189), and along the edge of a miniature votive shield of Iron Age form from Dragonby (Knowles and May 1996, fig. 11.17, 2). At Stanway they occur again on bronze sheet decorating the wooden object(s) in CF47 in Enclosure 5, and in BF67 in Enclosure 3.

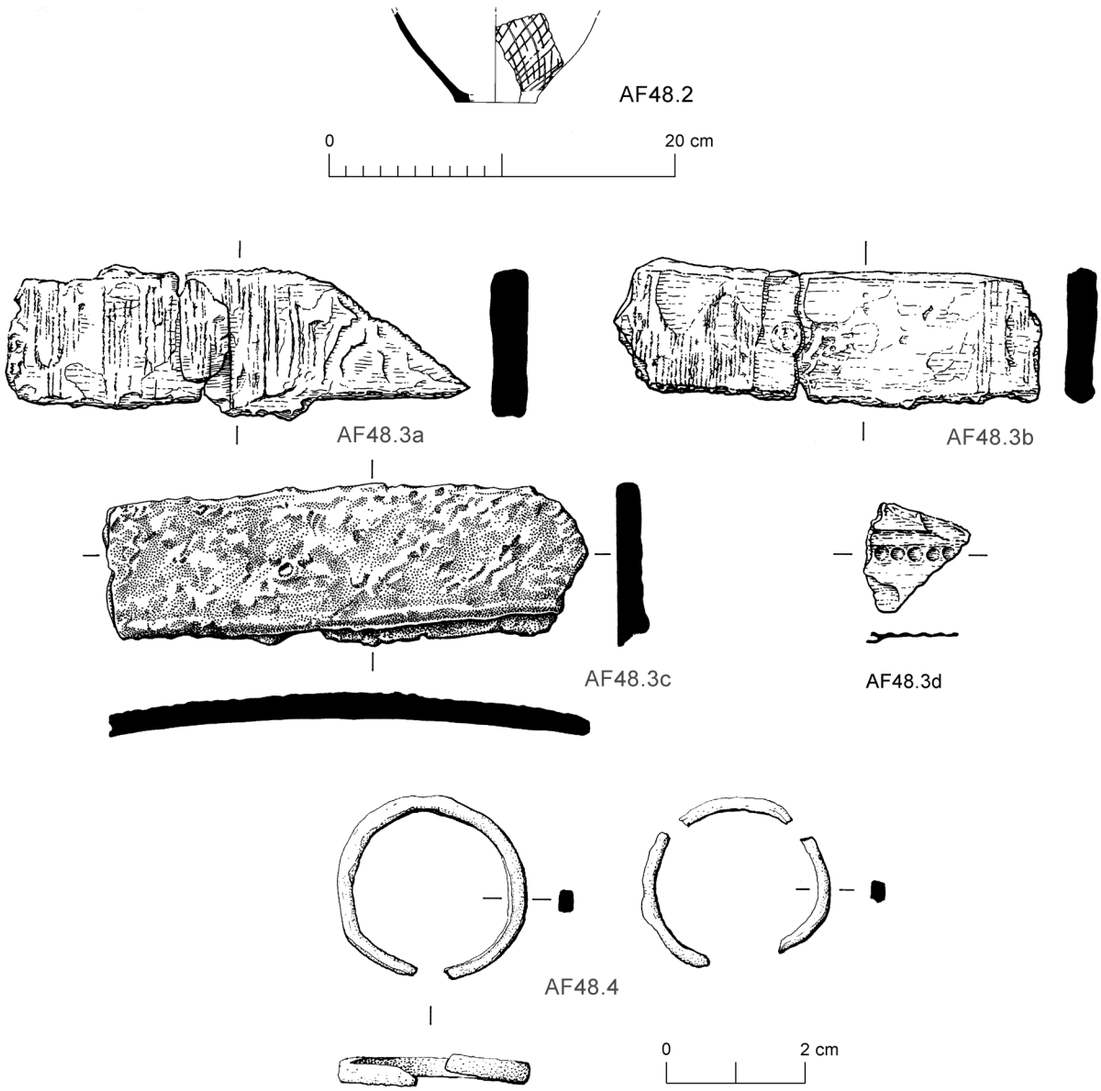


FIG. 77. Pit with broken funerary goods AF48: pottery vessel AF48.2 (scale 1:4), and objects of iron (AF48.3a–d), and copper alloy (AF48.4) (scale1:1)

The only other metal objects from the pit fill are fragments of coiled copper-alloy wire (AF48.4), found together in the ground. They are probably a pair of wire earrings, exactly similar in size and form to a pair from Sheepen, found in a pit of Period 6 (*c.* A.D. 61–5) which had flint pebbles threaded on to the wire, and in one case also a silver bead (Hawkes and Hull 1947, fig. 61; Allason-Jones 1989, 82, nos 199–200). Alternatively, they may be part of a single finger-ring, although the very slight degree of twist on the more complete coil does not seem sufficient to justify this interpretation. Coiled finger-rings are the principal type in Late Iron Age Britain, with examples coming from, for example, Maiden Castle and Camulodunum (Wheeler 1943, fig. 86, 10–17; Sharples 1991, fig. 129, 12–14; Hawkes and Hull 1947, pl. 99, 1). A pair were found in the suite of female jewellery making up the Lamberton Moor hoard, along with two Lamberton Moor brooches and a Dragonesque brooch (Curle 1932, 363; Anderson 1905, fig. 5), but spiral finger-rings were not used exclusively by women; a gold one made of wire of similar size to the AF48 pieces, and only slightly larger at 20 mm in internal diameter, came from the male grave at Fléré-la-Rivière (Ferdière and Villard 1993, figs 1-102–3). An unsexed skeleton buried in the fill of a late 1st-century B.C. ditch at Baldock wore

a copper-alloy finger-ring of this type on the left hand (Stead and Rigby 1986, 128, fig. 54, 201; Henderson 1986, 391, Burial 55). They could also be worn as toe-rings, as shown by some found on skeletons from Maiden Castle, Dorset (Wheeler 1943, 266, 278).

Pottery vessels (FIG. 77)

AF48.1 Not illustrated. A536, A537. Multi-cordoned footring jar, wheel-thrown. Fabric GTW; brown matrix; fine black inclusions; patchy dark grey and brown surfaces. Glossy burnished and burnished banded finish; glossy finish on the rim and cordons; burnished elsewhere. Very similar to that in burial AF18, but definitely a different vessel.
Condition: two joining rim sherds and a small number of largely non-conjoining body sherds; no matching base sherds identified. (Some sherds could possibly belong to a separate vessel.)
Condition at deposition: broken elsewhere, only a few sherds deposited.
AF48.2 FIG. 77. A536, A618. Wide shouldered lattice-burnished bowl with a flat base, Cam 223. Fabric GTW; brown matrix; dark grey-brown surfaces.
Condition: several conjoining body sherds and a single base sherd, no rim.
Condition at deposition: broken elsewhere, further fragmented *in situ*.

Other finds (FIGS 77–8)

AF48.3
a FIG. 77. SF39. A532. Thirty-four fragments of flat iron strips, in most cases with mineral-replaced wood on the reverse, the grain running across the width of the strips. Very few of the pieces join together. Only a few are illustrated. The strips appear to have been made by folding sheet iron two or three times. Single layer iron bands can develop hollows as they corrode, but here the layering/folding is clear on pieces that have not formed hollows.

Two widths of strip are apparent, 18–20 mm, and 23–25 mm. All are about 3.5–4 mm thick. There is also one fragment which measures 30 mm wide, and has a thinner flange on one side, similar to that on SF38 below, and equivalent to the thin flange projecting from a thicker strip shown in FIG. 78, part of SF41. No means of attachment to the wood is preserved. Similar fragments came from Grave 20185 at Westhampnett (Montague 1997, 103).
b FIG. 77. SF38. A535. Iron strip as SF39. Length 78 mm, width of main section 22 mm, width with flange 25 mm. There is a small part of a thin flange on one long side, and there may have been a similar one on the other side. No means of attachment remains. There are tiny fragments of mineral-replaced wood on the underside, the grain running across the strip.
c FIGS 77c, 78. SF41. A618. Fragmentary remains of iron strips as SFs 39 and 38 above, and of copper-alloy strips of thin decorated sheet, a few pieces of thin iron sheet, and associated wood fragments. This group was lifted as a soil block and retained in that form due to the fragile nature of the copper alloy. The block was examined using real-time X-radiography, to determine whether or not further objects lay within it, in particular pieces that might determine if it was the flattened remains of a bucket, or fragments of a box or item of furniture. No bucket fittings were found, therefore it is assumed that the pieces derive from a box or piece of furniture.

The copper-alloy sheet, and in some places also the associated thin iron sheet, is decorated with repoussé tendrilled S-scrolls with central buds. The maximum width of the copper-alloy sheet is 37 mm. The thick iron strip is 24 mm wide, or, in places where a flange projects from the side, 31 mm wide. The relationship between the iron, copper alloy, and wood in the soil block is complex. In one place (FIG. 78, Sx 2 left) a thin layer of iron, a flange projecting from a thick strip, directly overlies the copper alloy; in other places a thick strip of iron butts up against the copper alloy (FIG. 78, Sx 1 centre, Sx 2 centre); in one place a thin sheet of iron overlies, and follows the contours of, a thin sheet of repoussé-decorated copper alloy; in one place wood lies between two thin sheets of copper alloy (FIG. 78, Sx 1 left); in one place two layers of wood with different grain directions lie beneath a thick strip of iron (Sx 1 centre). Some assumptions can be made: 1) the repoussé decoration on the copper-alloy sheet must have been visible on the outside of the object; 2) the iron strips may have been either on the inside of the object, or on the outside, or both; and 3) some of the visible relationships of the metals and the wood are the result of damage, either before or during deposition, and may therefore be misleading.

It is worth noting that: 1) the wood beneath the thick iron strips always has the grain lying across the width of the metal, and this is matched on the associated fragments SFs 39 and 38; 2) both end-grain and longitudinal grain lie in close association at the same level on the soil block (FIG. 78, top left), suggesting that two boards met at that point, either jointed together or abutting and pegged; 3) the thin

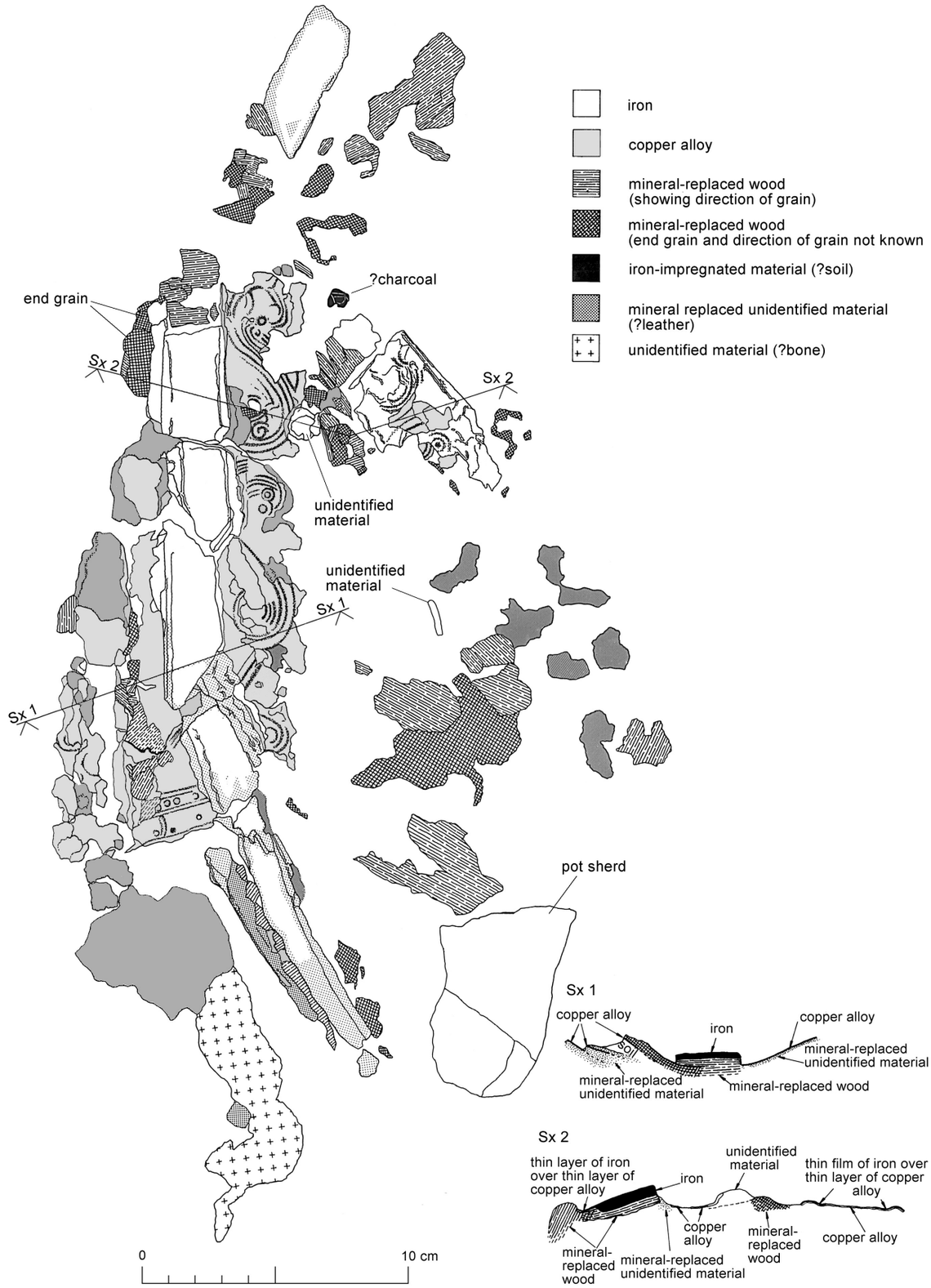


FIG. 78. Pit with broken funerary goods AF48: detail illustration of remains of ?box AF48.3 (scale 1:22)

flange on the iron strip shown on Sx 2 (left) may serve to hold the copper alloy in place; 4) most of the copper-alloy sheet abuts, and follows the line of, the main iron strip; but, 5) one piece has decoration running at a right-angle to it (to the left of the line of Sx 1); and 6) the fragment with repoussé-decorated iron over repoussé-decorated copper alloy lies at an angle to the main strips and may have been detached and deposited upside-down at the time of burial, or may have become detached and inverted as the object collapsed in the ground; 7) the iron strips are consistently flat, with no surviving angles (*see* also SF39 and 38); 8) no means for attaching the iron strips to the wood are visible (*see* also SF39 and 38).
d FIG. 77. SF42. A536. Small fragment of thin iron sheet with the negative impression of decoration of straight and curved mouldings, small dots and a large boss. The other side is rough and granular. Maximum dimensions 16 by 14 mm, 1 mm thick.
AF48.4 FIG. 77. SF36. A533. Two coils of copper-alloy wire, one in three pieces. Probably a pair of earrings or perhaps part of a coiled finger-ring. All the ends are damaged. Internal diameter of undamaged coil 17 mm, height 3 mm, thickness 2 mm.
SF37. Not illustrated. A534. Fifteen tiny fragments of copper-alloy sheet with repoussé decoration. The largest is 11 by 8 mm.

THE CREMATION BURIALS

CREMATION BURIAL AF18 (FIGS 2, 6, 79)

Cremated bone	639.7 g	adult of indeterminate age, probably female
Pottery vessel	AF18.1	grog-tempered multi-cordoned footring jar
Other find	AF18.2	small textile bag containing ?verdigris
Residual finds		none

In the northern half of Enclosure 1 an urned cremation burial was set in a small pit (AF18) 0.5 m deep (FIGS 2, 6, 79). A quantity of cremated bone (639.7 g, A247) from an adult ?female was contained within a grog-tempered ware jar (FIG. 79, AF18.1; Cam 218). Apart from a few rim sherds, the pot survived complete, although the upper part had been crushed. The vessel is typically Late Iron Age and was made between 75 B.C.–A.D. 65, but most probably in the 1st century B.C.

This burial included an extremely unusual item (FIG. 79, AF18.2), undoubtedly of considerable significance. It lay among the bone in the lower fill of the vessel. The object appears to have been burnt on the pyre and then deliberately picked out from the ashes and placed in the vessel along with the cremated bone. It consists of the contents of a small cloth bag, now solid but originally either a paste or a fine powder, as it retains the impressions of not only the gathers of the cloth but also in some places the individual threads. There is a small flattened area at one place on the side where the bag had lain on or against something hard. An attractive interpretation is that the bag was on a thong around the neck of the dead person, so that this area was flattened where it rested on the chest.

A similar shape to this can be made using a flour and water mix and a piece of muslin. The fragments may therefore either have been loose and powdery when deposited, bonding together after deposition, or, more likely, had been blended with a substance that held them together but left the mixture sufficiently pliable for it to be moulded. In both cases, the cloth of a tightly gathered bag would press into it, and a small flattened area would be formed where it rested against a solid surface, creating the present physical form of the object. The binding matrix may have been fat or oil. Only a little of either would be needed to make a powder pliable, thus minimising shrinkage, the absence of which is a major characteristic of this object.

This item is unusual, if not unique, in several ways. First, in its content, described below as possibly verdigris. Second, in its method of preservation, which is not yet fully explained. Third, in the information it supplies about the early use of verdigris as either a cosmetic or a medicine in Britain. References associating the British with face and body paint, and with tattooing, occur in a number of texts, from Caesar in the mid-1st century B.C. to Claudian in the late 4th and early 5th century (Jackson 1985, 171; Carr 2005, 288–9). Claudian's descriptions are formulaic, conforming to established poetic stereotypes of tattooed Britons and Picts, and the

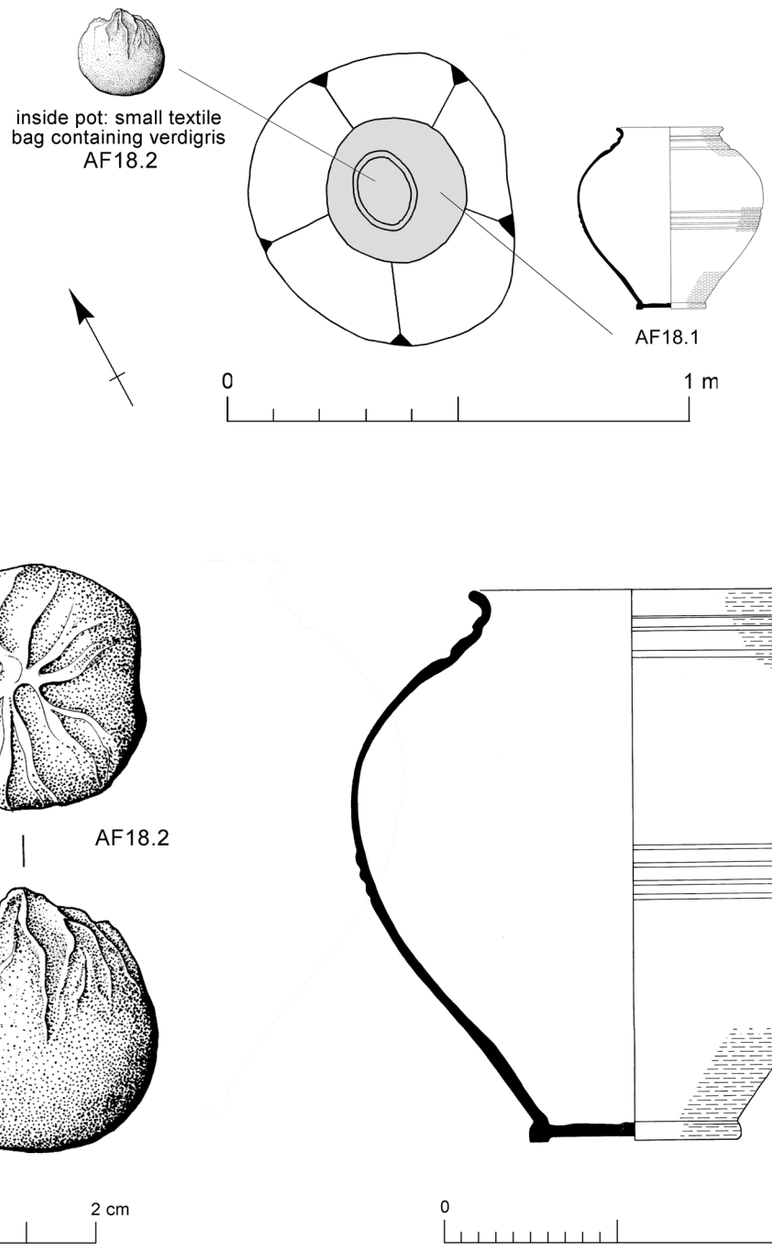


FIG. 79. Cremation burial AF18: plan showing location of finds (scale 1:15), pottery vessel (scale 1:4), and bag of ?verdigris (scale 1:1)

same may be true of many of the other references, but Caesar's description of the woad-painted British has been bolstered by Jackson's studies of the pestle-and-mortar sets used for grinding up cosmetics (1985; 1993a). These first appear in the immediately pre-conquest period and are singularly British in manufacture and distribution, reinforcing the impression that coloured cosmetics were used here in ways regarded as unconventional by the standards of Roman Italy, where the 'normal' use of a wide range of creams, lotions, foundations face-paints and other beauty aids is well documented (*e.g.* Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* III; *Medicamina Faciei Feminiae*; Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* XXVIII, 88–9, 183; Martial, *Epigrams* VI, 93; Juvenal, *Satire* VI).

This object raises two further fundamental questions: first, were similar small bags often placed among pyre goods but completely destroyed by burning at a higher temperature; and

second, have such objects been found in the past in burials and, not being easily understood, omitted from the published reports? An object found in a 2nd-century burial at Weston Turville, Buckinghamshire, sounds intriguingly similar. Described as 'an apparently dried fruit nearly the size of an apple', it was found in a samian bowl together with leaves, frankincense, two brooches and some beads (Waugh 1961, 108). The object had unfortunately disappeared from Aylesbury Museum by the time that Waugh was writing, so that it cannot be directly compared with the Stanway object. The sizes of the two items seem to be much the same, but there is no hint as to the texture of the Weston Turville piece, such as hard, brittle, soft, or friable. Its association with frankincense might imply that it was valued for its scent, or, as the description suggests, it might even have been a fruit, such as an apple or pomegranate, symbolic of eternal life, and the leaves in the bowl, possibly the remains of a funerary wreath, invite such an interpretation. The female dress accessories, on the other hand, might imply that was a ball of some cosmetic substance. What is certain is that the absence of an accurate identification does not detract from the fact that it provides the only reasonably closely comparable object to AF48.2.

Pottery vessel (FIG. 79)

AF18.1 A228.
Multi-cordoned footring jar, wheel-thrown. Fabric GTW; brown matrix; fine black inclusions; patchy dark grey and brown surfaces. Glossy burnished and matt banded finish; glossy finish on the rim and cordons; burnished zone 75 mm wide at the base; matt finish between.
Condition: In sherds, but restored to complete base to two-thirds rim circuit.
Condition at deposition: complete, possibly with damaged rim.

Bag of ?verdigris (FIG. 79)

AF18.2 SF14. A248.
The contents of a small bag made of textile. The contents are inorganic, and preserved as a fine-grained, dark grey, hard, heavy, almost spherical object, with grooves of varying depth and length running up to a central point. The cloth has long since disintegrated, leaving only lines of the woven textile preserved on the object, especially in the grooves. Maximum diameter 28 mm, weight 30.41 g.

Examination of a bag of ?verdigris from AF18
By S. La Niece and C.R. Cartwright

Optical examination

The find (FIG. 79, AF18.2) was examined at low magnification and found to be composed of dark grey particulate material, in which flecks of orange, green and white are embedded. The material adheres together firmly and its spherical shape is probably the form of its original container. The form suggests a bag made of a soft fabric or leather, gathered at the neck with the folds preserved in the surface. No impressions of a woven fabric were seen but a tiny fragment of charred organic material was sampled from one of the folds. Under the optical microscope, it was identified as *Corylus avellana* (hazel) charcoal. This fragment was probably within the burial soil in which the object was found, rather than being an integral part of a container, no trace of which remains.

Analysis

Qualitative X-ray fluorescence analysis directly on the surface identified the main element present as copper, with several per cent of tin and lead, some iron and a trace of silver. X-ray diffraction analysis of particles from the surface identified them as the black copper oxide, tenorite (CuO).

The examination was entirely non-destructive so there is some uncertainty as to whether the surface is representative of the interior. However, radiography revealed no changes in density through the object, suggesting that it is composed of similar material throughout.

Interpretation

The presence of tin and lead with the copper suggests that the material originated from bronze. Although tenorite is a rare component of natural bronze patinas, it will form when bronze is slowly heated in air. However, although many copper compounds did have uses in antiquity as, for example, pigments or medicines, tenorite does not seem to have been exploited for any practical purposes.

It is possible that tenorite is not the original form of the material, but the accidental result of heating in the cremation fire. Bronze filings, for example, would oxidise to tenorite if heated at a moderate temperature and in oxidising conditions, although what the purpose might be of a bag of bronze filings to accompany the dead is not known. Another possible interpretation that fits the evidence is that it was originally another copper compound, or more specifically verdigris. Verdigris is strictly a copper acetate, but the term is often used to include other green or pale blue copper compounds such as carbonates (Scott 2002). These too would turn to tenorite on heating in air. Verdigris has a long history of use as a remedy for skin and eye inflammation and its efficacy has a proven scientific basis (Weser 1987). A long list of uses is given in Celsus, *de Medicina*, especially books 5 and 6, and Pliny the Elder records recipes for accelerating the corrosion of copper to produce verdigris for various medicinal uses. He writes that verdigris was used as an ingredient in plasters for wounds, a treatment for ulcers and sores, mixed with oil as a cure for ulcerations of the mouth, mixed with a gum, other copper compounds and saffron as an eye salve and even kneaded with turpentine to remove leprosy (Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, 34.114–16). The copper compound from this burial might well have originally been mixed with a wax or oil to bind it together. Any such organic medium would have been burnt in the cremation, but it may account for the compactness of the material now. Pliny also comments that the adulteration of medicines was common, which might explain the iron and other contaminants mixed in with the tenorite.

The suggestion that this unusual find was originally a salve of verdigris for medicinal use must be wholly speculative. It can be argued that the material we see now is not what its owner saw and it is chemically feasible for it to have been a form of verdigris. Beyond this, the conclusions must be guesswork. Of course there are possible applications for verdigris other than as a medicine, for example as a green pigment or perhaps a cosmetic, although there is little evidence for these uses at this early date. Verdigris is associated with medicine in the Roman period and the inclusion of a favourite personal remedy in a burial may not be so surprising.

THE WARRIOR'S BURIAL BF64 (FIGS 2, 8, 80–95)

Cremated bone	137.5 g	adult of indeterminate age and sex
Pottery vessels	BF64.1	Dragendorff form 33 samian cup
	BF64.2	TN moulded platter
	BF64.3	TN moulded platter
	BF64.4	TN offset platter
	BF64.5	TN offset platter
	BF64.6	TN carinated cup
	BF64.7	TR1(C) hemispherical cup
	BF64.8	TN flanged cup
	BF64.9	TN flanged cup
	BF64.10	TR1(C) campanulate pedestal cup
	BF64.11	TR1(C) cylindrical pedestal cup
	BF64.12	ovoid beaker
	BF64.13	cornice-rimmed flagon
	BF64.14	miniature pedestal flagon
	BF64.15	Dressel 2-4 amphora
Glass vessels	BF64.16	large bowl
	BF64.17	unguent bottle
	BF64.18	unguent bottle

Other objects	BF64.19	copper-alloy Nertomarus brooch
	BF64.20	copper-alloy Nertomarus brooch
	BF64.21	copper-alloy arm-ring
	BF64.22	glass bead
	BF64.23	iron and copper-alloy shield boss
	BF64.24	iron lancehead plus two iron fittings from the shaft
	BF64.25	copper-alloy jug
	BF64.26	bronze handled basin
	BF64.27	part of a possible third copper-alloy vessel
	BF64.28	11 blue and 9 white glass counters
	BF64.29	wooden gaming board with copper-alloy fittings
	BF64.30	wooden box with iron fittings
	BF64.31	wooden box with iron fittings
	BF64.32–5	plus many unattributed objects and fragments
	BF64.36	1 or more garments or other cloth items, such as cloaks or blankets
	BF64.37	?oak platter or tray under the handled basin BF64.26
Animal bone		fragments of sheep/goat molar, a large unidentifiable mammal bone, and 2 cattle tooth fragments (all from spoil heap)
Residual finds	BF64.a	1 grog-tempered sherd plus 10 unstratified from spoil

The burial was located in the south-western area of Enclosure 3 (FIGS 2, 8). The name 'Warrior's burial' derives from the remains of a spear and shield deposited among an array of grave goods. The burial only came to light at the end of the excavation of the enclosure which meant that it had to be excavated extremely quickly (p. 6). The cremated bone on the floor of the burial pit was of an adult, and the inclusion of weapons in the burial indicates that the dead person had been male.

The cremated remains and grave goods were placed in a rectangular pit, approximately 2 m × 1.5 m, with the longer axis aligned approximately north–south. After the surface stripping, the grave pit was approximately 0.4 m deep with a level base. Occupying almost all of the grave floor (apart from a small area of the north-east side) was a large array of grave goods, numbering more than 31 separate identifiable objects or connected object groups, and forming an exceptionally rich burial assemblage of the early post-conquest period in Britain (FIG. 80). Although some items were fragmentary, there is no indication of any deliberate breakage, and none of the objects appear to have been deposited other than as intact. All the vessels appeared to have been placed upright as if they contained food or drink, although no evidence of any contents was detected.

From the plan of the surviving elements of the burial, the grave goods appear to have been loosely grouped together according to function (FIG. 80). The central area was primarily occupied with a service of imported pottery cups and plates (BF64.1–9), and a hand-washing set consisting of a copper-alloy handled basin (BF64.26) and jug (BF64.25). Each vessel was upright, and, as far as can be judged, none was nested inside another apart from the jug which was placed on a *terra nigra* dish (BF64.5), and maybe the basin which stood on a piece of oak (B1033). The latter cannot be identified as of any particular form, but it may have been the remains of a wooden platter or tray (BF64.37). Just to the south-west of the service and hand-washing set, and close to the central area were the remains of the shield, which consisted of a copper-alloy boss (BF64.23a) with traces of decayed wood extending around it. The cremated bone was close to the boss, and had been placed in a heap below, or more probably on, the shield board itself. The spear (BF64.24) lay to the west side of the shield, parallel to the side of the grave. Although the wooden spear shaft itself had decayed without trace, its position in the grave was indicated by the locations of its metal parts. The head of the spear (BF64.24a) was close to the south-west corner of the burial pit, and fittings from its shaft (BF64.24b) were towards the north-west corner. A few personal items lay close to the service and the shield: a brooch (BF64.19) had been placed close to the copper-alloy basin, and a copper-alloy arm-ring

(BF64.21) with a glass bead (BF64.22) neatly placed centrally within it must have been close to the shield edge.

A large, tightly packed, group of amphora sherds lay in the north-west corner of the burial pit. These proved on restoration to make up all but the rim of a complete amphora (BF64.15). The rim must have been ploughed off when the site was under cultivation. Its absence and the limited spread of the sherds indicate that, rather like the amphora in the Doctor's burial (p. 212), the vessel appears to have been buried upright in the corner of the burial pit. This means that the rim of the amphora would have been 0.8–0.9 m above the floor of the burial pit. Thus the amphora must have been in pieces before the stripping of the ground prior to excavation, because only the lowest 0.4 m of the pit survived that stripping, and yet the uppermost parts (bar the rim) of the amphora were present among the sherds. The absence of the rim points to the amphora having been broken in the recent past, presumably during groundworks for the quarry.

A wooden box (BF64.30) had been placed just to the south-east of the amphora. The distribution of its metal fittings showed it to have measured 0.5 × 0.6 m (very roughly) in area. In the south-west corner of the burial pit were the fittings from a second wooden box (BF64.31) which had contained a large and exotic amber-coloured glass bowl (BF64.16). A folding gaming board (BF64.29) with copper-alloy fittings had been laid open in the south-east corner of the grave, with a set of glass gaming counters (BF64.28; eleven blue and nine white) placed in a loose group close by. (It should be noted that more counters were probably present than were recovered.) The counters, unlike those in the Doctor's burial, had not been set out on the board, but two pottery vessels, a pedestal cup (BF64.10) and a flagon (BF64.13), had been put on top of it instead. Various other vessels for serving food and drink were similarly placed around the edges of the burial pit. These consisted of three pottery vessels, *i.e.* a miniature pedestal flagon decorated with bird motifs in the form of a crane (BF64.14), a tall *terra rubra* cylindrical cup (BF64.11), and an ovoid beaker (BF64.12). There were also two small glass unguent bottles, one near the ovoid beaker (BF64.18) and the other (BF64.17) close to the wooden box BF64.31.

The arrangement of the grave goods within the burial pit is such that the smaller items, including those making up the service, occupied the central area whereas the larger pieces tended to be close to the sides (FIG. 80). This suggests that the items away from the pit edge, including the service, the shield, the gaming counters, arm-band and bead, and the cremated bone had been placed on the pit floor by somebody standing inside it. Many of the items around the sides of the pit, *i.e.* the two boxes, the spear and various of the vessels including the amphora, could have been passed or lowered into the pit by somebody standing on the pit edge.

Traces of textile have been found on the upper surfaces of the jug (BF64.25), the gaming board junction pieces (BF64.29), the shield boss (BF64.23a), and the undersides of the two brooches (BF64.19–20). J.P. Wild judges that the textile fragments very likely belonged to a single garment (BF64.36) woven in diamond twill, such as a cloak or blanket which had been spread across the grave (*see* report p. 347). The relationship of the textile to the brooches, which did not lie close together, suggests that either the brooches were placed in the burial pit after the ?cloak or they were already attached to it. If the latter, then two garments may have been present instead of one, as usually only a single brooch was needed to fasten a cloak.

Unlike the Doctor's burial, there was no surviving wood (either decayed or mineralised) to suggest that there had been a wooden cover over the burial. However, the undisturbed nature of the carefully arranged grave goods and the fact that the plates and bowls appeared to have contained food argues that such a cover must have existed to protect the vessels and their contents as the pit was backfilled. The simple rectangular burial pit would not have required an elaborate construction to cover the grave goods. At its simplest, a number of planks of the right length, with their ends wedged against the pit-sides, would have sufficed. Two iron nails (B999 and B1053) were recovered close to the pit sides near two of the corners (FIG. 80). These may have been part of a wooden cover, as were nails in the Doctor's burial (p. 207), although one of them (B1053) may have been part of the box BF64.31. Another possibility is that the garment(s) BF64.36 acted as a cover.

Using the internal evidence alone, the Warrior's burial would appear to date to *c.* A.D. 50–55. However, there may prove to be a slight disparity between the Gallo-Belgic pottery (which dates the burial to *c.* A.D. 50–60) and the glassware vessels and the Nertomarus brooches. The latter two groups together hint that the date might be slightly earlier, *c.* A.D. 40–50, because one or even both glassware vessels may be pre-conquest and the two brooches were likely to have been imported and used between *c.* A.D. 40–50/5. Date and relationships with the other funerary contexts are discussed on pages 437–9.

Pottery vessels (FIGS 81–2, BF64.1–15)

The fifteen pottery vessels were placed in the grave complete or possibly with minor damage, while at least two had been scorched possibly in the pyre. Apart from the amphora, all are functionally specialised Gaulish imports and represent the top of the market in ceramics, being the most colourful and decorative available in the immediate pre- or immediately post-conquest period. The group consists of one South Gaulish samian cup (BF64.1), four *terra nigra* platters (BF64.2–5), one *terra rubra* cup (BF64.7), three *terra nigra* cups (BF64.6 and BF64.8–9), two *terra rubra* pedestal cups (BF64.10–11), a beaker (BF64.12, a flagon (BF64.13), a miniature flagon (BF64.14) and a Dressel 2-4 amphora (BF64.15). The stamps on the Gallo-Belgic vessels are discussed on pp. 290–1, 294–5

Samian

BF64.1 FIG. 81. B1024, B1076, B1133. Conical cup: Dragendorff form 33. South Gaulish. Claudian. Possibly also includes sherds B1076 and B1133.
Central stamp: PRIMVS
Condition: fragmented, all sherds present; fractures severely eroded.
Condition at deposition: complete.
Brenda Dickinson adds of the stamp:
Primus i of La Graufesenque, Die 10a (Bémont 1976, 61, 276). There is no clear site evidence for this potter's activity, but his range of forms provided a clear indication of Tiberio–Claudian date. Die 10a was used to stamp forms 24, 25 and Ritterling 5, the first two having the bevelled footrings found on early examples. *c.* A.D. D 25–50.

Gallo-Belgic imports

BF64.2 FIG. 81. B1039. Moulded platter: Camulodunum form 7/8. Fabric TN. Central Stamp 20: ?SCVTVSII. A.D. 35–60.
Condition: complete.
BF64.3 FIG. 81. B1023, B1024, B1058. Moulded platter: Camulodunum form 7/8. Fabric TN, Central Stamp 8: IIUDO] *** bordered. A.D. 35–60.
Condition: appalling, no joining sherds but about two-thirds of rim circuit present; some evidence of scorching.
Condition at deposition: dubious; condition possibly the result of the platter being placed too near the pyre. Probably complete.
BF64.4 FIG. 81. B1040, B1090, B1091. Offset platter: Camulodunum form 14/SW Type 24. Fabric TN. Central Stamp 22: IMO (reading uncertain). A.D. 50–75.
Condition: severely fragmented and eroded, about one-quarter of circuit missing.
Condition at deposition: probably complete.
BF64.5 FIG. 81. B1055; stamp: B1038. Offset platter: Camulodunum form 14. Fabric TN.
Central Stamp 21, broken: VII.]IIS *** bordered. A.D. 50–70.
Condition: in sherds restorable to almost complete.
Condition at deposition: probably complete.
BF64.6 FIG. 81. B1038, ?B1133. Carinated cup: Camulodunum form 56C (small). Fabric TN.
Central Stamp 24: mark X with four spots. A.D. 25–60.
Condition: severely fragmented, base circuit restored to complete; about half sherds missing.
Condition at deposition: probably complete, or damaged but standing.
BF64.7 FIG. 81. B1051. Small hemispherical cup. Fabric TR1(C), darker slip over interior and exterior, excluding underside of base. Central Stamp 25: VII bordered. A.D. 40–65.
Condition: severely fragmented, no sherds missing.
Condition at deposition: complete.

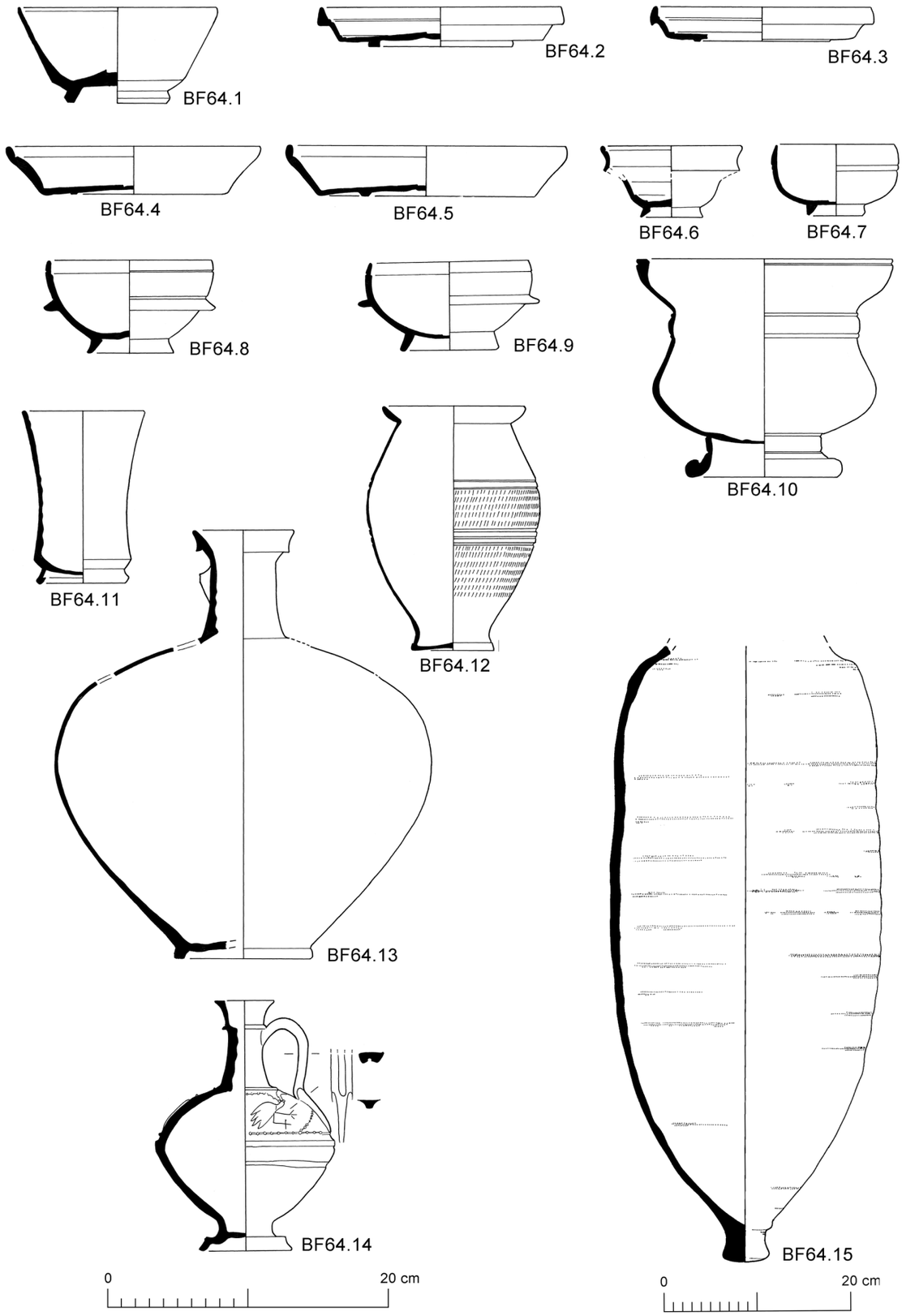


FIG. 81. Warrior's burial: BF64 pottery vessels BF64.1–14 (scale 1:4), and amphora (BF64.15) (scale 1:6)

BF64.8 FIG. 81. B1035. Flanged cup: Camulodunum form 58 (large). Fabric TN. Central Stamp 1: ACVT. A.D. 40–65.
Condition: broken, with complete and standing base circuit.
Condition at deposition: complete.
BF64.9 FIG. 81. B1091, B1051 + uncoded sherds. Flanged cup: Camulodunum form 58. Fabric TN. Central Stamp 2: ACVT].*** A.D. 40–65.
Condition: severely fragmented, about a half base circuit restorable, some rims, but about half sherds missing.
Condition at deposition: probably complete, or damaged and standing.
BF64.10 FIG. 81. B1016, B1024, B1037, B1057, B1076, B1111, B1116, B1223, B1135. Campanulate pedestal cup: Camulodunum form 76. Fabric TR1(C); orange fine-grained matrix; darker orange polished slip over the exterior visible surface; interior, unfinished.
Condition: severely fragmented, restorable to complete.
Condition at deposition: complete.
BF64.11 FIG. 81. B1017, B1036, B1037, B1076, B1081, B1082, B1116. Cylindrical pedestal cup. Fabric TR1(C); orange fine-grained ware, coral red polished slip over external visible surface; unfinished interior.
Condition: severely fragmented but restorable to complete.
Condition at deposition: complete.
This is the only recorded complete example in Britain. The example illustrated in *Camulodunum* was found in Trier (Hawkes and Hull 1947, fig. 49, no. 8). The source may have been the Sept-Saulx kilns in the Marne-Vesle potteries, near Rheims (Fromols 1938).
BF64.12 FIG. 81. B1017. Ovoid beaker: Camulodunum form 112Ca. Fabric TR3; pink smooth ware; yellowish cream outer visible surface. Decoration: uneven and asymmetrical; simple chattered rouletting in two zones separated by a double cordon.
Condition: standing, complete but for rim.
Condition at deposition: complete. Possibly a second, judging by the uneven decoration.

Northern Gaulish import

BF64.13 FIG. 81. B1016, B1037, B1079, B1111, B1135, B1169. Cornice-rimmed flagon: Cam 140. Fabric WPW, typical with greyish interior slip. Discoloration inside may be due to heating of contents.
Condition: severely fragmented, complete base and neck circuits, no handle. Traces of scorching before fracture, probably too near the pyre; handle may have been affected here.
Condition at deposition: complete but for handle.

Central Gaulish import

BF64.14 FIGS 81–2. B1081. Miniature pedestal flagon: Déchelette form 62. Fabric CNG GL1/GL2 (lead-glazed ware); buff fine-grained, even-textured micaceous matrix; traces of matt orange under-slip; traces of yellowish-green glaze. Decoration: moulded. Three repeats of the same tethered crane motif, joined by lengths of beaded chain, arranged symmetrically. The motif resembles one used on Italian samian (Oswald 1936, pl. 84, nos 2202–2203).
A thick-walled vessel. The body is two hemispheres luted together. The neck and pedestal were made separately and then luted into place. Finally the handle was added.
Condition: in sherds but restored almost to complete.
Condition at deposition: complete.

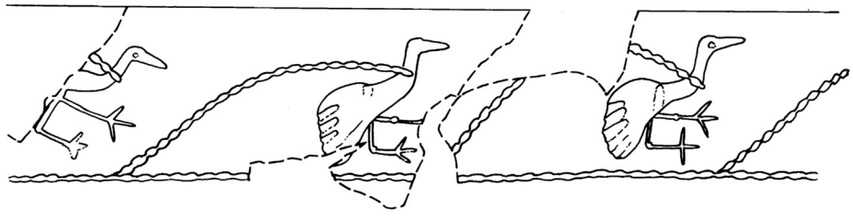


FIG. 82. Detail of crane pot BF64.14

Amphora

BF64.15 FIG. 81. B983. Dressel 2-4 (*see* pp. 300–1).

Glass vessels (FIG. 83, BF64.16–18)

The amber bowl BF64.16, which was placed in the grave inside box BF64.31, is an extraordinary vessel on account of its size. It was 252 mm wide and 125 mm deep, and thus provides an insight into the technical abilities of early glass blowers. Its diagnostic features apart from size are a rolled rim, linear wheel-cut decoration, and a base formed by a separately blown paraison. The form is not one that appears in standard typologies like Isings 1957 and Goethert-Polaschek 1977, but it has close affinities with smaller, shallower bowls made in Italy (p. 341). The form cannot be paralleled at Colchester despite the town's large pre-Boudican glass assemblage (Harden 1947; Charlesworth 1985; *CAR* **8**). In the absence of a local parallel, coupled with Italian evidence for date, the bowl seems likely to have been a pre-conquest import which may have been curated for a considerable time before being buried. Hilary Cool considers the bowl in detail on pages 340–3.

BF64.17–18 are tubular unguent bottles of Isings form 8. This was the commonest form of unguent bottle in Britain in the mid 1st century A.D. (*CAR* **8**, 159). They occur in Tiberian contexts on the Continent (Isings 1957, 24). BF64.18 is in the normal blue/green colour, but BF64.17 is an unusual deep blue, which Hilary Cool suggests may point to a pre-conquest date (p. 345).

BF64.16 FIG. 83. B986, B993, B1017. Bowl in many joining fragments lacking small parts of rim, upper and lower body and base ring. Light yellow/brown; occasional small bubbles. Out-curved rim, edge bent out and down to form narrow bead; concave upper body expanding out to rounded carination; slightly convex-curved lower body sloping in to slightly domed base. Separately blown foot with footring convex-curved, edge ground. Junction of two paraisons imperfect and large air bubbles trapped between leading to separation of fragments of the two. Two wheel-cut lines on upper body and one on lower body. Height 125 mm, rim diameter 252 mm, base diameter 114 mm, wall thickness 3 mm.

BF64.17 FIG. 83. B1056. Tubular unguent bottle, 2 rim, 1 neck and 5 body fragments. 1 rim and neck fragment join. Streaky deep blue with small bubbles. Rim slightly outbent and edge rolled in, cylindrical neck with tooling marks at base; straight side sloping out. Rim diameter approximately 15 mm, rim and neck length 18 mm, wall thickness 0.5–1 mm.

BF64.18 FIG. 83. B1030. Tubular unguent bottle in approximately 20 joining fragments; small parts of body, majority of neck and all of rim missing. Blue/green; occasional bubble. Cylindrical neck with slight tooling at base; straight side sloping out to convex-curved lower body and small shallowly concave base. Present height 83 mm, height of body 63 mm, maximum body diameter 32 mm, base diameter 12 mm, wall thickness 1 mm.

Dress accessories (FIGS 83–4, BF64.19–22)

The grave contained two brooches, one fragmentary (FIG. 83, BF64.19–20). Both are of Nertomarus type and were probably made in the Rhine area, perhaps among the Treveri (Behrens 1950, 5; Feugère 1985, 265, Type 14b2). They are discussed more fully on page 316, in particular the date of their import into Britain and their period of use, which can here be summarised as *c.* A.D. 40–50/5. The brooches did not lie close together in the ground and so do not appear to have been worn as a pair, implying that two cloaks had been placed in the grave.

The more complete brooch (FIG. 83, BF64.19) is stamped NERTOMA, the maker after whom the type is now named, although other makers produced the same form and also stamped their products (Behrens 1950, 3, 5). It can be assumed that the other brooch (FIG. 83, BF64.20) originally bore the same stamp. While several brooches of this form have been found in Britain, only one other stamped example has been recovered (Mackreth 1989a, 24, fig. 15, 7). It came from the gully of a Late Iron Age round-house at Piddington, Northamptonshire, and was associated with Late Iron Age fine and coarsewares. The context appears to pre-date a Roman military phase of occupation, beginning *c.* A.D. 44 (R. Friendship-Taylor, pers. comm.). Although the Piddington brooch is extremely well preserved, the stamp is not easily read. It has

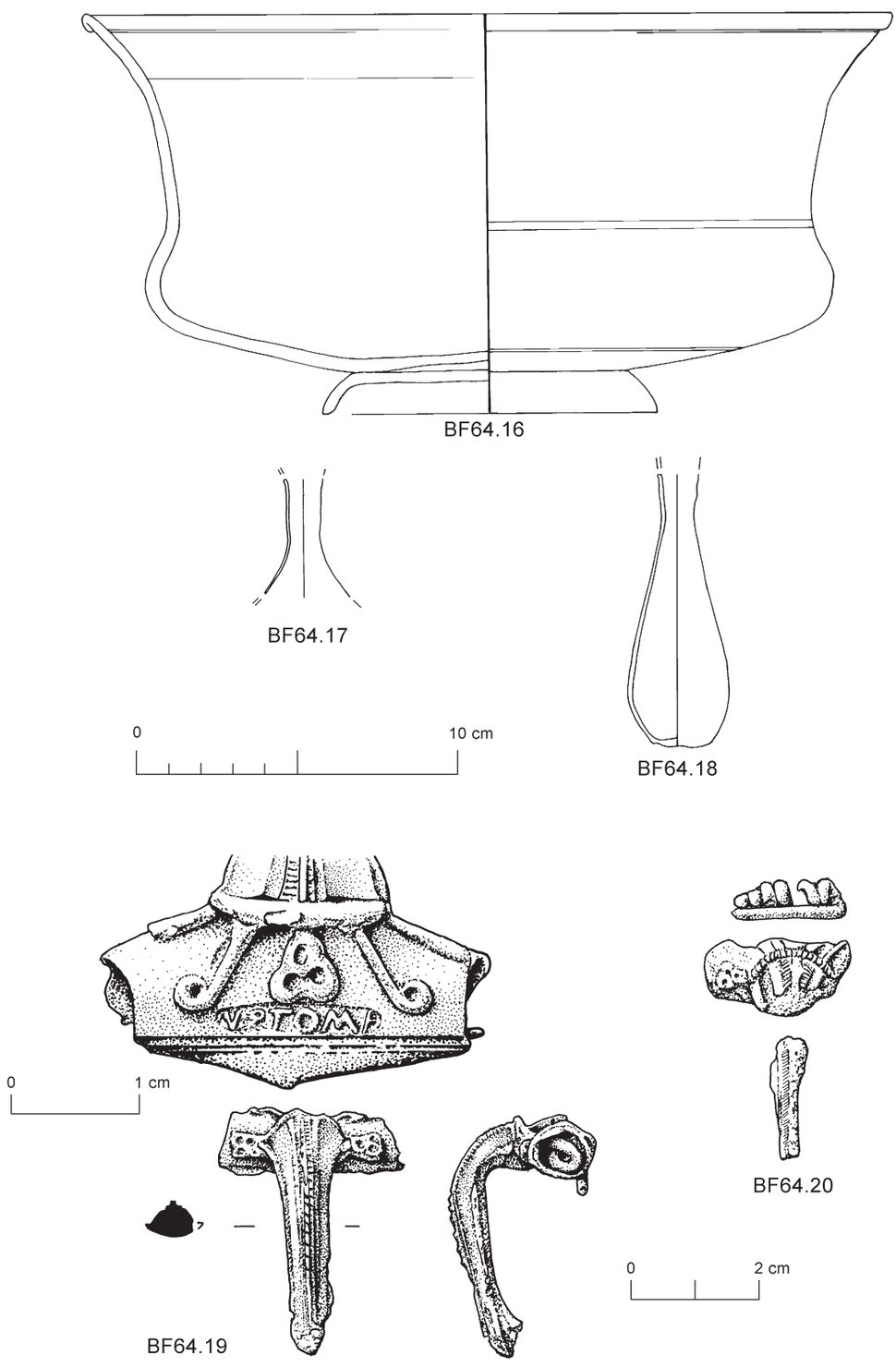


FIG. 83. Warrior's burial BF64: glass vessels BF64.16–18 (scale 1:2), copper-alloy brooches BF64.19–20 (scale 1:1), maker's name stamp on the Nertomarus brooch BF64.19 (scale 2:1)

been published as ROMV retrograde, but this was with the stamp inverted, *i.e.* viewed with the head uppermost (*RIB* 2, fasc. 3, 2421.49), which must be incorrect, as the stamps were meant to be read with the foot of the brooch pointing upwards (*e.g. RIB* 2, fasc. 3, 2421.2–2421.40; Behrens 1950, Abb. 2–4). With the brooch in the correct position, Mackreth offers another reading of BOWA (pers. comm.), although the letters are far from clear and a third alternative reading is –ER-MA, with the E reversed (and ?ligatured to R) and the MA ligatured, raising the possibility that this brooch is also a product of Nertomarus himself.

On the eastern edge of the central group of grave goods lay a large glass bead (FIG. 84, BF64.22) placed neatly within a large copper arm-ring (FIG. 84, BF64.21). The latter would have been made by wrapping a strip of sheet metal around a wooden form and then bending it, a technique linked to the manufacture of much earlier hollow torcs (Déchelette 1914, 1211–12, fig. 515, 1) and also to that of a hollow tubular armlet from a child's grave of 4th- to 7th-century date A.D. at Cannington, Somerset, which still contained the remains of a hazel branch (Rahtz *et al.* 2000, 355, fig. 239). The pliable nature of the hazel used for the Cannington armlet and the malleable copper used for the Stanway arm-ring highlight the appropriate use of materials by the smiths of antiquity that will be noted further below. The Stanway arm-ring is likely to have had a simple overlapping joint rather than more solid terminals, which would undoubtedly have survived in the ground had they existed. A smaller armlet found with the female burial at Birdlip was made into a full circle by having one end rebated and slotted into the other (Bellows 1881, 137–41, fig. 9; *BM Guide* 1925, 121). Arm-rings are not common finds, but there is a fragment of a hollow example from the Glastonbury lake village, with a slightly smaller hoop diameter than that from Stanway (Bulleid and Gray 1911, pl. 44, E194), while most of another hollow arm-ring, identified as a neck-ring but too small (*cf.* Macdonald 2000, 125, nos 19–20) and lacking a hinge, came from an early 1st-century context at Frocester, Gloucestershire (Price 2000, fig. 2.9, 233). An armlet was also found in the Hurstbourne Tarrant tumulus (Hawkes and Dunning 1930, fig. 31, 2), but its diameter is about 15 mm less than that of the Stanway arm-ring.

The bead (FIG. 84, BF64.22), which had been carefully placed concentrically inside the arm-ring, does not fall within Zepezauer's classification for Middle and Late Iron Age beads (Zepezauer 1993). The closest group is her Type 4.2.3, blue glass beads decorated with flecks of white glass. Although of similar size to the Stanway bead and making use of a similar decorative principle, the white flecks of Type 4.2.3 are smaller, more numerous, and, most importantly, often angular, as if made from fragments of shattered white glass added hard and cold to the blue matrix. The beads may have been rolled when soft over a scatter of solid fragments. In contrast, the smooth edges and elongated shape of the Stanway ovals show that, in this case, the white glass was either very soft when added to the matrix, or was softened for marvering. A further distinction lies in date. Most common around the area of the Manching *oppidum* in Germany, the continental Type 4.2.3 beads are almost certainly all earlier than the Stanway bead (*ibid.*, 52).

In Guido's classification of prehistoric and Roman beads from Britain, the Stanway bead falls into Group 1, a loose collection of 'large and medium annular beads with streaky or mottled design', which she notes as particular well represented in Germany but most common around Stradonice in the Czech Republic (Guido 1978, 59–60, 121, fig. 17). Only one Group 1 bead from Britain is described as blue and white, a bead from Colchester, which is of exactly the same diameter as that from BF64, but shorter (11 mm), with a smaller central hole (12 mm), and flat on each side. The white flecks in this bead are smaller and far more numerous than those in the BF64 example, and many have the angularity noted on those of Zepezauer's Type 4.2.3. They are mainly confined to the rounded outer part of the bead, but there are a few on the sides and several white streaks inside the perforation. The bead is part of Grave Group 53/18 in the Joslin Collection, dated by May to *c.* A.D. 80–120 (May 1928, 268, pl. 82), but described by Guido as A.D. 25–50 (1978, 121). May's date does not suit the bead, and Guido's does not suit the other objects, in particular a bangle-type ivory armlet of late 3rd- or 4th-century date. The Joslin Collection grave groups are not wholly reliable as he tended to separate

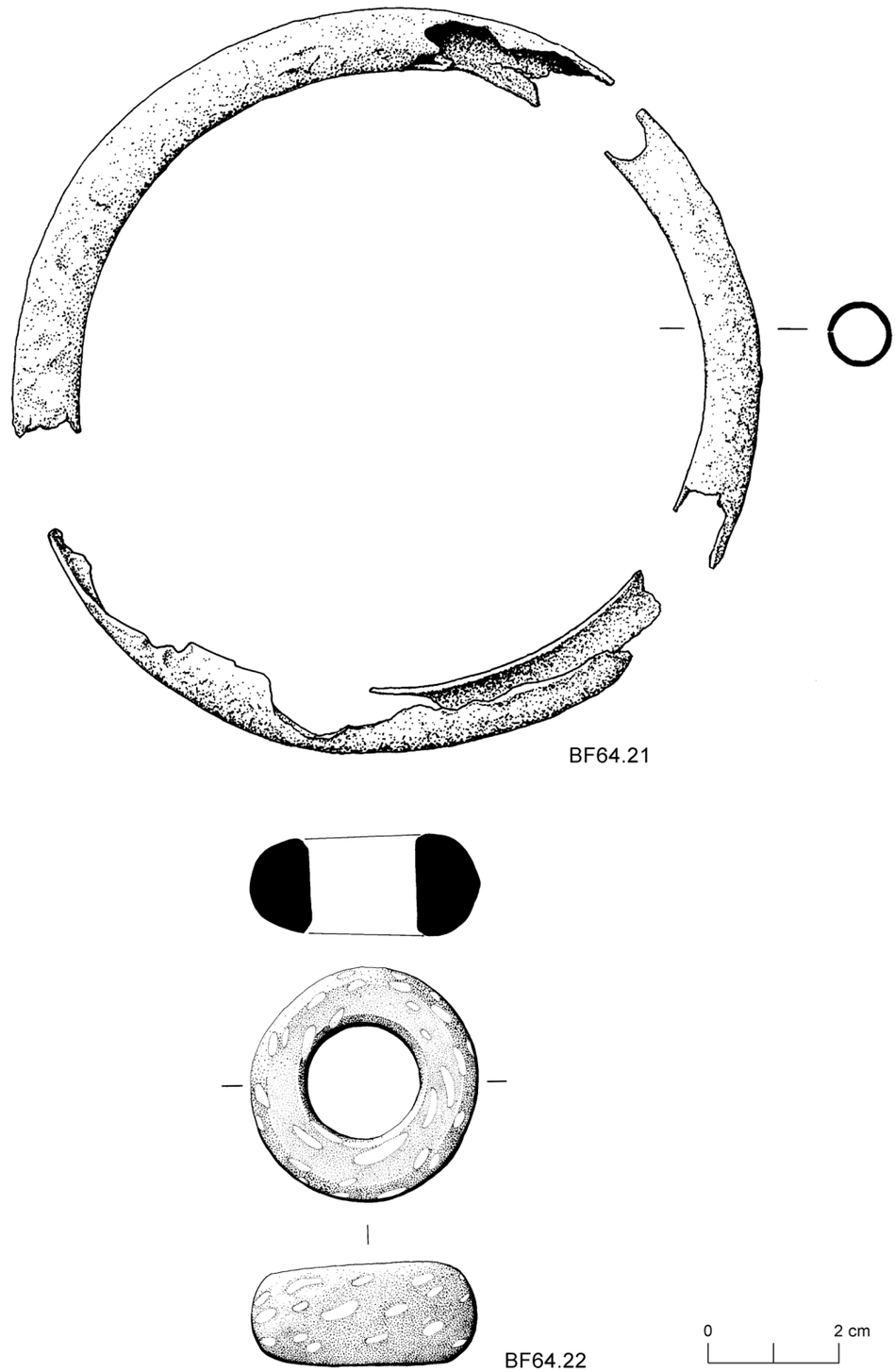


FIG. 84. Warrior's burial BF64: copper armlet BF64.21 and glass bead BF64.22 (scale 1:1)

pots from other objects, and the groups as published by May have in some cases been wrongly reassembled, as appears to be the situation here.

It may be that the Stanway bead is of British manufacture. Analysis shows it to be of slightly unusual composition. The white glass contains lead oxide, and this distinction may provide a further means of subdividing blue glass beads with white decoration. A blue and white bead

from Hayling Island with a high lead content may be of British origin (*see* p. 331), and has been dated to *c.* 50 A.D. or earlier. This leaves in question whether or not its manufacture pre-dates the invasion of A.D. 43, or if it is evidence of the arrival of glass bead technology in the wake of the invasion. The same would therefore be true of the Colchester bead.

In that respect it should be noted that, like the arm-ring, this bead is of La Tène rather than Roman style. The more common related form, large cobalt blue beads with marvered trail, disappeared from this area soon after the conquest (Guido 1978, 57), a disappearance that owes much to the arrival of introduced Roman bead forms and styles of personal ornament. In the Roman world, beads were generally worn in threaded necklace groups by women (*see* BF24 in Enclosure 4), while the Stanway graves BF64, CF47 and CF72 demonstrate the La Tène custom of wearing a single large bead. That this practice was not gender specific is demonstrated by this bead from a male grave and by the bead from CF72, which is almost certainly the burial of a female. The CF47 bead is jet and was undoubtedly credited with magical and/or healing powers (p. 217). Whether or not the BF64 bead was also considered in anyway amuletic is less certain, but it seems that glass beads in Migration Period Europe were thought to have had magical properties (Meaney 1981, 192–210), and comparisons may also be made with Late Bronze Age Mesopotamia, where the various colours of stones/glass were credited with specific properties akin to beneficial magic and necklaces might have both protective and curative powers (Robson 2001, 52), and with modern Sarawak, where beads are worn for protection or to strengthen the soul of an individual or a community (H.S. Morris 1997, 103; Chin and Mashman 1991, 187).

BF64.19 FIG. 83. SF340. B1032. Nertomarus brooch, with raised decoration on the spring cover. Probably brass. The lower part of the bow with the catchplate is missing, as is the end of the pin. One side of the spring-cover and the ends of the spring are damaged, as is one side of the bow. The decoration on the head consists of three trilobate motifs separated by curling fronds. Above the central motif the brooch bears the maker's stamp, NERTOMA. The E may be ligatured with the N, or reversed and ligatured with the R. There is a raised knurled moulding on the arched head. The bow is of complex section, with a marked marginal mouldings and a prominent knurled central rib flanked by two low knurled mouldings. Length 38 mm.

BF64.20 FIG. 83. SF382a. Fragments of a second Nertomarus brooch similar to SF340, also probably brass. Only small parts of the spring, and bow remain, with a large fragment from the head and the centre of the spring-cover. Length of largest piece 13 mm.

SF388. B1084. Fragments from the narrow foot and catchplate of a brooch, probably SF382 above. Largest piece 16 mm long. Although narrow, the pieces compare with the Nertomarus brooch from Fishbourne (Hull 1971, no. 28). Also in this number are fragments of sheet iron, probably from the shield boss, which lay nearby, but possibly from the wooden box with iron fittings (BF64.31) in which the glass bowl was deposited. Largest piece 18 by 12 mm.

BF64.21 FIG. 84. SF376. B1021. Hollow round-section arm-ring of impure copper in eight fragments. It was made by rolling up a long piece of sheet metal over a solid forme, probably of wood, then removing the forme and bending the metal tube into a circle. The butt join between the long edges is set in the middle of the inside of the hoop. There is no sign of any solder. The join between the short edges has not survived. Internal diameter 87 mm, diameter of hoop 10 mm.

BF64.22 FIG. 84. SF377. B1022. Large annular bead of cobalt blue glass with white marvered oval dots. Diameter 36 mm, length 15 mm. Diameter of central hole 16.5 mm.

Shield and lance or spear (FIGS 85–6, BF64.23–24)

The shield boss (FIG. 85, BF64.23a) appears to be unique, but this is not wholly surprising as many Iron Age shield bosses are highly individual (Collis 1968, pl. IXb; 1973, especially fig. 4, 6; Stead 1985, 36–45). It is a composite piece of decorated copper alloy over an iron base, which could be an indication that it is of British origin (Stead 1985, 42; James and Rigby 1997, 60). No iron grip was found, but a fragment of cord found beneath the boss during conservation may have served as one (although J.P. Wild prefers to see this as part of textile which had been placed over many of the items in the grave). The outer areas of the boss are fragmentary and decayed, so that the form of the boss when whole is uncertain, but the edges,

all of which are incomplete, must have developed into flanges that allowed the boss to be attached to the wood of the shield. The larger separate fragment (FIG. 86, BF64.23b) is probably part of the flange. An associated thin fragment with complex profile (FIG. 88, BF64.27) is unlikely to be part of the boss and may instead be from a vessel or other object not otherwise identified.

The upper part of the boss was rounded, but lower down it is clearly developing into a rectangle or perhaps a square. It does not appear to be paralleled among Late Iron Age forms, nor was it a simple hollow hemisphere with plain flange, like bosses from Lyon (Rhône), and from Karaagaè, Bulgaria, which are copper-alloy versions of the more usual iron forms (Stead 1985, 36–45; Boucher *et al.* 1980, no. 224; Karadimitrova 2002; Feugère 2002a, 87–93). A boss from a Welwyn-type burial of Claudian date at Stanfordbury may perhaps have been similar, but it has not survived (Stead 1967, 55, no. 13; 1985, 39). The three bosses from the Polden Hill hoard, although deposited at much the same date, are also much simpler in form and method of manufacture (Brailsford 1975, fig. 5).

The large decorated knob of the Stanway boss invites comparison with the knobbed copper-alloy boss from the warrior grave found at Berry-Bouy (Cher), France, but the two are again very different in shape and method of manufacture (Ferdière and Villard 1993, 135–6, figs 2-29, 2-49; Feugère 2002a, fig. 98). The Berry-Bouy boss is round and flanged, and the knob is of sheet metal reinforced by a tin-lead core (Ferdière and Villard 1993, 135–6, 2-49). A jug and handled basin found in the same grave are from a service of Nuber's Hagenow type, earlier in date than the Type E (Millingen) service found in BF64, and the grave is considered to be of Augustan date (Nuber 1972, 38–44; Ferdière and Villard 1993, 121–39).

The rocker-arm decoration on the Stanway boss is occasionally found on both Gallic and British brooches, for example Nauheims and Rosettes, on the catchplates of some Colchesters, and more frequently on some Colchester derivatives, although the latter almost certainly post-date this grave (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 311; Hattatt 1985, fig. 11, 253, fig. 12, fig. 19, 284; Feugère 1985, pl. 50). The knob has been designed so that the incised moulding of the base accurately frames the upper part with its incised triplet of circles. The use of three circles here may have some significance other than the purely decorative, perhaps religious or protective, similar to that of the three circles incised on the sides of the head of the Rearhook brooch in CF47. The knob does not seem to be fixed very securely to the base-plate, and the shield may therefore be meant for display only, not for use in battle. The knob on the boss from Berry-Bouy is also designed so that successive tiers of decoration frame that on the very top. The general, although not specific, stylistic similarities of the two knobs suggest a link between the two bosses, but whether it is one of date, which would make the Stanway shield over half a century old when buried, or of place of origin is far from clear.

Feugère (2002a, 131) has stressed the many variations in the form of lances and the lack of any convincing analysis, and the Stanway lancehead (FIG. 86, BF64.24a) is certainly idiosyncratic in its extreme length and slenderness. It may perhaps be an intentional exaggeration of the form, meant for display rather than use, as may also be the case with the shield boss. The blade is a little bent, which may be deliberate damage done at the time of the burial for ritual purposes, although given that the bend is very slight, it may just be a sign that the lance has been used. However, the lancehead may simply have distorted in the ground as it corroded (*cf.* the bends in the iron rod CF47.23a on FIG. 114). The blade is designed for deep penetration, which might be taken to be a characteristic of warfare rather than hunting, although early Roman spearheads found in Britain tend on the whole to be short and wide (Ottaway 1992, 710–11; Manning 1985, fig. 33). Of over 100 spearheads from Hod Hill, Dorset, only those of Manning's Group IVA approach the length of this example but none is of this precise form, tending to have a much more prominent midrib, which adds strength to an otherwise potentially weak form (*ibid.*, 167). A La Tène lancehead from Manching is close in length to the Stanway example, but, although narrow, does not equal it in slenderness (Sievers 1989, Abb. 2, 5). The long lances from Alésia, identified as of La Tène type, perhaps provide the best comparative material as they also have a long socket and long blade and, in some cases,

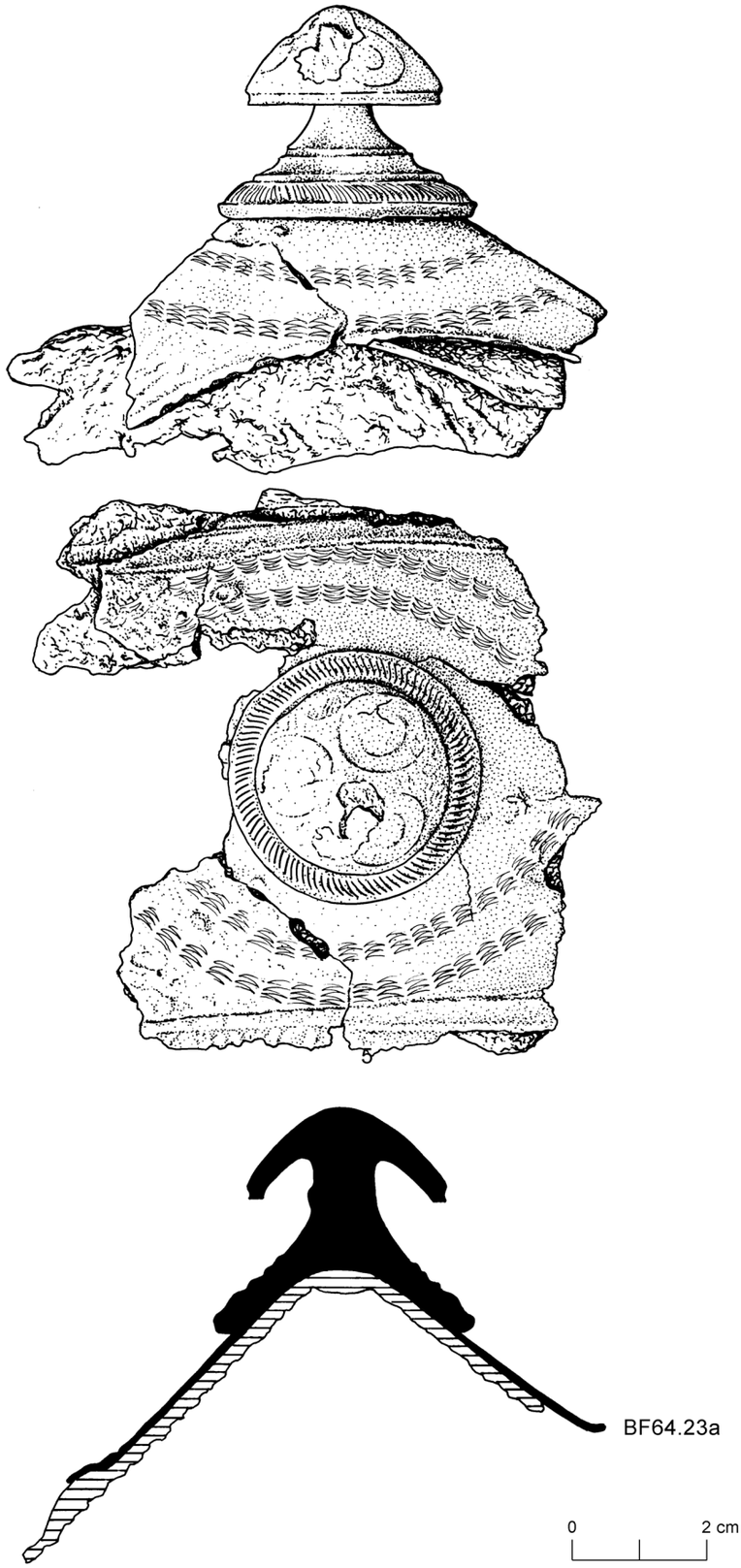


FIG. 85. Warrior's burial BF64: shield boss BF64.23a (scale 1:1)

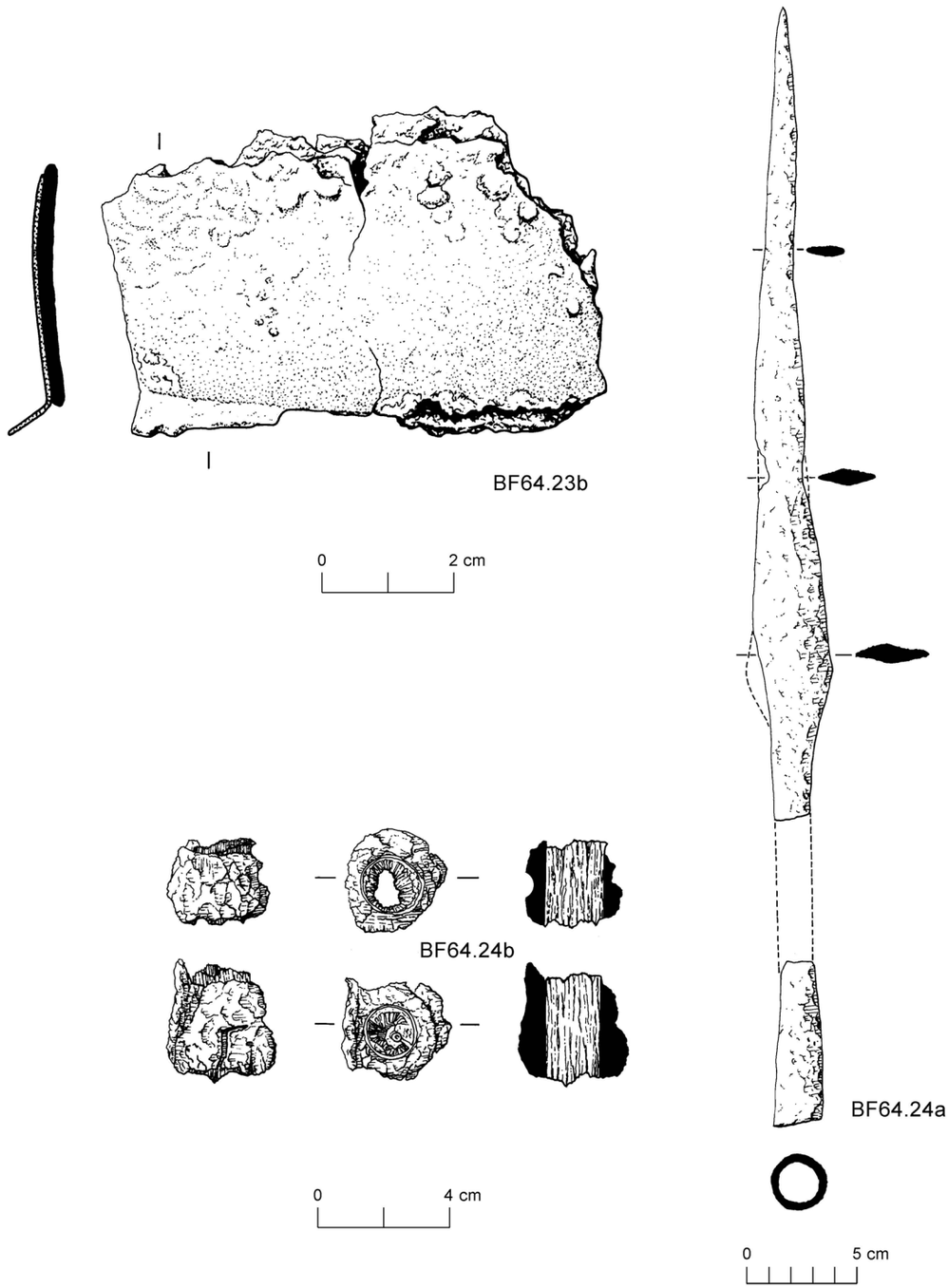


FIG. 86. Warrior's burial BF64: ?part of shield boss BF64.23b (scale 1:1), iron lance or spearhead BF64.24a (scale 1:3), and iron bands with fragments of wooden shaft BF64.24b (scale 1:2).

have shoulders set only just above the junction with the socket as does the Stanway lance, but few approach it in length (Sievers 2001, 176, pls 55–8, esp. 187, 195–6).

Two iron bands (FIG. 86, BF64.24b), with wood from a shaft surviving inside, were found in the north-west corner of the grave among a group of box fittings. They are almost certainly collar ferrules from the lance shaft and suggest that its length was not much less than that of the grave itself, *i.e.* about 1.7 to 1.8 m. Similar ferrules have been found at both Hod Hill and Alésia, presumably from British and Gallic spears respectively (Manning 1985, 141, S84–94; Sievers 2001, pl. 73, 400–6).

The absence of a sword from this grave can be seen in three ways: first, it may be a demonstration of the disarming of the native British élite in this area after A.D. 43; or second, it may show that in terms of status this burial ranks lower than graves containing a sword (and usually also either a spear and/or a shield), such as those from Great Braxted, Essex, Mill Hill, Deal, Kent, Kelvedon, Essex, and Clemency, Luxembourg, and in France those at Berry-Bouy and, in particular, Fléré-la-Rivière, which contained three swords and two spears, but equal to spear-and-shield graves such as that at Antran, France, and superior to spear-only graves such as Little Walden, Essex, and Merlsford, Fife (Stead 1985, 39; Stead 1995, 59–72; Sealey 1996, 58; Ferdière and Villard 1993; Dieudonné-Glad 1999; Hull 1963, 195; Hunter 1996, 120–2); and third, but most likely, that the lance should be seen as a general symbol of status, and not a reflection of tightly structured rank or political events.

Many more spears are known than swords in both the La Tène and Roman periods, as well as in earlier and later periods, a proportion that is no doubt affected by the different amounts of time invested in the manufacture of each weapon type, and also by their different methods of use; spears could be cast and lost and were easily damaged, swords were held in battle and could be repaired, to some extent refashioned, and may have been perceived as heirloom pieces. A parallel to Late Iron Age and early Roman graves with spears may be drawn with similar burials of the Pagan Anglo-Saxon period, when both spear- and spear-and-shield graves far outnumber sword-and-spear or sword-spear-and-shield graves (Härke 1989, tables 4.3–4.4). Härke suggests that the choice of deposited weapons at that period was not a reflection of the equipment available to the individual but was principally symbolic, driven by social and economic factors such as age, status within the family and the wider community, and wealth, and this may also have been the case in Iron Age Britain (*ibid.*, 59; James and Rigby 1997, 58). In the context of BF64 therefore, it may be said that the absence of a sword and the presence of a lance and shield need only be seen as a reflection of status/occupation, not of a specific rank, even though the manufacture, acquisition and deposition of a lance involved less real economic investment than that of a sword.

BF64.23a FIG. 85. SF347. B1006. Composite shield boss, consisting of a domed base-plate of iron capped by bronze sheet (the bronze contains a little lead), and a large decorative leaded bronze knob, separately cast and fixed, probably by solder, to the base-plate. The sides of the boss are incomplete and part of the central section is missing. The main plate is more or less rectangular in plan, with a decorative groove along the two best-preserved sides. It is decorated with lines of wide rocker-arm (zigzag; walked scorper) decoration set in rows. The knob has a wide base, hollow beneath, with concentric mouldings, the widest marked with fine incised diagonal grooves; its upper surface is mushroom-shaped and is decorated with three large incised circles with an inner circle and central dot. No inlay or plating was detected. Maximum dimensions 83 by 81 mm, 61 mm high. Given the absence of a metal strap, traces of a cord or rope found beneath the boss during conservation can perhaps be interpreted as part of the grip.

BF64.23b FIG. 86. SF373. Many other fragments of sheet iron and copper alloy from the area of the shield, together with wood from the shield board. Only the largest fragment is illustrated. The quantity of this material suggests that the boss was much larger than suggested by the main piece (BF64.23a), and this is quite possible given its unusual form and the lack of any original edge. The largest fragment (BF64.23b) is of plain sheet copper alloy over an iron plate, and probably formed part of the outer flange of the boss. The other pieces included one of sheet copper alloy only. It may be part of a shield fitting, or all that remains of a separate, unidentified, sheet-metal object (*see* BF64.27 below).

BF64.24a FIG. 86. SF357-361/363. B1028. Iron lance- or spearhead, in fragments and partly disintegrated. The shoulders form an unusual V-shape, tapering rapidly to a long and narrow blade, which has a lenticular section distorted by corrosion in places. The midrib is not prominent, disappearing completely well before the tip. Total length approximately 510 mm. Length of blade 320 mm, maximum width 37 mm. Although reconstructed from many fragments, the length of the socket shown on FIGURE 86 is considered to be accurate.

BF64.24b FIG. 86. SF381a. B1026.

1) Iron band with fragments of a wooden shaft preserved within it, and with two patches of mineral-preserved wood on the outer face. Diameter 29 mm (increased by the action of corrosion), length 19 mm

2) Similar band, but longer, and also with wood preserved inside. Diameter 23 mm, length 22 mm. These

pieces are probably from the spear shaft, and the wood on the outside of the first may be from either planks covering the grave, or from the box in the north-west corner of the grave, among the fittings from which they were found.

Copper-alloy vessels (FIGS 87–8, BF64.25–27)

The jug (FIG. 87, BF64.25) and handled basin (FIG. 87, BF64.26) form a hand-washing service of Nuber's Type E, or Millingen type, characterised by the use of plastic anthro- or zoomorphic decoration (1972, 45, Taf. 4, 1). The handled basin is of Tassinari's form H2311 at Pompeii, and the jug is form D2300 (1993, vol. 1, 40, 42, 58–9, vol. 2, 67–9, 132–7). Both forms were manufactured over a long period of time, but the use of circles to represent the shaggy hair of the ram's head on the basin handle shows this example to be an early form of the type, and of Italian manufacture (Nuber 1972, 46). The lion motif on the handle of the jug is more detailed than many other examples, with the terminals of the rim attachment bar formed into paws, the mane running well onto the crest, and a large paw on the escutcheon. This may also be indicative of an early date within the type. Textile fragments found on the jug may come from an accompanying cloth for drying the hands after washing, or it may simply have been in contact with a garment. Both vessels are further discussed on pages 321–2, 335.

There is a strong possibility that the grave contained a third copper-alloy vessel, represented by a thin fragment of sheet metal with complex profile (FIG. 88, BF64.27). The piece is seemingly necked and shouldered, and with traces of girth rings. It is not, however, regularly

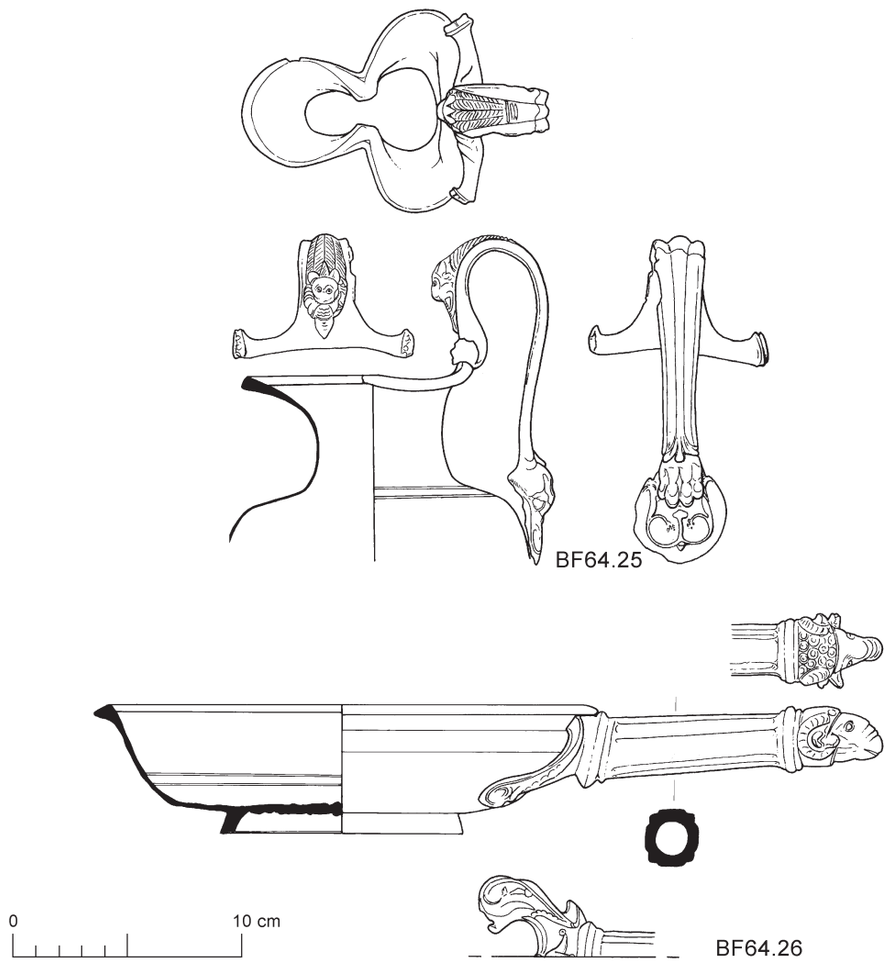


FIG. 87. Warrior's burial BF64: copper-alloy jug BF64.25 and handled basin BF64.26 (scale 1:3)

curved along its horizontal axis and cannot be attributed with certainty to a particular vessel form. The fragment was found in close association with the shield boss yet does not appear to have been part of the boss nor part of the collapsed lower section of the jug.

BF64.25 FIG. 87. SF375a. B1020. A composite copper-alloy jug, with trilobate rim and oval neck. The lower part of the vessel has been crushed and only distorted fragments remain. The handle and the upper part of the vessel were cast, the lower part spun. Both the upper and lower sections of the body are made from a bronze containing a small quantity of lead. The two were brazed together, and the join disguised by a pair of grooves. No plating was detected, but the inside of the vessel could not be analysed. The handle, which is cast in a leaded bronze, has a lion mask at the upper end, the eyes shown as circular indentations with an outer groove and inner pit. The beard is shown by half-moon punch marks and defined by incised lines. The discoid terminals of the rim attachment bar are shaped into the pads of paws. The mane runs onto the crest of the handle, where it ends in transverse mouldings. The handle has prominent marginal mouldings and a central rib below the mane. The lower end terminates in a large paw on a rounded escutcheon, with a raised peltate floral motif beneath the paw. Surviving height 150 mm. Fragments of textile found on the jug suggest it was wrapped in cloth when deposited.

BF64.26 FIG. 87. SF372. B1019. Fragmentary basin with ram's head handle. (Often called a patera or skillet, but, as it was not used for cooking, the term basin is used here.) Both the body and handle are cast in a leaded bronze, and were soldered together with a lead-tin solder. The bowl of the vessel has been restored for display, with much substitute material added, and is now asymmetrical. It is shown here as symmetrical, but the diameter and depth have both been estimated and are not necessarily wholly accurate. It has a deep footring and beaded rim. There are lathe centre marks inside both the bowl and the footring, with a number of concentric grooves set around them, and internally a moulding at the base of the wall. The escutcheon of the handle is decorated with incised marginal lines and semicircular punch marks, with a lotus bud set in the centre. The hollow cast handle has symmetrical linear mouldings. The ram's head has knurled horns, curling around the ears, and with the ends turned outwards. The hair between the horns is shown by circles with varying internal lines and dots. The facial features are well formed, even to the extent of showing the groove beneath the lower jaw. Length of handle 126 mm. Internal diameter of bowl about 202 mm, height 55 mm, probably greater originally.

BF64.27 FIG. 88.SF373. Thin copper-alloy fragment with complex profile. Possibly part of a third copper-alloy vessel.

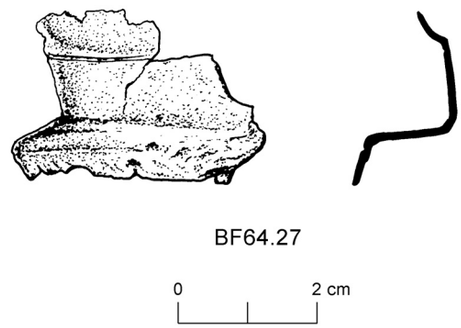


FIG. 88. Warrior's burial BF64: fragment probably from a copper-alloy vessel BF64.27 (scale 1:1)

Board game (FIGS 89–91, BF64.28–29)

A maplewood board (BF64.29) with brass fittings lay in one corner of the grave, and close by was a pile of eleven blue and nine white glass counters (FIG. 89, BF64.28). The latter are imports of standard Roman form, made by placing small 'spoonfuls' of molten glass to set on a bed of sand. All are circular, with a typical sand-roughened underside and convex top, and are between 15 and 22 mm in diameter. The majority of counters from Roman Britain are similarly monochrome dark coloured (black/blue) or white, and they contrast with the La Tène style decoration on the yellow, white, blue and green counters from the board game in the late 1st-century B.C. grave at Welwyn Garden City (Cool and Philo 1998, 190, tables 34–5; Price 1995, 129; Harden 1967, 14–16).

Analysis of the counters shows the lighter blue counters from BF64 to be of a different composition to the dark blue examples (p. 329), and both differ to those in CF42 and CF47 in Enclosure 5. As might be expected, all the Stanway counters differ in composition to those from the Welwyn Garden City grave (Werner and Bimson 1967, 17).

The use of brass for the drop-handles on the wooden board suggests that they were also of continental origin. The board itself was in two pieces, held together by strong junction-fittings (FIG. 91, BF64.29e–f), and had protective corner-binding (FIG. 91, BF64.29g) fixed over leather. A tinned brass drop-handle was fitted to each end by copper-alloy split-pins (FIG. 90,

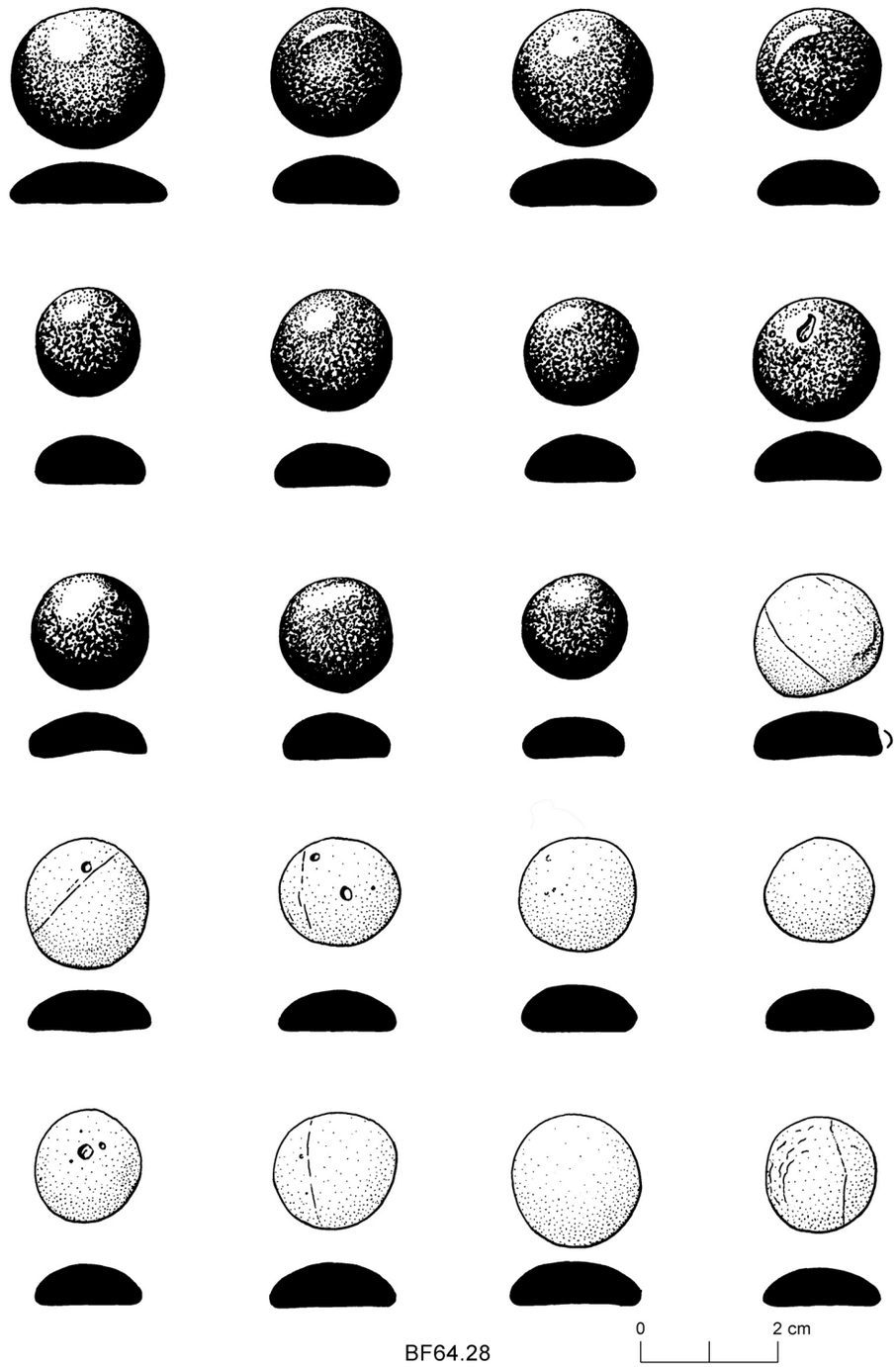


FIG. 89. Warrior's burial BF64: glass gaming counters BF64.28 (scale 1:1)

BF64.29.a–d). The handles are particularly well-made examples of the form, tinned, with deeply channelled grooves and crisp mouldings flanking the central bead, and well-shaped acorn terminals. Similar handles are a 1st-century form and generally interpreted as having come from boxes, although they can also be used on vessels and other domestic equipment (*e.g.* Riha 2001, 28–30; Tassinari 1993, vol. 2, 251, no. 10549; Eggers 1951, nos 75–78; Ward-Perkins and Claridge 1976, no. 159). The recovery of the pair from BF64 widens their use still further. A single drop-handle and two hinges from burial 6 at Baldock may perhaps now also be interpreted as from a game board (Stead and Rigby 1986, fig. 28, plan, 13–14, 16 and fig. 30, 13–14, 16), as may a similar group (from a leather-bound maplewood board) from grave 117 at King Harry Lane, Verulamium, although the location of the handle in this group, lying between the two sets of hinges, is odd. Yet another board, but with no handle, came from grave 309 at King Harry Lane (Stead and Rigby 1989, 109–110, figs 108, 152).

Several sets of gaming counters, in bone and pottery as well as glass have been found in burials in Britain. They have been listed by Cotton with particular reference to a set of bone counters from Ewell, Surrey (Cotton 2001a, 13, table A; 2001b, 27–31, especially table 9; and

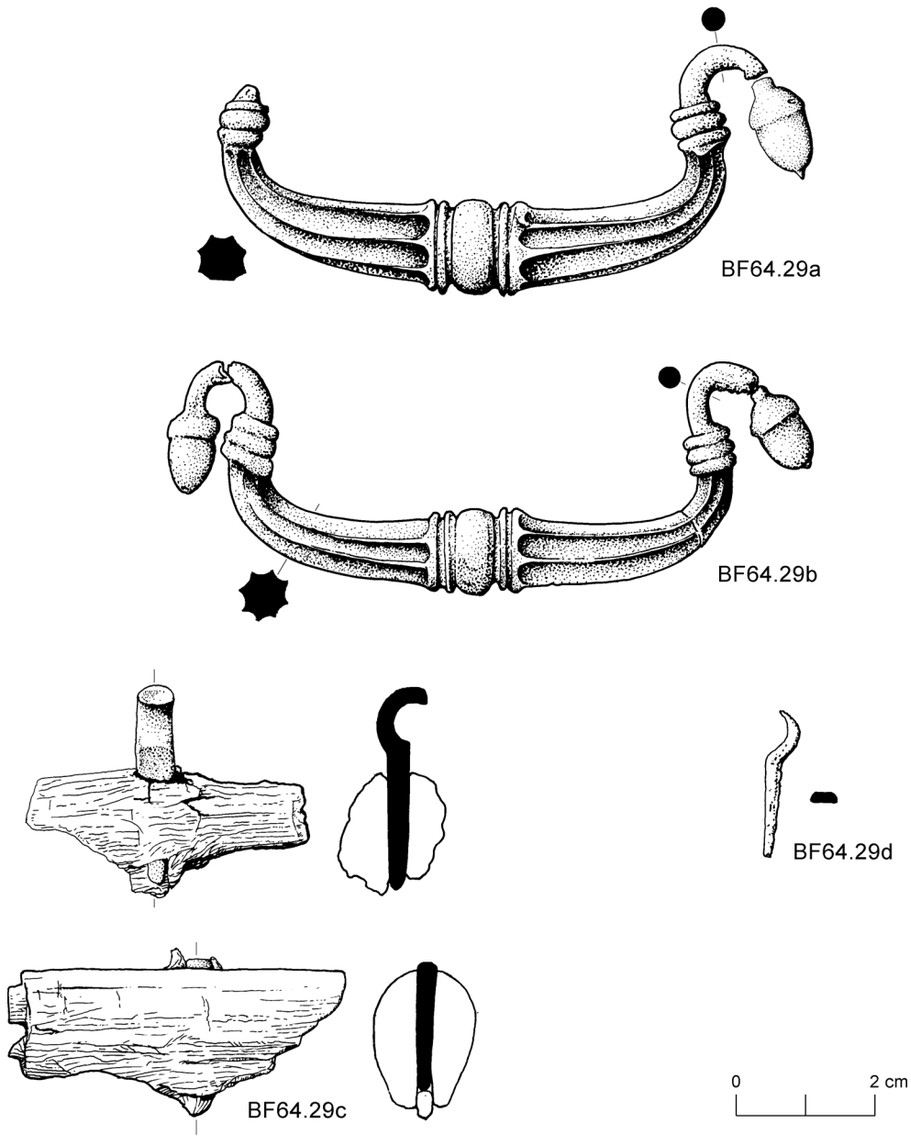


FIG. 90. Warrior's burial BF64: copper-alloy drop handles BF64.29a–b and handle attachments BF24.29c–d from the gaming board with part of the wooden board itself (scale 1:1)

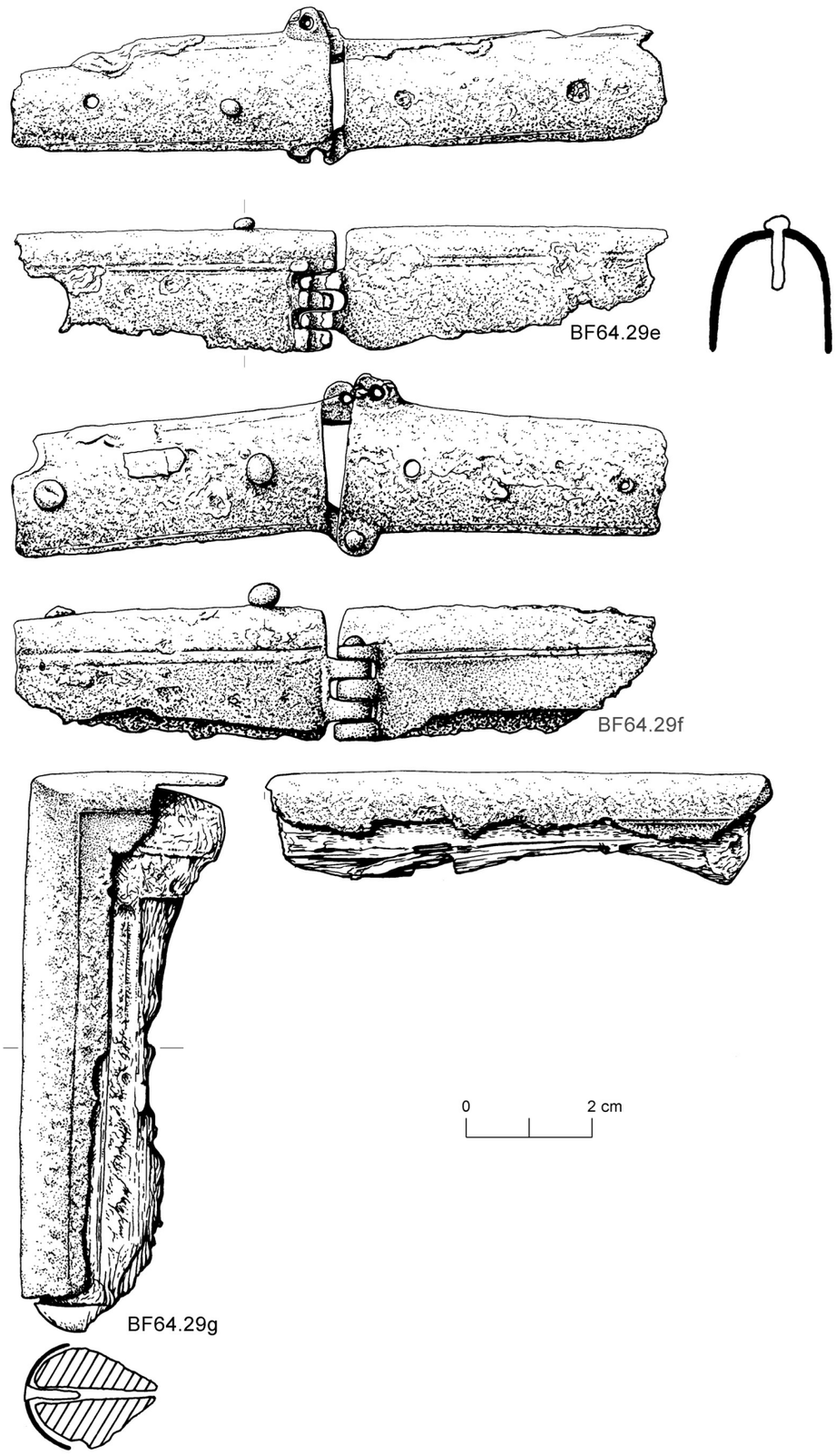


FIG. 91. Warrior's burial BF64: copper-alloy junction bidings BF64.29e–f and corner binding BF64.29g from the gaming board with part of the wooden board itself (scale 1:1).

see p. 368), and range in date from those from the Welwyn Garden City grave of *c.* 10 B.C. (Stead 1967, 14–19), to a set in a late 4th-century grave at Lankhills, Winchester (Clarke 1979, 251–4). All come from eastern or southern Britain, with the furthest west from Dorset, and the furthest north from York. They are, however, concentrated in the south-east, with eight out of twenty-three coming from Essex and Hertfordshire (including the two sets from Stanway), three from London, one each from Surrey and Suffolk, and two each from Kent and West Sussex. (A set of bone pegs from King Harry Lane is not included in this total, although it is included in Cotton's list.)

BF64.28 FIG. 89. SF313. B1015; SF397. B unstratified (from sieving of spoil from excavation of burial pit). Eleven blue and nine white glass counters. The blue counters vary from cobalt and slightly translucent through to almost black and opaque, and from round to slightly oval. SF313: Diameters 22 × 20 mm (7 mm high), 20 mm (6.5 mm high), 19 mm (7 mm high), 18 × 19 mm (7 mm high), 18 mm (7 mm high), 17 × 18 mm (6.5 mm high), 16 × 17 mm (6 mm high), 15.5 × 16 mm (6.5 mm high), 15 × 15.5 mm (6.5 mm high), 15 mm (6 mm high). SF397: Diameter 17.5 mm, height 7 mm. All have well-formed upper surfaces and slightly sand-roughened undersides. The two 6 mm high counters are the bluest. The white counters are all opaque and have slightly sand-roughened undersides. Some have pits from air bubbles on the surface, and one has a shiny swirl where the opacifier was not fully mixed into the matrix. SF313: Diameters 19 mm (6.5 mm high), 18.5 mm (6 mm high), 17.5 × 19 mm (7 mm high), 17 × 18 mm (6 mm high), 16.5 × 17 mm (7 mm high), 15.5 × 17 mm (6 mm high), 17 mm (6 mm high), 16 × 17 mm (6 mm high), 16 mm (6 mm high).

BF64.29

a FIG. 90. SF316. B1016; SF339a, B1034. Tinned brass drop-handle, one terminal missing. The handle is unusually ornate, with a central bead between transverse collar mouldings, and collar mouldings before the curve of the terminal. Stout linear mouldings run between the central and outer collars. The terminals end in well-formed acorns. Length (when complete) 88 mm.

b FIG. 90. SF317. B1080. Copper-alloy drop-handle as BF64.29a. The ends of the terminals now detached. Length (when complete) 88 mm.

c FIG. 90. SF383. Fragments of wood from the western edge of the game board, pierced by copper-alloy split-pins used for attaching one of the drop-handles. Lengths 47 and 38.5 mm. The longer fragment of wood retains a slight lip to show it was rebated to take copper-alloy binding. Small fragments of copper-alloy sheet, some curved and some of which have traces of leather adhering, are all that remain of this. They are not illustrated here.

d FIG. 90. SF382b. Fragment of a split-pin used to attach one of the handles. Length 21 mm.

e FIG. 91. SF348. B1060 ?Brass central junction binding from the northern side of the game board, with fragments of the wood. U-shaped in section, each piece has a pair of parallel grooves along the centre of each side and was fixed to the wood of the board by two small brass dome-headed tacks (one only now survives). The two pieces were joined by interlocking perforated lugs, three lugs on each side of one piece, two on the other. No axial pin or rivet remains. Length (joined) 104 mm. If a rivet or fixing pin was fitted through each set of lugs, the two pieces would have been held rigid, not hinged. If the board were intended to fold, either no pin, or a removable pin, must have been used on one side to enable the pieces to be disarticulated.

f FIG. 91. SF371. B990. Copper-alloy central junction binding from the southern side of the game board. Three of the tacks for attaching the binding to the board survive. A dome-headed pin remains in one set of lugs. The tip of the pin is blunt. Length 102 mm. The pin seems too small to remove without losing it.

g FIG. 91. SF319, B992; SF335, B1059; SF336, B991; SF339b, B1034. Four ?brass corner binding pieces, with fragments of the wooden board. SF336 is from the south-west corner, SF339 the south-east, BF64.29g (SF335) the north-east, and SF319 the north-west. Only BF64.29g (SF335) is well-preserved and illustrated here. It has one long and one short side, the inner margins defined by an incised groove. The binding is attached by two copper-alloy tacks on the long side, the heads flush with the surface of the binding. Length 83 mm. The wood has been rebated to take the binding. There are traces of leather on SF339b.

Box (north-west) (FIG. 92, BF64.30)

A group of iron fittings from the north-west corner of the grave are all that remain of a large wooden box BF64.30 (FIG. 92). The fittings consist of two L-shaped pieces, the short arm is nail-like, the long one is a strap with studs for attachment (FIG. 92, BF64.30a; BF64.30h.8);

parts of one or more loop-hinges with studs for attachment (FIG. 92, BF64.30b; BF64.30h.1); several fragments of thin iron straps, again with studs for attachment, and with one small fragment having a short return to show it came from a corner (FIG. 92, BF64.30d and BF64.30c.7; BF64.30c.4–6, BF64.30h.2–5); two split-spike loops (FIG. 92, BF64.30c.1–2); four long spikes (BF64.30i, BF64.30f, BF64.30h.6–7); a large rod (FIG. 92, BF64.30g); and fragments of studs and nail shanks or spikes (FIG. 92, BF64.30a.2; BF64.30e, BF64.30c.3, BF64.30j).

The box was clearly hinged, although only part of one loop-hinge remains. The two split-spike loops were probably replacements for the missing hinge (Manning 1985, 130). The rod, with its section different at each end, may have been a locating pin, fixed in the lid and slotting into a hole in the front board when the box was closed, but it has expanded considerably because of corrosion and this identification is far from certain. The two L-shaped fittings are unusual in the Roman period but could also act as hinges as they resemble a type of medieval pintle used for hinged items such as shutters or chest lids (Egan 1998, 46, fig. 28, 32). The long arms would have been fitted onto a surface and visible, the nail-like short arms would have been driven into the edge of a board. They would have been set so that the long arm was attached to one board with the short one driven into a board abutting at right angles. The long spikes must have been used instead of nails, and their size suggests that the boards making up the box were quite substantial, as does the size of the split-spike loops. The strap fittings, with low dome-headed studs for attachment, also occur on the box containing the glass bowl in the south-west corner of the grave.

No contents survive from this box, and so whatever it contained can be presumed to have been organic. Clothing seems to be the most likely possibility, although no mineral-replaced textile fragments were noted on the iron fittings. Thirteen graves in the cemetery of Lamadelaine at the Titelberg, Luxembourg, also contained iron fittings from wooden furniture, in some cases from large boxes or chests, and three of the graves also contained weapons (Metzler-Zens *et al.* 1999, 310–11, 386–7). It has been suggested of the Lamadelaine boxes that as well as representing the idea of the protection of property (several of the boxes were fitted with locks), they also indicated the mobility of an élite social group, and this is particularly pertinent in the context of the Stanway warrior's burial which included so many items of continental manufacture among the grave goods.

BF64.30

a FIG. 92. SF364. 1) L-shaped iron fitting, the long arm a strap, the short arm narrow for insertion into wood. The long arm is 95 mm long, 18 mm wide, tapering slightly into the corner, and 3–4 mm thick. It has two dome-headed studs or nails for attachment, head diameter 15 mm. The shafts are broken off below the strap. There is mineral-replaced wood on the underside. The short arm is 40 mm long, projecting about 25 mm beyond the inner edge of the strap, and is about 5 mm square in section. It is covered in mineral-replaced wood. 2) Iron nail with flat round head, 13 mm in diameter. Shaft length 29 mm, covered in mineral-replaced wood.

b FIG. 92. SF352. Part of an iron loop-hinge, with most of the strap but only a short length of the loop surviving. Length 111 mm, width 22 mm, tapering slightly towards the rounded end. Strap thickness 3 mm. Parts of two dome-headed nails for fixing the hinge to the wooden box remain. The heads are 15 mm in diameter, 5 mm high. Little of either shaft remains, the longest gives a minimum board thickness of 11 mm. Substantial pieces of mineral-replaced wood remain on the underside.

c FIG. 92. SF369. B1025. Two split-spike loops, a nail shaft, and 4 fragments of iron strap (one illustrated). 1) FIG. 92. Split-spike loop, the arms parallel. Length 71 mm, loop diameter 29.5 mm. There is mineral-replaced wood on both sides of the arms below the loop. 2) FIG. 92. Split-spike loop, part of one arm missing. The other is clenched. Length 47 mm to bend, 36 mm beyond it. Loop diameter 27 mm. There is mineral-replaced wood on both sides of the arms below the loop. 3) Iron nail with round flat head, diameter 10 mm. The shaft covered in mineral-replaced wood. Length (tip missing) 45 mm. 4) Fragment of an iron strap. Length 27 mm, width 34 mm, 2 mm thick. 5) Fragment of iron strap. Maximum dimensions 22 by 25 mm, 2 mm thick. 6) Fragment of iron strap. Maximum dimensions 32 by 22.5 mm, 2 mm thick. 7) FIG. 92. Fragment of iron strap with dome-headed stud. Maximum dimensions 26 by 23 mm, 2 mm thick. Stud head diameter 16 mm.

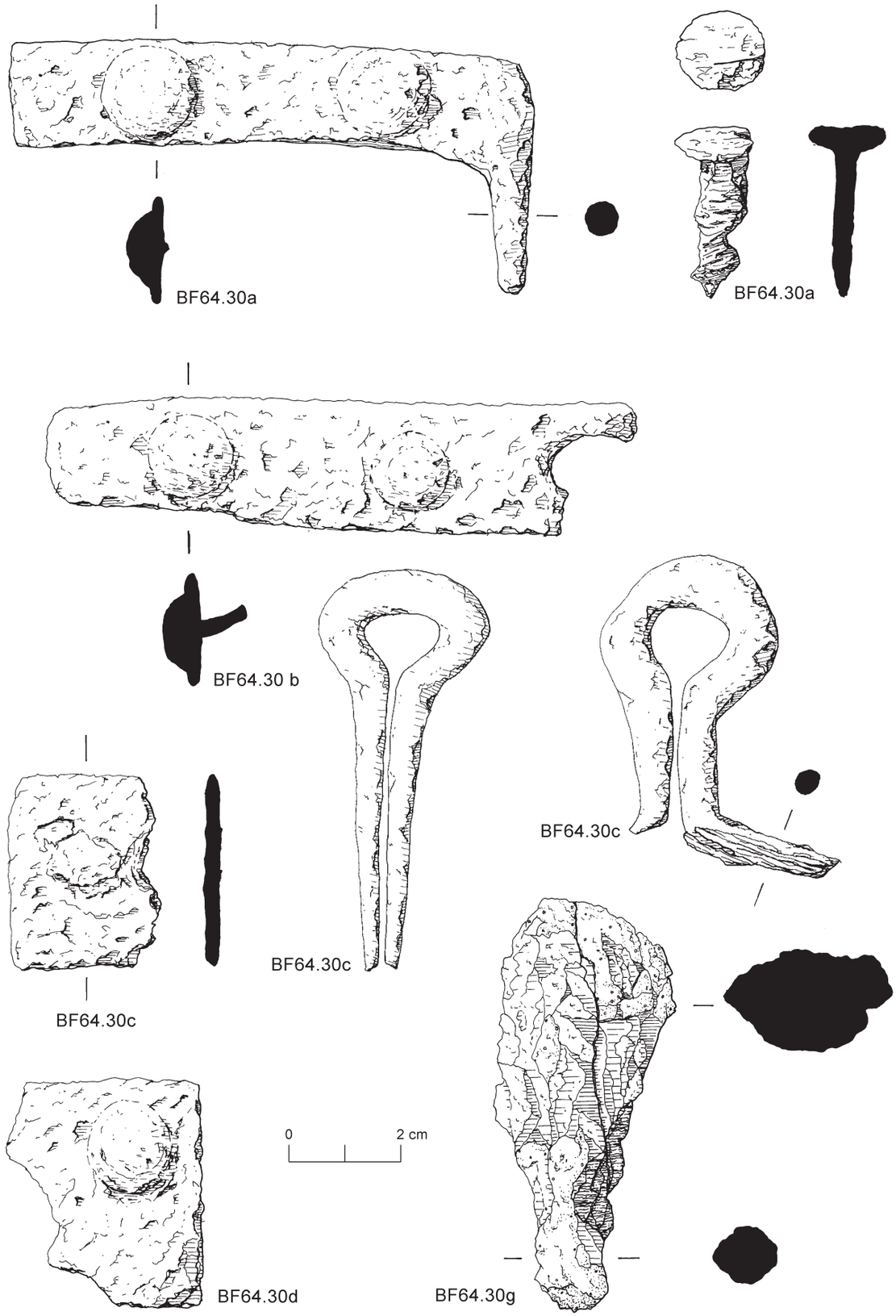


FIG. 92. Warrior's burial BF64: iron fittings from box (north-west area of burial pit) BF64.30a–d and 30g (scale 1:1)

d FIG. 92. SF367. B1025. Fragment of an iron strap, with a dome-headed stud or nail for attachment. Length 37 mm, width 35 mm, 2 mm thick. Stud head 17 mm in diameter.
e SF366. B1025. Iron stud with flat round head, now separate. Diameter 20 mm, length approximately 45 mm. There is mineral-replaced wood around the shaft and under the head.
f SF368. B1025. Iron shaft or spike, in fragments. Probably square in section and tapering towards a point, although see SF365 below. Length 76 mm, maximum diameter 20 mm.
g FIG. 92. SF351. B1029. Large iron tapering rod with mineral-replaced wood along one side. Length 69 mm. The upper end is round in section, maximum diameter 16 mm, the lower end is 10 mm square. Probably a locating pin.
h SF381b. B1026. 1) Strap fragment from a loop-hinge, as SF352, with two dome-headed studs/nails for attachment. Length 98 mm, width 18 mm, approximately 4 mm thick. Stud head diameter 15 mm, height approximately 6 mm. 2) Strap fragment with a flat-headed stud for attachment. Length 41 mm, width 30 mm, 1.5 mm thick. Stud head diameter 16 mm. 3) Strap fragment, with a stud for attachment. Only a short length of one edge remains. Maximum dimensions 42 by 28 mm, 2 mm thick. Stud head diameter 14.5 mm. 4) Strap fragment, with a stud for attachment. Length 49 mm, width (incomplete) 27 mm, 2 mm thick approx. Stud head 16 mm in diameter. 5) Small strap fragment from a corner, with part of a return at one end, and a stud for attachment set about 26 mm from the bend. The strap is very thin, only 1 mm thick, and the whole piece is distorted, no doubt caused by the collapse of the box. Surviving dimensions 39 mm by 28 mm. Stud head 17 mm in diameter. 6) Spike fragment; the top has been destroyed by large corrosion bubbles. Length 66 mm. 7) Spike fragment. Length 65 mm. 8) L-shaped fitting as SF364, in three fragments, covered with mineral-replaced wood. Length of long arm 105 mm, width 21 mm. Length of short arm 43 mm.
i SF365. BF6. Iron square-section shaft or spike, the upper end covered in mineral-replaced wood. Length 363 mm, section 10 mm square.
j SF375b. B1020. 1) Iron square-section shaft, length 36 mm, head round and flat, diameter 16 mm. The shaft and the underside of the head are covered in mineral-replaced wood. 2) Part of a stout round-section iron shaft. Length 23 mm. Possibly not a nail.

Box (south-west) (FIGS 93–4, BF64.31)

The glass bowl (FIG. 83, BF64.16) in the south-west corner of the grave had been deposited inside a large wooden box with iron fittings (FIGS 93–4, BF64.31), similar to that in the north-west corner (FIG. 92, BF64.30). The box was probably hinged using split-spike loops, although only part of one split-spike loop remains complete enough for identification (FIG. 93, BF64.31a). Apart from this piece and several nails and nail shank fragments, most of the fittings consist of straps fixed to the box by low dome-headed studs (FIGS 93–4). A large part of one of the straps can be reconstructed (FIG. 93, BF64.31b).

BF64.31
a FIG. 93. SF345. B993. The loop and a short length of the arms of an iron split-spike loop. Length 25 mm, width 23 mm. There are fragments of mineral-replaced wood on both sides.
b FIG. 93. SF353/355. B1017. Right-angled strap (in four pieces) with mineral-replaced wood on the underside. On one side the terminal is tongue-ended, on the other it is straight (FIG. 93, BF64.31b). On both sides there are two dome-headed studs for attachment. Length of tongue-ended side 100 mm, length of straight-ended side approximately 74 mm, maximum width 35 mm, 2 mm thick. Stud head diameter 16 mm, height 6 mm.
c SF353/355. B1017, five other fragments of one or more straps similar to BF64.31b, plus a nail fragment; only (1) is illustrated. 1) FIG. 94. Length 47 mm, width 34 mm, thickness 1–2 mm. Slightly curved. One stud, 16 mm diameter, 6 mm high. 2) Length 22 mm, width 35 mm, 2 mm thick. One stud, 17 mm diameter, 6 mm high. Mineral-replaced wood on underside. 3) Length 24 mm, width 34 mm, 2 mm thick. 4) Maximum dimensions 20 by 15 mm, 2 mm thick. Mineral-replaced wood on underside. 5) Maximum dimensions 22 by 16 mm, 2mm thick. One stud, 16 mm diameter, 6 mm high. Mineral-replaced wood on underside. 6) Nail shank fragment, 21 mm long.
d FIG. 94. SF392. B1092. Fragment of flat sheet iron with a dome-headed stud for attachment, as strap BF64.31b. Maximum dimensions 27 by 23 mm, 2 mm thick. Stud head diameter 16 mm, height 4.5 mm. Only a stub of the shank remains.
SF344. B994. 1) Iron nail shank with mineral-replaced wood. Length 27 mm. 2) Iron nail shank, in 3 pieces, the end apparently split and each half turned outwards like the shaft of a split-spike loop. Length

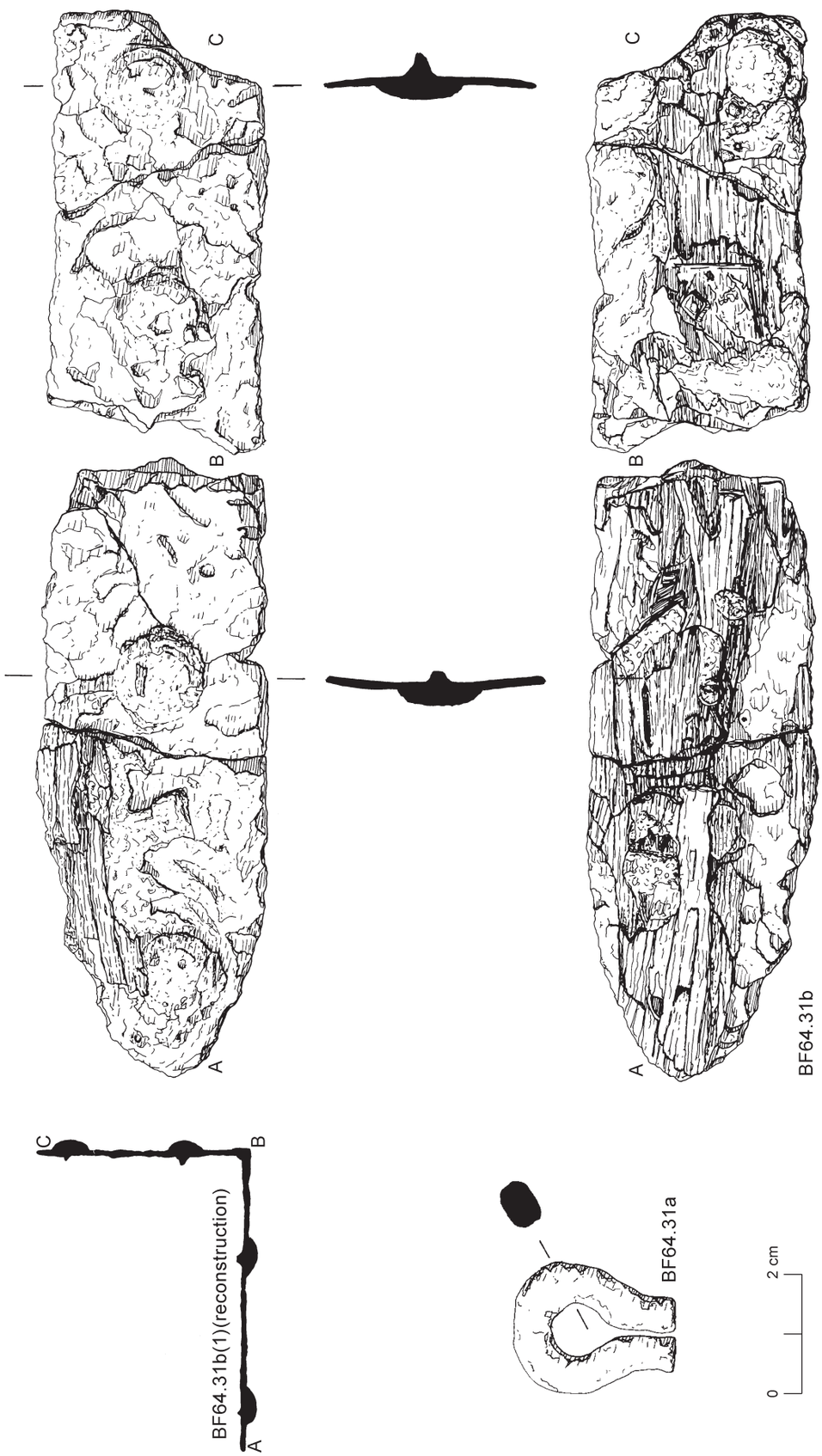


FIG. 93. Warrior's burial BF64: iron fittings from box (south-west area of burial pit) BF64.31a–b (scale 1:1)

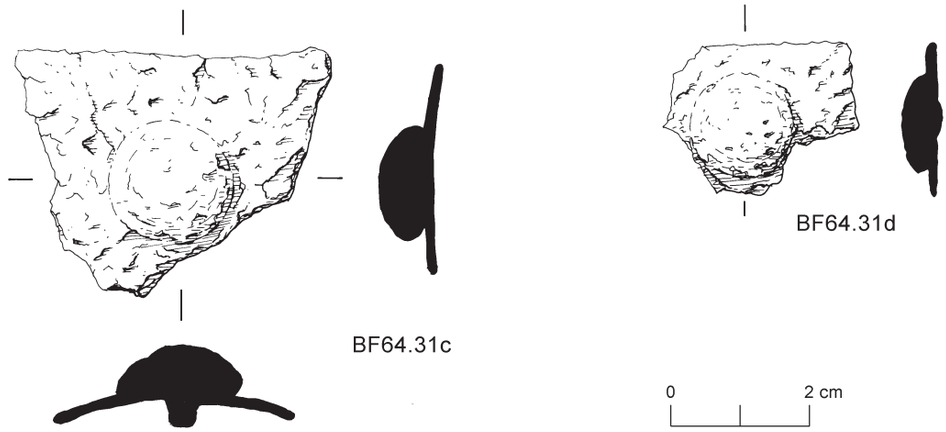


FIG. 94. Warrior's burial BF64: iron fittings from box (south-west area of burial pit) BF64.31c–d

above split 14 mm, length of longest split side 23 mm. There is mineral-replaced wood on all surfaces. 3) Nail shank fragment with mineral-replaced wood, length 14 mm. 4) Small fragment of sheet iron, 20 by 16 mm, 2 mm thick, with mineral-replaced wood on the underside.
SF415. B1140. A fragment of an iron nail and ten fragments of sheet iron, two with low dome-headed studs attached, and many with traces of mineral-replaced wood, in some cases on each face: 1) nail, flat head, probably originally round, square-section shank, 19 mm long; 2) sheet fragment with stud, 40 by 23 mm, wood each side; 3) sheet fragment with stud, 25 by 26 mm, wood on each side; 4) sheet fragment, 32 by 27 mm, wood on one side; 5) sheet fragment, 29 by 22 mm, wood on one side; 6) sheet fragment, 20 by 17 mm; 7) sheet fragment, 21 by 16 mm, wood on one side; 8) sheet fragment, 20 by 9 mm; 9) sheet fragment, 15 by 14 mm, wood on one side; 10) sheet fragment, 15 by 12 mm, wood one side; 11) sheet fragment, 13 by 11 mm.

Miscellaneous fragments (FIG. 95, BF64.32–35)

The small flat copper-alloy studs FIG. 95, BF64.33 and SF411 may be from the shield BF64.23. Many of the sheet fragments are probably from the shield boss (BF64.23a/b) or the lower part of the jug BF64.25 (which had disintegrated), or perhaps the putative third copper-alloy vessel (BF64.27) suggested by the thin fragment of copper alloy that lay close to the shield boss.

BF64.32 FIG. 95. SF386. B997. Small piece of copper-alloy sheet bent at right angles. One side is 13 mm long, the other 10 mm. Height 16 mm.
BF64.33 FIG. 95. SF390. B1086. Fragment of a flat copper-alloy stud with most of the shank. The latter appears to be cast in one with the head, not applied separately. Diameter approximately 20 mm, height 8 mm.
BF64.34 FIG. 95. SF407. B1132. Small fragment of a low convex copper-alloy boss or stud, with a moulding close to the edge. Diameter approximately 30 mm.
BF64.35 FIG. 95. SF400. B1176. 1) Iron strip fragment. Length 32.5 mm. Width tapers slightly from 16 to 14 mm. Section elliptical, maximum thickness 4 mm. 2) Not illustrated. Small irregular fragment, broken from rounded edge of plate or strip? Length 16 mm, width 3–5 mm.
SF314. B1037. Small fragment of thick copper-alloy ?sheet. No original edges survive. Maximum dimensions 10 by 5 mm.
SF387. B1083. Tiny speck of copper alloy.
SF389. B1085. Small fragments of sheet iron and sheet copper alloy, probably from the shield boss. Largest piece 16 by 12.5 mm.
SF396. B1174. Two fragments of sheet iron, the largest 17 by 18 mm. Also in this number, but intrusive in the grave, is a large (40 mm) modern lead-alloy disc with central round perforation for attachment. The sheet iron may be associated with this instead of any of the items in the grave.
SF399. B1175. Narrow copper-alloy strip, parallel-sided, angular in profile. Length 13 mm, width 4.5 mm. Possibly part of the catchplate or foot of one of the brooches.

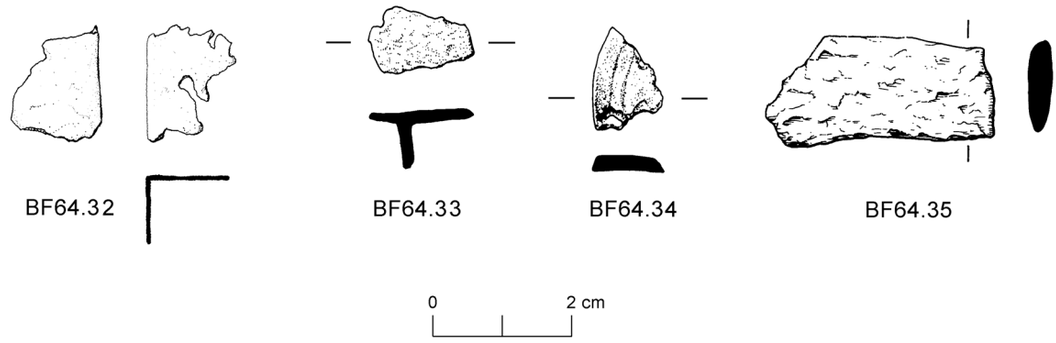


FIG. 95. Warrior's burial BF64: miscellaneous metal objects of copper alloy BF64.32–34 and iron BF64.35 (scale 1:1)

SF401. B1177. 1) Fragment of flat sheet iron with part of a curved edge remaining. Maximum dimensions 26 by 18 mm, 3.5 mm thick. If this is a disc, the diameter is approximately 50 mm. 2) Fragment, possibly from stud or nail head. Diameter 12 mm.
SF403. B1173. Fifteen small fragments of flat sheet iron, one with part of a straight edge remaining, 17.5 mm long. Largest fragment 21 by 18 mm. Laminating, thickness varies from 2–4 mm.
SF406. B1132. Fragment of flat sheet iron, as B1173. Maximum dimensions 23 by 28 mm, 2–3 mm thick, laminating.
SF411. B1108. Fragment of a copper-alloy flat-headed stud with riveted shaft. Diameter 12 mm, length 4 mm.
SF412. B1112. Unstratified. Fragment of thin sheet iron, the original edge rounded, the other two broken at right angles to each other. Possibly originally from a tongue-ended strap or part of a disc. Maximum dimensions 19 by 13 mm.
SF413. B1114. Unstratified. Two fragments of thin sheet copper alloy: a) roughly 7 mm square; b) 6 by 5 mm.
SF414. B1114. Unstratified. Circular fragment of iron with mineral-replaced wood running across one face and also partly across the other. Diameter 11 mm. Probably a nail head or rove.
SF416. B1140. Fragment of sheet copper alloy. Maximum dimensions 12 by 7 mm.
SF417. 1141. Fragment of thin sheet copper alloy, very slightly convex. Maximum dimensions 17.5 by 13.5 mm.
SF418. B1142. Three small fragments of sheet copper alloy: a) 10 by 7 mm; b) 7 by 7.5 mm; c) 6 by 4 mm.
SF419. B1143. Two fragments of thin sheet iron: a) 22 by 19 mm; b) 20 by 16 mm.
B996. Beneath BF64.16. Iron nail shank covered with mineral-replaced wood. Length 39 mm.
B1053. Iron nail shaft fragment. Length 26 mm.
B1170. Unstratified. Iron nail in two fragments. Length incomplete, 27 mm.
B1134. Unstratified. Fragment of an iron nail shank, square in section. Length 16 mm. There are traces of mineral-replaced wood around it, the grain lying transversely.

Residual pottery

BF64.a B1057. Sherd from a hand-made shouldered jar, burnished lattice on shoulder, fabric GTW, 1 (10.2 g) from bottom of pit.
Sherds recovered from spoil heaps.
B1135: 4 sherds from thin walled pot, probably all from same vessel (4.7 g). Fabric GTW.
B1135: sherd (2.2 g). Fabric GTW.
B1116: sherd (9.3 g). Fabric GTW.
B1169: rim sherd from a necked jar, Cam 266 (5.2 g). Fabric RCVW.
B1169: 2 sherds from thin-walled pot with burnished exterior surface (1.9 g). Fabric GX.
B1135: sherd/fragment (0.6 g). Fabric GX.

THE INKWELL BURIAL BF67 (FIGS 2, 8, 96–7; TABLE 34)

Cremated bone	225.6 g	adult of indeterminate age and sex
Pottery vessels	BF67.1	inkwell
	BF67.2	cornice-rimmed *lagena*
Other finds	BF67.3	copper-alloy Hod Hill variant brooch
	BF67.4	wooden tray or box with copper-alloy fittings
	BF67.5	?wooden object with up to 13 iron nails
Residual finds	BF67.a–b	two base sherds of butt-beaker, three sherds of another beaker, and perhaps up to 13 iron nails

A cremation burial (BF67) lay 16 m south-west of chamber BF6 and 3 m north-west of the Warrior's burial (BF64). It has been given the name 'Inkwell burial' from one of the two complete vessels which it contained (FIGS 2, 8). The burial pit was about 1.65 m square with a flat base up to 0.5 m below the ground-level after stripping (FIG. 96). Although no traces of decayed wood survived, its square shape may indicate that it had a wooden plank cover (*see* p. 427). A thin black ?ferromanganese deposit had formed on the bottom of the pit rather like that on the sides of the nearby chamber pit BF6. Presumably this was a natural formation. The cremated bone (225.6 g) indicated an adult, but the sex could not be determined. The bone lay in a pile on the base of the western side of the burial pit (FIG. 96). Two accompanying vessels had been placed, probably intact, on the floor of the pit. An inkwell (BF67.1) lay towards the centre of the pit and a *lagena* (BF67.2) near its northern edge. Other finds included a small Hod Hill variant brooch (BF67.3) from near the southern edge of the pit, and some decayed wood and poorly preserved copper-alloy fittings which appeared to be the remains of at least one box or wooden tray (BF67.4). The presence of the pottery inkwell but no stylus in this burial suggests that reed pens (*calami*) were originally included among the grave goods but, being organic, have not survived.

A shallow pit (BF221) immediately south-west of BF67 was probably a natural feature. A small quantity of grey ware sherds (B989 and B1014) from two separate vessels were found scattered in different parts of the pit and were probably residual.

The brooch (FIG. 97, BF67.3) is of unusual form, but can be classed as a variant combining features of both strongly profiled brooches and of the Hod Hill series. The strongly arched bow, incurving sides, and large button ally it to the former (*e.g. CAR* **2**, fig. 6, 37; *CAR* **6**, fig. 6.1, 12; Hattatt 1989, figs 184–5), but instead of being sprung the head is solid and drilled to take an iron axial bar on which to hinge the pin, in imitation of the more usual rolled head of Hod Hill types. A brooch from near Toulouse of very similar form, but larger and with a smaller button, belongs to a Hod Hill subtype dated to the Claudian period (Feugère 1985, 335, Type 23d1, pl. 144, 1804), and a similar date of *c.* A.D. 41–54 can therefore be applied to the Stanway brooch.

Fragments of a tray or box (FIG. 97, BF67.4) were found in different parts of the burial pit. It is not clear if more than one item is involved or if it was complete when deposited. Some copper-alloy studs and sheet fragments together with some decayed wood (SF378) came from the floor immediately east of the inkwell. Further copper-alloy sheet, studs and tacks together with a fragment of decayed wood (SF379), were recovered from the southern edge of the pit at a depth of 120–300 mm during metal-detecting prior to excavation. Several more small fragments of copper-alloy sheet (SF321, SF330, SF331) were found scattered in the fill. Given the difficult circumstances of the excavation, and that much of the metal survived only as a green powdery stain in the soil, the fragments are likely to represent one unbroken object. The recovery of similar copper-alloy fittings in the Doctor's burial (CF47.25) suggests that the object in BF67 should be identified as a tray or box that had been leant up against the side of the burial pit.

Up to thirteen iron nail fragments (four of which were plotted) were found mainly in the backfill over the northern half of the pit (TABLE 34). They appear too substantial for use in the construction of a small box. They may represent the remains of a grave cover or some other wooden object. Less likely, the nails may be residual in the backfill or derive from pyre debris.

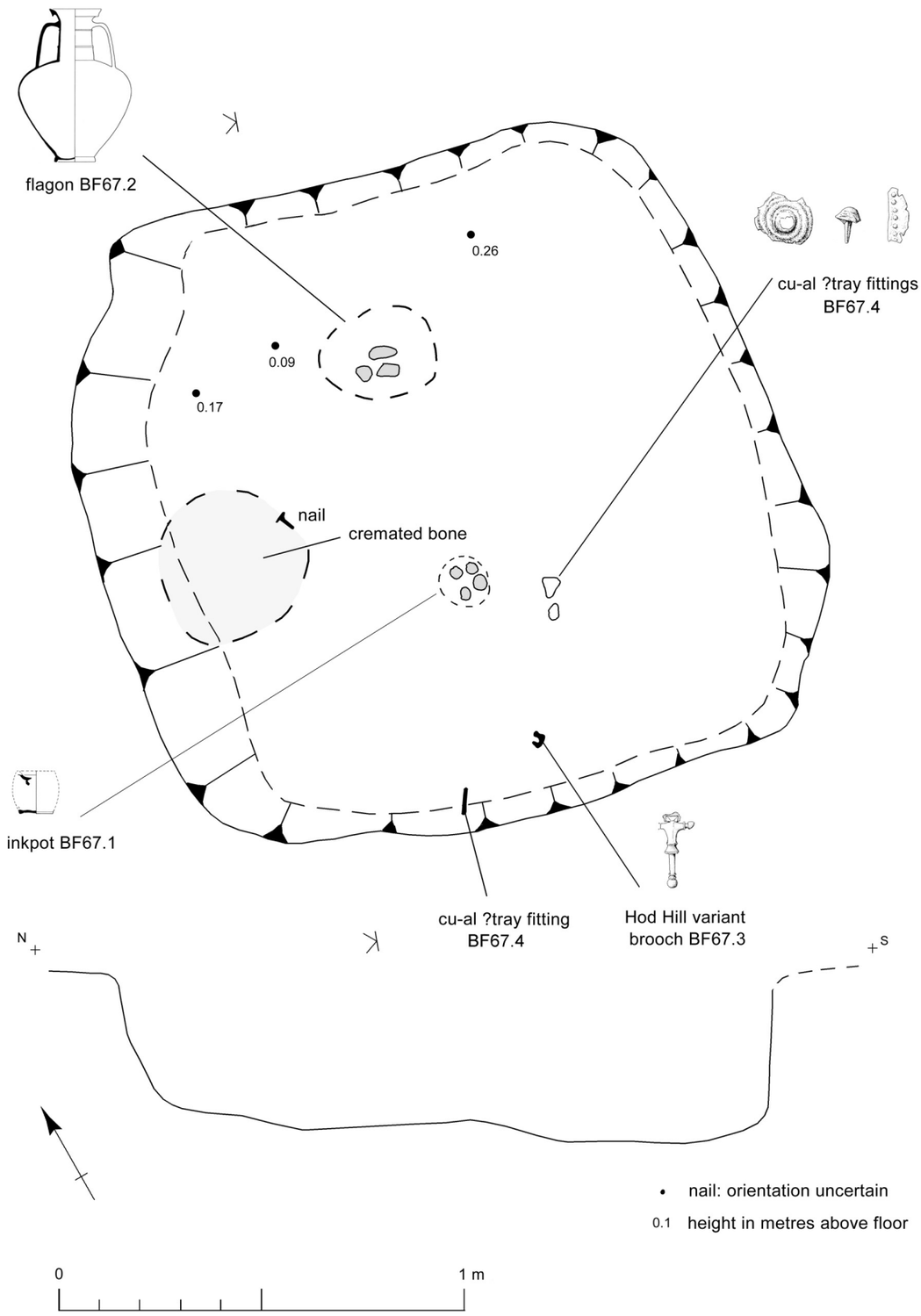


FIG. 96. Inkwell burial BF67: plan and profile (scale 1:15)

TABLE 34: FRAGMENTS OF IRON NAILS FROM BF67

Find no.	*Head*	*Length (mm)*	*Wood*	*Grain to shank direction*	*Notes*
B1043	flat round	42	–	–	almost complete; lozenge-section shank
B1013	flat round	20	y	transverse	square-section shank
B1008	flat round	58	y	transverse	almost complete; square-section shank
B1008	–	48	y	transverse	wood across whole length of shank; possibly complete apart from head
B988	sub-circular	55	–	–	in 4 fragments; badly corroded
B1062	flat round	23	y	transverse	square-section shank
B1012	flat round	34	–	–	lozenge-section shank
B1065	flat round	53	–	–	complete
B1009	flat round	38	y	transverse	nearly complete; square-section shank
B1009	flat round	10	–	–	–
B1072	flat sub-circular	30	–	–	–
B1072	–	42	y	parallel	probably almost complete, missing only head and tip of shank
B1061	–	51	y	transverse	square-section shank; tip present, probably broken just below head

They are all of Manning's Type 1b with a flat round or sub-circular head (Manning 1985, 134). Two have shanks that are of lozenge-shaped section, rather than square. One is complete and is 53 mm long; three others are nearly complete at 58, 42 and 38 mm. Several have wood preserved on the shank, generally with the grain lying across it but on one it is parallel. One shank fragment, 48 mm long, has wood lying across the whole length of the shank, with no obvious sign of a junction, giving a board thickness of at least 48 mm.

The gender of the dead person in this grave is not certain. Writing equipment is not gender-specific (*see* CF42, p. 151) so there is no reason to suppose that this grave is necessarily that of a male. The single brooch suggests, but is not positive proof of, masculinity, as there was no discernible difference in the male:female pattern of brooch deposition at King Harry Lane (Stead and Rigby 1986, 102). Although the cremated bone suggests otherwise, the small brooch allows interpretation of this grave as that of a juvenile, providing a link to a pre-Flavian male adolescent grave at Litton Cheney, Dorset, that contained a set of board game counters and a stylus (Bailey 1967, 156–9; Whimster 1981, 256–7).

The two complete pots indicate a date of before A.D. 65, sherds in the backfill included local sandy wares post-dating A.D. 50, and the Hod Hill brooch suggests a date of A.D. 41–54. Collectively they point to a likely early Roman date of *c.* A.D. 50–60.

Pottery vessels (FIG. 97)

BF67.1 FIG. 97. B1041. A very fragmented inkwell; only the base and rim can now be restored. It is a small drum-shaped pot with a dished top. In the centre of the top is a small circular aperture, about 18 mm across, which has an internal non-spill moulding surrounding it. On the edge of the restored top there is a small area of damage at the join of two broken sherds forming a small indentation. One side of this damaged area appears to be part of a regularly shaped small circular hole. Small holes of this type are a common feature in the top of inkwells. The base of the vessel has a small footring around its edge.

The fabric is a pale brown-red with almost no visible inclusions, although rare small voids are present, and it is coated with a brown-red slip. The slip is now mostly matt although some exterior surface areas and internal areas protected from the surrounding soil, especially under the top of the vessel, retain a shiny, faintly metallic, gloss. Also the inner surface of the top of the vessel is rather more orange-red in colour than the exterior, although this could be the result of a thinner internal application of slip or slightly different firing conditions inside the partly closed vessel. The internal coverage of the slip appears extensive, although slightly patchy. One small area under the top of the vessel has evaded coverage by the slip, possibly also one area of the base, and a number of the body sherds also show only partial internal

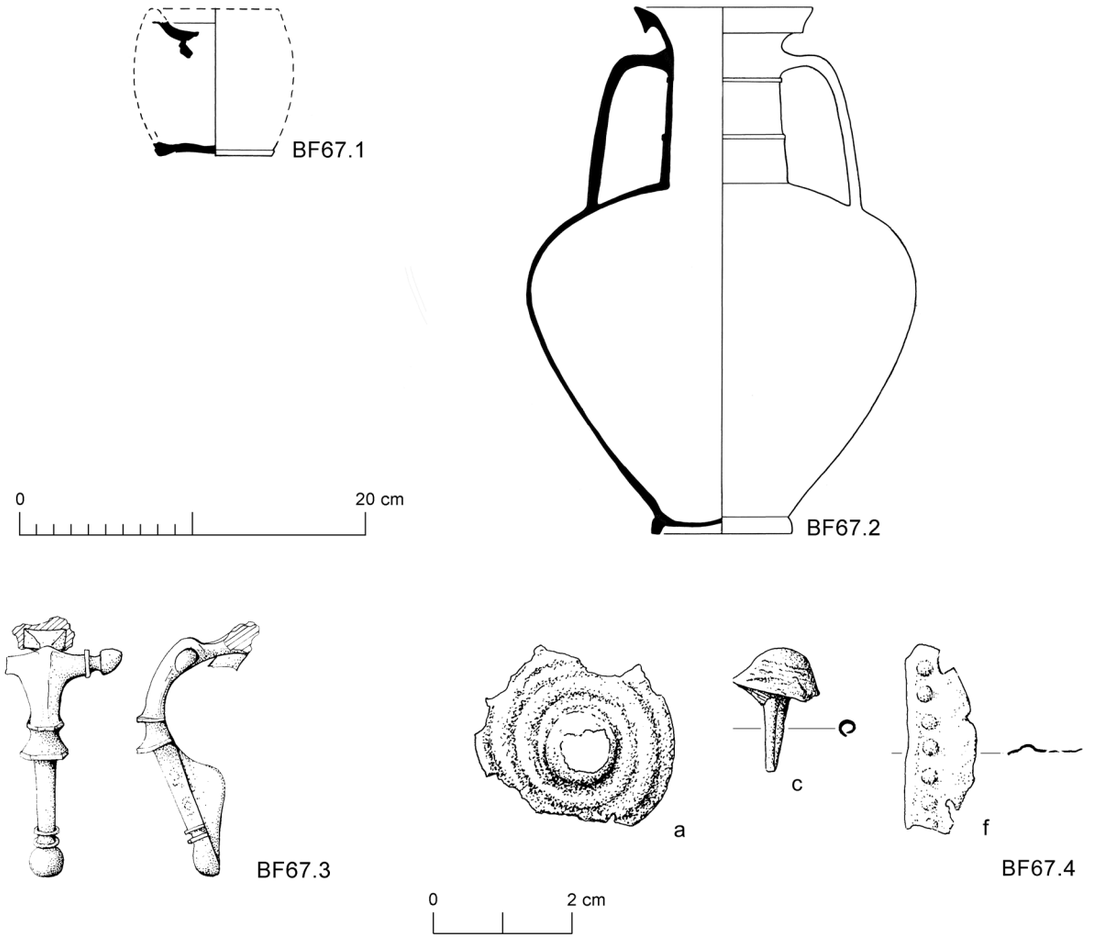


FIG. 97. Inkwell burial BF67: pottery vessels BF67.1–2 (scale 1:4), copper-alloy brooch BF67.3, and selected decorated copper-alloy studs and sheet BF67.4a, c and f (scale 1:1)

coverage. On the interior of the base are several dark patches which appear to be stains. This dark staining is also present on the interior surface of a number of the body sherds. The staining perhaps results from a former content of dark ink.

The pot has been examined by Geoff Dannell who did not believe the vessel to be samian. Philip Kenrick also considered that the pot was not of Italian origin. The vessel is unusual as most pottery inkwells are samian (Willis 2006). Pottery inkwells do occur very rarely in other fabrics, this vessel presumably being an example. The form of the vessel is also unusual as it does not closely resemble the most common samian inkwell form, Ritterling 13 (*ibid.*). However, Oswald and Pryce show a number of variants of pottery inkwells, one of which can be seen to have some similarity with the inkwell here (Oswald and Pryce 1920, pl. LXX, no. 4).

Condition: severely fragmented due to fragility of the vessel: only rim and base circuit restorable.
Condition at deposition: complete.

BF67.2 FIG. 97. B1046, B1074. Cornice-rimmed *lagena*: Camulodunum form 161. Fabric WPW.
Condition: broken but restorable to complete.
Condition at deposition: complete.

Other finds (FIG. 97)

BF67.3 FIG. 97. SF329. B1071. A small tinned brass or gunmetal Hod Hill variant brooch with most of the pin and part of the solid catchplate missing. The iron axial bar survives, fitted into a drilled hole. The bow is strongly arched and triangular in section, with the apex flattened. It has side arms at the top ending in a moulding and small knob, flat at the back. The end of the left arm is missing. The sides of the bow curve inwards, emphasising the arms. At the base of the bow there is a small button above a

larger one. Both are flat at the back. The foot is narrow and plain, with two narrow mouldings above the terminal knob. Length 36 mm.

BF67.4 FIG. 97. SF378. B1069. Fragmentary copper-alloy composite studs and decorated sheet, with small pieces of wood probably from a tray or box similar to that in CF47. Only a, c, and f are illustrated.
a Most of the head of a stud with four concentric mouldings. Diameter 28 mm, height approximately 2.5–3 mm.
b Twelve small fragments of similar studs.
c Domed centre of a stud, with a peg made from rolled sheeting fixed to it by lead-based solder. Length 17 mm, diameter of head 13 mm.
d Four similar pegs.
e Thirteen fragments of rolled sheet shanks and sixteen fragments of solder.
f Fragment of sheet with one original edge and a marginal line of small repoussé bosses. Maximum dimensions 25 by 9 mm, less then 1 mm thick.
g Two similar small fragments, decorated with small bosses, one 13 by 8 mm, the other 12 by 11 mm.
h Approximately 116 fragments of plain sheet, the largest 32 by 7 mm, most about 3 by 3 mm.
SF379. B987. 1) Seventeen fragments of plain copper-alloy sheet, the largest 11 by 9 mm; 2) Fragment of stud head with concentric mouldings, 9 by 4 mm; 3) Two fragments of rolled sheet tacks, 12 and 11 mm long; 4) Fragment of solder with part of a rolled sheet tack set into it. Also a fragment of wood.
SF330. B1001. Three tiny scraps of copper-alloy sheet. The maximum dimensions of the largest are 6 by 4 mm.
SF331. B1002. Tiny fragment of copper-alloy sheet. Maximum dimensions 2 by 2 mm.
SF328. B1003. Tiny fragment of copper-alloy sheet. Maximum dimensions 6 by 4 mm.
SF321. B1066. Traces of copper-alloy sheet in soil. Length 10 mm.

Residual pottery sherds

BF67.a B989. Base sherd and body sherd from backfill showing two grooves around body, probably part of the same vessel (9.9 g). Fabric RCW.
BF67.b B1014. Two small abraded, thin-walled sherds, patterned, butt-beaker (1.4 g) from northern half of pit. Fabric GTW.

THE DOCTOR'S BURIAL CF47 (FIGS 2, 8, 98–127; TABLES 35–6)

Cremated bone	158.1 g	of indeterminate age and sex
Pottery vessels	CF47.1	Dragendorff form 29 decorated samian bowl
	CF47.2	TR1(C) moulded platter
	CF47.3	TR1(C) moulded platter
	CF47.4	TR1(C) moulded platter
	CF47.5	TN moulded platter
	CF47.6	TN moulded platter
	CF47.7	TN offset platter
	CF47.8	TN offset platter
	CF47.9	TN carinated cup
	CF47.10	TR1(C) flanged cup
	CF47.11	TR1(C) flanged cup
	CF47.12	cornice-rimmed flagon
	CF47.13	local ware carinated cup
	CF47.14	Dressel 8 (Beltrán) amphora
Other finds	CF47.15	copper-alloy Langton Down brooch
	CF47.16	copper-alloy ring fragment
	CF47.17	copper-alloy Rearhook brooch
	CF47.18	jet bead
	CF47.19	set of 26 glass counters
	CF47.20	wooden game board plus copper-alloy fittings
	CF47.21	copper-alloy saucepan
	CF47.22	copper-alloy spouted strainer bowl
	CF47.23	set of eight rods (four iron and four brass)
	CF47.24	set of eight copper-alloy rings
	CF47.25	wooden tray(s) or box with copper-alloy fittings

CF47.26	surgical kit: iron scalpel
CF47.27	surgical kit: iron scalpel
CF47.28	surgical kit: iron saw with composite handle
CF47.29	surgical kit: combined bronze sharp and blunt hook (double-ended retractor)
CF47.30	surgical kit: combined iron sharp and blunt hook (double-ended retractor)
CF47.31	surgical kit: bronze ?retractor
CF47.32	surgical kit: smooth-jawed bronze fixation forceps
CF47.33	surgical kit: iron forceps/tweezers
CF47.34	surgical kit: iron handled needle
CF47.35	surgical kit: iron handled needle
CF47.36	surgical kit: iron handled needle
CF47.37	surgical kit: bronze scoop probe
CF47.38	surgical kit: bronze handle
CF47.39	surgical kit: iron knife
CF47.40	cloth ?garment(s)
CF47.41	oak cover over the burial
CF47.42	straw packing? under CF47.21 and over CF47.12
Residual finds	none identified

The cremation burial CF47 was located in the north-west corner of Enclosure 5 (FIGS 2, 8). It was discovered during soil-stripping when the machine clipped the top of an amphora sitting upright in the south-west corner of the burial pit. Subsequent excavation revealed another large and remarkable burial group comparable to the Warrior's burial discovered four years earlier. The group included fourteen pottery vessels (but oddly no glassware), a copper-alloy strainer bowl, a copper-alloy pan, a gaming board complete with a set of white and blue glass gaming counters, a set of surgical instruments, eight rods that may have been used for divination, eight rings also possibly used for divination, one or more wooden objects with copper-alloy fittings (a maplewood ?tray or ?trays), two brooches, and a jet bead (FIGS 98, 125). The burial takes its name from the surgical *instrumentarium* (FIGS 121–7). The vessels were all imports and, although the range is not as wide as in the Warrior's burial, the group includes some of the most colourful and decorative pots available in their day. The grave goods can be seen as three clusters: a service in the south east, vessels associated with preparing and serving food and (mainly) drink in the north east, and personalia in the west (FIGS 98, 125).

The burial pit was rectangular in plan measuring about 2.1 × 1.7 m with slightly rounded corners. The fill was mixed sands, gravels and silts. The base was flat, but was unusual because it was divided into two levels such that the western and eastern parts were respectively 0.7 m and 0.5 m below the ground-level after stripping (FIGS 99, 104). The contours of the base are likely to reflect the objects which were placed in it. The key factor that determined the depth would have been the amphora, which needed to be upright. This may also have been the indirect cause of the need to deepen the western part of the burial pit.

Eleven cups and platters (CF47.2–11, CF47.13) were spread out over the central and southern part of the eastern half of the base of the burial pit (FIG. 98). None of the vessels overlapped each other and none were nested. They had been placed face upwards as if containing food and drink.

Some of the grave goods had been stacked on top of each other near the north-east corner of the burial pit (FIGS 98–9, 101). The group consisted of the flagon (CF47.12), the copper-alloy strainer bowl (CF47.22), the copper-alloy pan (CF47.21), the samian bowl (CF47.1), and the unidentifiable maplewood object or objects (CF47.25). The lowest vessel was the flagon (CF47.12). This had been placed at the foot of the slope which separated the upper and lower levels forming the base of the burial pit. The wooden object appears to have been flat and shallow and was placed on the upper level so that it overhung the lower level and rested on the flagon below. Some straw-like material (CF47.42) was placed on top of it, followed by the pan CF47.21, the samian bowl CF47.1 and the strainer bowl CF47.22, all laid side by side.

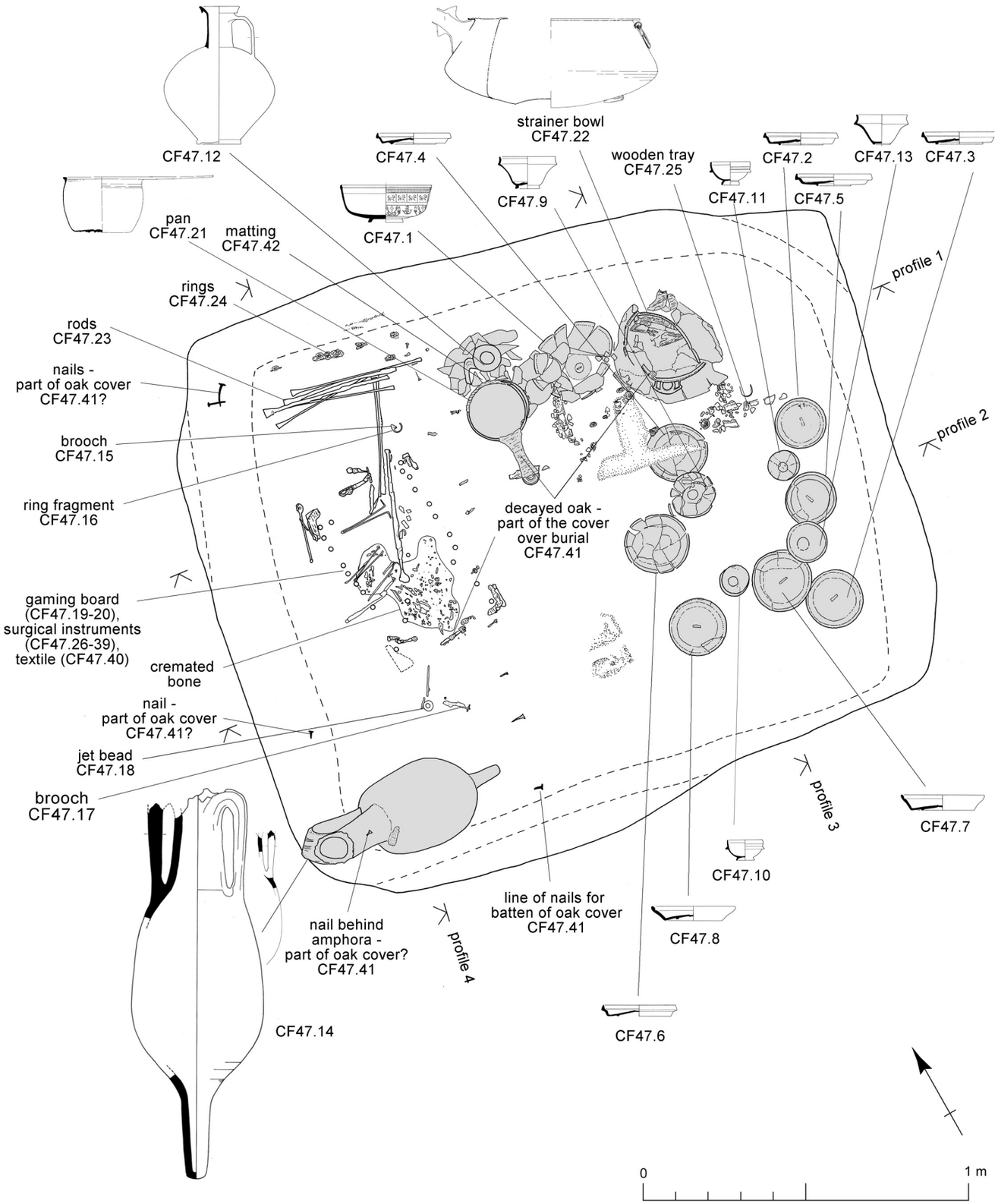


FIG. 98. Doctor's burial CF47: plan showing location of finds (scale 1:16)

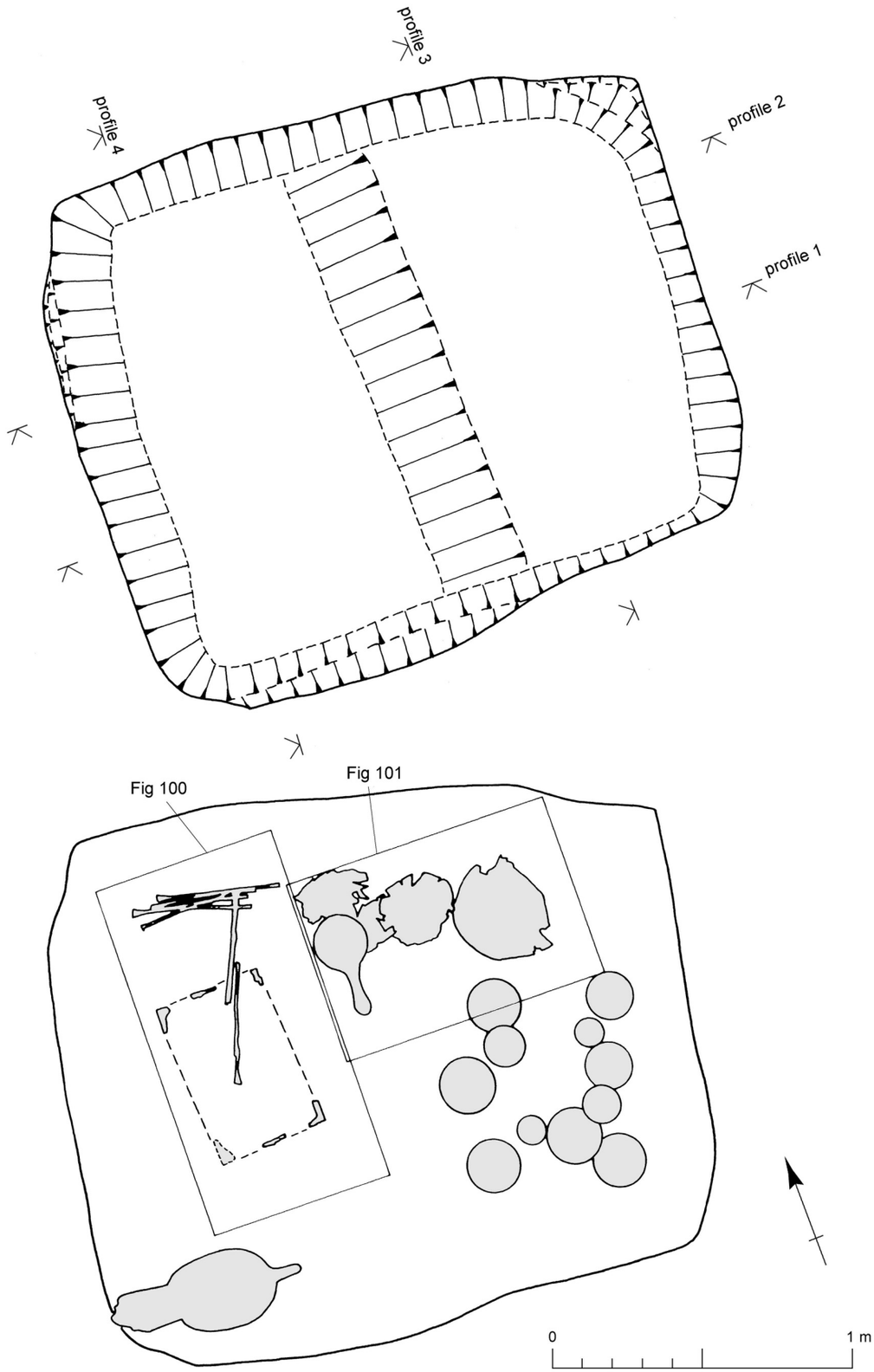
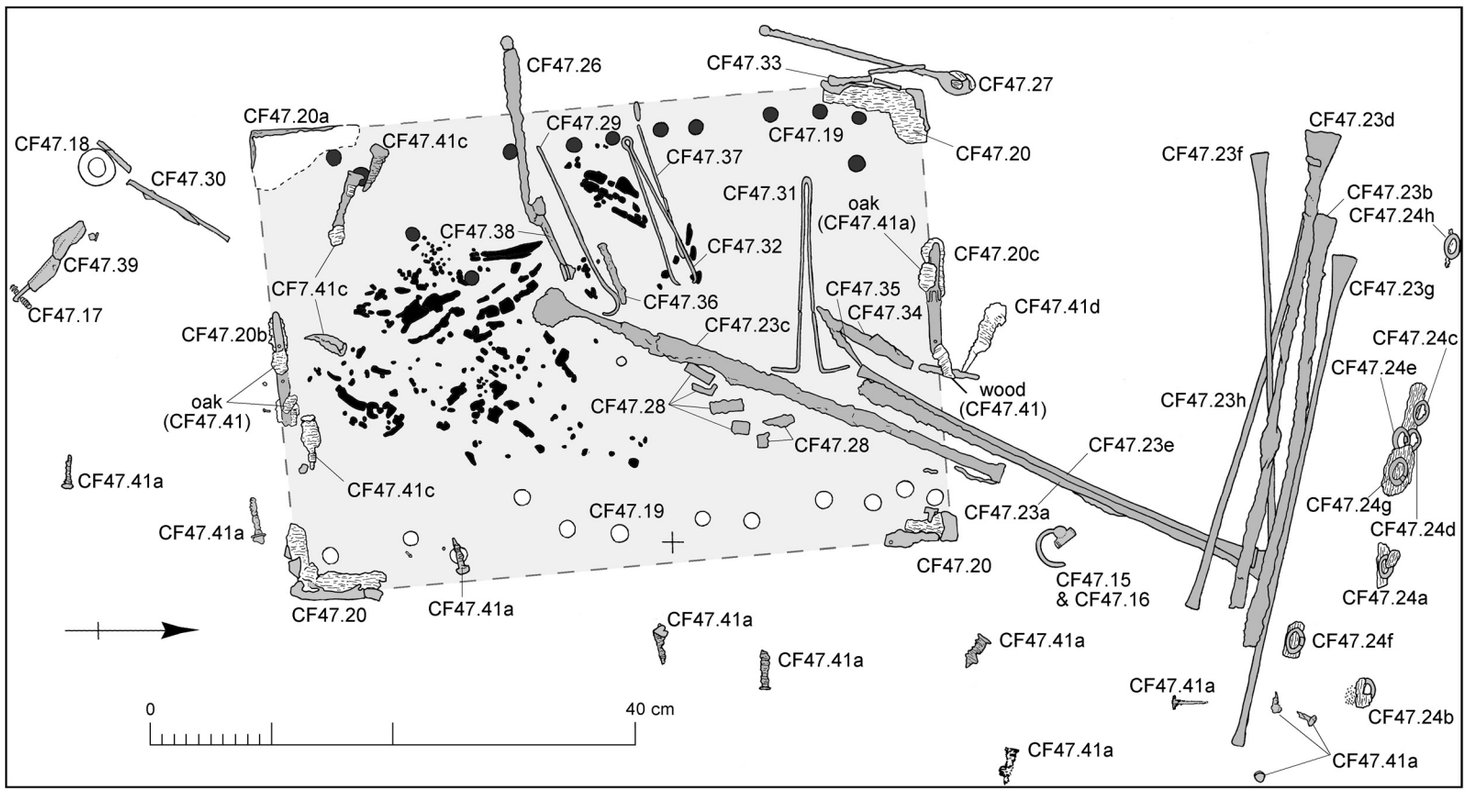


FIG. 99. Doctor's burial CF47: plan showing burial pit after excavation with location of profiles 1–4, and plan locating detail FIGS 100–1 (scale 1:20)



CF47.15 copper-alloy Langton Down brooch
CF47.16 copper-alloy ring fragment
CF47.17 copper-alloy Rearhook brooch
CF47.18 jet bead
CF47.19 set of 26 glass counters
CF47.20 wooden game board plus copper alloy fittings
CF47.23 set of 8 rods (4 iron and 4 copper-alloy)
CF47.24 wooden board and copper-alloy rings
CF47.26 surgical kit: iron scalpel
CF47.27 surgical kit: iron scalpel
CF47.28 surgical kit: iron saw with composite handle
CF47.29 surgical kit: combined iron sharp and blunt hook
CF47.30 surgical kit: combined iron sharp and blunt hook
CF47.31 surgical kit: copper-alloy ?retractor
CF47.32 surgical kit: smooth-jawed copper-alloy fixation forceps
CF47.33 surgical kit: iron forceps/tweezers
CF47.34 surgical kit: iron handled needle
CF47.35 surgical kit: iron handled needle
CF47.36 surgical kit: iron handled needle
CF47.37 surgical kit: copper-alloy scoop probe
CF47.38 surgical kit: copper-alloy handle
CF47.39 surgical kit: iron knife
CF47.41 oak cover over grave

wood
cremated bone
counter (blue/white)
copper-alloy/iron

FIG. 100. Doctor's burial CF47: detail of finds at west end of grave (scale 1:5.7

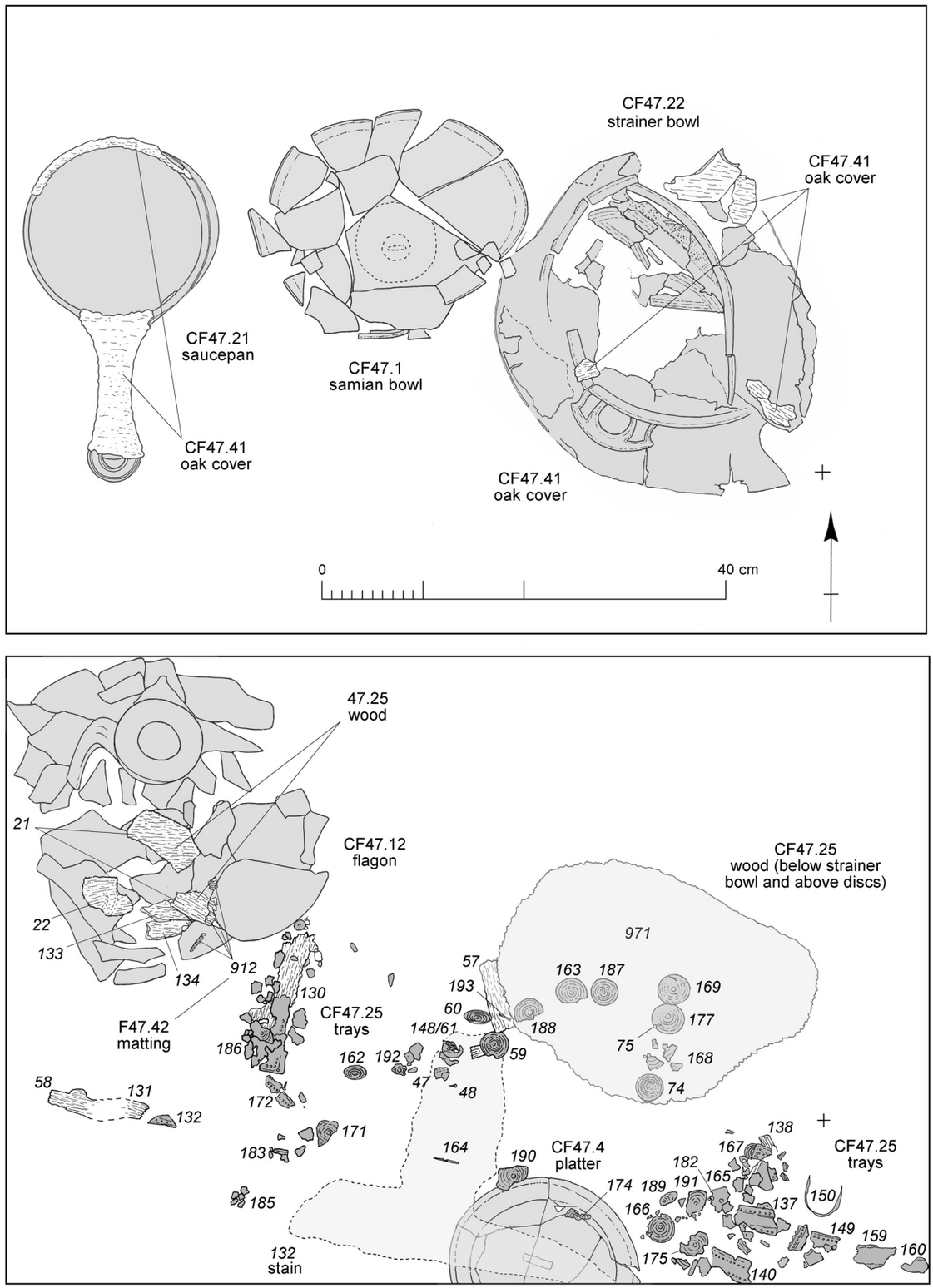


FIG. 101. Doctor's burial CF47: detail plans of objects stacked on north side of grave, copper-alloy saucepan (CF47.21), samian bowl (CF47.1) and copper-alloy strainer bowl (CF47.22), showing remains of oak cover (CF47.41) (above), and pottery flagon (CF47.12) and remains of decorated wooden ?tray (CF47.25) (below) (scale 1:5.7)

A remarkable and fortunate survival was a small plug of vegetal matter which had been caught in the spout of the strainer bowl. The material had been preserved because it lay in close contact with copper alloy. The discovery of well-preserved pollen in the plug showed that the vessel had been used to make a tea-like drink with artemisia, probably sweetened with honey (*see* below pp. 323–6, 394–8 for details and a discussion of the possible medicinal purpose of the preparation).

The straw-like material CF47.42 (FIG. 98) had no structure or obvious weave and appears to have been straw or hay packing. It was reminiscent of the plug of straw or hay which filled the hollow copper-alloy pedestal BF6.24 which stood on the floor of BF6. Like textiles and wood elsewhere (p. 388), it only survived because it had been in close contact with copper alloy. Its absence under the strainer bowl indicates that it probably only extended over the western part of the wooden object(s).

The upper surfaces of the two copper-alloy vessels were covered with a thin layer of decayed oak which appeared to have been the remains of a cover for the burial (FIG. 98, CF47.41, FIG. 107; *see* below).

The remains of the game board (CF47.20) lay at the west end of the burial pit (FIGS 98–100). All that survived of it were the four corner bindings (all probably of brass), the two copper-alloy hinges, and small fragments of the wooden body of the board, which is made of maple (p. 390), where it was in direct contact with the metal fittings. The board had been placed centrally in the west end of the burial pit but at a slight angle to the sides. (As will be explained later, this misalignment may be the result of the board having been knocked by accident just before the burial pit was backfilled (p. 212).) Various objects were then placed on and around the board (FIGS 98, 100, 105–6, 124). The order of placement can be deduced from the relationships between them. Stage 1 is the placing of the board and the gathering together of the other objects. In Stage 2 the glass counters (CF47.19), were laid along each side of the board as if ready for play (p. 352). The cremated human bone mixed with some ash was then heaped on top of the board and some of the counters. Then followed (FIG. 105, Stage 3) one of the large iron rods (CF47.23**)**, and then (FIG. 105, Stage 4) the surgical instruments (CF47.26–39) followed by two rods (FIG. 106, Stage 5), this time two of the small rods, one iron and the other copper alloy. In FIG. 106, Stage 6, the remainder of the rods were laid in a bundle across the outer ends of these two rods. Some of the surgical instruments and rods had textile traces on most or all of their surfaces (FIGS 102–3), showing that one or more garments had been spread over the board (CF47.40; *see* report pp. 347–51). There is a possibility that some of the fabric recovered from this area represents all that remains of textile from the *instrumentarium*, such as bandages or other dressings (p. 246), but where the weave is clear it was twill, which implies clothing.

At the north-west edge of the grave close to the bundle of rods was a series of copper-alloy rings (CF47.24), two of which had a leather loop for attachment. The rings lay in an almost vertical position flat against the side of the burial pit (FIGS 98, 100). They were tricky to excavate and several slid downwards almost immediately after being uncovered, making it difficult to be certain how they related to one another. However, as far as could be judged, they were in an irregularly spaced horizontal line about 90 mm above the floor of the burial pit. A few of the rings lay against small pieces of wood painted on the inward-facing surface with a red-brown pigment (pp. 229–31, 390).

Twenty-five iron nails, most with mineralised wood adhering to them, lay in the western half of the burial pit (FIGS 98, 100, TABLE 36). They appear to have belonged to an oak cover (CF47.41) over the burial group. Thin layers of decayed oak survived where it had been in contact with copper alloy, *i.e.* on the upper surfaces of the strainer bowl (CF47.22), the pan (CF47.21), and the hinges and corner pieces of the gaming board (CF47.20), showing that much, if not all, of the grave group had been covered.

Eight of the nails lay fairly evenly spaced in a line near the base of the slope separating the lower and upper levels of the floor (CF47.41a). They appear to have been part of a north–south wooden partition which divided the burial group into two and presumably supported the cover

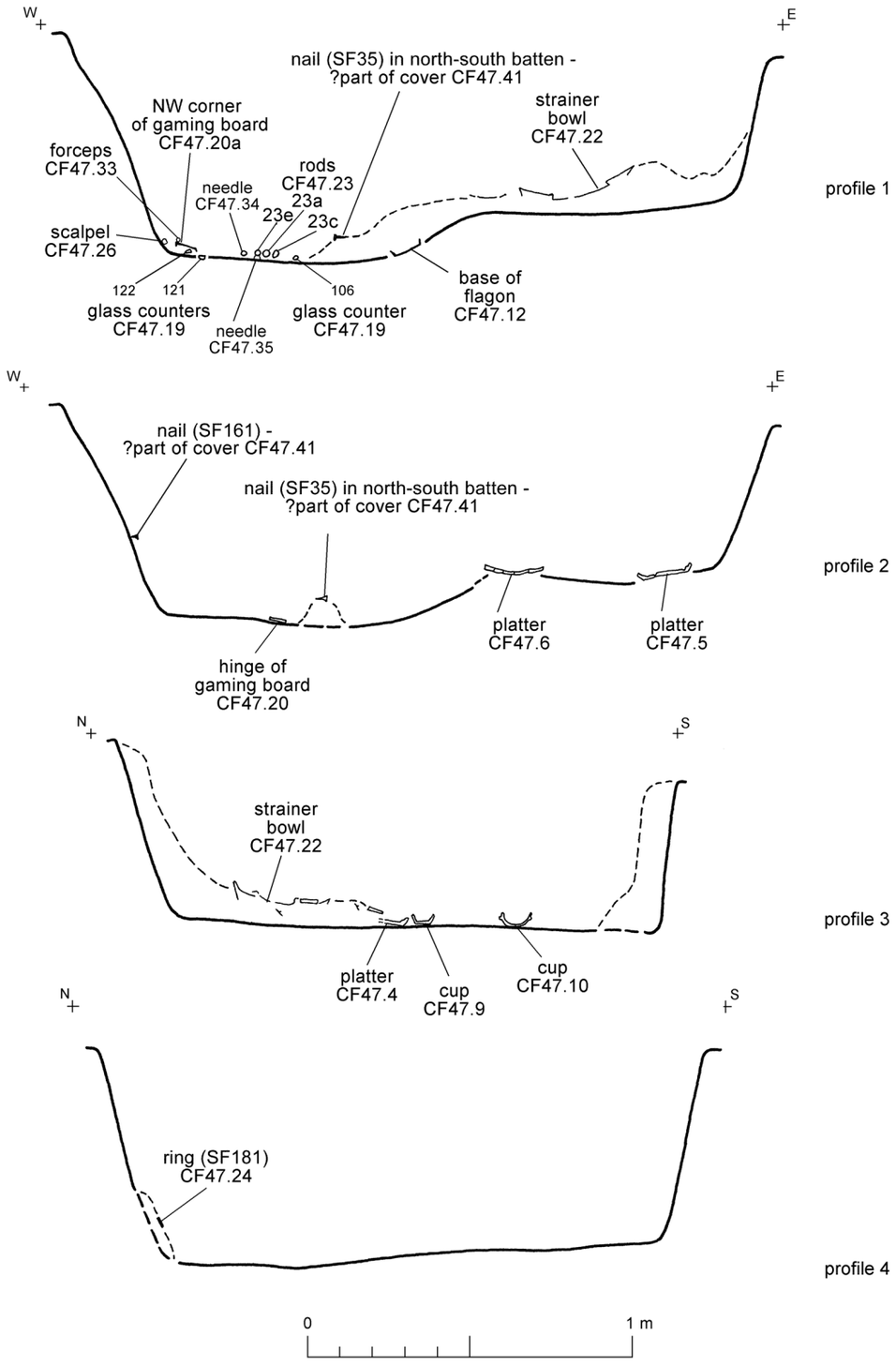


FIG. 104. Doctor's burial CF47: profiles 1–4 through grave (scale 1:20)

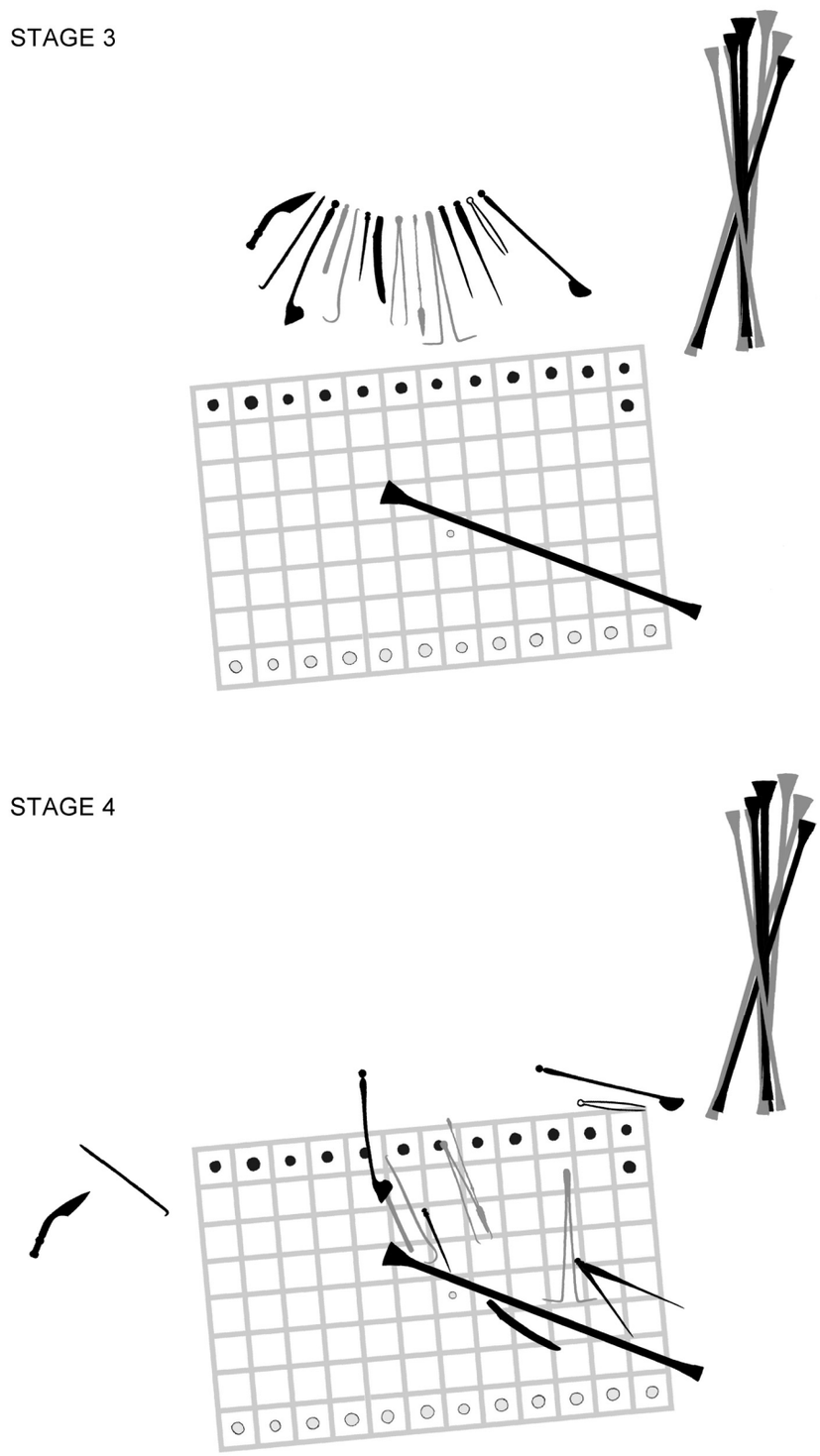


FIG. 105. Doctor's burial CF47: stages 3–4 in the deposition of the medical implements and rods on and around the gaming board

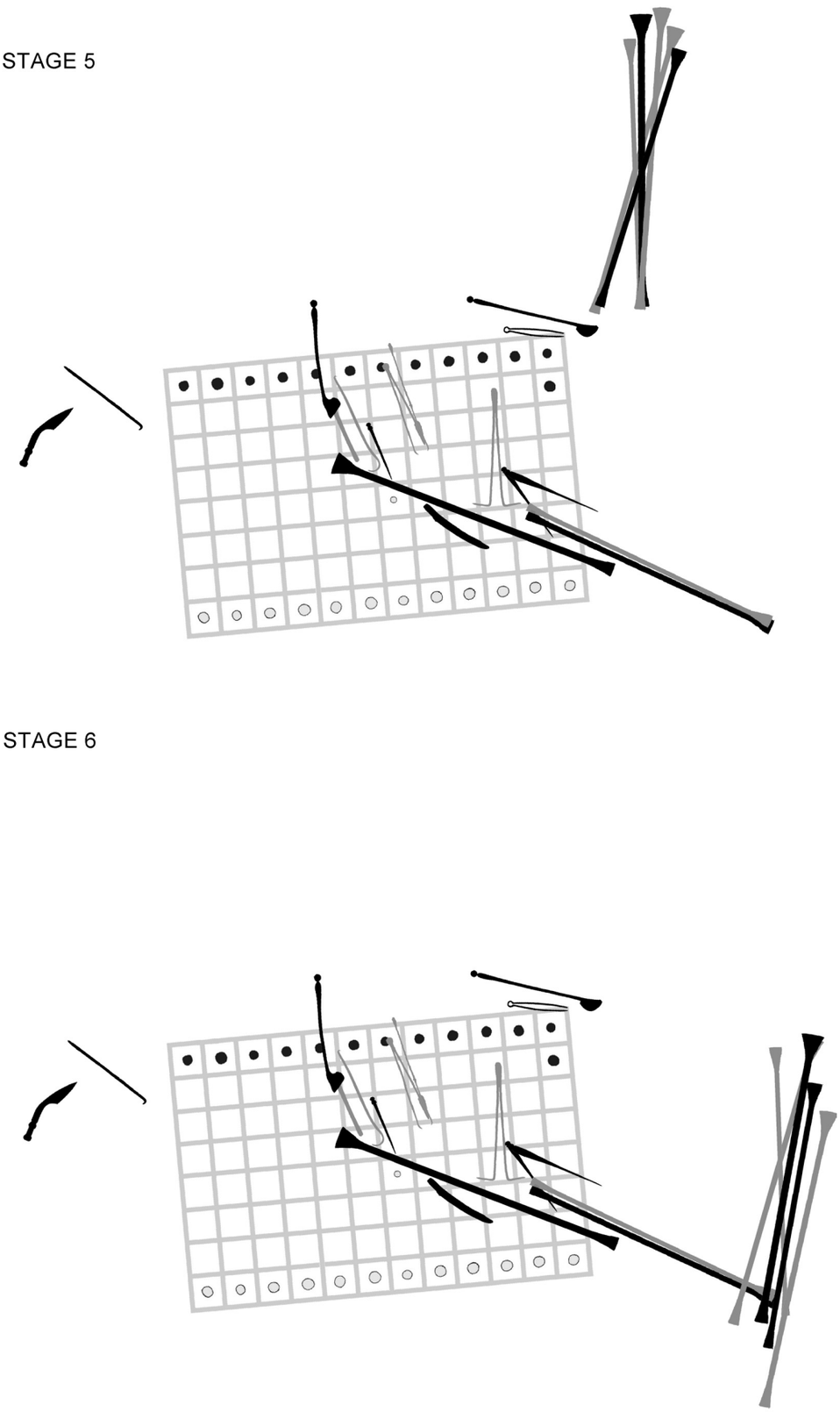


FIG. 106. Doctor's burial CF47: stages 5–6 in the deposition of the medical implements and rods on and around the gaming board

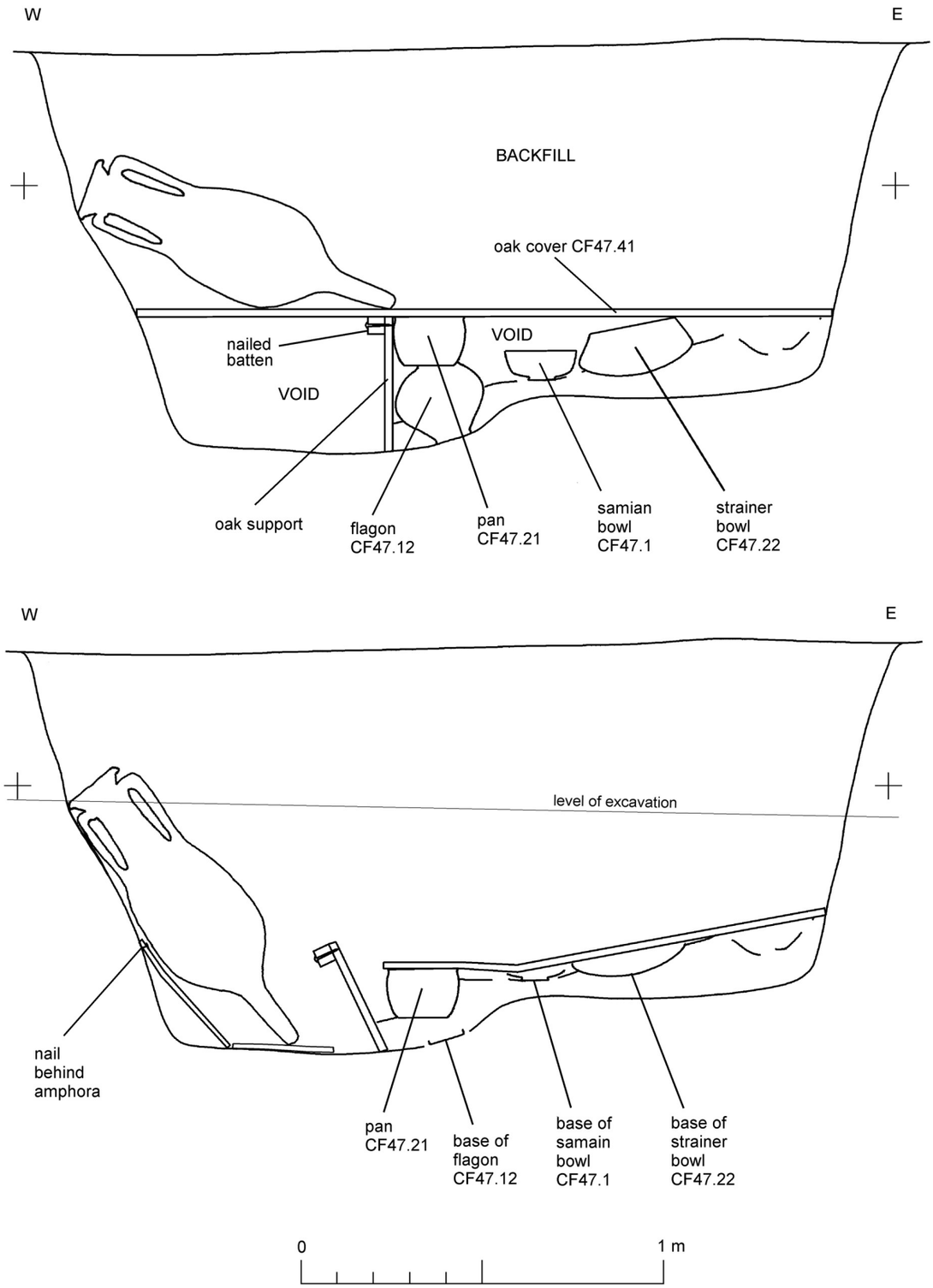


FIG. 107. Doctor's burial CF47: reconstruction of the grave and the subsequent collapse of the wooden cover and grave goods

(FIGS 98, 100, 107). The direction of the nails appears to have alternated along the partition, showing that the nails had been hammered in from alternate sides. (The second and third nails from the south are not shown this way on plan, but it was noted during excavation that they may have been accidentally moved and replaced as the work progressed.)

At the north end of this line, close to the side of the burial pit, was a group of three nails that were angled down towards the base of the pit. In the north-west corner were two larger nails and towards the south-west corner were two more (one directly behind the amphora). Collectively, these nails formed a rectangular shape filling the west end of the lower part of the burial pit (FIG. 98).

In the centre of this area were two nails (FIG. 100, CF47.41c) close to the south hinge of the game board and a further nail close to the north hinge (FIG. 100, CF47.41d). These may relate to one or more wooden objects which were laid on the gaming board or they may have attached two wooden battens to the underside of the cover so that they lay at right-angles to the partition.

The last item to be placed in the burial pit was the amphora CF47.14. It stood upright at a slight angle so as to rest against the south-west corner of the pit (FIGS 98, 125). The amphora seems to have been placed on top of the cover CF47.41, which was probably only about 0.4 m above the floor of the pit. The cover eventually rotted, allowing the amphora to drop on to the floor (FIG. 107). It had been buried complete, but the top was damaged during machine-stripping of the site.

There is also evidence for earlier post-depositional movements. The wooden cover over the burial appears to have been subjected to sufficient pressure to result in two of the vessels (the strainer bowl and the samian bowl) being squashed flat and a third (the flagon) breaking into pieces (FIGS 98, 101, 107, 114). The strainer bowl crumpled inwards under the pressure whereas the sides of the samian bowl split into many pieces and were pushed outwards. The flagon shattered, whereas the copper-alloy pan which overlay it and had been pushed into it from above was undamaged, because the flagon was the weaker of the two vessels.

The absence of any soil between the rim and base of the flattened strainer bowl shows that the damage must have occurred before the wooden cover had decayed. This means that the force which did the damage could only have been applied at the time of burial or within a few months or years afterwards. The pressure needed to crush the vessels must have been substantial. It seems highly unlikely that a force great enough to damage the three vessels in the way described could have been achieved from the surface after the burial pit had been backfilled, because the force would have spread outwards over a wide area and would have been largely dissipated because of the depth of the grave goods. The damage does not appear to have been deliberate, but it must have happened accidentally before the burial pit was backfilled or (just possibly) before it had progressed very far. We can only speculate on the precise circumstances. Perhaps somebody stood on the cover to help lower the amphora into the burial pit, and the weight of the person plus the filled amphora was enough to cause the damage (FIG. 107). Importantly, the jolt which must have occurred when the three vessels crumpled and the cover dropped slightly may also explain why the glass counters on the gaming board have moved slightly.

It had been thought that the saw CF47.28 was deliberately broken prior to burial and placed in the burial pit in pieces. This is how it appears on plan (FIG. 100). However, a careful review of the photographic record indicates that the saw had probably been buried intact and disturbed inadvertently during an early stage of the archaeological excavation.

The burial appears to date to between A.D. 40 and 50 as indicated largely by the Gallo-Belgic pottery, which is Claudio–Neronian, the samian bowl (CF47.1) dated to A.D. 40–50, a die link (Stamp 17–20) with an identical platter in the Warrior's burial (p. 294), and the two brooches, one of which (CF47.15) is pre- A.D. 50/5 in date and the other (CF47.17) A.D. 40–50 (pp. 315–17). The Doctor's burial is indistinguishable in terms of date from the Warrior's burial. The dating evidence and the likely temporal relationships between the Doctor's burial and the other funerary contexts are discussed on pages 441, 443.

Pottery vessels (FIG. 108, CF47.1–14)

The burial contained fourteen complete or only slightly damaged vessels, most of them Gaulish imports. Although perhaps slightly less distinctive in character than those in the Warrior's burial, the decorated samian bowl (CF47.1) would have been at the top of the range and highly prized at the period. The remainder of the group consists of three *terra rubra* platters (CF47.2–4), four *terra nigra* platters (CF47.5–8), one *terra nigra* and two *terra rubra* cups (CF47.9–11), a local ware cup (CF47.13), a flagon and an amphora (CF47.12, 14). All the vessels had been placed upright in the grave pit as if containing, or ready to be filled with, food and drink. The stamps on the Gallo-Belgic vessels are discussed on pages 290–5.

Decorated samian By G.B. Dannell

CF47.1 FIG. 108. C900. Decorated bowl: Dragendorff form 29. South Gaulish. Stamp: OFI·CANTI. Cantus Die 6a.
Condition: in sherds restorable to complete.
Condition at deposition: complete.
Date: *c.* A.D. 35–50, and probably from the end of that period.

Brenda Dickinson adds of the stamp:
Cantus of La Graufesenque, Die 6a (Tilhard 2001, 370, 165.14). The bulk of Cantus' output is Tiberian, but the decoration of the Stanway bowl and that of another bowl with the same stamp suggest Claudian origin. However, this stamp also appears (once) on Form 17 (not seen by the present writer), which might be Tiberian. A range of *c.* A.D. 40–50 should cover the possibilities.

Gallo-Belgic imports

CF47.2 FIG. 108. C923. Moulded platter: Camulodunum form 7/8; with straight lower facet. Fabric TR1(C). Central Stamp 17, uncertain reading, possibly: SCVTTVSI. A.D. 25–50.
Condition: complete.
CF47.3 FIG. 108. C918. Moulded platter: Camulodunum form 7/8; with straight lower facet. Fabric TR1(C). Central Stamp 18, same die as CF47.2 and CF47.4, uncertain reading, possibly: SCVTTVSI. A.D. 25–50.
Condition: complete.
CF47.4 FIG. 108. C928. Moulded platter: Camulodunum form 7/8; with straight lower facet (exact stacking pair to CF47.3). Fabric TR1(C). Central Stamp 19, same die as CF47.2 and CF47.3, uncertain reading, possibly: SCVTTVSI. A.D. 25–50.
Condition: in sherds, restored to complete.
Condition at deposition: complete.
CF47.5 FIG. 108. C921. Moulded platter: Camulodunum form 8. Fabric TN. Central Stamp 3: ACVTIOS. A.D. 30–50.
Condition: one-third circuit broken.
Condition at deposition: complete.
CF47.6 FIG. 108. C926. Moulded platter: Camulodunum form 8. Fabric TN. Central Stamp 6, light and abraded impression: CICARV *c.* A.D. 35–60.
Condition: in sherds, restorable to complete.
Condition at deposition: complete.
CF47.7 FIG. 108. C919. Offset platter: Camulodunum form 14. Fabric TN. Central Stamp 15, uncertain reading, possibly: IIIVIIOII. A.D. 50–75.
Condition: in sherds, restorable to complete.
Condition at deposition: complete.
CF47.8 FIG. 108. C925. Offset platter: Camulodunum form 14. Fabric TN. Central Stamp 16, uncertain reading, possibly: OILIIILIII. A.D. 50–75. Condition: in sherds, restorable to complete.
Condition at deposition: complete.
CF47.9 FIG. 108. C927. Carinated cup: Camulodunum form 56A. Fabric TN. Central Stamp 10: NOVE/MOLL. A.D. 15–65. Condition: in sherds restorable to complete.
Condition at deposition: complete.
CF47.10 FIG. 108. C924. Flanged cup, Camulodunum form 58, small. Fabric TR1(C). Central Stamp 13, uncertain reading: HIC or AIC bordered. A.D. 50–70.
Condition: complete but for one sherd from footring.
Condition at deposition: probably complete.

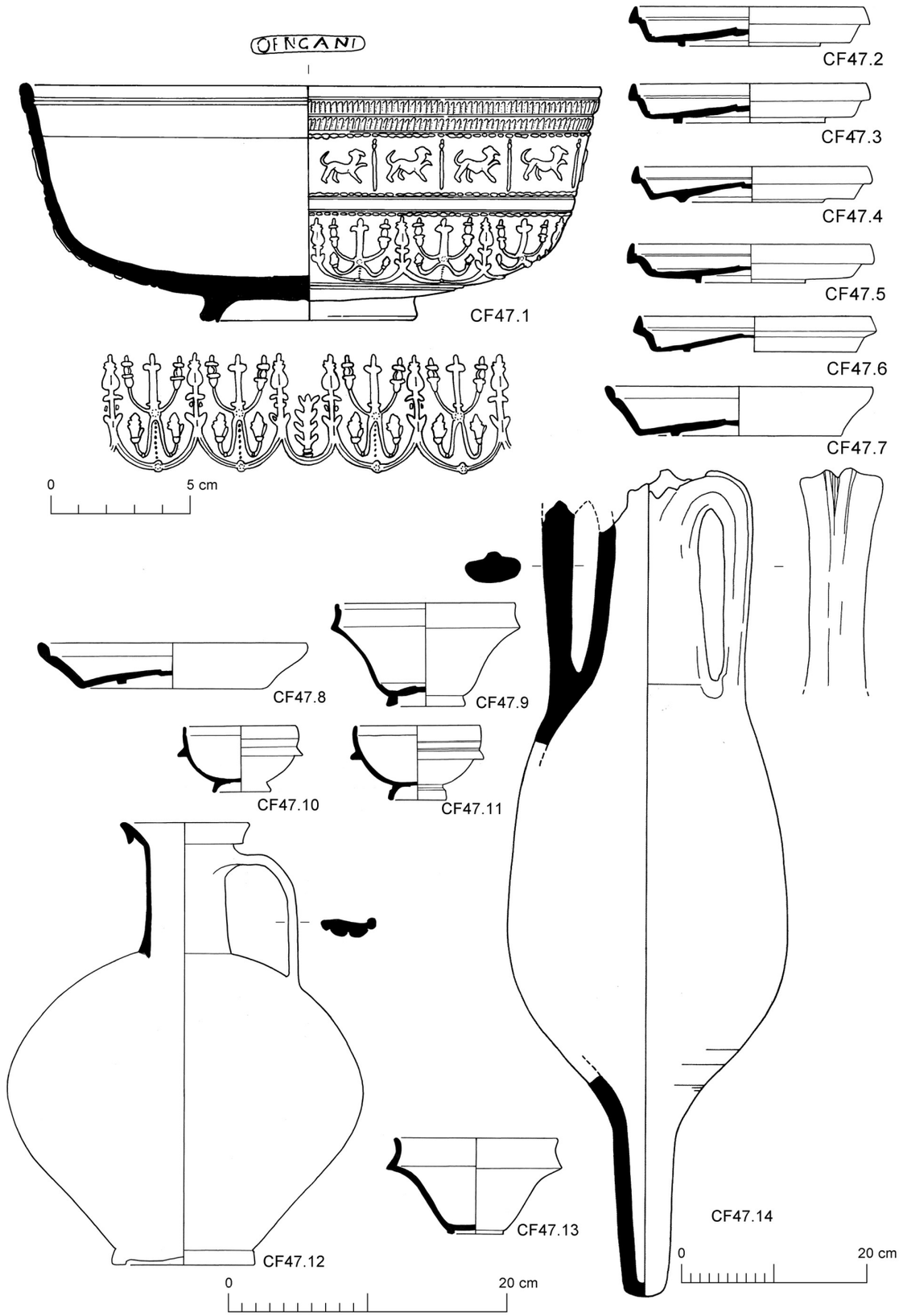


FIG. 108. Doctor's burial CF47: samian bowl CF47.1 (scale 1:2) and potter's stamp (scale 1:1), pottery vessels CF47.2–13 (scale 1:4), and amphora CF47.14 (scale 1:6)

CF47.11 FIG. 108. C922. Flanged cup, Camulodunum form 58. Fabric TR1(C). Restored, no stamp survives. A.D. 50–70. (Stamp 29.)
Condition: in sherds, restored to complete.
Condition at deposition: complete.

North Gaulish import

CF47.12 FIG. 108. C1077. Cornice-rimmed flagon, Camulodunum form 140; four-rib handle. Fabric WPW; grey slip inside.
Condition: in sherds; restorable to complete.
Condition at deposition: complete.

Local product

CF47.13 FIG. 108. C920. Carinated cup, Camulodunum form 56 copy/SW. Fabric FSW, light grey even-textured matrix; brownish-grey surfaces. Burnished finish. (Not stamped.)
Condition: complete.

Amphora

CF47.14 FIG. 108. C904. Dressel 8 (Beltrán I) *salazon* (see p. 301).

Dress accessories (FIG. 109, CF47.15–18)

Two brooches and a single bead were found in the grave. The brooches are not a pair and were not found close together. One (FIG. 109, CF47.15) is a poorly preserved Langton Down brooch of standard form, with a rounded head and a spring-cover marked only by a grooved rectangular frame. Similar brooches occur from Period 1 onwards at Sheepen, where it is Type XIIB (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 317–19), and date broadly to the first half of the 1st century A.D. The majority of spring-cover brooches went out of use by *c.* A.D. 50 (pp. 316, 318).

A fragment of a bronze ring was found attached by surface corrosion to the Langton Down brooch (FIG. 109, CF47.16). The recovery of an incomplete object, unless partially destroyed by corrosion, is unusual in this burial, but the fragment is in good condition. The lack of other miscellaneous material suggests it is unlikely to be residual. Although the grave goods were clearly all very carefully deposited, the association of brooch and ring need not pre-date the time of burial. It is nonetheless catalogued here and not with the other rings from the burial (*see* below) because of its direct contact with the brooch in the ground, the difference of its form and also its manufacture from a different alloy. Plain rings of copper alloy and lead have been found as votive offerings on sanctuary sites in Gaul and Britain**,** but their precise symbolism is unclear. Feugère has suggested that they may have been a substitute for coins, but it seems just as likely that they were simple solar symbols, substitutes for the more complex spoked wheel amulets also found at sanctuaries and in graves (Atkinson 1916, pl. 13, 25a–c; France and Gobel 1985, 90–5; Feugère 2002b; Fauduet 1993, 119–20; Bourgeois 1999, 99, 120–1, fig. 74, 450; Marcadal 2001, 135, fig. 122, 58; Pommeret 2001, fig. 7, 76–7, 8, 78–96). That this ring has been broken may be an indication of deliberate 'killing' before burial, but it also suggests that plain rings when halved may have been a simple method of producing a crescentic lunar symbol, in which case it may link to the circles scribed on the other brooch in this grave.

The second brooch is a well-preserved Rearhook (FIG. 109, CF47.17), a British-made form that almost certainly originated among the Iceni (Mackreth 1992, 122–3), and most, if not all, may be of Icenian manufacture. This example has two distinctive characteristics. First, it has a distinctive triplet of annulets on the thick expanded head. Their irregularity shows them to have been engraved freehand. No parallel for this style of decoration has been found on another brooch, although the use of three motifs must surely be linked to Celtic triplism, and there must be a strong possibility that these circles held the same meaning, perhaps as solar symbols, as those found on Trinovantian and Icenian coins (Allen 1980, 149; Hobbs 1996, pl. 5; Creighton 2000, 42). Second, the outer edge of the catch has a zigzag design formed of pairs of incised grooves. Decoration in this position is unusual, and appears to mark out particularly high-quality products. When found, it generally consists of zigzags or 'petals', and the main section

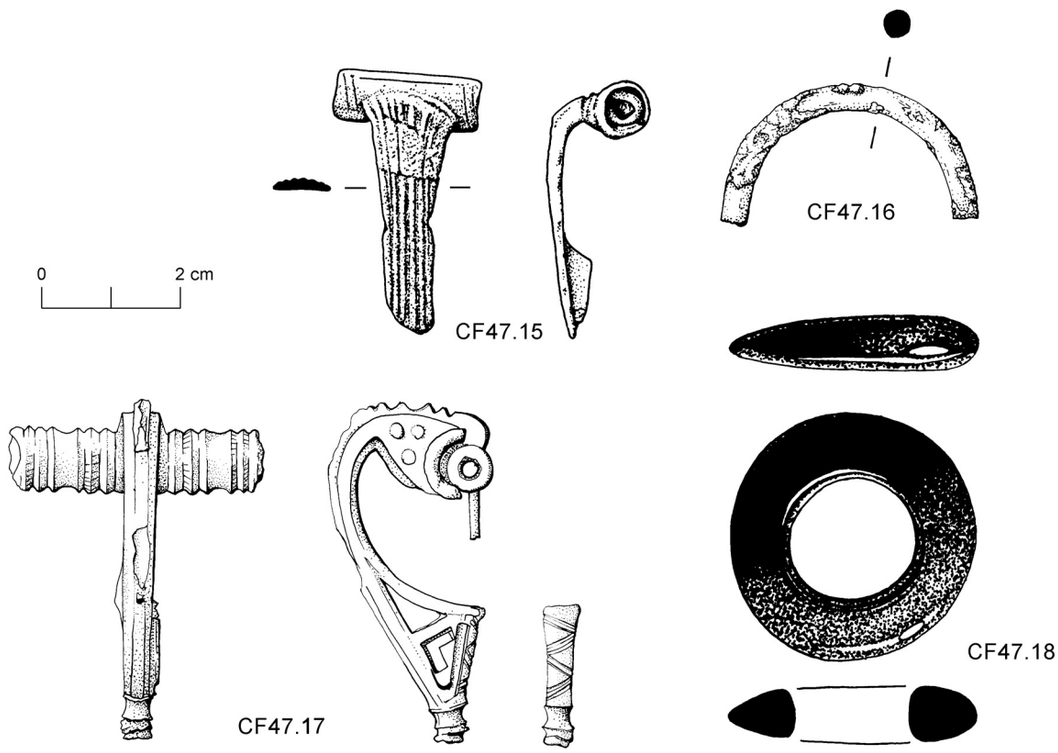


FIG. 109. Doctor's burial CF47: copper-alloy brooches CF47.15 and 17, ring fragment CF47.16, and jet bead CF47.18 (scale 1:1)

of the catchplate may also be decorated. The design on the Stanway brooch is remarkably similar to that on a pair of 1st-century B.C. silver brooches from Lauterach, Austria, on a type specimen for Almgren Type 19 (1923), and on 1st-century A.D. silver brooches from a grave group from Hoby, Denmark, but probably made in the eastern Alps (Salskov Roberts 1995, 292, fig. 11). Decoration on the catchplate edge is also found on several brooches from eastern Britain in the Colchester and Polden Hill series: for example, a Colchester brooch from Upper Deal, which also has elaborate fretwork and small ring-and-dot motifs on the catchplate (Birchall 1965, 305, fig. 12, 100); a Colchester derivative from Icklingham, Suffolk (Ashmolean Museum, 1927.234); a Colchester derivative from Baldock, Hertfordshire (Stead and Rigby 1986, fig. 27, 4); a hinged Dolphin brooch from Nottinghamshire (Hull Museum); a Polden Hill brooch from Sheepen, with decoratively pierced catchplate (Hawkes and Hull 1947, pl. 91, 43); a Polden Hill brooch from Charlton Hill, Kent, which has a pierced circular motif defined by two triangular cut-outs on the catchplate (British Museum, 1950.7-2.1); and a Polden Hill from Winchester, Hampshire, with an elaborately fretted catchplate that runs the full length of the bow right up to the head (Winchester Museum). The Icklingham brooch shares the notched crest and astragaloid mouldings on the side-wings of the Stanway Rearhook, although the catchplate is solid and there is no foot-knob.

All the brooches from eastern Britain are large examples of their types, and many have other distinctive or unusual features. With the exception of that from Upper Deal, all date to the 40s and 50s, and all are of native manufacture. Their distribution has a strong eastern bias, while the general rarity of embellishment on this part of the catchplate, together with its appearance on the La Tène silver pair from Lauterach, marks out those brooches that do bear it as being generally high-quality products.

A number of brooches from western Britain also have decoration on the catchplate edge, notably a group from Gloucester that includes Rearhook brooches but also western headloop

types and Trumpet brooches (Cracknell 1990, especially fig. 1 and fig. 2, 8). All the brooch types on which it occurs are of native manufacture, and, while the catchplate edge is not visible in use, there is some possibility that the decoration had a significance beyond the purely decorative. Cracknell suggests the design is a maker's mark, although, as can be seen by its occurrence at Lauterach, its use occurs over a prolonged period, over a wide geographical area, and on many different types of brooch.

The jet bead, both by its substance and in the context of this particular grave, is unlikely to have been regarded simply as a dress accessory (FIG. 109, CF47.18). Although jet jewellery is found quite frequently in the Bronze Age in Britain, it is rare in the Iron Age and in the early Roman period. This may be largely a result of the dearth of excavated burials in the Iron Age compared to the Bronze Age, and perhaps of the use of cremation as the main funerary rite in the 1st to 3rd centuries A.D. Its rarity may thus be accidental, but the recovery of two shale beads in the rich female burial at Birdlip points to black minerals in general being regarded as of high value (Bellows 1881, 139). In addition, Pliny records that jet (and this term must here be taken to embrace all black minerals, such as shale and cannel coal) was credited with healing powers when burnt, swallowed, or applied to the skin, and also that it was used by 'wise men' in divination (*Historia Naturalis*, 36, 141–2; Allason-Jones 1996, 15). It seems unlikely that the person buried in CF47 would have been unaware of these magico-medical properties, and therefore this bead may have doubled both as ornament and as professional equipment.

CF47.15 FIG. 109. SF79a. C982. Gunmetal Langton Down brooch with rounded head. The pin, part of the spring, the foot of the bow, and part of the catchplate are missing. The pin is of impure copper. The front of the spring-cover is defined by marginal grooves. The head has a narrow moulding and groove. The bow is reeded. Length 37 mm.

CF47.16 FIG. 109. SF79b. C982. A fragment of a bronze ring of circular section. Internal diameter 27 mm, section 5 mm in diameter. This was found attached by corrosion to the Langton Down brooch SF79a.

CF47.17 FIG. 109. SF40. C942. Tinned leaded bronze Rearhook brooch, complete apart from the central section of the pin, part of the spring and chord, and the ends of the side-wings. The pin is made of brass. The spring was of sixteen coils. The side-wings have central astragaloid mouldings flanked by pairs of knurled ridges. The crest has sharp transverse ridges. The narrow bow has a central rib on a platform flanked by slight cavetto mouldings. The flat sides of the expanded head are marked by a triplet of incised circles. The catchplate has two large perforations, the upper triangular, giving the impression that the metal from the back of the bow has been pulled outwards, and the lower a thick L-shape. The edge of the catch is decorated with a pattern of incised grooves between mouldings. There is a small footknob separated from the bow by transverse mouldings. Length 47 mm.

CF47.18 FIG. 109. SF38. C940. Jet annular bead of elongated D-shaped section, slightly thinner, presumably worn, at one point. Diameter 35 mm, height 7 mm, thickness 8–9 mm. Diameter of central hole 17–18 mm.

Board game (FIGS 102, 110–11, 126; CF47.19–CF47.20)

The 26 counters, thirteen blue (CF47.19b) and thirteen white (CF47.19a), are imports of common Roman form, and their method of manufacture is described on page 186 (FIG. 110). They are of different composition to those in BF64 (BF64.28) and the single counter from CF42 (CF42.14). They appear to have been placed in position on the board as if in readiness to start a game (FIG. 126; pp. 352–75).

The wooden board (CF47.20), like that in BF64 (BF64.29), was made from two pieces of maple, joined by brass hinged fittings and reinforced at the corners by copper-alloy sheet binding fixed over leather (FIGS 102, 111). The wood had a decorative border, and traces of a red-brown pigment show that this part of the board, at least, was painted. (Elemental analysis of the paint was undertaken using a scanning electron microscope, see p. 390.) Unlike the junction bindings found on the board in BF64, the central fittings probably functioned as hinges. A reconstruction of the hinges from Burial 6 at Baldock shows that for them to work there must always have been a gap between the two pieces of the board when it was open

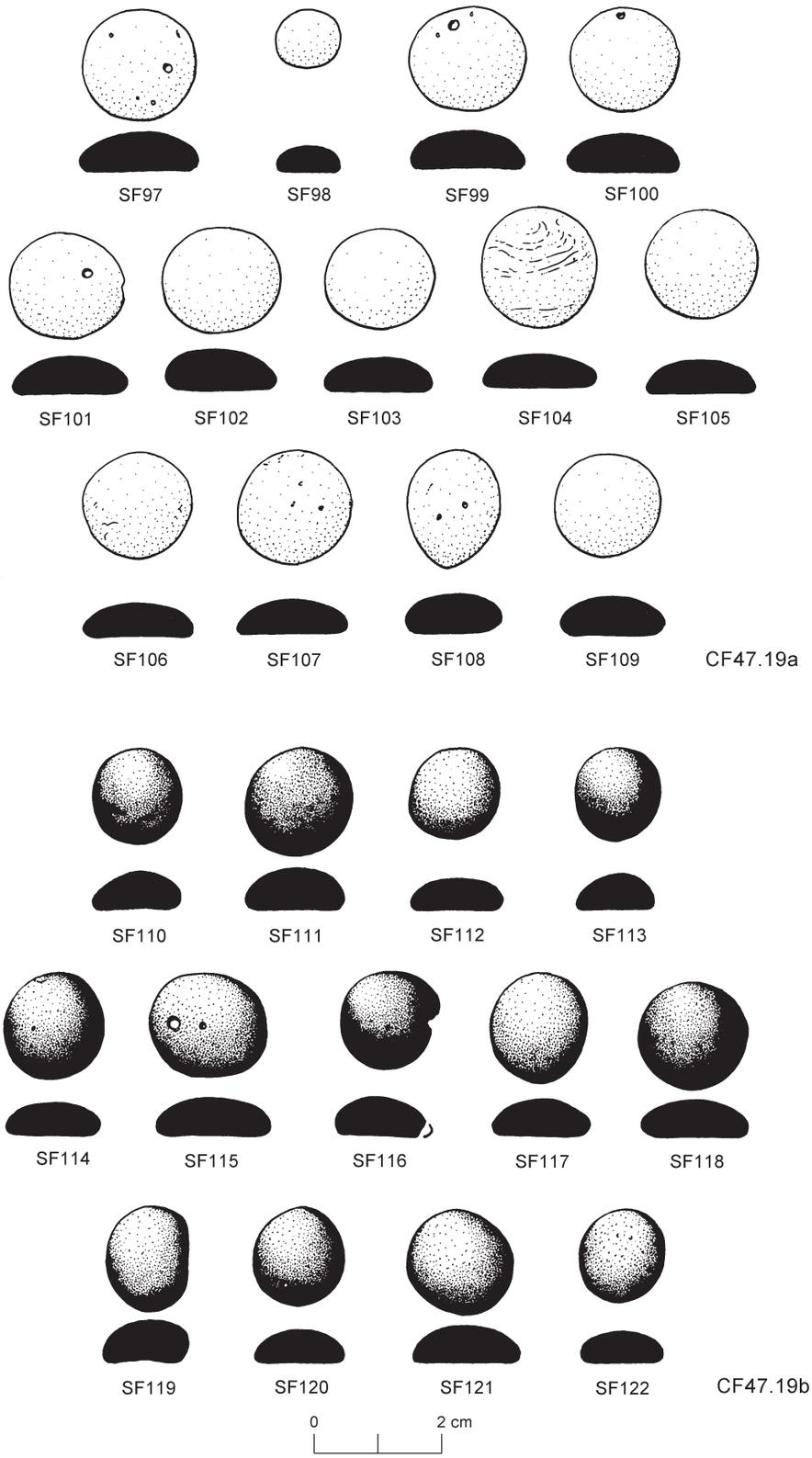


FIG. 110. Doctor's burial CF47: glass gaming counters CF47.19b (scale 1:1)

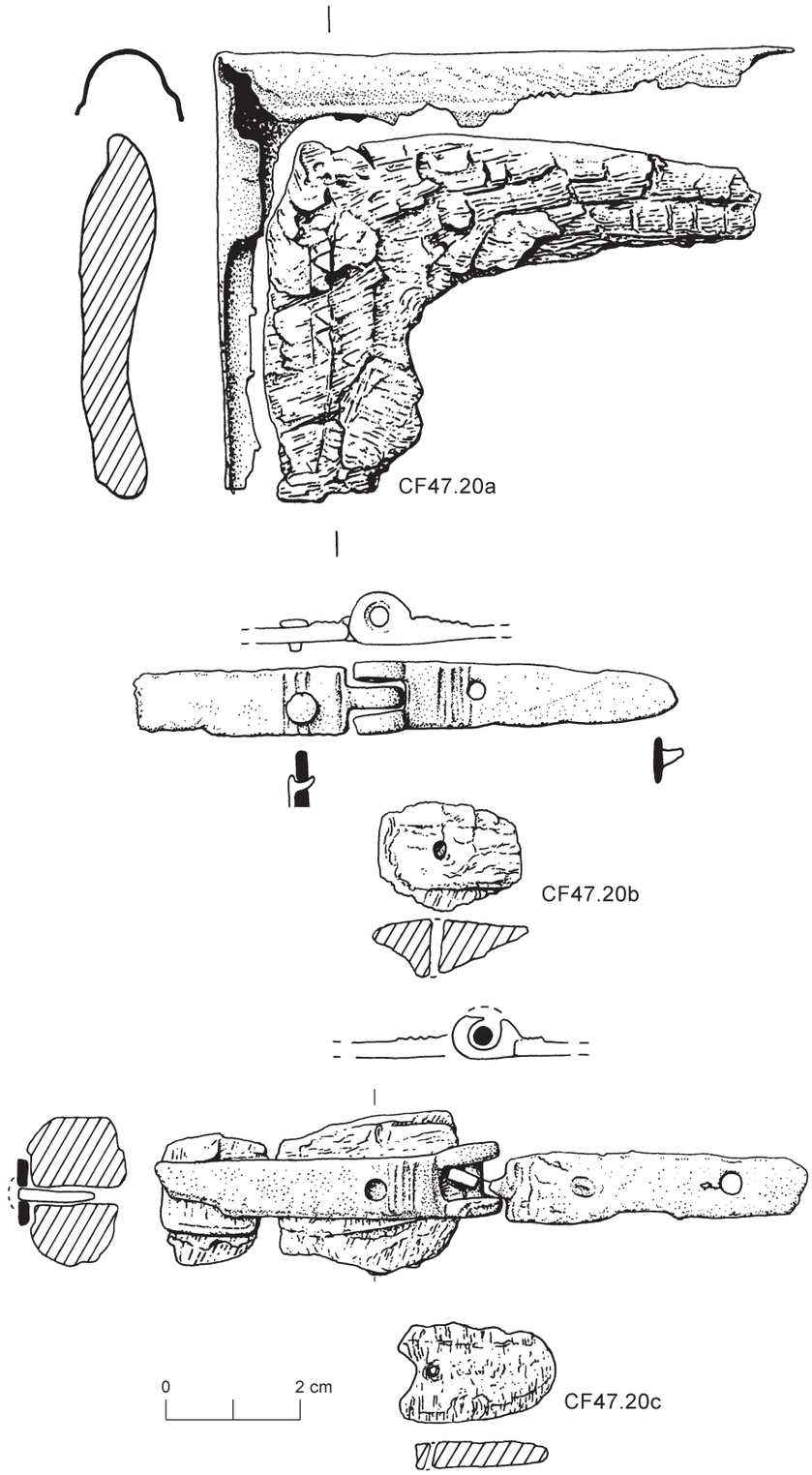


FIG. 111. Doctor's burial CF47: copper-alloy corner CF47.20a and hinges CF47.20b–c from the gaming board (scale 1:1)

(Stead and Rigby 1986, fig. 30, 13–14, and reconstruction top right). The Baldock pair are plain and wrought, with the hinge made by simply rolling the metal over the axial pin, but those from CF47 were of better quality, being cast in two pieces before being fixed together, and decorated with transverse grooves. Another similar pair are shown sitting exposed on the top of the lid of a large reconstructed box from Eckartsbrunn, Lkr. Konstanz, Germany (Riha 2001, Abb. 7).

The discovery of leather binding on the board in CF47 is rare, but leather is increasingly being found on wooden artefacts undergoing careful conservation. Grave 117 in the cemetery at King Harry Lane contained a hinged maplewood board with a drop-handle that was also leather-bound and may have been a game board (although no counters were found), and reference is made in the discussion of the Grave 117 board to a leather-bound casket from Godmanchester (*see* pp. 388, 390; Stead and Rigby 1989, 109). A box from Sheepen also retained traces of leather (Saunders 1985; Niblett 1985, 25–6), and recent excavations in Hertfordshire have uncovered a similar leather-bound box on which traces of pigment suggest the leather was brightly coloured (Network Archaeology, site CMG01, section 13, site number 13/52). Traces of leather have also been found on boxes from Augst, Switzerland (Riha 2001, 52) and at the Garrison site, Colchester (CAT Report in prep).

The board, the game, and the post-depositional movements are described and considered in detail on pages 352–75.

CF47.19

a FIG. 110. SF97–109. C1001–1013. Thirteen counters of opaque white glass, one (SF98) is markedly smaller than the others. All are well formed, round to oval, with a smooth surface occasionally marked by air bubble voids, and slightly sand-roughened underside. Two, SFs 104 and 109, have swirls of a slightly shiny off-white colour passing through them. This was also noted in a white counter from BF64, and is presumed to be the result of the opacifier being poorly mixed into the matrix. SF97: diameter 17–17.5 mm, height 6 mm. SF98: diameter 10–10.5 mm, height 5.5 mm. SF99: diameter 16-18 mm, height 6 mm. SF100: diameter 16–17 mm, height 6 mm. SF101: diameter 17–18 mm, height 6 mm. SF102: diameter 16–18.5 mm, height 6.5 mm. SF103: diameter 15.5–17 mm, height 6 mm. SF104: diameter 18–19 mm, height 6 mm. SF105: diameter 17 mm, height 6 mm. SF106: diameter 16.5–17 mm, height 6 mm. SF107: diameter 17–18 mm, height 6 mm. SF108: diameter 15–18 mm, height 6 mm. SF109: diameter 16 mm, height 6.5 mm.

b FIG. 110. SF110–122. C1014–1022. Thirteen counters of opaque blue glass, the density of the colour ranging from pale to dark. None is so dark that it appears black. As with the white counters, the undersides are slightly sand-roughened, the upper surfaces smooth apart from voids caused by air bubbles. SF110 has a ripple of slightly translucent glass in the matrix, SF111 a ripple of duller and paler glass. SF110: diameter 14–15 mm, height 6 mm. SF111: diameter 16.5–17 mm, height 6.5 mm. SF112: diameter 14–14.5 mm, height 6 mm. SF113: diameter 13–14 mm, height 6 mm. SF114: diameter 15–16 mm, height 6 mm. SF115: diameter 16.5–18 mm, height 6.5 mm. SF116: diameter 15–15.5 mm, height 6 mm. SF117: diameter 15.5–17.5 mm, height 6 mm. SF118: diameter 16.5–17 mm, height 6.5 mm. SF119: diameter 13.5–16.5 mm, height 7 mm. SF120: diameter 14–15 mm, height 6 mm. SF121: diameter 15.5–17 mm, height 6 mm. SF122: diameter 13.5–14.5mm, height 6 mm.

CF47.20

a FIG. 111. SF25/92–94. C915/996–998. Brass corner binding and wood from the board. Only SF25 is illustrated. The wood was rebated to reinforce the attachment of the metal sheet and fragments of leather remain between the two. A strip of zigzag decoration runs down at least one side of the wood, and traces of a red pigment show that it was also painted. One rivet hole survives near the end of the longest side of the binding. Length of long side 86 mm, height 17 mm.

b FIG. 111. SF96. C1000. Copper-alloy (probably brass or gunmetal, *see* CF47.20c) hinged fitting and wood from the board. Each hinge-plate is tongue-shaped and was fixed to the wood by two flat-headed tacks. The end of one plate is missing, and only parts of two tacks survive. The hinge is formed by three lugs, two on one plate, one on another. The axial riveted bar is missing. The surface of each plate close to the lugs is marked by transverse grooves. Surviving length 81 mm, maximum width 10 mm.

c FIG. 111. SF95. C999. Brass or gunmetal hinged fitting and wood as CF47.20b, with traces of leather on the wood. The axial riveted bar remains in place. Surviving length 96 mm.

Copper-alloy vessels (FIGS 112–14, CF47.21–22)

Two large vessels lay in the north-east corner of the grave, resting on a wooden object, probably a box or tray (pp. 232–6). One is a large bronze saucepan (FIG. 112, CF47.21), the bottom scarred with many wear marks, probably caused by stirring and/or scouring. The handle is decorated with a *thyrsus*, knurled grooves, mouldings, and flowing decoration made by lines of punch marks. Its end is in the shape of a disc with a lunate suspension hole. The decoration is typical of pans made in Gaul (Eggers 1951, Type 137; den Boesterd 1956, 6–7, no. 13.11; Bennett and Young 1981, 42; Tassinari 1993, Type G2100, vol. 1, 52, 55, vol. 2, 98–108).

The other vessel in CF47 is a spouted strainer bowl (FIG. 113, CF47.22), which was placed in the burial pit alongside the samian bowl and the saucepan, close to the service. The carinated bowl was spun, with the lower part bellied, the upper more or less straight. The feet, handle and spout were cast and soldered on; the spill-plate and strainer-plate wrought and soldered on (FIG. 113). The cast elements are in good condition, but the sheet-metal elements, the bowl and the two plates, are not. The bowl and spill-plate have shattered, and the collapse of the bowl then crushed the strainer-plate (FIG. 114). Some areas of the central part of the spill-plate, which is very thin, have either disintegrated completely while buried or were missing when the bowl was deposited.

Both these vessels are discussed in more detail on pages 322–6.

CF47.21 FIG. 112. SF13. C901. Bronze saucepan, probably plated with white metal internally, although the large size of the vessel made analysis impossible. The flat handle has knurled marginal grooves and mouldings. It bears a central *thyrsus* with elongated terminals and a shaft formed by a groove with a raised wavy line within it and a slightly raised rim. There may have been a contrasting inlay within the groove. The surface is further decorated with straight, curled, and wavy lines made by small punch marks, now largely obscured by corrosion. The terminal is rounded, with concentric grooves and mouldings around a small raised centre mark, and has a half-moon cut-out. The base of the pan, both internally and externally, has concentric grooves and mouldings around a lathe centre mark, those on the inside very worn, those on the outside prominent. The internal base is also scratched from stirring and/or scouring. Diameter 185 mm, height 126 mm. Length of handle 165 mm.

CF47.22 FIG. 113. SF14/67/68/70/76/91. C902/969/970/972/978/995. Copper-alloy spouted strainer bowl of carinated form with separately made spout (CF47.22a), handle (CF47.22c), three feet (CF47.22b), strainer-plate (CF47.22f) and spill-plate (CF47.22d). The spout, handle and feet are stout

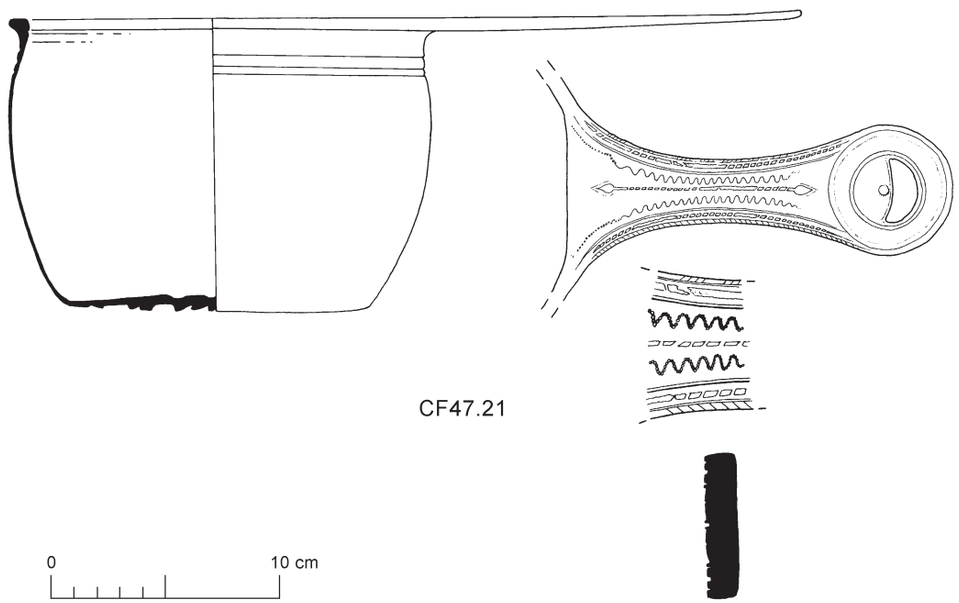


FIG. 112. Doctor's burial CF47: copper-alloy saucepan CF47.21 (scale 1:3)

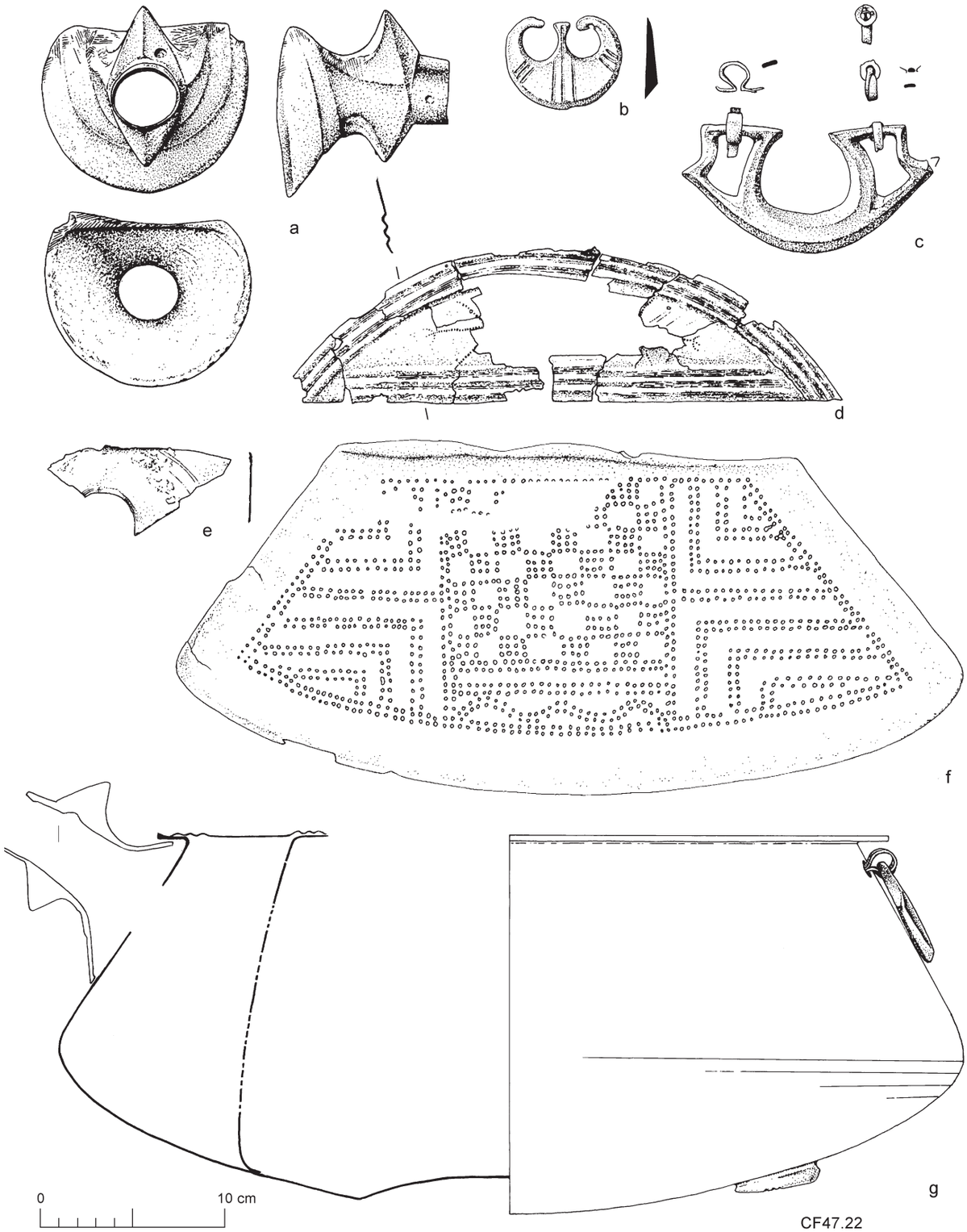


FIG. 113. Doctor's burial CF47: copper-alloy strainer bowl CF47.22 (scale 1:3)

FIG. 114. Doctor's burial CF47: the copper-alloy strainer bowl *in situ*

castings in leaded bronze and were tinned. The strainer- and spill-plates and the bowl itself are of sheet bronze, and are now in fragments. The metal of the spill-plate, which was tinned on one side, is so thin that parts have corroded away.

The internal diameter of the bowl is about 210 mm, the external diameter of the base 110 mm. The height, based on the similar bowl from Crownthorpe, Norfolk, was probably about 136 mm. The rim is flat, with a raised edge. The bowl was spun, and a slight mark from the lathe centre can be seen on the base, which is slightly raised. The outer face is highly polished. In many places, the inner face has a distinctive dull pale green patina, with tooling lines running vertically up from the base to the carination, but horizontally above it. Compass lines on a fragment of the body define the point at which the hole was cut to allow the applied spout to function (CF47.22e).

The spout has a maximum width of 72 mm, height of 58 mm, and depth of 54 mm. The whole surface is covered with file marks from finishing, in particular on the curve from the top edge to the upper point. The slightly concave top edge is quite irregularly formed and finished. The lower edge comes to a small central point. There is a low step around the base of the spout proper. This is of strong three-dimensional lozenge form, very angular. A more or less circular indentation on the upper right-hand side is probably a casting flaw, as is a similar mark on the side of the circular mouth.

The strainer-plate is made of thin sheet metal, the edges bent over and originally soldered to the wall, base, and spill-plate. It is decorated with a design of punched holes, consisting of double right-angled lines at the corner, a chequer-board in the upper part of the centre, and a double zigzag in the lower. Some of the chequers are four dots across/up, others five. The plate is crushed, but is shown straightened out in the illustration. A lump of tin-lead solder associated with this plate is probably from a repair rather than the original attachment.

The spill-plate has three angular mouldings around the margins, and fragments of a design executed in tiny punched dots on each side of the field. The centre is now missing, but need not have been solid (Stead 1967, fig. 12). Its maximum dimensions are 196 mm by 55 mm.

The handle has openwork ends, with the fittings of attachment fixed on the upper bar. Length 92 mm. These differ from side to side, clear evidence of repair. On one side is a stout brass ring-headed stud (now worn through at one point), with its ends hammered through a washer. The edges of the latter are strongly burred, suggesting that either the washer had only a very small central perforation initially, or that it was completely solid. On the other side is only a simple strip of brass formed into a clip of similar form to a split-pin.

The three cast feet (CF47.22b; SF67–8, SF70) are peltate, the backs retaining traces of the solder used to attach them to the bowl. Only SF67 is illustrated. The front of each is decorated with three groups of deep incised grooves, one placed centrally, with the inner line running up to the top of the foot, and one at the base of each arm. All are 41 mm wide, the height varying from 31 to 33 mm, and they taper in thickness from 1.5/2 mm to 5/6 mm. One (SF68) is slightly damaged, with a groove angled across the central group of three.

Rods (FIGS 115–18, CF47.23; TABLE 35)

Eight metal rods had been placed at the west end of the burial pit together with personal items such as the surgical kit and game board (FIGS 115–18). Their precise positions relative to the latter are discussed above (p. 207). Each has a spatulate end and a round end. Four are iron and four brass, and two of each metal are larger than the others. They thus form four groups of four, and four groups of two, with each rod belonging to three groups (TABLE 35). The four iron rods had been buried in contact with textile. No textile survived on the copper-alloy rods. However, given the distribution of the textile on the iron ones, the copper-alloy rods are likely to have been similarly buried with textile which does not generally appear to have survived in the burial when in contact with copper alloy (but *see* the brooch CF47.17).

The publicity that followed the excavation of CF47 brought the rods to the attention of a wide public, who put forward many ideas about their function, the majority focusing on human and animal surgery. How far this was the power of suggestive influence exerted by the set of surgical implements in the burial, and the occupation of those putting forward the suggestions, cannot be precisely established, but the effect of character, nationality, and personal experience on interpretation, in defiance of evidence, has been shown with reference to professional archaeological discussions of Migration Period spouted vessels found in female graves on the Continent (Bartel and Codreanu-Windauer 1995, 259–60; 2002, 20–1) and of an unusual form of glass flask (Cool 2002, 146). All the proposals for the function of the Stanway rods made by the general public have therefore been given serious consideration, but none can be accommodated within the considerable amount of information available about ancient surgical, and other medical, techniques. The discussion below is therefore based solely on their form and archaeological context.

To a large extent the rods resemble the form of *stylus* that has a spatulate eraser at one end and a blunt round terminal at the other end; the latter was fitted with a point, which rarely survives.

TABLE 35: TYPOLOGICAL GROUPINGS OF THE RODS IN CF47

	Four iron	*Four brass*	*Four long*	*Four short*	*Two long iron*	*Two short iron*	*Two long brass*	*Two short brass*
iron short (**CF47.23a**)	×			×		×		
iron short (**CF47.23b**)	×			×		×		
iron long (**CF47.23c**)	×		×		×			
iron long (**CF47.23d**)	×		×		×			
brass short (**CF47.23e**)		×		×				×
brass short (**CF47.23f**)		×		×				×
brass long (**CF47.23g**)		×	×				×	
brass long (**CF47.23h**)		×	×				×	

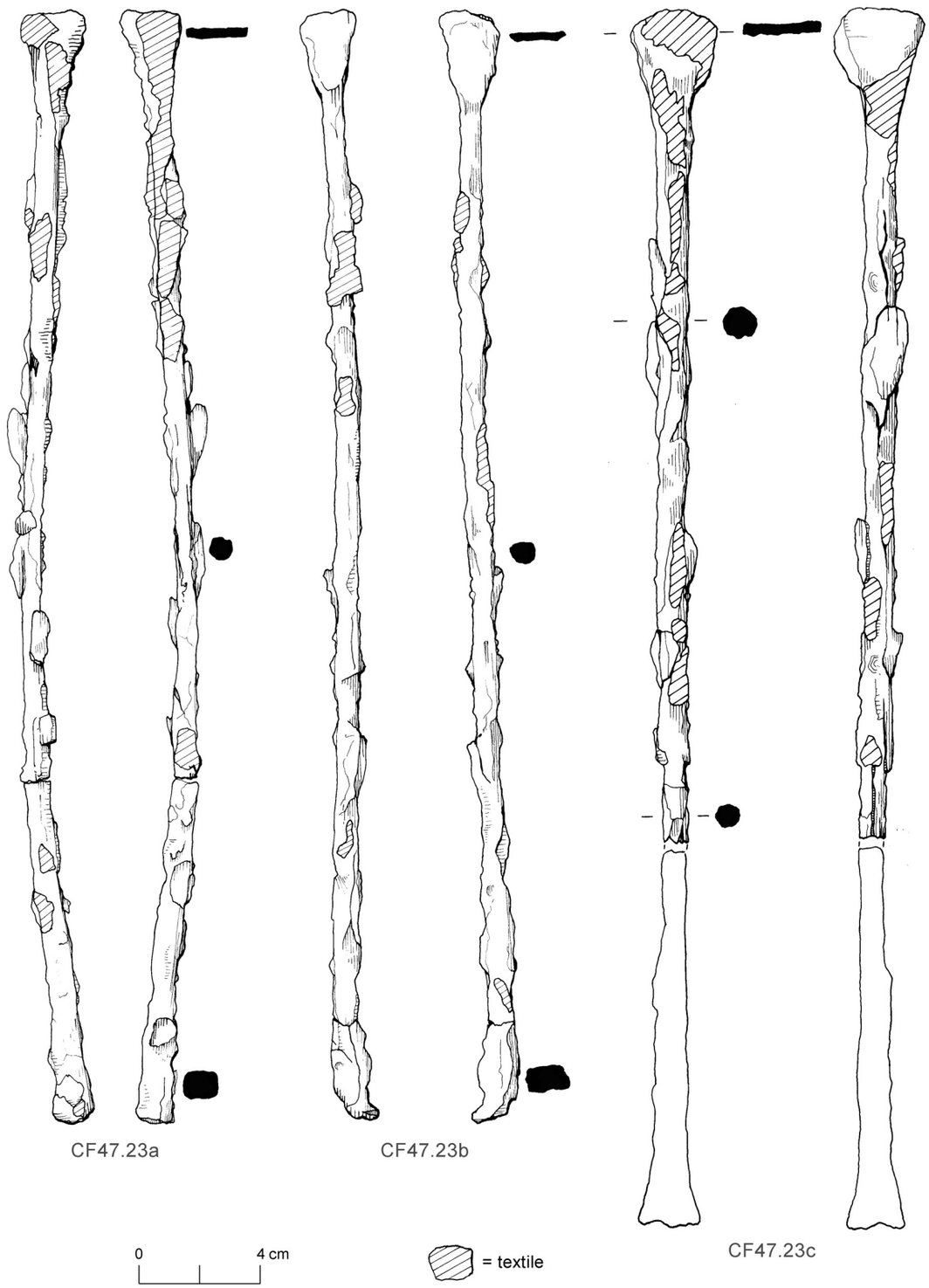


FIG. 115. Doctor's burial CF47: iron rods CF47.23a–c (scale 1:2)

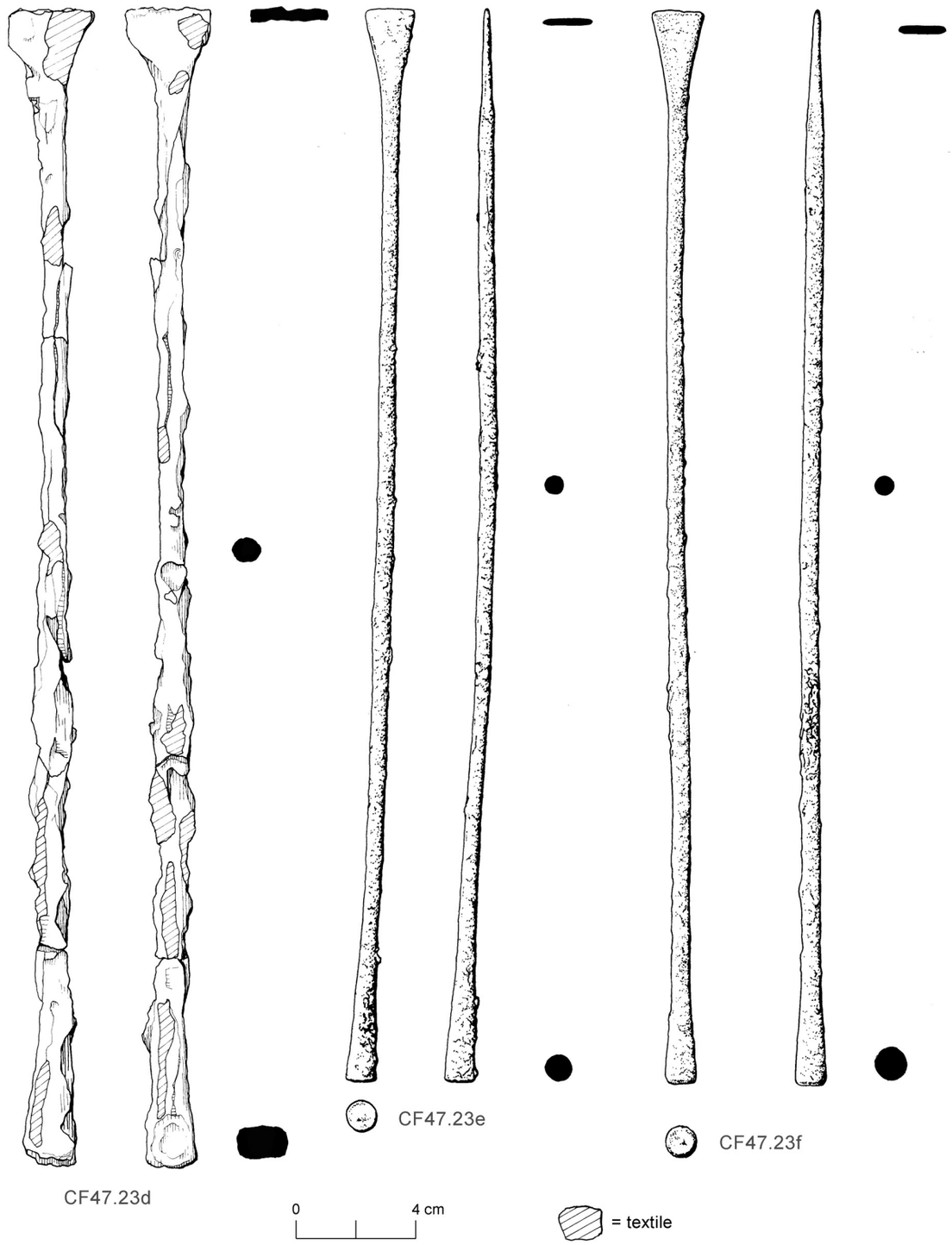


FIG. 116. Doctor's burial CF47: iron rod CF47.23d and copper-alloy rods CF47.23e–f (scale 1:2)

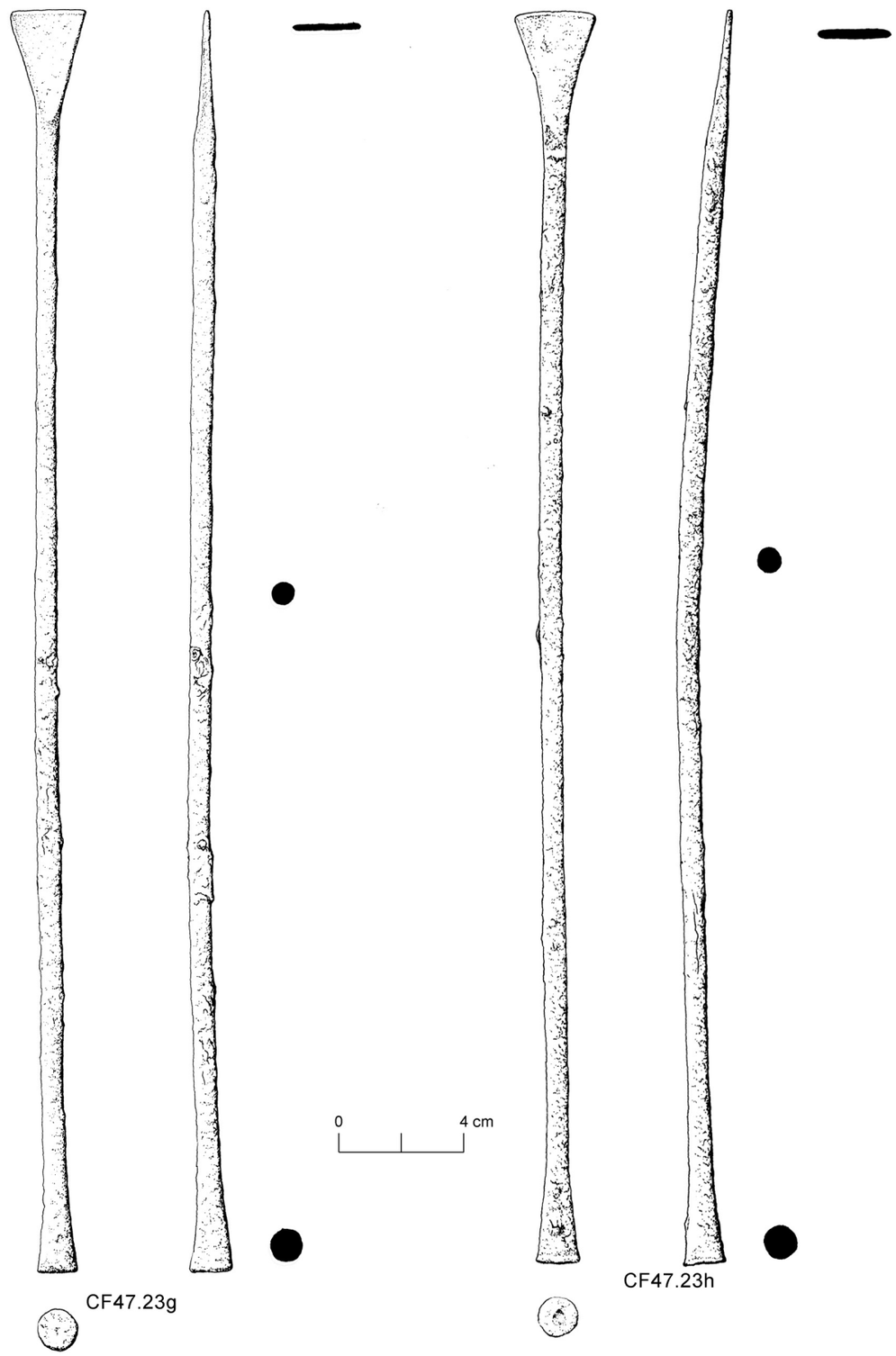


FIG. 117. Doctor's burial CF47: copper-alloy rods CF47.23g–h (scale 1:2)

FIG. 118. Doctor's burial CF47: the rods and rings *in situ*

A pair of 3rd-century copper-alloy *styli* of this form were found in a grave at the Butt Road cemetery, Colchester (*CAR* **2**, fig. 107; *CAR* **9**, 51). An intriguing point of similarity beyond the general form is that the small dimple in the round end of each of the Butt Road *styli* is matched by a depression on all four of the CF47 brass rods. The rods and the *styli* have been cast, and the depressions are linked to the manufacturing process (N. Nolan, pers. comm.). Despite their resemblance to *styli*, the rods are far too large to be used as such, although their size does not preclude the use of the ends in superficially related functions, *i.e.* the round ends might be used to make marks on the ground surface or a similar large area, the spatulate ends to erase them.

By far the most important characteristic of the rods is their potential for grouping, shown in TABLE 35, and therefore this can be presumed to be the major clue to their function. Placing this characteristic within the context of the medical expertise of the person buried in CF47, a pertinent and important part of treatment in the ancient world was the call for divine assistance (Jackson 1988a, 138–69). For the Romans this took various forms, such as interpretation of dreams, ritual cleansing, making sacrifices, or placing miniature votives of their diseased body parts in sanctuaries. None of these can be detected here, which, given that the deceased in CF47 was British rather than Roman (pp. 444–5), is hardly surprising; much less is known about the methods of divination used in the non-Roman world (Brunaux 1988, 132–3). However, the description by Tacitus of how the Germani practised divination, although not necessarily in the context of the healing arts, seems relevant:

> *For omens and the casting of lots they have the highest regard. Their procedure in casting lots is always the same. They cut off a branch of a nut-bearing tree and slice it into strips; these they mark with different signs and throw them completely at random onto a white cloth. Then the priest of the state, if the consultation is a public one, or the father of the family if it is private, offers a prayer to the gods, and looking up at the sky picks up three strips, one at a time, and reads their meaning from the signs previously scored on them.* (Tacitus, *Germania*, *10*.)

Use in a similar way in divination seems to be the most likely way in which the CF47 rods were employed. It has been shown in TABLE 35 that the eight rods fall into eight groups. These groups could be described as formal and typological, but Tacitus's description serves to point out that such groupings need not necessarily be those that might be required or used in the ancient world. Random selection of rods in groups other than two or four could have been used, whether or not individual rods were marked to distinguish like pair members apart, while marking them in some way, perhaps by tying on (coloured) thread or strips of cloth, would have provided more groupings and thus more potential for interpretation.

It is possible that eight rings found in the burial were also used for divination (*see* below).

CF47.23

a FIG. 115. SF83. C987. Iron rod with one round and one spatulate end. Profile irregular along the long axis. Length 358 mm; diameter 8 mm at the centre, 13 mm at the round end; width across spatulate end 23 mm.

b FIG. 115. SF125. C1029. Iron rod with one round and one spatulate end. Curved in the centre of the long axis. Length 359 mm; diameter 8 mm at the centre, 11 mm at the round end; width across spatulate end 18 mm.

c FIG. 115. SF72. C974. Iron rod with one round and one spatulate end. In three pieces, but appears fairly straight along the long axis. Length 398 mm; diameter 10 mm at the centre, 17 mm at the round end; width across spatulate end 27 mm.

d FIG. 116. SF80. C984. Iron rod with one round and one spatulate end. Curved in profile along the long axis and also bent near round end. Length 392 mm; diameter 9–10 mm at the centre, 17 mm at the round end; width across spatulate end 27 mm.

e FIG. 116. SF82. C986. ?Brass rod with one round and one spatulate end. Curved quite markedly along the long axis. The edge of the spatulate end is slightly concave. There is a tiny sunken area, roughly triangular, in the centre of the round end. Length 357 mm; diameter 5 mm at the centre, 9 mm at the round end; width across spatulate end 16 mm.

f FIG. 116. SF126. C1030. Brass rod with one round and one spatulate end. Slightly curved along the long axis. The edge of the spatulate end is slightly concave. There is a tiny triangular sunken area in the round end, set slightly off-centre. Length 357 mm; diameter 6 mm at the centre, 9.5 mm at the round end; width across spatulate end 17 mm.

g FIG. 117. SF81. C985. ?Brass rod with one round and one spatulate end. Curved along the long axis. The edge of the spatulate end is straight. There is a tiny circular sunken area in the centre of the round end. Length 402 mm; diameter 6 mm at the centre, 13 mm at the round end; width across spatulate end 24 mm.

h FIG. 117. SF127. C1031. ?Brass rod with one round and one spatulate end. Markedly curved along the long axis. The edge of the spatulate end is slightly concave. There is a tiny sunken area, roughly square, in the centre of the round end. Length 399 mm; diameter 7 mm at the centre, 12 mm at the round end; width across spatulate end 25 mm.

Rings (FIGS 102, 118–19, CF47.24)

Eight rings of two types, plain and terret-form (FIG. 119), were found set more or less upright against one of the sides of the burial pit, in this order (right to left): plain (CF47.24h), terret-form (CF47.24c), terret-form (CF47.24d), plain (CF47.24g), terret-form (CF47.24e), terret-form (CF47.24a), plain (CF47.24f), terret-form (CF47.24b). The three plain rings may, or may not, be replacements for lost terret-form rings from an original set. The presence of the terret-shaped rings suggests that the plain ones are not votive solar symbols (*see* p. 215 for a half ring (CF47.16) from this grave that is not considered to be part of this group).

Each ring had been attached to some other object by means of a narrow leather thong, as each either had a fragment of a leather loop attached (CF47.24f–CF47.24g), or was scarred where such a loop had been. Given the absence of any metal studs, the leather must have been sewn to form the loop, and traces of yarn were indeed found on both surviving pieces of leather (*see* p. 348).

There were traces of painted wood under and on top of CF47.24a, and on top of CF47.24b, presumably all that remains of a wooden object to which the rings were attached or in which they were stored (FIGS 102–3). The paint seems to have been the same red-brown pigment

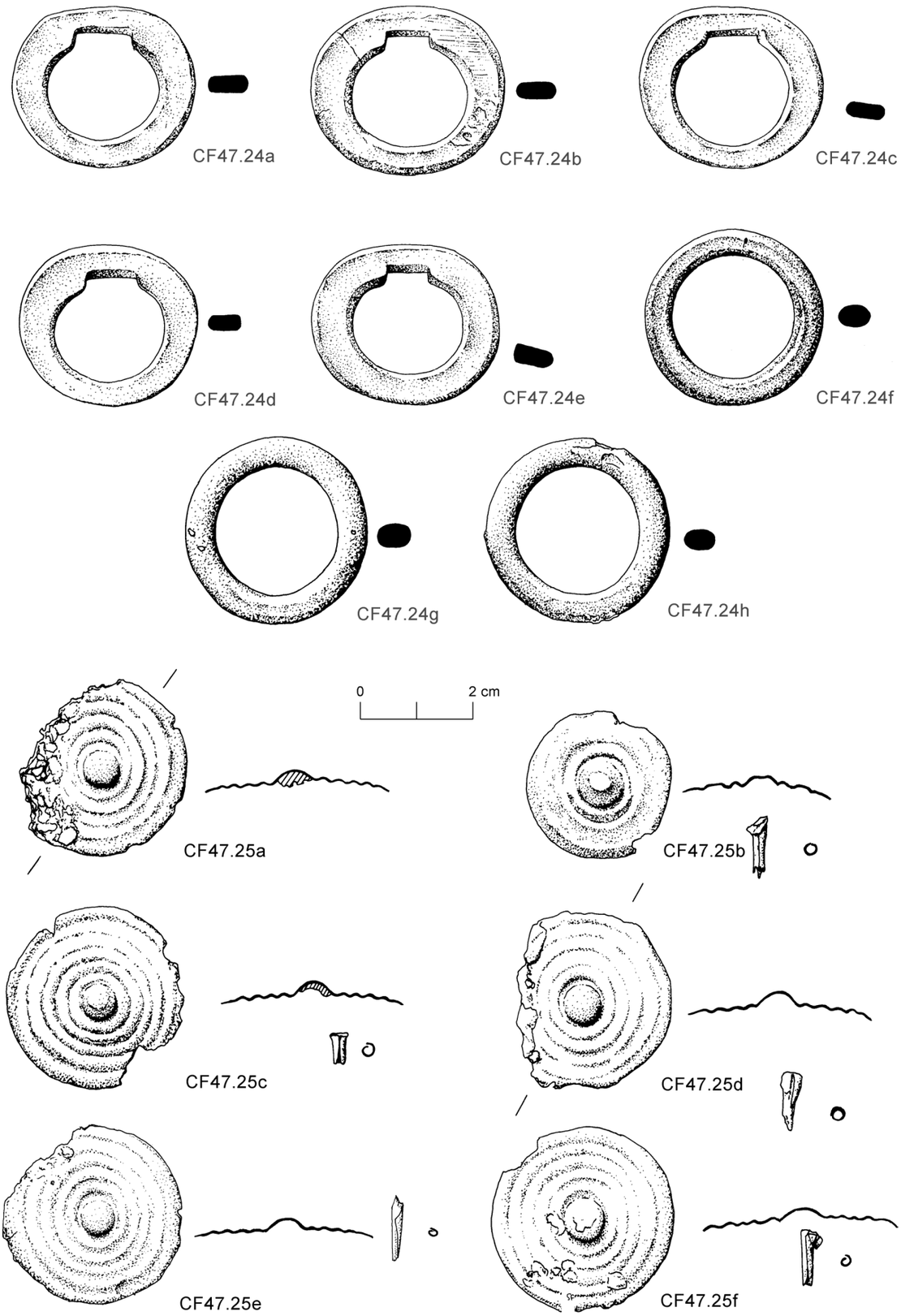


FIG. 119. Doctor's burial CF47: copper-alloy rings CF47.24a–h, and selection of decorated copper-alloy studs CF47.25a–f from the ?tray (scale 1:1)

which had been applied to part of the gaming board CF47.20 (p. 390). As it seems unlikely that rings attached to leather thongs would also be sandwiched tightly between two boards, the wood on the top of CF47.24a is presumed to have come from the collapse of this object.

Plain round rings similar to CF47.24f-CF47.24h have often been identified as harness rings (*e.g.* Jackson 1990a, nos 152–61), and three of very similar size to these examples were found on the head of a donkey skeleton at Pompeii, all that remained of a halter or head-collar; they showed a considerable amount of wear and were, like those from Stanway, scarred in places from contact with decayed leather straps (Crummy forthcoming a). An association with horse-gear could also be shown for the D-shaped terret-form rings, as in size and form they are remarkably similar to the reverse side of the miniature terrets in a 3rd-century B.C. cart-burial from Kirkburn, Yorkshire (Stead 1991, 44–7), each of which was attached to a linch-pin by means of a strap or thong passed around the rebated section.

However, despite these similarities to harness rings and terrets, the function of the rings from CF47 remains very obscure. If they were from a halter (or two), they would not have lain in a line in the burial pit. Leather straps, metal rings and wood might perhaps all be found together on a chariot pole, or perhaps on a yoke (compare the Iron Age yokes defined by five terrets set in a line from Garton Station and Kirkburn (Stead 1991, fig. 39, 40–41, fig. 40), but the comparatively short length of the line of the Stanway rings, as well as their small size, and the absence of any other gear associated with driven animals, horses or oxen, militates against this. Their resemblance to the miniature terrets from Yorkshire does, however, serve to link them to earlier Iron Age metal-working forms.

Four similar plain rings of comparable size to those from this burial were found in the rich female burial at Birdlip, Gloucestershire (Bellows 1881, figs 5–8), but their function has not been identified. They may have been from a box, perhaps used as handles or to take strapping, or even used together with split-pins as rudimentary hinges. A similar identification for the Stanway rings can be dismissed because of their concentration in the ground, and the true purpose of the rings in the Doctor's burial can perhaps only be illuminated by consideration of the group's inclusion in this highly idiosyncratic funerary assemblage. Their association with a set of surgical instruments and probable divination rods (FIG. 118) shows them to be the property of an individual whose magico-medical field of expertise is rarely visible through material culture. This serves to suggest that they formed part of an object or objects associated in some way, however obscure, with the healing arts.

The following three suggestions may be made. First, all the rings may have been attached to a single larger object intended to produce a noise, *i.e.* a 'rattle' made from leather straps onto which the rings were tied. When shaken, such an object would produce an irregular clattering. Noise was used in the ancient world to drive away evil, evidenced by amulets placed in graves, the *sistrum* used in the worship of Isis, and the *tintinnabuli* set up in Roman homes (Philpott 1991, 163; Ward-Perkins and Claridge 1976, nos 196–7, 216; Johns 1982, 67). Second, if each ring came from a separate object, then perhaps they may have served as closure rings for small cloth bags, as has been suggested for small metal rings from Anglo-Saxon graves (Dickinson 1993, 52, fig. 6.3). Small cloth bags of medicaments would be an appropriate deposit in this burial, and the survival of the contents of a cloth bag from AF18 (AF18.2) makes this interpretation seem apposite, but the absence of textile remains on the rings militates against it, and it seems almost certain, given the survival of two of the leather loops, that some fabric would have remained had the metal been in contact with cloth. Third, there may be some significance in the fact that there are eight rings and eight rods (p. 202), and, although the two sets of objects were not in direct contact, this coincidence cannot be entirely discounted. Suggestions have been made, again with reference to Anglo-Saxon finds, that groups of rings may have been regarded as amuletic, or were thrown for divination (Brodribb *et al.* 1972, 109; Malim and Hines 1998, 274).

None of these ideas, rattle, bag-ring, or divining-ring, can be substantiated either by direct contextual evidence or by direct parallels, but they serve to show that a purpose connected with the magico-medical arts may be as appropriate as a purely practical one.

CF47.24

a FIG. 119. SF142. C1085. Cast leaded bronze ring of rounded D-shape, with a straight-sided rebate on the inner edge of the upright. Maximum width 32 mm, height 28 mm, 4 mm thick. The section is more or less rectangular, with the outer edge slightly convex. Maximum internal diameter 21 mm, length of rebate 10 mm, depth 2.5 mm. There are traces of wood on at least one face.
b FIG. 119. SF147. C1098. Similar ring. Width 34.5 mm, height 19.5 mm, 4.5 mm thick. Length of rebate 8 mm. Traces of wood on both faces.
c FIG. 119. SF178. C1088. Similar ring. Width 32 mm, height 29 mm, 4 mm thick. Length of rebate 9 mm. Traces of wood on both faces.
d FIG. 119. SF179. C1089. Similar ring. Width 32 mm, height 28 mm, 4.5 mm thick. Length of rebate 9.5 mm. Traces of wood on both faces.
e FIG. 119. SF180. C1090. Similar ring. Width 33 mm, height 28.5 mm, 4 mm thick. Length of rebate 8 mm. Traces of wood on both faces.
f FIG. 119. SF143. C1086. Cast round leaded bronze ring, more or less circular in section, worn very slightly thinner at one point. Internal diameter 21 mm, external diameter 31 mm, height 5 mm, 4.5 to 5 mm thick. A loop of leather was found passed round the ring, width 5.5 mm.
g FIG. 119. SF144. C1087. Similar ring. Internal diameter 22 mm, external diameter 33 mm, height 5 mm, 5.5 mm thick. Also with a fragment of a leather loop, width 6 mm.
h FIG. 119. SF181. C1083. Similar ring. Internal diameter 22 mm, external diameter 32 mm, height 5 mm, 5 mm thick. There is a scar on the surface, 6 mm across, for a leather loop.

Tray or box (FIGS 119–20, CF47.25)

A wooden object from the north-east corner of the grave is represented by some fragments of maple, at least 26 bronze studs, and fragments of repoussé-decorated bronze sheet. The number of studs is based on the number of domed centres present and is indicated in round brackets in the list below.

All these fittings, although diverse, may have come from a single wooden board (CF47.25) with three zones of decoration, consisting of strips of decorated sheet on either side of a central area fitted with a random pattern of studs, although some studs and sheet fragments were found in close association (FIG. 101). There is some possibility, however, that three separate boards were placed side by side, as there is no straightforward physical evidence to prove that both strips and studs came from one object. Some of the studs were found upside down and these must have been fitted onto the underside of the object, but they were not located in any sort of pattern that forwarded its interpretation.

All the studs were made in two pieces, a head or boss of thin repoussé-decorated sheet and a small peg made of rolled sheet that was then soldered to the underside of the boss (FIG. 119). Twenty-five of the studs, about 31 mm in diameter, have a central dome and five concentric mouldings evenly spaced out to the edge. One stud is slightly smaller, 25.5 mm in diameter, with the centre domed but now flat-topped, probably as a result of damage sustained when it was attached to the board (FIG. 119, CF47.25b). The lack of damage to the centres of the other studs suggests that the pegs may have been set into the wood before the head was soldered on. A fragment of wood with surviving stud peg suggests that the studs were fitted over convex bosses carved into the surface of the wood (FIG. 120, CF47.25j).

The best-preserved fragment of repoussé-decorated sheet is an edge piece with rows of small bosses flanking a central plain band and marginal mouldings along the outer edge (FIG. 120, CF47.25g). The bosses were formed before the metal was fitted to the wood, but a surviving fragment shows that the marginal mouldings were made by pressing the metal into pre-cut mouldings in the wood (FIG. 120, CF47.25h). The strip was fixed into position by pegs of rolled sheet metal exactly similar to those used for the studs.

Lines of small bosses decorate many other sheet-metal objects from Late Iron Age Britain, and some examples have been given under AF48, a burial in Enclosure 1 (p. 163). The studs, with their concentric circular mouldings, probably derive from La Tène scroll/tendril decoration or from pellet-in-ring ornament. 'Mock studs' are found on an Iron Age miniature votive shield from Dragonby (Knowles and May 1996, fig. 11.7, 1), and on the sheet-metal decoration from the casket in the Lexden Tumulus (Laver 1927, pl. 59, pl. 60, fig. 1, top right; Foster 1986, fig. 26).

Both the decoration and the choice of maplewood indicate that the Stanway wooden object was a high-quality item, a much more elaborate version of the boards or trays from the unsexed Phase 1 grave 280 and Phase 3 grave 118 at King Harry Lane, Verulamium (Stead and Rigby 1989, fig. 109.118, 6–7, fig. 144, 10). Another Iron Age example of a wooden object decorated with copper-alloy sheet and/or studs is a D-shaped board set with circles and rings of copper-alloy sheet in a chariot-burial at Kirkburn, Yorkshire; it was identified as a possible lid (Stead 1991, 56–7, fig. 47). The Late Iron Age Welwyn Garden City grave appears to have been divided in two by a low wooden object set with 46 or 48 composite metal studs (Stead 1967, 27–9), although this object may perhaps more pertinently be compared to the wooden object in CF47 defined by iron nails (CF47.41).

It should be stressed that, as with the above pieces, the Stanway wooden object remains enigmatic. Its full dimensions and form are uncertain, but if rectangular it would have been about 90–100 cm long and at least 40 cm wide. It lay in the north-east corner of the burial pit, resting at the west end, where it overhung the deeper part of the pit, on the flagon CF47.12. On top of it were laid the strainer bowl, the samian bowl, and the saucepan (CF47.21, CF47.1 and CF27.22 respectively). If the wood preserved beneath the metal vessels represents a single object, then the metal sheeting appears to have defined a panel at each end, with the studs set asymmetrically in the central area. Evidence that more than one object is involved may be provided by a patch of reasonably well-preserved wood beneath the strainer bowl. This clearly overlay some of the studs, which were among those found upside down (FIG. 101). It was, however, immediately adjacent to studs that were the right way up.

It is not entirely clear if the object was two- or three-dimensional. Some of the bosses lay at an angle in slightly finer soil beneath the metal vessels (FIG. 104, profile 3), which may represent all that remains of the wood and perhaps also of the straw or hay packing. However, it was only very slightly different in texture to the rest of the fill and it was not of a consistent depth, being up to 60 mm thick in places but considerably less in others.

If the wooden object had been made from a single board, then a thickness of 60 mm, or greater if compression during its decay is considered, seems unlikely. This raises the possibility that it was three-dimensional, perhaps a shallow box or line of three boxes, the corners jointed and with a body and close-fitting lid made as two separate pieces, as no hinges or nails were recovered. The possibility that three such boxes were involved is attractive, as then the top of the one that lay largely over the flagon would have been ornamented with sheet strips, and the sharp edge defined by the mouldings on the copper-alloy fragment SF130 (FIG. 101) would represent an external edge rather than an internal element of a decorative design. Such an interpretation would also accommodate the fact that some of the bosses were upside down and others not, as they may have decorated the slumped front and side boards of a box as well as its top, and been set both inside and outside the lid. A curved piece of copper alloy to the east of the group of fittings (FIG. 101, 150), which did not survive excavation as it consisted only of green-stained soil, is more comfortably seen as some sort of box fitting, perhaps a thin drop-handle, whereas the alternative possibility, that it was an item of service such as a dipper, seems unlikely given its size and the delicacy of the metal.

There are three arguments in favour of the object being a tray or trays and against it being a box or boxes. First, only one layer of maple has been identified beneath the strainer bowl or elsewhere in this area. Second, the absence of any trace of the possible contents, as it seems likely that had any organic material existed in this particular area of CF47 at least some would have been preserved along with the wood. Third, and the strongest support for identification as a tray, is a flat wooden object with exactly similar metal fittings (embossed sheet and studs with concentric mouldings) that was found in the pre-Flavian cremation 13 at Stansted, Essex. Independently of the Stanway find, this item was interpreted by Hilary Major as a tray, although the excavators preferred the more cautious 'trencher or casket'. The Stansted burial also contained a Colchester brooch, which points to a date before *c.* AD 50, making it broadly contemporary with the Doctor's burial. A second pre-Flavian cremation burial from the same site contained a few scraps of similar embossed sheet and a Colchester derivative brooch, dated to *c.* A.D. 50–70 (Major 2004, 203–6, cremations 12 and 13).

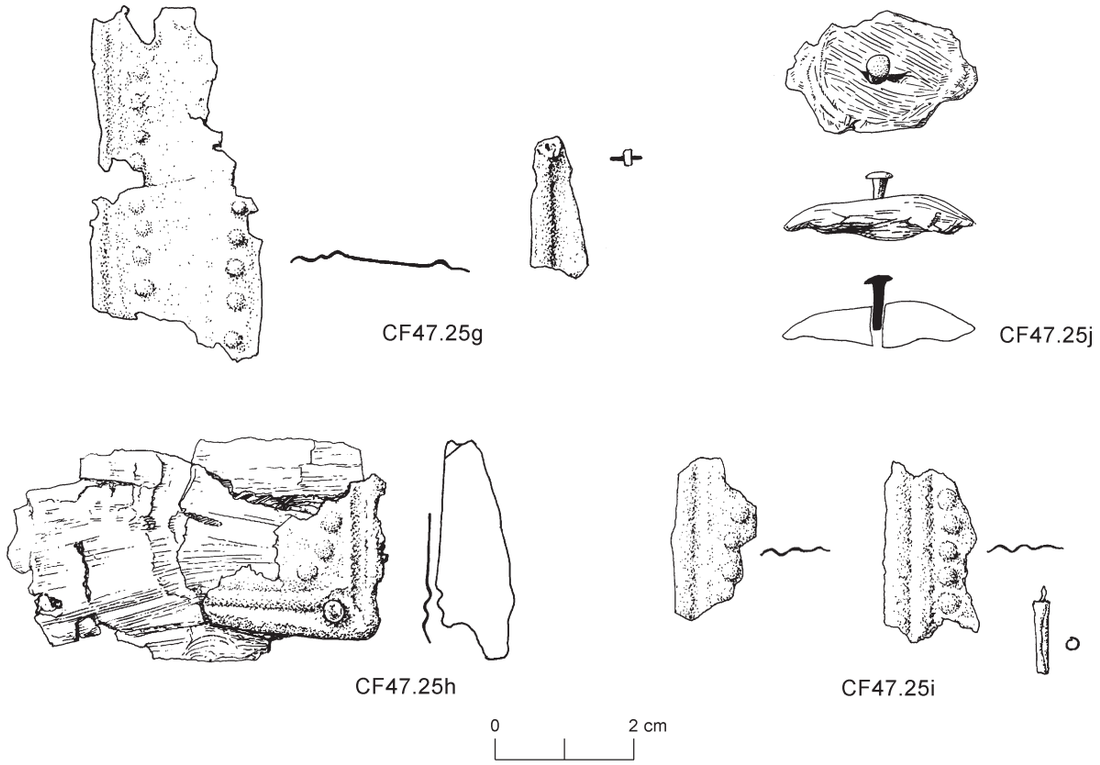


FIG. 120. Doctor's burial CF47: selection of decorated copper-alloy sheet fragments CF47.25g–i and wood fragment with peg CF47.25j from the ?tray (scale 1:1)

As with several other items in this grave, CF47.25 therefore remains quite enigmatic, with the argument in favour of a tray or trays offset by the (occasional) depth of the soil layer over much the same area as the surviving fragments of wood. Despite this ambiguity, the recovery of similar objects from the Inkwell grave BF67 and the two Stansted cremations is of considerable importance in stressing that this is almost certainly an indigenous British artefact-type, and possibly also one that may in future prove to be distinctively Catuvellaunian.

CF47.25

a FIG. 119. SF74. C976. Boss from a composite stud (7), with a lump of solder beneath the centre. Diameter 30.5 mm.

b FIG. 119. SF167. C1036. Boss from a composite stud (11). This boss is slightly different to the others, with flat-topped domed centre and only three concentric mouldings, varying in height and width. Diameter 25.5 mm, height 3 mm. The flat top of the dome may be damage caused when attaching the peg to the ?tray, rather than deliberate. The shaft is rolled; length 11 mm.

c FIG. 119. SF187. C1045. Boss from a composite stud (14), with part of a rolled shaft and a lump of solder beneath the centre. Diameter 31.5 mm.

d FIG. 119. SF163. C1046. Boss from a composite stud (15), part missing, with a rolled peg. Diameter 31 mm.

e FIG. 119. SF135. C1049. Boss from a composite stud (17) and a rolled peg, length 11 mm. Also fragments of wood and part of another rolled peg. One piece of wood has a formless fragment of copper alloy set into it, presumably part of a peg.

f FIG. 119. SF177. C1063. Boss from a composite stud (23), with a rolled peg. The top of the peg has a lump of solder attached. Diameter 31.5 mm.

g FIG. 120, SF140. C1066. One large fragment of decorated sheet and eleven small. Also small fragments of wood. Only the large fragment and a small piece with a rolled peg are illustrated. The upper end of this peg sits well above the sheeting. Only a small length of a finished edge survives on the large fragment, but it is probable that the width was not much greater. Neither end is original. Length 49 mm, width 24.5 mm.

h FIG. 120. SF130. C1061. Many fragments of wood and eight fragments of sheet, with marginal mouldings and rows of repoussé dots. One piece of wood has an attachment peg fixed into it. The two larger pieces of sheeting are illustrated, *in situ* on a piece of wood. One is a corner piece, with a peg in the corner. Maximum dimensions of the wood 55 mm by 31 mm, 17 mm thick. The underside is not original, but roughened with decay. The upper face shows clearly the grooves into which the thin metal sheeting was pressed when it was attached. Both wood and metal are bent, showing the force of compression and collapse in the grave.
i FIG. 120. SF172. C1060. Three fragments of sheet and a rolled peg. Two fragments and the peg are illustrated. Both have a surviving edge. Surviving lengths 24 and 23.5 mm, widths 13 and 11.5 mm respectively. The peg is 12 mm long.
j FIG. 120. SF24. C913. Wood with attachment peg. The peg is well preserved. Unlike the others, it is conventionally made with a square-section shaft and slightly domed sub-circular head. Length 8 mm.
SF19. C908. Wood from behind the composite studs. One fragment has a rolled peg, 8 mm long, passing through it.
SF26. C917. Boss from composite stud (1) with damaged edge.
SF47. C949. Fragment of a boss from a composite stud (2), possibly part of an incomplete one listed below, although no joins were noted.
SF59. C961. Composite stud (3), part missing, and including part of a rolled peg. Also fragments of wood.
SF60. C962. Most of a boss from a composite stud (4) in four fragments. Also two fragments from another boss (5). Also fragments of wood.
SF61. C963. Part of the boss (in two fragments) from a composite stud (6), and the rolled peg remaining fixed in a fragment of wood.
SF75. C977. Rolled peg.
SF132. C1055. Five fragments of sheet, with organic material. The two largest pieces show rows of bosses but no mouldings. Lengths 28 and 24 mm, widths 22 and 11 mm respectively. A small hole in the largest may be for an attachment peg.
SF137a. C1067. A tiny fragment of a domed centre filled with lead solder, and with a small fragment of plain copper-alloy sheet across the top. Found in association with small fragments of decorated sheet.
SF137b. C1067. Many small fragments of wood and at least 25 of copper-alloy sheet, some with marginal mouldings and at least one row of small bosses. The largest piece is 27 mm long by 15 mm wide. Also two rolled pegs. Found in association with a tiny fragment of a composite stud.
SF148. C1050. Small fragment of a boss from a composite stud, probably part of an incomplete one, although no joins were noted. Also a fragment of wood.
SF149. C1042. Fifteen fragments of sheet, mostly small and plain. The largest, in two pieces, has marginal mouldings and a row of bosses. It measures 32.5 mm long by 21 mm wide.
SF159. C1041. Fragments of sheet, including part of an edge with marginal mouldings. Length 41 mm, width 28 mm.
SF160. C1040. Fragment of sheet, length 28 mm, width 24 mm.
SF162. C1052. Boss from a composite stud (19), edge damaged, with rolled peg fragment and wood fragments.
SF164. C1053. Rolled peg.
SF165a. C1069. Four fragments of a boss from a composite stud (26). Also a fragment of flat sheet, 12 by 10 mm, with 7 mm of a straight edge surviving and broken across a hole 3 mm in diameter.
SF165b. C1069. Fragment of flat sheet, 12 by 10 mm, with 7 mm of a straight edge surviving and broken across a hole 3 mm in diameter. Found in association with a composite stud.
SF166. C1031. Many small fragments of a boss from a composite stud (8) including a domed centre and a fragment of solder.
SF168. C1064. Four fragments of a boss from a composite stud (24).
SF169. C1062. Most of the disc from a boss from a composite stud (22), and a rolled peg.
SF171. C1035. Three fragments of a boss from a composite stud (10).
SF173. C1039. Rolled peg.
SF174. C1054. Boss from a composite stud (20) with part of a rolled peg and the wood from around it. Also other fragments of wood.
SF175a C1065. Most of a boss from a composite stud (25), and a small part of another (possibly part of SF61, but not a good join). Found in association with a small fragment of plain copper-alloy sheet.
SF175b. C1065. A small fragment, 10 by 8 mm, of plain copper-alloy sheet. Found in association with two composite stud fragments.

SF176. C1072. One piece of sheet in three fragments, with marginal mouldings and a row of bosses. Length 36 mm, width 14.5 mm.
SF182. C1070. Six very small fragments of sheet, some with traces of small bosses. SF150. C1068 F47. Four small fragments with rows of small bosses. The two largest are slightly convex in section from distortion under pressure in the ground.
SF183. C1059. Seven small fragments of sheet with marginal mouldings, and part of a rolled peg, 9 mm long. The largest piece measures 14 mm long by 10 mm wide.
SF185. C1058. Four small fragments of sheet (two in two pieces), with marginal mouldings and a row of raised bosses. The two largest pieces measure 15 mm long by 9 mm wide, and 18 mm long by 10 mm wide.
SF186. C1057. Boss from a composite stud (21) in five fragments.
SF188. C1047. Boss from a composite stud (16), the edge damaged, and a rolled peg.
SF189. C1037. Three fragments of a boss from a composite stud (12).
SF190 C1034. Boss fragment from a composite stud (9), with the full diameter present but much of the disc missing.
SF191. C1038. Four fragments of a boss from a composite stud (13).
SF192. C1051. Five fragments of a boss from a composite stud (18) and two fragments of wood.
SF193. C1048. Rolled peg.

The surgical instruments (FIGS 121–7, CF47.26–39)

By Ralph Jackson

The following descriptions combine the results of detailed optical examination with information revealed by scientific analysis (X-radiography and qualitative X-ray fluorescence (XRF) analysis of the uncleaned surfaces, by Susan La Niece, British Museum, Department of Scientific Research, Project 6997). A report by Nigel Meeks and Caroline Cartwright (British Museum, Department of Scientific Research, Project 6953) on the scientific examination of the textile remains attached to instrument nos 5 and 10 is in Chapter 5, pages 350–2.

All the instruments are corroded, encrusted and brittle (FIG. 127), but their original surfaces have almost invariably been preserved, even if they are in many cases obscured by encrusted corrosion products. As is often the case with iron objects, severe corrosion has expanded the depleted metal, resulting in bursting and fissuring of the corrosion products. In consequence, it has proved very difficult, even with the use of X-radiography, to establish the precise original dimensions of certain parts of some of the objects. This applies especially to the handles and stems of the iron instruments CF47.26, CF47.27, CF47.30, and CF47.33–CF47.36. The need to provide accurate drawings and measurements for the manufacture of a set of reconstructed replicas ensured a particularly detailed and considered examination of the instruments, while the making and handling of the reconstructions gave insights into the design and manufacture of the originals.

Frequent reference is made to the *De medicina* of A. Cornelius Celsus. It is particularly appropriate to do so, partly because the work is an invaluable source of information on Greco-Roman surgery and surgical instruments, but also because its date of composition, during the reign of Tiberius, is close to the date of the CF47 interment.

The detailed catalogue of the instruments follows the more general description and discussion of their form, use and context.

Scalpels (FIG. 121, CF47.26–7)

In their precise form, these two instruments are unparalleled, yet with their distinctive blades they are clearly identifiable as scalpels (FIG. 121, CF47.26–7). Their blades, like the majority of surviving Roman examples (*see* for example Künzl 1983a, fig. 56; Jackson 1988a, pl. 28), are of a deep, bellied form, although they complement rather than duplicate one another, for one has a convex cutting edge and the other a straight leading edge. In contrast to most Roman scalpels, however, they are single-piece iron instruments. From the 1st century A.D. onwards, Roman scalpels acquired a standardised overall form comprising a copper-alloy handle, generally combining a block-like grip with a leaf-shaped blunt dissector terminal, and an iron or steel blade (Jackson 1986, 132–7; 1990b, 14, fig. 1; Krug 1993; Künzl 1996, 2447–50). The few

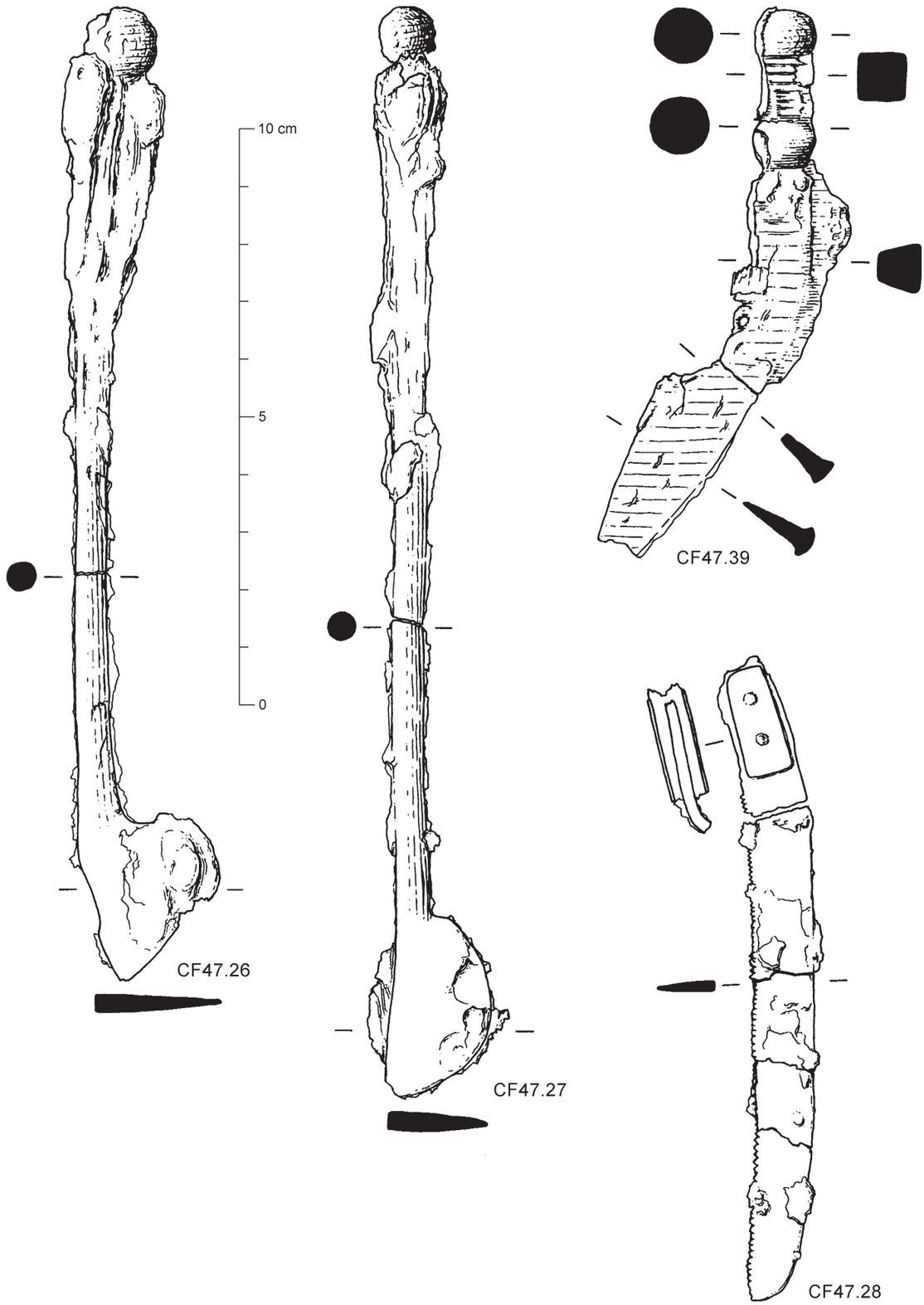


FIG. 121. Doctor's burial CF47: iron scalpels CF47.26 and 27, iron saw with composite handle CF47.28, and iron knife CF47.39 (scale 1:1)

known Roman examples of single-piece iron scalpels (*e.g.* Künzl 2002, 28–9, Taf. 18, B9–10; Krug 1985, 81, fig. 22, a2) are morphologically identical to their copper-alloy and iron counterparts, and do not resemble the form of the Stanway scalpels.

The handles of the Stanway scalpels, at approximately 135 mm and approximately 155 mm, are also longer than the Roman handles that are typically around 100 mm in length. Although this would have required (or enabled) a difference in their manipulation, the point should not be overstressed, for the Roman handles sometimes accommodated blades with an elongated stem (*e.g.* several from the Domus 'del chirurgo' find at Rimini; Ortalli 2000, 525–6), resulting in an instrument of similar overall dimensions to the Stanway scalpels. Whether their form was advantageous or simply different, the Stanway scalpels, nevertheless, would have suffered a slight disadvantage in comparison to the Roman instruments. Namely, that when their blade was broken or whetted beyond use, the whole instrument would have required re-forging, whereas the Roman operator, with his composite copper-alloy and iron instrument, needed only to remove the iron blade from its handle and replace it with another.

Virtually nothing is known of pre-Roman surgical instrumentation in Britain, and very little elsewhere. However, Ernst Künzl (1988; 1995) has consolidated the information on finds from Celtic Europe, most of which relates to trepanation. Of particular importance are three grave finds of 3rd to 2nd century B.C. date from München-Obermenzing, Bavaria (De Navarro 1955), Batina/Kis Köszeg, Croatia (Sudhoff 1913) and Galaţii Bistriţei, Romania (Bologa *et al.* 1956). Although the instruments in these graves are a couple of centuries earlier than the Stanway find, their general appearance, especially those in the Batina assemblage, is very similar to that of the Stanway scalpels, notably their manufacture as single-piece iron instruments with long, slender, gently curved stems, some with a bulbous knobbed finial (Sudhoff 1913, 596, fig. 1; Künzl 1995, 235, fig. 4), and it is possible that the maker of the Stanway iron instruments was following an established Iron Age tradition.

Saw (FIG. 121, CF47.28)

The Roman surgical saw (*serrula*) was an instrument of bone surgery (Jackson 1994, 195). However, its use was circumscribed and was not always approved by medical writers (Galen XVIII 331K; Paul of Aegina VI, xc; *P.Ryl.3* 529 (Marganne-Mélard 1987, 410)). Celsus specifies use of the *serrula* in only one operation, that for amputation of a gangrenous limb (Celsus, *De med.* VII, 33, 2), the earliest surviving account of the operation. Unfortunately he gives no description of the size or appearance of the saw. Within reason, any saw with close teeth would have sufficed, including the finer-bladed range of craftsmen's handsaws or frame-saws, which were normally made of iron and wood. However, none has yet been found in a secure context with surgical instruments, and the Stanway saw is a *unicum* (FIG. 121, CF47.28). In fact, its blade is well designed for bone surgery and bears some points of similarity with surgical and amputation saws of more recent times. With 14 teeth/cm, it is rather finer than the Larry's 'Keyhole' finger saw, included in the *c.* 1955 catalogue of the celebrated surgical instrument manufacturer Charles Thackray, which has approximately 10 teeth/cm, but the blade size and form are very similar (Thackray *c.* 1955, 464, B2489). In the same catalogue is a version of the classic amputation saw (*ibid.* 463, B2484) introduced by the disconcertingly named Dr Richard Butcher in 1851 (Bennion 1979, 23–5). This evolved from the amputation saws of Rennaissance and medieval Europe (*see*, *e.g.*, the woodcut showing a leg amputation in the *Feldtbuch der Wundtarztney* of Hans von Gerssdorff, published in Strasbourg in 1517), which were themselves an adaptation of the craftsman's bow- or frame-saw, used throughout the classical world and earlier. These are very likely the kind of saw used in Celsus' leg amputation. In size and form a relatively large frame-saw, they are very different from the rather diminutive Stanway saw, which was probably not designed for such substantial surgery. The amputation of fingers or toes may be envisaged, as also the division of slender bones like ribs, and the trimming of projecting splintered bone in complex fractures, although all these operations might alternatively be performed with bone chisels (Celsus, *De med.* VIII, 10, 7; Paul of Aegina VI, xliii, xciii; Galen II 687K). However, partly because the Stanway saw lacks a close parallel

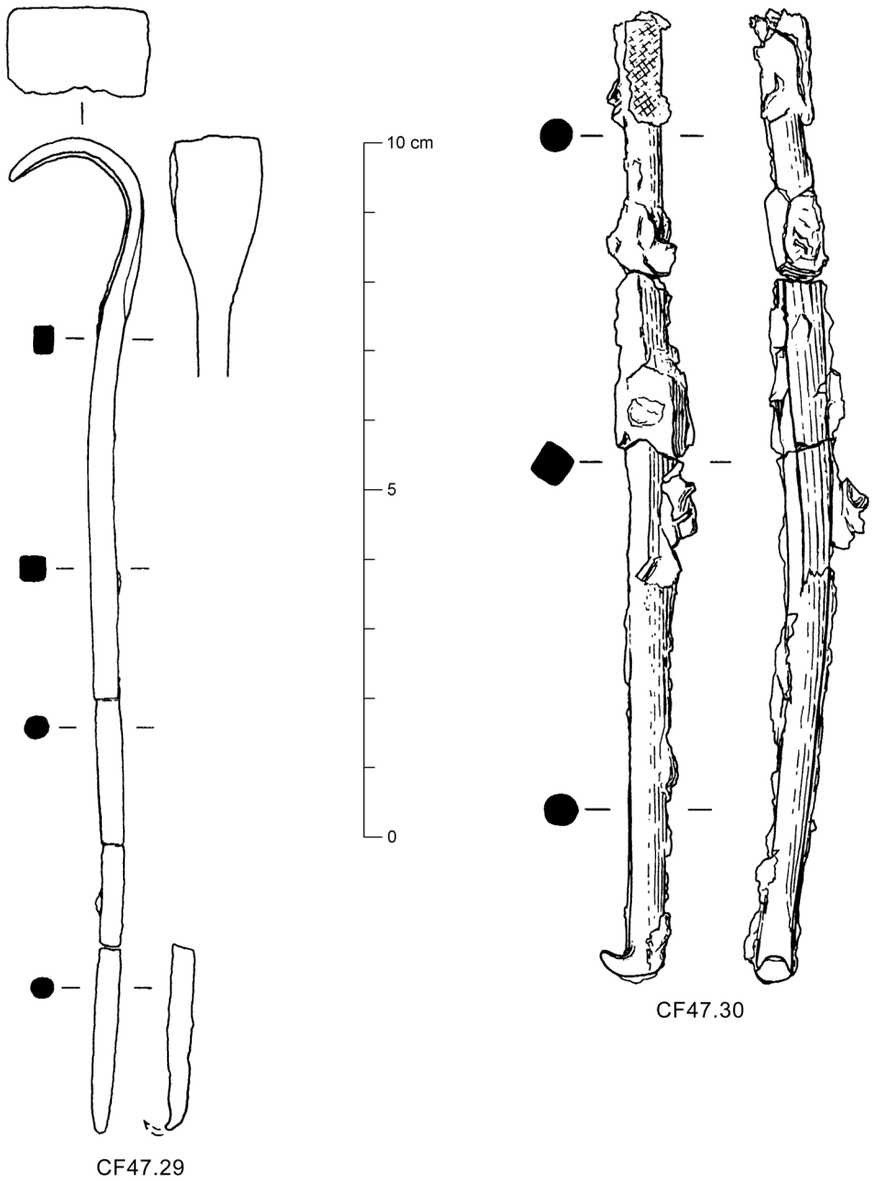


FIG. 122. Doctor's burial CF47: copper-alloy combined sharp and blunt hook (double-ended retractor) CF47.29, iron combined sharp and blunt hook (double-ended retractor) CF47.30 (scale 1:1)

and partly because the evidence implies that individual surgical instruments of the Roman period might be used for a much wider range of surgical interventions than is normal today, we should be cautious of attempting to identify too specifically any perceived function or functions for the saw. Certainly we should not exclude the possibility that it may also have been used for trepanation or other surgery of the skull. In this context, it is important to note the instrumentation in the La Tène C graves at München-Obermenzing, Batina/Kis Köszeg, and Galaţii Bistriţei. Each contains a tanged iron saw with a small blade and fine teeth, and these have been identified as trepanning saws (Brongers 1969; Künzl 1988; Künzl 1995). All differ from each other, and none is the same as the Stanway blade, which is longer than them, but all may share a common function. In overall form and size, the three Celtic finds are similar to the small-bladed Hey's saws, which became an integral part of trepanning sets, following their introduction in the early 19th century (Bennion 1979, 25–6, pls 13–14). In fact, Sir William

Hey had merely re-introduced a form of skull saw that already had a long history in medieval Europe. These saws typically had a small short blade with fine teeth on a convex or straight edge, mounted on the end of a handle, an arrangement well suited to cutting the convex surface of the skull. Although the blade of the Stanway saw is, overall, very slightly concave, it, too, seems well adapted to such use.

Hooks (FIG. 122, CF47.29–30)

Sharp hooks were an integral part of the Roman surgeon's *instrumentarium*, one of the basic tools of surgery, and they are found in most surviving ancient sets of instruments (Künzl 1983a; Jackson 1995, table 2). Blunt hooks, although not uncommon, are far less frequently found and correspondingly less frequently referred to in the ancient medical texts (Jackson 1994, 172–4). The commonest variety of sharp hook was a single hook on the end of a slender stem, which usually had a moulded handle finial to ensure a secure grip (Jackson 1990b, fig. 2, 1–3). Sometimes the hook was bifurcated to provide a broader retraction (*ibid.*, fig. 2, 4–5). Sometimes, too, as with the present examples, a dual-purpose instrument was made, combining a sharp hook with a blunt hook, one at each end of the stem (*ibid.*, fig. 2, 6). The combination of a sharp hook and a blunt hook in one instrument was a normal Roman economy, but it would also have enabled the operator to switch quickly, if the need arose, from sharp to blunt retraction. Neither of the Stanway combined hooks, however, is of normal Roman form. The bronze example (FIG. 122, CF47.29) is atypical both in the lack of decoration on its bipartite round- and rectangular-sectioned stem and in the idiosyncratic form and greater than normal breadth of its blunt hook, although the latter feature is broadly paralleled by three probable retractors from Pompeii (Jackson 1990b, fig. 2, 9; Bliquez 1994, 214–17, Ill. 228, A53–55, and Ill. 231, 53, 55). The iron example (FIG. 122, CF47.30) is unusual simply because very few identifiable instruments of iron have survived, but there is a copper-alloy blunt hook of similar size and form, from Springhead, Kent (Jackson 1990b, fig. 2, 8). With its lightly sinuous stem and its combination of round- and rectangular-sectioned grip, the Stanway iron hook resembles its bronze counterpart. Furthermore, in the provision of a variety of broad and blunt hooks, the two instruments complement one another, and it is quite conceivable that they were made together. Certainly, they combine economy of instrumentation with versatility of use.

In Celsus' *De medicina*, the applications of the sharp hook were in retracting the margins of wounds and incisions (VII, 12, 5; VII, 16, 2; VII, 31, 2), fixing margins and the underlying tissue or structure (VI, 6, 9C; VII, 20, 4 and 5), and seizing and raising tissue and small structures for excision, as for example, in tonsilectomy and delicate eye operations (VII, 7, 4B, 5 and 7C; VII, 12, 2; VII, 28, 2; VII, 30, 3B). The blunt hook was advocated for retracting the margins of a scalp incision (VII, 7, 15E), extracting a foreign body from the ear (VI, 7, 9A–B), and raising and protecting veins, arteries and sinews (VII, 5, 1C; VII, 31, 3). Celsus also gives a good description of the respective roles of the sharp and blunt hook used in combination in the operation to excise varicose veins (VII, 31, 2–3).

?Retractor (FIG. 123, CF47.31)

This distinctive object, visually the most striking instrument in the kit, is at present unparalleled in the surviving ancient *instrumentaria* (FIG. 123, CF47.31). From its mode of manufacture, it was clearly intended to be a spring instrument, with arms that could be compressed to reduce the distance between the everted tips (which are pointed but not sharp) and then released to allow the points to expand again. The replica functions in this way and permits a reduction to approximately 55 mm between the tips when the arms are fully compressed. The span returns to approximately 70 mm when the arms are released, and the pressure of the spring feels sufficient to have enabled the retraction of flesh. The instrument resembles to some extent several modern retractors (*see* for example Thackray *c.* 1955, 90, G604, G606), but identification as a wound dilator or retractor is by no means secure, for the elongated form of the everted tips is not particularly felicitous, and would have required a manipulation through 90 degrees within the wound or incision in order to achieve a retraction of the margins.

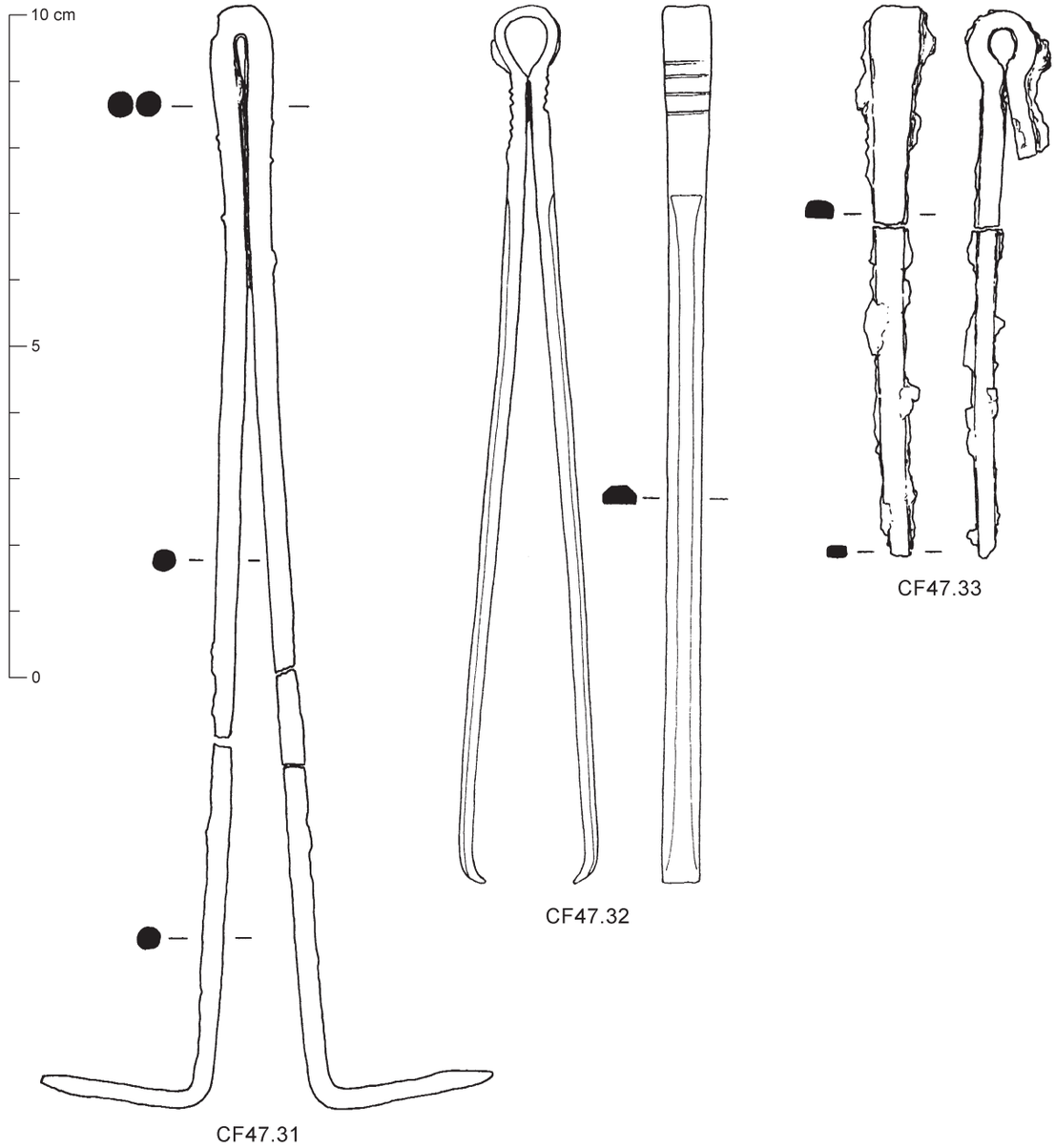


FIG. 123. Doctor's burial CF47: copper-alloy ?retractor CF47.31, copper-alloy smooth-jawed fixation forceps CF47.32, and iron forceps/tweezers CF47.33 (scale 1:1)

Forceps (FIG. 123, CF47.32–3)

In its overall length, in the form of the jaws and in the careful chamfering of the outer edges of the arms, CF47.32 (FIG. 123) closely resembles Roman examples of the smooth-jawed fixation forceps (Bliquez 1994, 172–7, nos 247–66; Jackson 1990b, fig. 3, 3). There were two principal modes of manufacture of Roman spring forceps. One, the simpler type, was formed by bending a strip of metal at its centre (*e.g.* Bliquez 1994, nos 253–5, 260, 265–9). The other type was made by cutting a bar of metal up the centre as far as the point where the decorative finial was to be worked (*e.g.* Bliquez 1994, nos 246–52, 256–7, 261–4). The second type almost invariably, and the first type often, has a distinctive angular shoulder near the top of the arms. This feature is absent on the Stanway bronze forceps (CF47.32), although the point at which it would be expected is marked by a simple light groove and by the start of the chamfering of

the arms. A more fundamental difference is the presence of a looped head, which is characteristic of Roman toilet instruments, but almost never occurs on Roman surgical tools. By contrast, loops are present on a much higher proportion of the La Tène C medical instruments (Künzl 1995, figs 3–4). The impression, therefore, is of an instrument that combines features of both Roman and Iron Age origin.

Roman spring forceps, designed primarily for surgical usage, may be differentiated from tweezers, whose function was principally in toiletry: tweezers almost invariably had a loop for suspension, while forceps almost invariably did not; tweezers rarely exceed 100 mm in length, while forceps almost never measure less than that; and the jaws of tweezers are generally smooth, broad and in-turned (for epilation), while the jaw forms of forceps are much more varied. That is not to say, of course, that objects that we classify as spring forceps were not sometimes used purely in toiletry, nor that tweezers might not sometimes find medical or surgical usage (on this question of overlaps, *see* for example Jackson 1994, table 3; and Jackson 2002, esp. 89–90 and 93).

Using the above criteria, the tendency would be to identify the iron object CF47.33 (FIG. 123) as a tweezers since, when complete, it is unlikely to have exceeded 100 mm in length, and it has a looped head. However, it would appear that the jaws were originally of pointed form, suggesting a surgical function. In any case, its association with other tools of surgery implies that it, too, was a surgical tool or had surgical applications, irrespective of whether it is termed a tweezers or a forceps. Although the great majority of surviving identifiable Roman spring forceps are made of copper alloy, examples of iron have been found, as in the Rimini assemblage (inv. 184312; Jackson 2003, 317). However, like forceps CF47.32 and most other instruments in the Stanway kit, the form of CF47.33 differs from Roman examples and may instead, or in addition, be following an Iron Age tradition. Furthermore, as with the two scalpels and the two hooks, the different jaw forms of the two forceps complement one another, and their shared features of a looped head and chamfered arms indicate that they may have been made at the same time and place.

Spring forceps were general-purpose surgical tools (Jackson 1986, 137–9; 1994, 174–5), used in place of finger and thumb, and many different applications may be envisaged for the two Stanway examples. The smooth-jawed fixation forceps is the commonest Roman type, used, as the name implies, for fixation and dissection, as, for example, in surgical epilation, the operation to remove ingrowing eyelashes (Celsus, *De med.* VII, 7, 8; Paul of Aegina VI, xiii), or in the treatment of an ulcerated foreskin (Celsus, *De med.* VI, 18, 3). The addition of a sliding lock-ring, lacking from the Stanway forceps (although it may have been made of organic material), allowed secure and protracted fixation when required. Pointed-jawed forceps, like CF47.33, were similarly versatile in fine surgical work, but were often specified for the removal of bone splinters, as, for example, in fracture of the nose or in tooth extraction, and in the removal of foreign bodies from the ear (Celsus, *De med.* VII, 12, 1D; Paul of Aegina VI, xxiv).

Needles (FIG. 124, CF47.34–6)

Despite the care with which the assemblage from grave CF47 was excavated, the brittle corroded nature of the metal instruments was such that the very slender ends of CF47.34–6 could not be retrieved intact (FIG. 124). The loss of instrument tips is a quite common occurrence and very frustrating, too, since it is precisely that part that identifies the function of the tool. Quite often, however, the form of the handle and stem is sufficiently distinctive to allow a more or less certain identification of the instrument. To an extent that is true of CF47.34–6: their solid handles and tapered stems conform, generally, to the appearance of un-eyed needles in sets of Roman instruments (*cf.* Jackson 1990b, fig. 4, nos 1, 4, 5), and their pointed tip, if not their precise original length, can be restored with some confidence. Alternatives should be considered, and it is possible that CF47.35 might have terminated in a sharp hook. However, the square cross-section at the broken end of CF47.34 and the shortness of CF47.36 would seem to exclude the possibility that they were hooks, and, in view of the similarity in appearance of the three, it is preferable to regard them all as uneyed handled

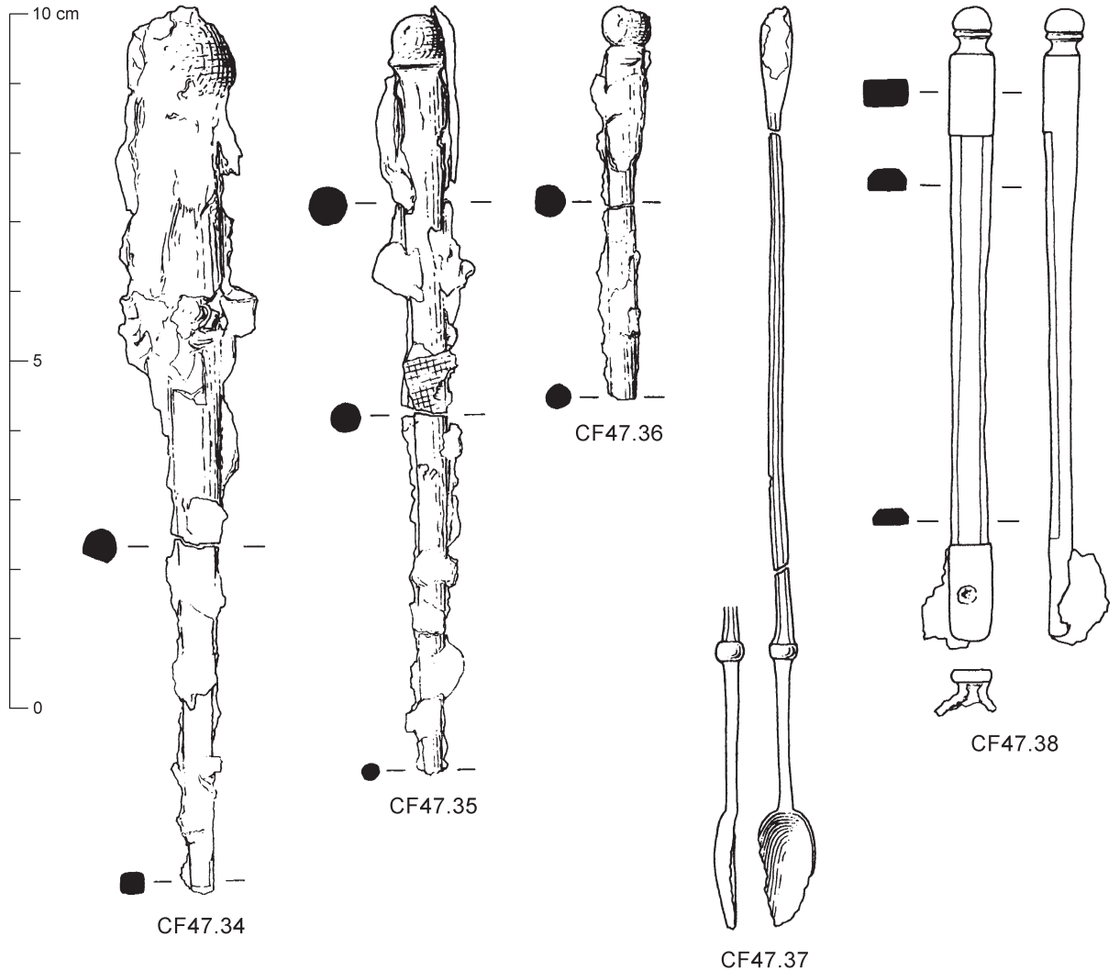


FIG. 124. Doctor's burial CF47: iron handled needles CF47.34–36, copper-alloy scoop probe CF47.37, and copper-alloy handle CF47.38 (scale 1:1)

needles. Indeed, like the scalpels, hooks and forceps, the three ?needles seem to have been carefully selected as a graded sub-set, comprising a large example with a square-sectioned tip and medium and small examples with a round-sectioned tip.

With their knobbed finials and swollen handles the ?needles are clearly related to the Stanway scalpels (FIG. 121, CF47.26–7), and they share the same general parallels cited for those, but their overall form is as yet unmatched in ancient *instrumentaria*. Roman surgical needles may be divided into two principal categories depending on whether or not they were eyed (Jackson 1994, 176–7). The eyed variety comprised both domestic needles for stitching the end of a bandage (*e.g.* Celsus, *De med.* V, 26, 24B) and surgical needles for suturing, ligating and passing a thread (*e.g. ibid.*, VII, 16, 4–5; VII, 7, 11; VII, 25, 3). Although the domestic type has been found in surgical kits (*e.g.* Künzl 1983a, fig. 11, no. 10, from Kallion, Greece; fig. 75, no. 9, from Nijmegen, Netherlands; fig. 84, from Morlungo, Italy: Bliquez 1994, pl. 26, fig. 1, from Pompeii), no certain example of an eyed surgical needle has yet been recognised, probably because they were very thin iron or steel instruments that have not survived.

The surviving needles in Roman instrument sets are generally of the second variety, namely un-eyed handled needles, and they comprise not single-piece iron examples, but single-piece copper-alloy needles or iron needle points mounted on copper-alloy handles. The former include both the distinctive instrument identified as the needle specified for couching cataract

(Feugère *et al.* 1985; 1988; Jackson 1986, 151–2), and a simpler variety of needle or needle-probe, probably used for a wider range of surgical interventions (*e.g.* Künzl 1983a, fig. 75, no. 10; Jackson 1997a, fig. 1). The latter similarly consist of a distinctive type, which has a slender copper-alloy centre grip with a socket for an iron or steel needle at one or, usually, both ends (Jackson 1986, 151–4, table 4, fig. 3, no. 24; Bliquez 1994, 165–6, Ill. 128–32, nos 221–30), and a more variable type which has a shorter, thicker copper-alloy handle with a single socket for an iron or steel needle (*e.g.* Künzl 1983a, fig. 36, no. 31, fig. 37, nos 32–9; Feugère *et al.* 1988, fig. 23).

Clearly, whatever the type of handle, it was the form of the needle that determined usage, and several of the Roman types of handled needle would appear to have been interchangeable and potentially usable in a wide variety of operations, whatever might have been their original or primary intended function. Thus, although the Stanway ?needles differ from those in use by Roman healers in their single-piece iron manufacture and in the details of the appearance of their handles, there is nevertheless no particular reason to believe that their surgical applications were fundamentally different. Those applications, as described by Roman medical authors, were principally in dissection, but also included, for example, the perforation of pustules, puncturing of skin and haemorrhoids, raising the skin of the eyelid, and transfixing small tumours on the eyeball (Celsus, *De med.* V, 28, 4D; V, 28, 19C; VI, 18, 9C; VII, 7, 8F; VII, 7, 12). In addition, needles were used as fine heated cauteries for operations on the eye and ear (*e.g. ibid.* VII, 7, 8B; VII, 7, 10; VII, 8, 3).

Scoop probe (FIG. 124, CF47.37)

An integral component of Roman *instrumentaria* was one or more probes which, by the Imperial era, were made in a range of standardised forms (Jackson 1986, 129, fig. 4, and 156–8). Often, as at Nea Paphos, Cyprus (Michaelides 1984, fig. 1, 7–13), it is evident that one of each type had been selected by the healer to cover all eventualities. The two most common varieties were the spatula probe and the scoop probe, and the Stanway scoop probe (FIG. 124, CF47.37) is widely paralleled. In fact, it is the only one of the Stanway instruments that is of standard Roman type. In the characteristic form of its long-stemmed, fragmentary scoop, it is closely related to several examples from Augst, Switzerland, Riha's Löffelsonden Variante F (Riha 1986, 70–1, 161, Taf. 46, nos 496–506), found in contexts dated from the 1st to 3rd centuries A.D., and is also closely paralleled by an example from London (Wheeler 1930, pl. 37, 7).

Most Roman probes were multi-purpose tools combining two functional ends, and they were recommended for a wide range of surgical and medical tasks, from the elevation of cartilage in a broken nose to the application of medicaments to the eyeball (*e.g.* Celsus, *De med.* VIII, 5, 11; VI, 6, 11). Like the spatula probe, the scoop probe served both as a toilet implement and a medical instrument. In medicine, they were used primarily in pharmacy, in the preparation and application of medicaments, but the scoop also had medical and surgical applications, for example as a curette, as a director, or in the removal of foreign bodies. The olivary terminal was recommended as a small cautery, as a probe for exploring large cavities, and, wrapped in wool, as a plug for occluding the nostril.

Unidentified implement (FIG. 124, CF47.38)

In the form, decor and method of manufacture, the handle of this composite bronze and iron implement (FIG. 124, CF47.38) is typically Roman, yet a parallel has proved elusive. The operative part was evidently the riveted and soldered iron component, of which such a small part survives that it is impossible to predict its original form. Other than scalpels and handled needles, one of the composite bronze and iron instruments quite frequently encountered in Roman sets of medical instruments is the bone chisel, which commonly has an iron or steel handle mounted on a copper-alloy handle. However, the slender handle of the Stanway implement and the splayed, sheet metal form of its iron component would seem to preclude such an identification. Considering the intrinsic evidence of the implement and its context within the *instrumentarium*, two possible identifications are a spoon or some kind of specialised blade.

Knife (FIG. 121, CF47.39)

This object (FIG. 121, CF47.39) was not originally regarded as part of the *instrumentarium* (it was initially so corroded that it was thought to be a nail), but its presence in the grave would seem to relate it to the other instruments, and, as a knife or razor (as opposed to a scalpel) in a surgical kit it is not without parallel (*see*, for example, Künzl 1983a, 72–3, fig. 46, no. 2; 80–5, fig. 58, no. 8; 117–18, fig. 92, no. 6). Furthermore, its knobbed and moulded handle finial is directly comparable to those of the scalpels and ?handled needles (nos 1–2 and 9–11), while its blade form complements rather than duplicates that of the two scalpels.

As with others of the Stanway instruments, the precise form of the knife is idiosyncratic and difficult to parallel. Although there is a general similarity in overall form to Manning's Type 7–9 knives, which have a down-turned blade (Manning 1985, 109, fig. 28, 111–13, esp. Type 8, pl. 54, Q25–Q28), none is a close parallel and none is as diminutive as the Stanway knife. Manning regards his Type 8 as an early Roman form, but, as Nina Crummy has pointed out (pers. comm.), the fact that all of his examples come from Hod Hill leaves open the possibility that it is a native British form.

Celsus, in a number of places, refers to a surgical knife as distinct from a scalpel (Jackson 1994, 170–1), and there is no inherent reason why this knife could not have been a purpose-made surgical knife. Alternatively, it could have been a non-surgical knife or razor incorporated into the *instrumentarium*. Again, Celsus provides an example, in the form of the razor (*novacula)* recommended for use in cases of alopecia (Celsus, *De med.* VI, 4, 3), and shaving prior to a surgical incision is likely to have been common practice, too.

Discussion

The discovery of the set of medical instruments in grave CF47 was a find of considerable importance (FIGS 125–7; Jackson 1997b; 1997c; 1998). Hitherto, no certain set had been excavated from the province of Roman Britain: the small group of instruments in the National Museum of Scotland, said to have been found at Cramond (Gilson 1983), may indeed have been a set (or part-set) that belonged together, but their British provenance is by no means secure, while the group of instruments said to have been 'uncovered south of the main east–west road at Corbridge' (Gilson 1981, 5) is unverifiable, and the published instruments lack any site context. Furthermore, *contra* Gilson (*ibid.*), the latter include only four diagnostically medical tools — three scalpel handles and one arm of a smooth-jawed fixation forceps.

The Stanway find is, therefore, the earliest known set of medical instruments from Britain. It is also one of the earliest *instrumentaria* from anywhere in the Roman world. While individual instruments have been found in 1st century B.C. and earlier contexts (Künzl 1996), it is not until the 1st century A.D. that sets of Roman instruments have been found in securely dated contexts (Künzl 1983a, 12–14, 88–90, 105, 106–7, sets from Pompeii, Cologne, Luzzi and Morlungo). That is not to say, of course, that surgery was not performed long before that time, but that some of the basic instruments used probably had not yet acquired distinctive forms, and they may therefore be hard to differentiate (if they differ at all) from the contemporaneous domestic implements and craftsmen's tools. Perhaps, too, a greater proportion of the early instruments were made of non-metallic materials which have not survived. Context is the key, as at Stanway, where the association of the instruments in a securely dated, undisturbed grave provided optimum conditions for recognition following their sensitive and painstaking excavation. Had the saw, ?handled needles, ?retractor, or iron forceps/tweezers been casually found, or even excavated as single, unassociated finds, it is most unlikely that any medical function would have been ascribed to them and, even if the suggestion had been made, it would have been incapable of proof. However, while valuing the Stanway kit for its secure context and the apparent completeness of its metal instrumentation, we should bear in mind, as ever, the choice entailed in the selection of grave goods (it may be that the whole *instrumentarium* was not included), and also the likelihood that most, if not all, ancient *instrumentaria* originally incorporated an organic component, little of which ever survives. This 'missing' list, to judge

FIG. 125. Doctor's burial CF47

from the writings of Celsus (Jackson 1994, tables 2–4), might include implements of wood, bone, leather, reed and feather, as well as an assortment of bandages, dressings, pads, plugs, ligatures, threads and sutures. The majority of the latter were made from wool or linen, and it is quite conceivable that the mineral-replaced threads and textile fragments adhering to some of the Stanway instruments are the remains of such medical paraphernalia, if not cloth wrapping for the instruments themselves (FIGS 102–3).

The Stanway *instrumentarium* is doubly significant for, not only is it the earliest find from Roman Britain and at the threshold of the discovery of such finds from the wider Roman world, but it might also be interpreted as the first pre-Roman set from Britain, since it is quite possible that some, if not all, of the instruments were made prior to the conquest of A.D. 43. These chronological and cultural implications may explain the idiosyncratic nature of the set. The majority of surviving identifiable Roman *instrumentaria* comprise predominantly metal instruments, most of which are made of copper alloy or a combination of copper alloy and iron. Copper alloy was above all the preferred metal where decoration was to be applied, primarily for grips, handles and finials. Iron was utilised especially for its strength (*e.g.* for bone levers),

FIG. 126. Doctor's burial CF47: vertical view of the gaming board and counters, with some of the surgical instruments, *in situ*

and for its ability to take a sharp edge, most notably for cutting instruments — chisel-blades and scalpel-blades — and for needles, all of which were commonly mounted on copper-alloy handles or grips. In Roman *instrumentaria*, single-piece iron instruments are the exception (see *e.g.* Künzl 1983a; Jackson 1990b), and the Stanway kit is thus remarkable for the presence of eight iron instruments: just four of the fourteen are single-piece copper-alloy tools, and only one (no. 12) is of a distinctive Roman form. Of the eight iron instruments, six have decorative finials, in three cases with adjacent mouldings. Their similarity suggests manufacture by the same artisan or in the same workshop, and that workshop is very likely to have been in Britain, probably in the Colchester region.

Parallels to the Stanway set, although presently lacking in Britain, may be found both in the Roman empire and in Celtic Europe. For the composition of the set, the best comparisons are with the Roman finds, which generally comprise a 'core' set of scalpels, hooks, forceps, needles and probes, in smaller or greater numbers, together, sometimes, with a pharmaceutical component and/or one or more 'specialised' instruments (Künzl 1983a; Jackson 1995). Typically, the core sets number from six to fifteen pieces. The composition of the fourteen-piece Stanway kit —two scalpels, two combined sharp/blunt hooks, one ?retractor, two forceps, three ?needles, one probe, one saw, one knife, one handled instrument — is, insofar as any generalisation may be made, typical of the Roman basic *instrumentaria*. In the individual form of the Stanway instruments, however, and in the preponderance of iron instruments, the Stanway kit finds parallels with Celtic surgical tools, notably the finds from the three La Tène C graves at München-Obermenzing, Bavaria (De Navarro 1955), Batina/Kis Köszeg, Croatia (Sudhoff 1913), and Galaţii Bistriţei, Romania (Bologa *et al.* 1956). In addition to the predominant use of iron, a further link between these 3rd- to 2nd-century B.C. finds and the Stanway kit is the presence of small iron saws. These are virtually absent from the surviving Roman *instrumentaria*, but are a consistent feature of the Celtic finds, in which they have been

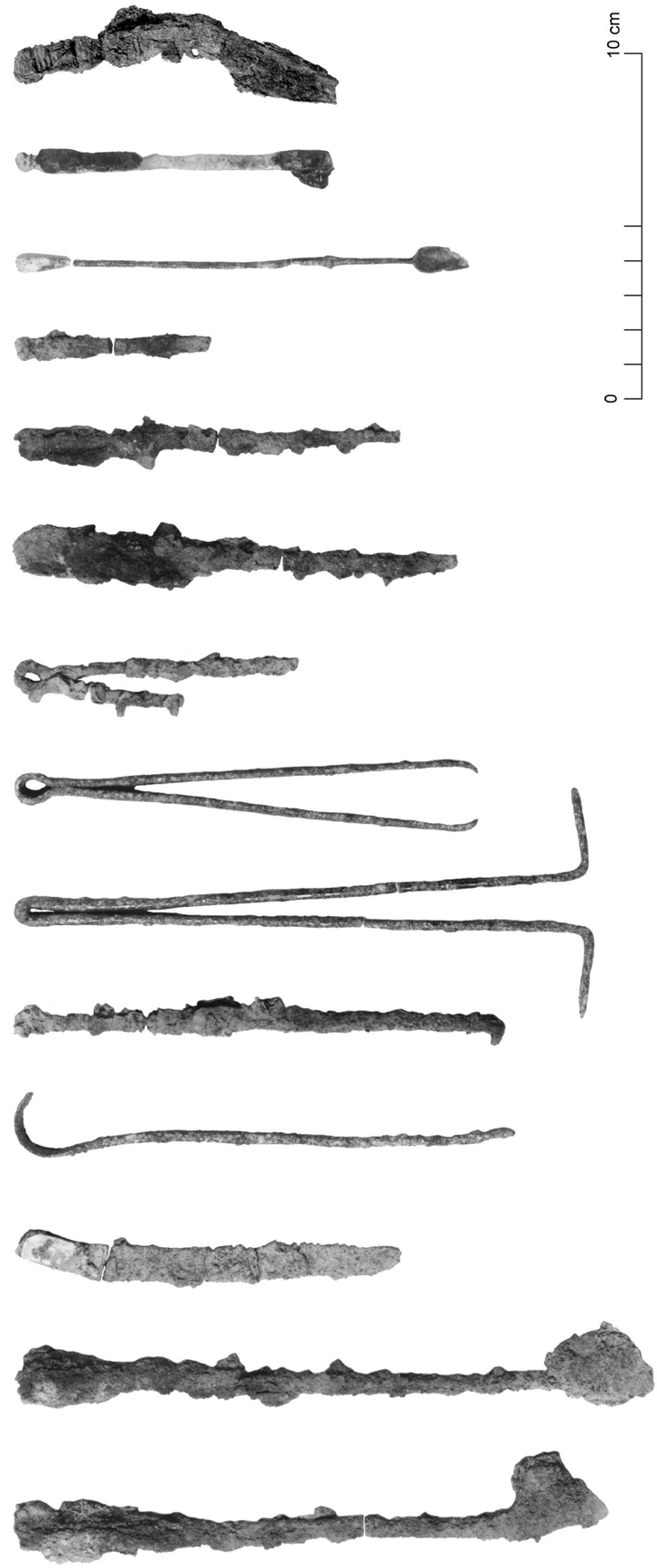


FIG. 127. Doctor's burial CF47: the surgical instruments. (Photo courtesy of British Museum.)

identified as trepanning tools. The eight iron instruments from Batina/Kis Köszeg include, as well as the saw, a scalpel, a bone lever, two hooks and two fenestrated instruments, some with solid handles or grips and some with tangs. In their general appearance, they resemble the Stanway iron instruments and they also share a number of specific characteristics: they have sinuous stems which swell and taper, they combine round and rectangular cross-sections and they have knobbed finials, occasionally with additional mouldings. Although the overall composition of the Stanway kit differs from that of Batina/Kis Köszeg, and the two finds are separated by several centuries, it is, nevertheless, possible that the maker of the Stanway instruments was following a distinctive Iron Age tradition in the manufacture of medical instruments. It is further possible that the tradition continued after Britain became a province of the Roman empire, for a number of other idiosyncratic iron instruments have been identified, including a single-piece scalpel and a combined bone lever and curette, both from Roman London (British Museum, Reg. nos P 1928.7-13.30, P 1934.12-10.46; Jackson 2005, fig. 5.2, 6). With the example of the Stanway *instrumentarium*, it is likely that more will now be recognised.

It is unfortunate that no contemporary medical writings exist to illuminate our understanding of healing in pre-Roman Britain. Nor, even, do any survive which are specific to Roman Britain (with the exception of a few tantalising references in the Vindolanda tablets: Bowman and Thomas 1994, II, 154–6 and II, 294; 2003, III, 586 and III, 591). In their absence, analogy may be made, albeit cautiously, with the contemporary medical texts from other parts of the Greek and Roman world. Such texts, above all Celsus' *De medicina*, give an impression of the range of surgical interventions undertaken and the instruments required to perform them. Some surgery was highly specialised and was carried out by a restricted number of operators using specially designed instruments, as, for example, lithotomy, the operation to cut for stone in the urinary bladder (vesical calculus) (Celsus, *De med.* VII, 26; Künzl 1983b; Jackson 1993b; 1994, 172–3, 205, fig. 2, nos 2–3; 1995). However, away from the largest cities, which might support specialists, most Roman surgery appears to have come within the ambit of 'general practitioners', who were expected to encompass the three branches into which medicine was traditionally divided, *i.e.* dietetics, drugs and surgery (Celsus, *De med.* prooemium, 9; VII, prooemium, 5; Scribonius Largus, *Compositiones* prooemium; Soranus, *Gynaecia* I, 4; Mudry 1985; Jackson 1993b). The composition of Roman medical *instrumentaria*, which often combine basic surgical tools with pharmaceutical implements and some specialised instruments, seems to support the impression given by the texts (Jackson 1995). Although the majority of the Stanway instruments fall into the category of basic surgical tools, the saw implies bone surgery, perhaps of a specialist nature, while there is the possibility that among the vessels in the grave the strainer bowl, at least, may have been used *inter alia* for the preparation of healing beverages. At all events, the *instrumentarium* would have enabled the practitioner who used it potentially to perform a wide range of surgery. For, in comparatively few instances in Celsus' *De medicina* is a specialised instrument specified — most of his surgical interventions were performed with the basic 'core' tools.

As Philip Crummy has described above, the deposition and arrangement of the grave goods in burial CF47 was, like others in the cemetery, contrived with great care and deliberation, and we may be sure they were purposefully placed. However, a full understanding of the meaning of the location of the objects is impossible to attain, not least because the poor survival conditions for organic materials have undoubtedly erased part of the evidence. Thus, we can only guess at the connections implicit in the very particular juxtaposition of the instruments with the cremated remains, board game and metal rods. Was the positioning simply or partially dictated by spatial constraints, or are we to imagine a more meaningful linkage? There is little relevant medical material with which to make comparison, either because incomplete records were kept of early excavations of burial finds, or because the deposition was of a much simpler nature, as at Wehringen, Bavaria (Künzl 1983a, 120–1, figs 95–6), where the tight grouping of six instruments and organic remains indicated that they had been held in a small leather case, or at Wederath-Belginum, Germany (Künzl 1989, fig. 1), where a similarly tight-packed

arrangement of four instruments was suggestive of a former small organic box or container. The rather dispersed, uneven and non-linear arrangement of the Stanway instruments is not really consistent with burial in a container, whether a cloth pouch, wooden box or leather case. Rather the impression is of a careful placing of the instruments individually.

During the period of the Roman empire surgical and medical instruments were occasionally placed in graves (Künzl 1983a). The reason for this practice, which did not extend to the tools of other trades, is not known. Nevertheless, the presence of such instruments and implements is generally taken to indicate that the buried person in life had been a medical practitioner (although not necessarily exclusively so). In the light of such finds, it is a reasonable supposition that the *instrumentarium* in grave CF47 was owned and used by the man upon and beside whose cremated remains the instruments lay. The two accompanying copper-alloy brooches were probably made in the 40s A.D., and the pottery dating suggests that the burial took place *c.* A.D. 40–50/55 (p. 437). There is thus a high degree of probability that some, if not all, of the instruments were made before the Roman conquest of A.D. 43, and that the healer was practising both before and after the conquest.

What, then, was his status? The form of his burial and its furnishings, far from being those of a commoner, imply a person of some importance. He appears to have practised healing, was buried with a set of rods that were perhaps used in divination or other medico-magical rites (pp. 224–9, and was a game-player (pp. 217–20), but seemingly no warrior. In short, and notwithstanding Jane Webster's sober assessment that 'individual druids … are unlikely to be identified archaeologically' (1999, 6), it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the Stanway healer was a druid, or at least that he belonged to the stratum of society that comprised druids, diviners and healers (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 30.13). Whether he was a native Briton or a newcomer, perhaps a refugee from Gaul following Roman proscriptions against druids in the early 1st century A.D. (Webster 1999, 11), it is not possible to say on the strength of the instruments alone, but see N. Crummy pp. 444–5. Whatever the case, to judge from his instrumentation, he seems to have been acquainted with both Iron Age and classical healing systems, and may well have been in contact with Roman as well as Gallo-Roman and native British personnel.

Summary catalogue

CF47.26 Scalpel. FIG. 121. SF49. C951. Length 169 mm. Weight 26.8 g. Iron, heavily corroded, in two accurately joining pieces.

A single-piece instrument comprising a long, slender, very lightly curved handle of circular cross-section, with a bulbous knobbed finial. The slightly down-turned blade has a distinctive sub-triangular form, with a lightly hollowed back and a rounded heel. Its straight cutting edge appears to extend onto the heel.

CF47.27 Scalpel. FIG. 121. SF129. C1033. Length 188 mm. Weight 25.4 g. Iron, heavily corroded, in three accurately joining pieces.

A single-piece instrument with a handle of the same form as CF47.26, but slightly longer, straighter and more slender. The small bellied blade has a convex crescentic cutting edge and a lightly concave back with an upturned bevelled tip. Mineral-replaced textile remains are preserved on the blade.

CF47.28 Saw. FIG. 121. SF63–6 and 71. C965–7, C973. Length approximately 112 mm. Weight 6.7 g. Iron blade with composite handle, the details of which were revealed very clearly by X-radiography. The blade is corroded and broken in four accurately joining pieces. The fifth piece, incorporating the handle, was bent and snapped prior to deposition. The join is secure, but not close.

A small, slender iron blade with a very lightly concave, finely toothed cutting edge (14 teeth per cm) and a lightly convex back, which slopes down at the end to form a blunt-nosed tip. The teeth are neither set nor raked, allowing the blade to cut in both directions, but probably to no great depth. The small composite block-like handle or grip (CF24.28a) comprises a short iron handle plate with flanking plates of wood or bone sandwiched between a pair of thin bronze outer plates, the whole assembly fastened by a pair of copper-alloy rivets. A short fragment of tapered iron rod of rhomboid cross-section, broken at the broader end and bent at the other (CF47.28b, SF62), was found associated with the saw fragments. It was originally assumed to be part of a tanged handle of the saw, but on examination no join could be effected with the grip, which appears to be complete, and the fragment is almost certainly the bent stem of a nail lacking its head. (There were several other nails in the vicinity.) At all events, a handle combining

a tang and handle-plate would be exceptional. In fact, although the grip is idiosyncratic, the replica saw can be held comfortably and quite securely between the thumb and the side of the second finger, with the tip of the index finger on the blade back providing sufficient pressure to cut effectively with any part of the blade, especially on a convex surface.

CF47.29 Combined sharp and blunt hook (double-ended retractor). FIG. 122. SF46. C948. Length 144 mm. Weight 10.0 g. Bronze, with crusty, flaking, green corrosion, brittle, in three joining pieces.

A single-piece instrument comprising a slender stem with a hooked terminal at each end. The broad blunt hook (width 12.1 mm) is complete, and has a rounded square end, smooth edges, and a low strengthening rib on its outer convex face. At the other end of the stem, the tip of the small sharp hook is broken, but the curved base of the hook survives. The stem has two distinct zones: that joining the blunt hook is of rectangular cross-section, while that leading to the sharp hook is of tapered circular cross-section. The lightly sinuous form of the stem was probably an intentional original feature (or a modification by the practitioner) designed to facilitate use of each hook. Surface XRF analysis of the alloy composition demonstrated that the hook is made of bronze with only traces of zinc.

CF47.30 Combined sharp and blunt hook (double-ended retractor). FIG. 122. SF42. C944. Length 140 mm. Weight 12.3 g. Iron, corroded, encrusted and fissured, in three joining pieces.

A single-piece, double-ended instrument, with a rectangular-sectioned central grip and flanking circular-sectioned (or faceted) stem, terminating at one end in a small, neatly formed blunt hook. The other terminal is damaged, but it appears to preserve the stub of a sharp hook. The stem has an even, gentle curvature, probably to facilitate usage of the instrument, and the hooks are set at a right-angle to one another. Degraded wood remains adhere to the stem adjacent to the blunt hook, and mineral-replaced textile remains adhere to the stem adjacent to the sharp hook. Examination of the latter by scanning electron microscopy revealed that the preserved fibre impressions are the remains of a woollen textile (*see* report by N.D. Meeks and C.R. Cartwright, pp. 350–2).

CF47.31 ?Retractor. FIG. 123. SF43. C945. Length 166 mm. Weight 21.2 g. Bronze, with crusty, flaking, green corrosion, brittle, in four joining pieces.

A single-piece instrument made from a slender circular-sectioned rod bent centrally to form two equal arms, each terminating in an everted, tapered point (chipped at the tip). It was initially thought that the object was a double sharp hook with a pair of projecting points that had become flattened and out-turned by breakage in the ground. However, a close inspection of the broken faces confirmed that the everted orientation of the points was an original feature. As no 4, surface XRF analysis of the alloy composition showed it to be bronze with only traces of zinc.

CF47.32 Smooth-jawed fixation forceps. FIG. 123. SF45. C947. Length 133 mm. Weight 22.3 g. Bronze, with crusty green corrosion.

A single-piece spring forceps with a looped head and in-turned jaws. Although the jaw edges are chipped it is evident that they were smooth (un-toothed). The arms have neatly chamfered outer angles and there is a simple incuse linear moulding below the loop.

CF47.33 Forceps/tweezers. FIG. 123. SF78. C980. Length 81 mm. Weight 5.7 g. Iron, corroded and encrusted, in three joining pieces, both jaws broken.

A well-made tweezers or small forceps with slender, smoothly tapered arms of rectangular cross-section with chamfered outer angles. One arm is broken short, the other is nearly complete, lacking only the jaw tip. The narrowness of the broken end of the longer surviving arm suggests the jaws were pointed.

CF47.34 Handled ?needle. FIG. 124. SF84 and 86. C988, C990. Length 127 mm. Weight 27.4 g. Iron, heavily corroded, in two joining pieces, the tip lacking.

A single-piece instrument with a knobbed finial, a stout handle, and a slender tapered stem. The handle is probably of circular cross-section, but heavy corrosion prevents certainty. The stem changes from a circular cross-section to a square cross-section as it approaches the tip. The missing tip was almost certainly a pointed, un-eyed needle. Mineral-replaced textile remains adhere to the handle and finial, and there is a small fragment of mineral-replaced wood on the stem.

CF47.35 Handled ?needle. FIG. 124. SF85. C989. Length 109 mm. Weight 9.6 g. Iron, corroded and encrusted, in two joining pieces. The tip, which is now lacking, appears to have been incorporated in the corroded head of one of the iron rods, against which the needle rested in the grave.

A solid tapered rod, of circular cross-section, with a lightly swollen handle terminating in a knobbed finial with basal double ring moulding. Like CF47.34, the tip of the slender tapered stem, now lacking, was probably a pointed, un-eyed needle. Fragmentary remains of textiles adhere to the central part of the stem and to the side of the handle and finial. Examination by scanning electron microscopy demonstrated that the remains are those of a woollen textile (see report by N.D. Meeks and C.R. Cartwright, pp. 350–2).

CF47.36 Handled ?needle. FIG. 124. SF51. C953. Length 55.4 mm. Weight 3.5 g. Iron, corroded and encrusted, in two joining pieces, the point lacking.
A slender tapered rod, of circular cross-section, with a small knobbed finial above a triple ring moulding. The broken stem probably terminated in a pointed, un-eyed needle. There is a small spot of green corrosion on the lower stem revealing a point of contact with (presumably) the adjacent bronze blunt/sharp hook CF47.29.
CF47.37 Scoop probe. FIG. 124. SF44. C946. Length 132 mm. Weight 3.7 g. Bronze, with powdery green patina, in three joining pieces, the scoop broken.
A slender example with an olivary probe and very fine incuse 'drawing' lines on the grip. A simple ring moulding divides the grip from the stemmed scoop, which is of narrow, tapered form, its end lacking.
CF47.38 Handle. FIG. 124. SF50. C952. Length 91.3 mm. Weight 7.9 g. Bronze, with powdery, pale green patina.
A small, slender, lightly tapered handle with a knobbed finial. One face of the handle, the back or underside, is plain and flat, the other neatly faceted and moulded. At the narrower end are the fragmentary remains of a thin sheet iron V-shaped or winged component that was fastened to the handle by means of an iron rivet. X-radiography revealed a small rectangular perforation in the end of the handle in which the rivet is fixed, and XRF analysis detected the remains of soft (tin-lead) solder in this region, too. Iron corrosion products at the finial end of the handle are presumably from the point of contact with the blade of scalpel CF47.26.
CF47.39 Knife. FIG. 121. SF39. C941. Length 97.7 mm. Weight 19 g. Iron, corroded and heavily encrusted, in two joining pieces, the blade tip lacking.
A small knife with a short solid handle and an acutely angled blade. The handle is finely decorated, with a knobbed finial, a zone of seven square ring-mouldings, a round vase moulding, and a further zone of square mouldings. Beyond the point where the blade turns sharply downwards there is a pronounced flanging of the blade back, a feature evidently contrived to allow the user's index finger to press down on to the blade. The blade is of elongated triangular form (its tip is missing), with a marked angle at the junction with the handle. The cutting edge is straight or very lightly convex.

Nails (TABLE 36)

The nails are listed in TABLE 36. In the majority of cases, the grain of the wood lay across the shank of the nail, but in some cases it was parallel to it. All the nails were of Manning's Type 1b, some with sub-circular and some with sub-rectangular heads. One head (SF28) is a narrow oval. The shanks are incomplete unless stated otherwise, although some described here as complete lack 1 or 2 mm of the tip. They range in length from 46 to 81 mm. The longest nail had wood grain running parallel to the shank for most of its length. Only four were clenched, giving plank thicknesses of 15–20 mm. On nails with wood grain lying across the full length of the shank for its full length, no break between planks could be seen.

TABLE 36: THE NAILS IN THE OAK GRAVE COVER (CF47.41)

Object no.	*Find*	*SF no.*	*Head shape*	*Length (mm)*	*Wood*	*Grain to shank direction*	*Notes*
CF47.41a	C930	28	oval	37	y	transverse	–
CF47.41a	C931	29	sub-rectangular	29	y	transverse	–
CF47.41a	C932	30	sub-rectangular	53	y	transverse	–
CF47.41a	C933	31	sub-circular	28	y	transverse	–
CF47.41a	C934	32a	sub-circular	65 (complete)	y	transverse	–
CF47.41a	C935	33	sub-rectangular	32	y	transverse	–
CF47.41a	C936	34a	sub-rectangular	47 (complete)	y	transverse	below SF34b
CF47.41a	C937	35	sub-circular	35	y	transverse	–
CF47.41a	C1078	158	sub-circular	32 (complete)	y	transverse	–
CF47.41a	C1081	170	–	21	y	transverse	–
CF47.41a	C1091	154	sub-circular	56 (complete)	y	transverse and parallel	grain transverse on upper part of shank, parallel on lower, with an upper wood thickness of about 20 mm and a lower thickness of 28 mm
CF47.41a	C1092	156	sub-circular	51 (complete)	–	–	no wood visible
CF47.41a	C1093	153	sub-circular	52 (complete)	y	parallel	wood only preserved on lower part (28 mm deep)
CF47.41b	C1079	161	sub-circular	23	y	transverse	only a small part of the head remains
CF47.41b	C1096	151	sub-circular	68	y	transverse	–
CF47.41b	C1097	152	sub–circular	81 (complete)	y	parallel	wood along most of length
CF47.41c	C954	52	sub-circular	37	y	transverse	–
CF47.41c	C955	53	sub-circular	46	y	transverse	clenched, wood thickness 16 mm
CF47.41c	C956	54	sub-circular?	53 (complete)	y	parallel	clenched, wood thickness 15 mm
CF47.41c	C957	55	sub-rectangular	46 (complete)	y	transverse	–
CF47.41c?	C1082	184	sub-circular	63 (complete)	y	parallel after bend	clenched, shank measures 42 mm above the bend, but wood is only present below the bend, running all round the shank
CF47.41a	C934	32b	–	22	y	transverse	2 shank fragments only
CF47.41d	C936	34b	sub-circular	33	y	transverse	–
CF47.41d	C991	87	sub-circular	47	y	transverse	clenched, wood thickness 20 mm
CF47.41d	C992	88	–	36	y	transverse	only a small part of the head remains

THE BROOCHES BURIAL CF72 (FIGS 2, 8, 128–31)

Cremated bone	73.7 g	adult of indeterminate age and sex
Pottery vessels	CF72.1	cornice-rimmed *lagena*
	CF72.2	grog-tempered carinated cup or bowl
	CF72.3	grog-tempered carinated cup or bowl
Glass vessel	CF72.4	*pyxis*
Other objects	CF72.5	brass Keyhole Rosette brooch
	CF72.6	copper-alloy Hod Hill brooch
	CF72.7	brass lugged circular brooch
	CF72.8	copper-alloy circular plate brooch
	CF72.9	brass lozenge-shaped brooch
	CF72.10	brass star-shaped plate brooch
	CF72.11	glass bead
	CF72.12	pin or stud with glass bead at one end
	CF72.13	iron ?knife blade
	CF72.14	a possible nail shank
	CF72.15	one or more textile garments
Residual finds		probably none

The burial lay to the west of chamber CF42 in Enclosure 5 (FIGS 2, 8, 131). The cremated remains and grave goods had been placed in a shallow pit, roughly square in shape, about 1.0 m across and about 0.2 m deep as measured from the ground surface after stripping (FIG. 128). The plan of the burial pit may have been closer to a square than appears in plan if, as seems likely, its north-west corner was disturbed by modern subsoiling. The burial is particularly noteworthy for its rare glass *pyxis* and large number of brooches.

Most of the bone was placed in a heap in the south-west part of the pit, with the rest spread out in patches on the floor of the pit to the immediate east. The grave goods then appear to have been placed in the pit, mostly directly on top of the cremated bone (FIG. 128). Four brooches (CF72.6, CF72.7, CF72.8, and CF72.10) were laid on top of the pile of bone. Two more (CF72.5 and CF72.9) were placed close by. One of these (CF72.9) was in two pieces. Its central glass setting had become detached and appeared to lie under the edge of one of the small patches of bone forming the minor spread east of the main pile. The rest of the brooch lay a short distance to the east. A pin or stud with a glass bead at one end (CF72.12) also lay on top of the main pile of cremated remains, as did the blade (probably complete) of an iron knife (CF72.13). Remains of textile on the backs of some of the brooches show that a cloth or garment probably of diamond twill (CF72.15) lay between the cremated remains and the brooches (*see* report pp. 348–9). An annular glass bead (CF72.11) lay just to the north of the main pile of bone. The glass *pyxis* (CF72.4) lay tipped over on its side partly under a pottery flagon (CF72.1). Close by the flagon and on its east side was a pottery cup (CF72.2). An almost identical vessel (CF72.3) was the only object to be found in the northern half of the burial pit (FIGS 128, 131). The only other object was a fragment of an iron shank (CF72.14), which was found close to the western edge of the burial pit, about 80 mm above the floor. Its function and context are unclear.

All the objects are likely to have been placed in the burial pit intact. A few of them look as if they might have been fragmentary at the time, but a careful consideration of the evidence reveals that this is not necessarily so and all the objects were probably complete when buried. The most obvious candidate for breakage is the plate brooch CF72.9. However, it seems likely that the object was damaged by ploughing or (more likely) a subsoiler, with the result that the central glass setting became detached from the body of the brooch and was dragged about 90 mm to the north-west (FIG. 130). Although no clear evidence of subsoiling was noted during the excavation, activity of this nature would explain the shattered state of one of the sides of the flagon CF72.1. The glass setting was found partly under a piece of cremated bone and taken at the time as evidence that its deposition preceded that of the bone. But of course this relationship would be meaningless if the area had been disturbed by subsoiling.

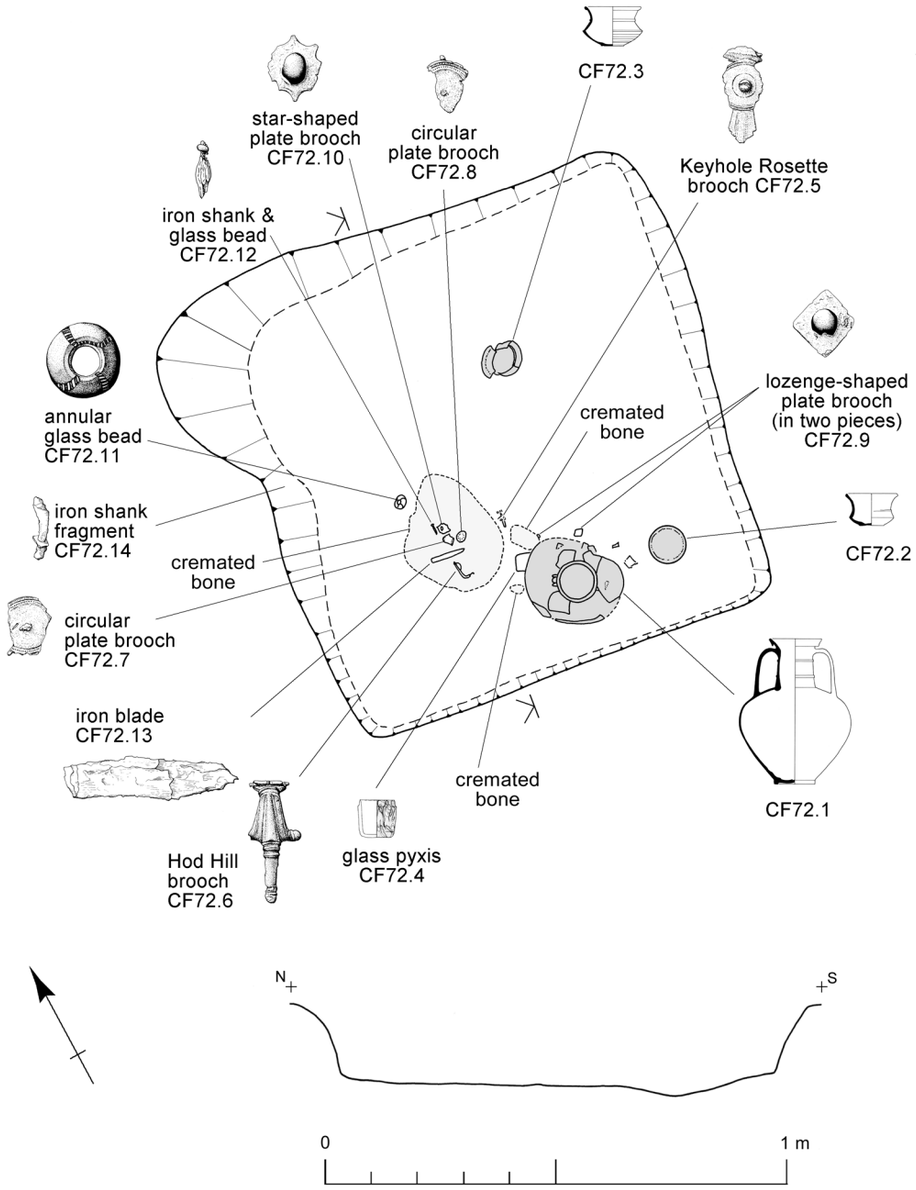


FIG. 128. Brooches burial CF72: plan and profile (scale 1:15)

Other objects which might be taken to have been fragmentary when buried are the blade CF72.13 and the shanks CF72.12 and CF72.14. However, being iron, their poor state of preservation and their delicate condition (ever deteriorating) make it hard to determine whether they were complete or not when buried. The iron blade CF72.13 looks fragmentary now (FIG. 129) but, when uncovered, did seem as if it was a complete blade and can be assumed to have been part of a knife with a wooden or bone handle that had completely decayed.

The other two objects (FIG. 129, CF72.12, CF72.14) could be the broken remains of larger pieces but, given the apparently complete state of everything else in the grave, this is unlikely to be so. The piece of wood in which was set the iron shank with the glass bead (CF72.12) appears to have been small, since the shank lay in the ground within a few millimetres of the brooch CF72.10. The lack of taper and the shank's circular section, as well as the delicate head, all suggest that it was set into a pre-drilled hole, rather than hammered into place. No parallel has been found for the object, although it can be associated in a general way with the iron pins

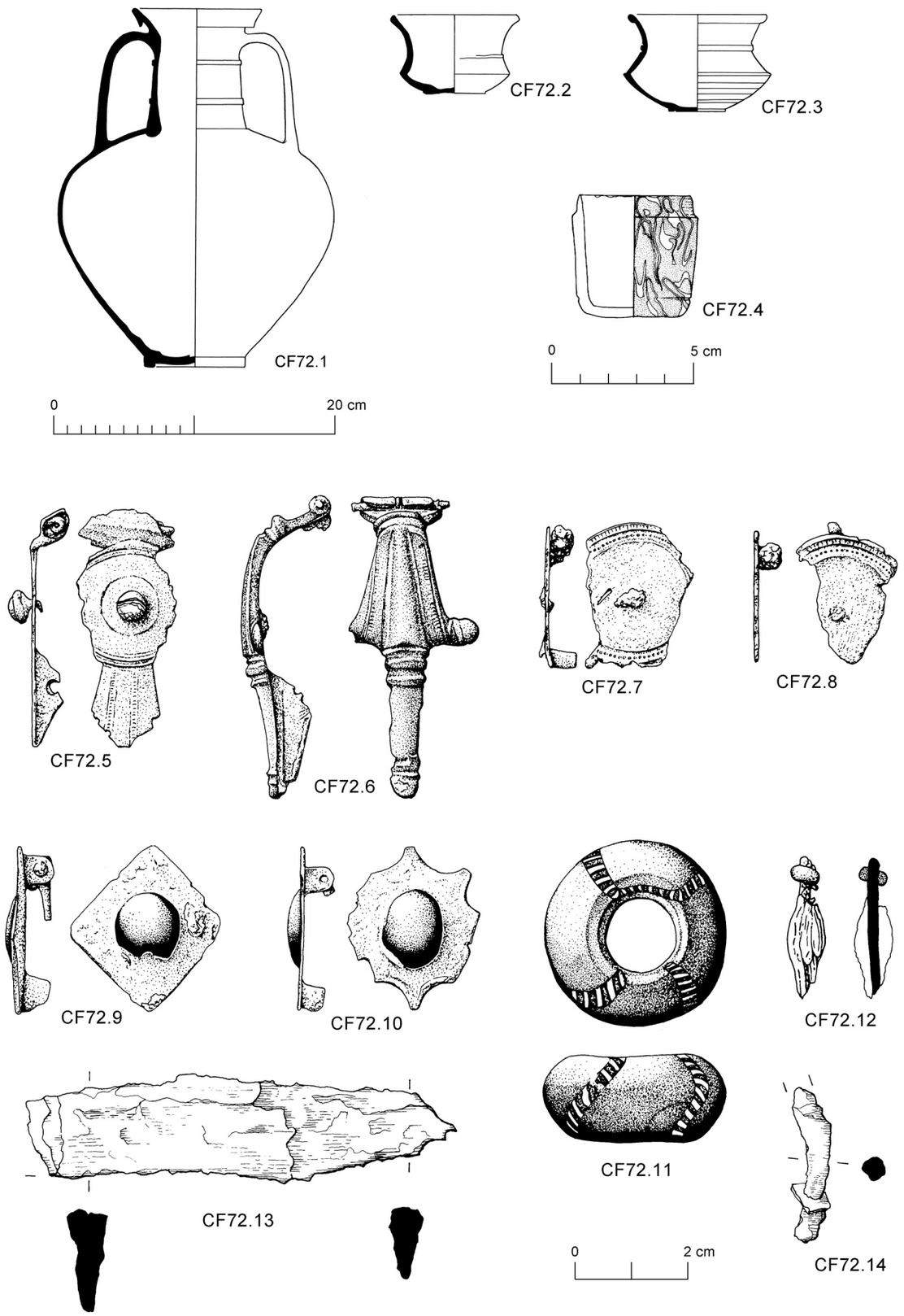


FIG. 129. Brooches burial CF72: pottery vessels CF72.1–3 (scale 1:4), glass pyxis CF72.4 (scale 1:2), copper-alloy brooches F72.5–10, glass bead CF72.11, pin or stud with iron shank with glass bead CF72.12, iron knife blade CF72.13, and iron ?nail shank CF72.14 (scale 1:1)

with globular glass heads in CF42 (FIG. 73, CF42.16a–c; pp. 150, 153–4). The burial rite in CF72 precludes identification of this pin as a token, representative of an item of furniture, as may be the case with the related studs in CF42.

The other shank (FIG. 129, CF72.14) lay well away from the other objects in the burial pit. Being close to the edge of the pit and some distance above the pit floor, its position is similar to that of some of the nails in the Doctor's burial which are taken to have been part of a wooden grave-cover (CF47.41). Alternatively the shank could have been part of one of the grave goods which, like the brooch CF72.9, had been caught and displaced by a subsoiler.

Of all the grave goods in the burial pit, the most remarkable is FIG. 129, CF72.4. The cast polychrome vessel is the body of a *pyxis* in translucent, deep blue glass with opaque white spirals. The lid is missing, but this would have fitted over the rebated rim. Glass pyxides were expensive cosmetic containers (Foy and Nenna 2001, 161), so that the presence of one in CF72 points to it being the burial place of a well-off woman. On the Continent, *pyxides* appear to have belonged to the Augustan period, thus suggesting that the Stanway example was a pre-Claudian import (pp. 343–4).

All the brooches in CF72 are Gaulish imports, but only one, a Keyhole Rosette (FIG. 129, CF72.5), is of a type that might have been imported before the conquest, the rest are forms introduced after A.D. 43. The brooches form three pairs, suggesting that they were used to fasten tube tunics at the shoulders. There are two identical circular plate brooches (FIG. 129, CF72.7–8), two composite plate brooches, one lozenge-shaped, one star-shaped, both with glass insets (CF72.9–10), and two bow brooches, a Keyhole Rosette and a Hod Hill (FIG. 129, CF72.5–6). The brooches, and particularly the dating of the Keyhole Rosette, are discussed more fully on pages 317–19.

The presence of so many pairs of brooches in what is otherwise a not particularly richly furnished grave almost certainly implies that CF72 is the grave of a female, although the evidence for gender-specific use of brooch pairs is not always clear (Croom 2003). Two similar brooches in one grave need not necessarily imply their use as a pair, which is clearly shown by the two Nertomarus bow brooches in BF64 (BF64.19–20; p. 176). That they may have been used in pairs by men is, however, shown by male graves with multiple bow brooch deposits, such as that at Hoby, Denmark, which contained two pairs of brooches and one trio (Salskov Roberts 1995, 293). This matches the evidence at King Harry Lane, where brooch use between the sexes appears to have been much the same, and where many graves contained multiple bow brooch deposits (Stead and Rigby 1989, 102, table 4). Plate brooches were not common at King Harry Lane, with only three being deposited, all singletons. Two were in graves that could be attributed to Phase 3, one a male burial, one that of an infant. The third, unphased, grave was of a young adult (*ibid.*, 96).

The single large glass bead (FIG. 129, CF72.11) is also not proof that the grave was of a woman, as there are single beads from the male burials BF64 (BF64.22) and CF47 (CF47.18). It is of Guido's Class 9, Type B, an example of which occurs at Bagendon in a context dated to *c.* A.D. 10–50 (Harden 1961, 201, fig. 42, 5). Beads of this type are not common, and the individual colours vary; they derive principally from contexts dated to the Late Iron Age or early Roman period and have a wide, although generally western, distribution (Guido 1978, 77–8, 185–6).

The knife (FIG. 129, CF72.13) is not indicative of gender or age. Knives occur in both adult and child graves at King Harry Lane (Stead and Rigby 1989, 106). Two small knives, at least one of which is probably a pen-knife as the grave also included a set of writing equipment, were in the rich Flavian burial of a young woman at Winchester (Biddle 1967, fig. 9, 20, 26A–B; Bo ič 2001, 29). Biddle lists two knives in Welwyn-type male graves, but the one from Snailwell is a large razor, and that from Stanfordbury is intrusive (Biddle 1967, table 1; Stead 1967, 55). The Welwyn-type male burial at Hertford Heath also contained a knife, but of a larger type than those found in the female graves (*ibid.*, 52, no. 20).

The burial is likely to date to the A.D. 50s. The item most diagnostic of date is the Keyhole Rosette, which suggests that the burial is no later than *c.* A.D 50/5. The other brooches simply point to the burial post-dating A.D. 43. All are generally Claudian forms. Of the three pots in the grave, all could be pre-Claudian or as late as *c.* A.D. 65.

Pottery vessels (FIG. 129)

North Gaulish import

CF72.1 FIG. 129. C412. Cornice-rimmed *lagena*: Camulodunum form 161, the small-bodied version. Fabric WPW; white matrix; slip over the exterior and partly coating interior.
Condition: restorable to complete; fragmented in the grave.

Local products

CF72.2 FIG. 129. C413. Carinated bowl. Fabric GTW; grey core; brown surfaces. Burnished exterior surface, unfinished interior.
Condition: complete.
CF72.3 FIG. 129. C400. Carinated bowl. Fabric GTW; sandwich firing, dark grey core; brown undersurface, dark brown surfaces. Unfinished interior; banded burnishing on the exterior with four burnished hoops on matt ground below the carination.
Condition: restorable to complete; fragmented in the grave.

Glass vessel (FIG. 129)

CF72.4 FIG. 129. C402. *Pyxis* (complete). Translucent deep blue glass with opaque white spirals. Rim ground to form rebate for lid seating, original smoothly ground rim present in two areas but majority of rim chipped and damaged in antiquity. Straight side sloping in very slightly, curving into flat base. Shallow ground-out channel on lower body. Interior ground; exterior of sides lightly ground, base glossy and does not appear to have been ground. Rim diameter 40 mm, body diameter 44 mm, height 45 mm, wall thickness 4 mm, base diameter 35 mm.

Other objects (FIG. 129)

CF72.5 FIG. 129. SF7. C410. Small Keyhole Rosette brooch of brass, tinned at front and back except on the disc, where it is only tinned on the perimeter. The pin (and therefore also the spring) is of impure copper. The pin, the central repoussé-plate from the disc, and most of the catchplate are missing. The spring-cover and spring, and the edges of both bow and foot, are damaged. The spring had eight to ten coils. The central disc has a pair of flat-bottomed grooves around the edge. There is another slight groove just over half-way inwards towards the centre and there are also very fine concentric ridges between the inner groove and the outer pair. These latter marks are not decorative, but from finishing. Fixed through a hole in the centre of the disc is a cupped riveted stud of impure copper containing a setting of opaque red glass. The stud would have held the missing decorative plate in position, as no solder was detected. The triangular foot has two lines of raised knurling. There is a small circular hole in the catchplate. Length 41.5 mm.
CF72.6 FIG. 129. SF6. C408. Hod Hill brooch with lugs at the base of the triangular bow. The body of the brooch is tinned leaded gunmetal, the pin is impure copper. Most of the hinged pin is missing, as is one of the lugs. The iron axial bar survives in the rolled-over head. The junction of head and bow is marked by transverse mouldings. The bow has a strong central rib which echoes its triangular shape, flanked by grooves and mouldings. The two outermost mouldings are beaded. The surviving lug has a beaded moulding and plain terminal knob. Transverse mouldings separate the bow from the plain convex foot, which ends with two transverse mouldings above a slightly thickened tip. The catchplate is solid. Length 52 mm.
CF72.7 FIG. 129. SF9. C416. Brass circular plate brooch with small round lugs set around the rim. The rim is badly damaged, and of six original lugs, only one now survives. The pin, most of which is missing, was hinged between two lugs on an iron axial bar. The small catchplate is solid. The rim of the brooch is decorated with two bands of knurling, the outermost between slight raised mouldings, the inner in a broader flat-bottomed groove. In the centre are the remains of a small riveted setting. Diameter 26 mm (excluding lugs).
CF72.8 FIG. 129. SF10. C418. Circular plate brooch as SF9 above. The rim is badly damaged and only the lug above the hinge survives. The catchplate and most of the pin are missing. There are slight traces of fibres on the undersurface. Diameter 26 mm (excluding lugs).
CF72.9 FIG. 129. SF8/11. C414/421. Brass lozenge-shaped plate brooch with blue glass setting. Part of the pin is missing. It was hinged between two lugs on an iron axial bar. The small catchplate is solid. The surface of the brooch is discoloured by lead-tin solder used to attach a repoussé-decorated plate, now missing. Length 29 mm. The central setting, a round piece of blue glass, plano-convex in section, survives but is detached (SF11). It is chipped along part of the edge. The underside is discoloured from contact with the solder, and is rough, chipped rather than sand-roughened as it would be if it had been made in

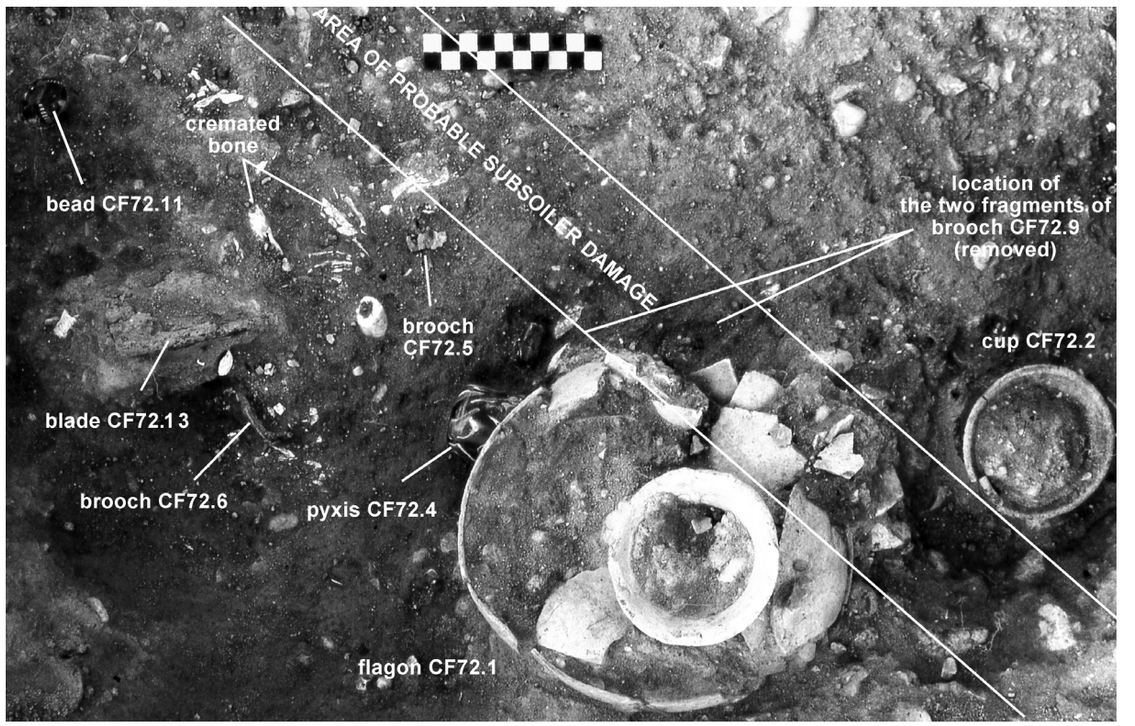


FIG. 130. Brooches burial CF72: annotated photograph showing shattered edge of flagon and line of possible subsoiler damage

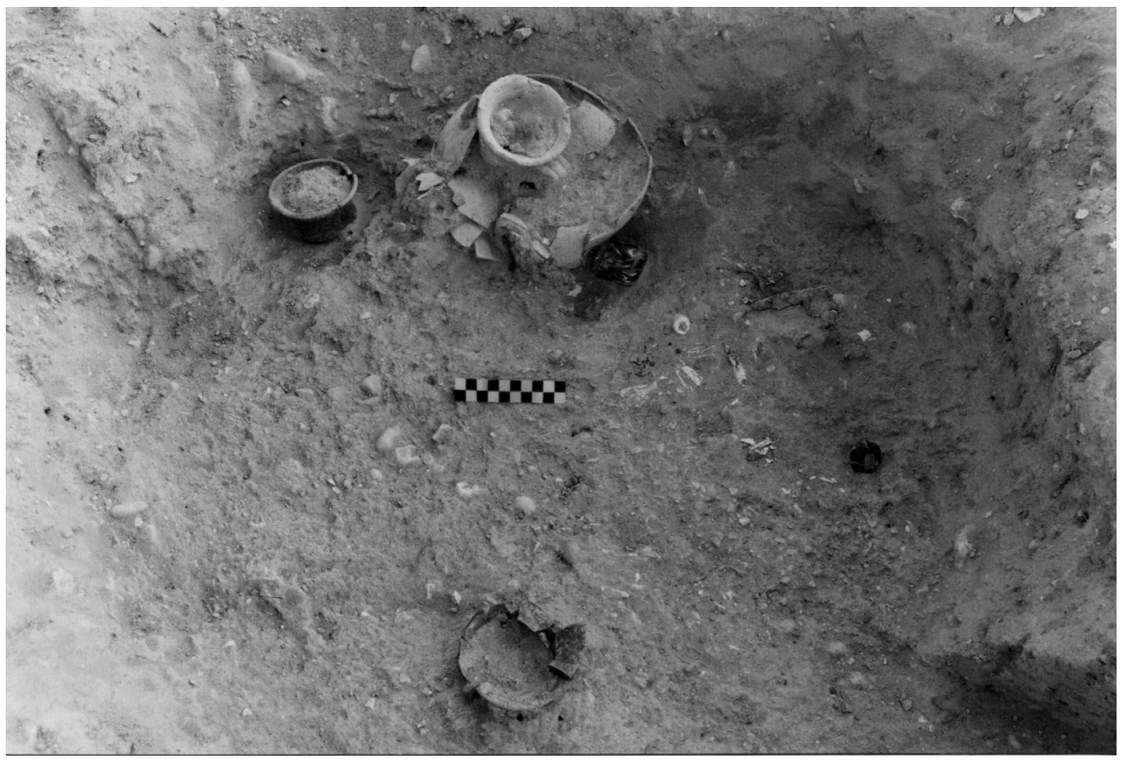


FIG. 131. Brooches burial CF72

the same way as glass counters (p. 186), suggesting that it was trimmed to fit the setting. Maximum diameter of setting 11 mm.

CF72.10 FIG. 129. SF5. C406. Brass star-shaped plate brooch with blue glass setting. Part of the small solid catchplate and most of the hinged pin, held on an iron axial bar between two lugs, is missing. As with SF8/11 above, the upper surface is discoloured from lead-tin solder used to attach a missing repoussé-decorated plate. Length 28 mm. The oval blue glass central setting survives but is detached. Like the round setting from SF8/11, it is plano-convex in section. Part of one long side is straight rather than rounded. The underside is mostly covered with metal-corrosion products, but appears to be sand-roughened. Length 13 mm.

CF72.11 FIG. 129. SF2. C403. Large annular bead of cobalt blue translucent glass with four radiating spirals of twisted opaque yellow and black, marvered into the blue matrix. The spirals dip into and out of the central hole, rather than pass through it. Diameter 32.5 mm, length 15 mm. Diameter of central hole 13 mm.

CF72.12 FIG. 129. SF4. C405. Composite pin or stud, consisting of an iron circular-section shank with an annular opaque green glass bead threaded onto one end and wood fragments along most of the length of the shank below the bead. Length 24 mm. Separate small fragments of the iron shank suggest it was least a further 8 mm longer. Maximum length of wood below bead 20 mm. Diameter 5 mm, length 3 mm.

CF72.13 FIG. 129. SF3. C404. Probable iron blade fragment. Length 72 mm, maximum width 15 mm. The section is triangular, but rather wide for a knife blade, even allowing for expansion through corrosion. Both ends are broken, although one appears to be narrowing to a tang.

CF72.14 FIG. 129. SF12. C423. Small fragment of a slightly curved iron square-section shank, 25 mm long, 3 mm square. Near the bottom is what appears to be a washer threaded onto the shank, but is an integral formation, probably the result of iron corrosion spreading into a space between wooden boards or planks. A shank with similar projection came from CF115.

THE MIRROR BURIAL CF115 (FIGS 2, 8, 132)

Cremated bone	1.0 g	–
Pottery vessels	CF115.1	TN flanged cup
	CF115.2	cup-mouthed *lagena*
Glass vessel	CF115.3	unguent bottle
Other finds	CF115.4	copper-alloy mirror (fragment)
	CF115.5	iron ?decorative stud or fitting
	CF115.6	unidentified object(s) incorporating a copper-alloy strip and two iron sheet fragments
Residual finds		none could be recovered and thus uncertain if any existed

A whole pot and fragments of pottery, glass and metal were recovered in the spoil during the second phase of the machining of the enclosure. These almost certainly represent a fourth cremation burial (CF115) in Enclosure 5, close to the Brooches burial to the west of chamber CF42 (FIGS 2, 8). The grave goods included a mirror, indicating that the dead person was female. No burial pit could be located after machining and only a very small amount of cremated bone was found, although soil removed from the immediate area was sieved. The burial pit must have been relatively shallow.

The grave goods (at least those recovered) consisted of a *terra nigra* flanged cup (FIG. 132, CF115.1), a two-handled flagon (FIG. 132, CF115.2), a glass tubular unguent bottle (CF115.3), a fragment of a mirror (FIG. 132, CF115.4), and part of an iron shank (CF115.5). A copper-alloy strip and two fragments of iron sheeting (CF115.6) were also found. It is uncertain if these derived from the same object and what this object or objects might have been. The only complete item was the cup. The rest had degraded with time or had been broken during the machining. None of the objects appear to have been burnt.

The majority of Roman mirrors are made from a high-tin bronze, but there are a number which are of low-tin bronze and tinned on the surface, as appears to be the case here (Meeks 1995). After A.D. 43, continental-made mirrors were brought into the new province in considerable numbers. The distribution of the early forms shows a marked concentration in south-eastern Britain, where many were deposited in cremation burials (Lloyd-Morgan 1977, 238–9; Philpott 1991, 183). The number of mirrors recorded from Colchester in the 1970s by Lloyd-Morgan is much higher than that from London (1977, 244–8), and suggests that

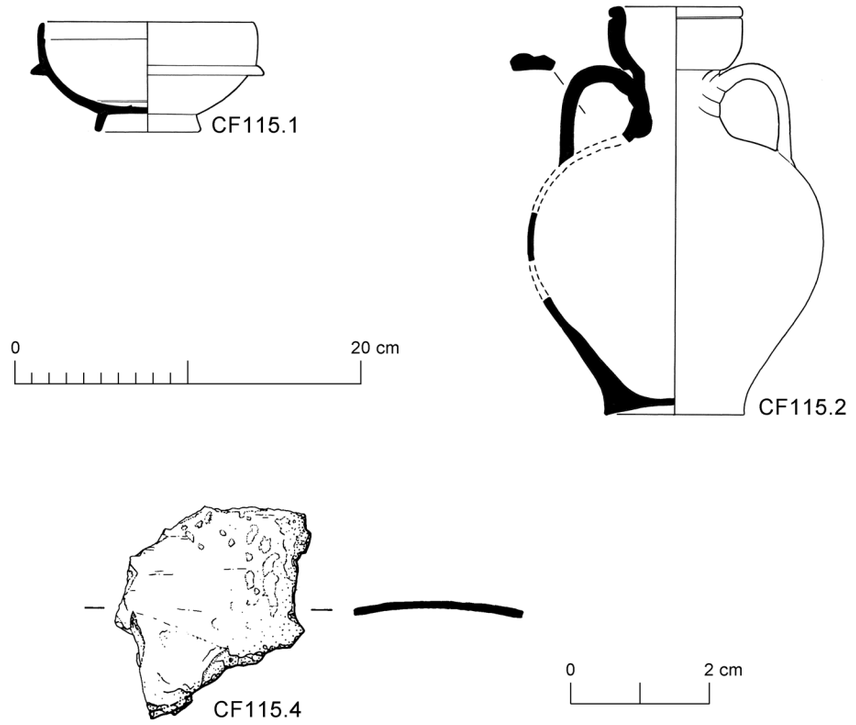


FIG. 132. Mirror burial CF115: pottery vessels CF115.1–2 (scale 1:4) and mirror fragment CF115.4 (scale 1:1)

Colchester may therefore have been the point of entry. The legionary fortress and later the *colonia* were well placed to receive cargoes from the newly established Nijmegen mirror workshops in the early years following the conquest (Lloyd-Morgan 1981, 10).

The unguent bottle CF115.3 is of Isings Form 8. This was the commonest form of unguent bottle in Britain in the mid 1st century A.D. (*CAR* **8**, 159). They are found in Tiberian contexts on the Continent (Isings 1957, 24). *See* further page 344.

The group cannot be dated closely. Its deposition should probably be placed in the period *c.* A.D. 43–75, if not *c.* A.D. 43–60, based on the cup CF115.1 (*c.* A.D. 40–75) and the mirror (probably post-conquest).

Pottery vessels (FIG. 132)

Gallo-Belgic import

CF115.1 FIG. 132. C88. Flanged cup: Camulodunum form 58. Fabric TN. Central Stamp 12, double-line: ..LOS/[FI]ICIT. A.D. 40–75.Condition: broken standing pot; quarter rim and base circuits missing. Condition at deposition: complete.

Gaulish import

CF115.2 FIG. 132. C88. Cup-mouthed *lagena*, Santrot 464–66. Fabric GFW, buff ware; paler slipped or slurried exterior surface.
Condition: complete rim and base circuits; few upper body sherds.
Condition at deposition: presumably complete.

Glass vessel

CF115.3 Not illustrated. C88. Tubular unguent bottle; blue/green; small bubbles, slightly dulled surfaces. Complete base and lower body in three joining fragments and one upper body fragment. Slightly convex-curved lower body curving into base with small central flattening. Present height 32 mm, maximum body diameter 38 mm, base diameter 8 mm.

Other finds (FIG. 132)

CF115.4 FIG. 132. SF295. L1/F115. C88. Fragment of a sheet of leaded bronze with high tin content on one side (p. 336). The fragment is slightly convex and polished on the side with the higher reading for tin. This is almost certainly all that remains of a mirror. Maximum dimensions 36 by 26 mm, 1 mm thick.
CF115.5 SF294. L1/F115. C88. Iron square-section shank with traces of mineralised wood running down its length, the grain set longitudinally. Length 48 mm. No junction between one or more boards can be seen, but about 18 mm from the bottom of the shank the metal has expanded, possibly into an air pocket in the wood. The wood above this expansion butts up against it and, in places, passes over it. A similar formation can be seen on the shank from CF72.
CF115.6
a SF295. L1/F115. C88. Copper-alloy strip in two fragments, 23 mm long by 5 mm wide, 1 mm thick. Slightly bent or curved at one end.
b SF294. L1/F115. C88. Two fragments of slightly convex iron sheet, possibly a stud or nail head. Dimensions 23 by 13 mm, 14 by 9 mm.

CREMATION BURIAL CF403 (FIGS 2, 8, 133–4)

Cremated bone	167.0 g	adult of indeterminate age and sex
Pottery vessels	CF403.1	local ware moulded platter
	CF403.2	pimply ware globular jar
Residual finds		none

Cremation burial CF403 was in Enclosure 5, approximately equidistant between cremation burials CF47 and CF72 (FIGS 2, 8). The remains had been placed in a shallow, approximately square pit which was about 0.57 m across and survived to a depth of about 0.2 m as measured from the excavation surface (FIG. 133). The cremated bone of an adult had been placed in a slightly spread heap near the centre of the pit. Two locally made grey ware vessels were then put into the pit such that one, a small jar (CF403.2), was on top of the bones and the other, a platter (CF403.1), lay between the bones and the east side of the pit. The upper part of the jar was missing, no doubt removed in recent times. The south–west half of the burial pit was devoid of any surviving finds.

The platter CF403.1 was in two parts (FIGS 133–4). The largest piece was flat on the floor of the pit and facing upwards in the usual fashion. However, the other piece was upside down and 15 mm to the north of it. It lay at a slight angle to the floor of the pit with one end resting on the base of the side of the pit. Both parts of the vessel were carefully excavated, and a critical review of the records which we have since carried out leaves no doubt about the positions and relationship of the two in the ground. On the face of it, the two pieces seem to provide incontrovertible proof that the vessel had been deliberately broken at the time of burial and placed in the pit as two separate bits. If true, this would be the only clear example of this practice in relation to the burials associated with the enclosures. And yet this explanation does not account for the fact that the smaller piece looks as if it has simply become detached from the larger piece (which did not move), flipped over 180 degrees towards the larger piece, and ended up a short distance away to the north (FIG. 133, bottom right). There does not seem to be a modern process which could explain the splitting of the vessel. It certainly did not happen during the machine-stripping of the site (this much is clear from the subsequent excavation), and it seems hard to imagine that the effect could be caused by subsoiling in the manner that left one of the brooches in the Brooches burial CF72 in two pieces (p. 254). A subsoiler could conceivably have moved and rotated the smaller part of the vessel in the way that appears to have happened but, in doing so, the subsoiler would surely have crushed the displaced piece and left it in many bits. On balance, it seems more likely that the vessel split in antiquity when there was a void in the burial pit which would allow the side of the vessel to flip over. Although there is no direct evidence for a wooden cover, the square shape of the burial pit suggests that it may have had one (p. 427). If this was the case, then there would have been a sufficiently large void for the side of the vessel to flip over and move in such a way as to leave the detached part

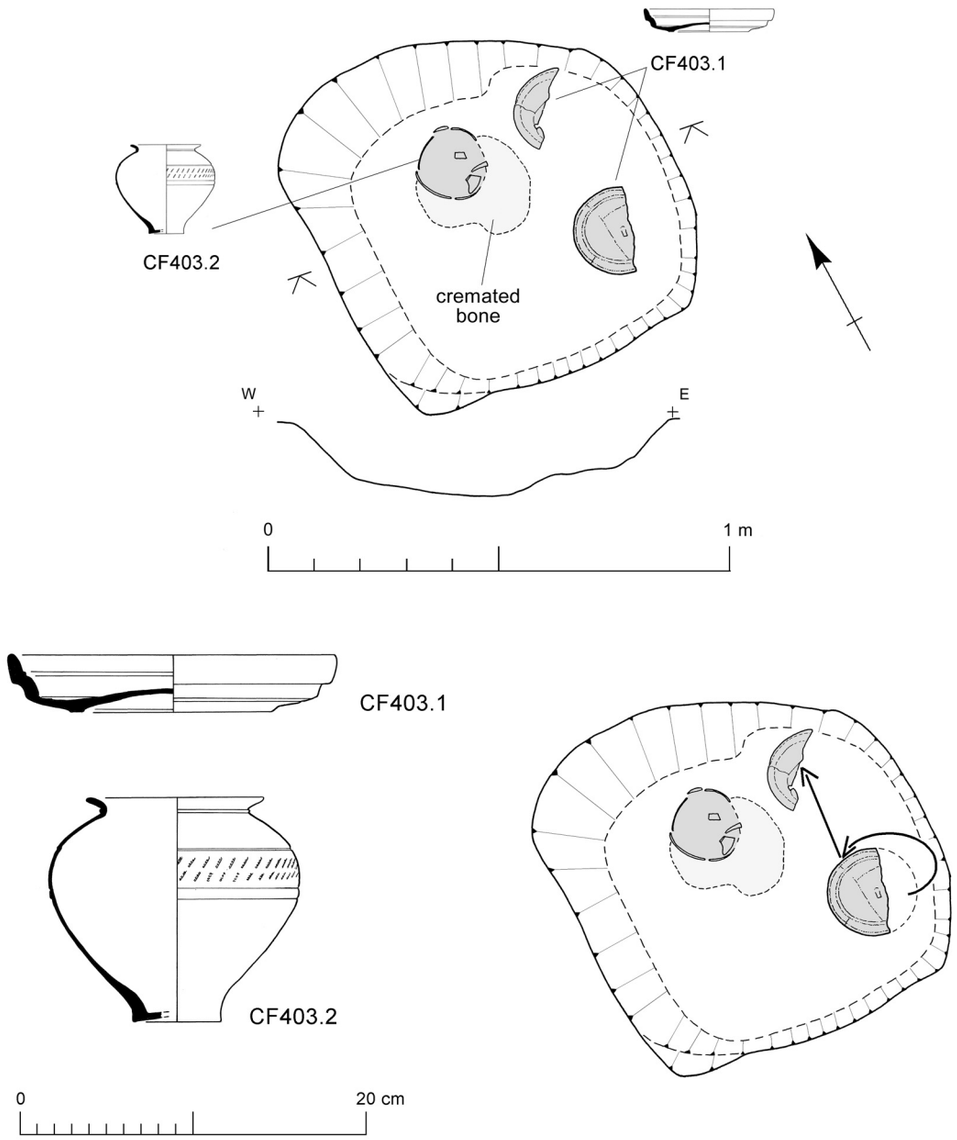


FIG. 133. Cremation burial CF403: plan and profile (scale 1:15), pottery vessels CF403.1–2 (scale 1:4), and interpretative plan showing presumed movement of a section of broken platter (scale 1:15)

in one piece. This opens up the possibility of early post-depositional movements as the explanation rather like those noted in the Doctor's burial (p. 212). But it is hard to pinpoint a likely culprit if this were the case. A burrowing animal such as a rat seems an unlikely explanation. A member of the burial party jumping or stamping on the cover prior to the backfilling of the burial pit is a more believable mechanism, but it is difficult to imagine how it would have worked. No obvious and convincing cause can thus be put forward if the vessel had indeed split in a void. However, on excavation it appeared that the smaller piece had become detached from the main body of the vessel after its deposition, which must place a question mark against the more obvious conclusion that cremation burial CF403 provides evidence of the deliberate breaking of grave goods prior to their deposition in the grave.

The jar CF403.2 is a characteristically post-conquest type of vessel which occurs commonly in 1st-century deposits in the town centre. In conjunction with the platter CF403.1, the burial can be dated broadly to *c.* A.D. 43–70, and more likely *c.* A.D. 43–60.

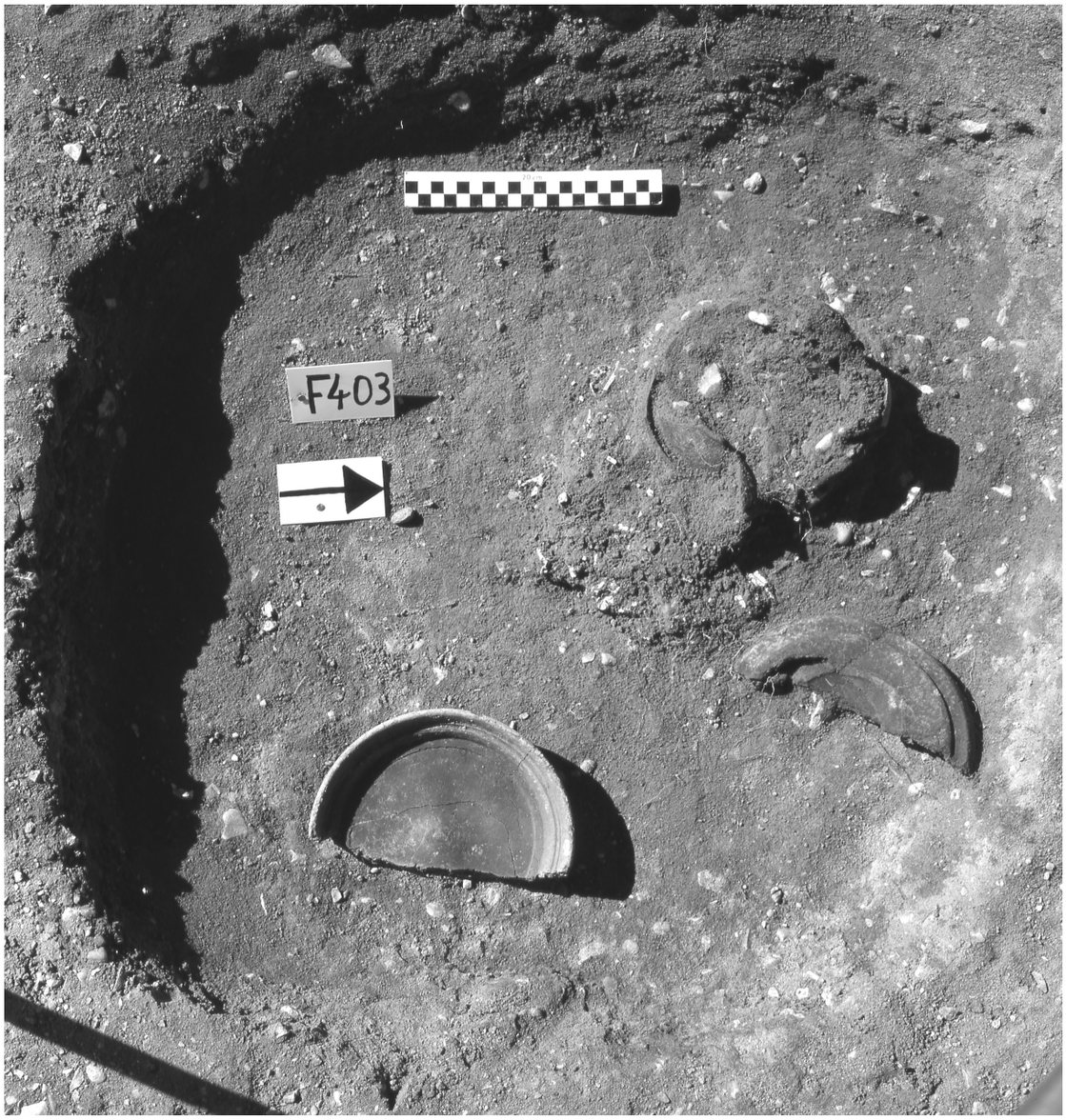


FIG. 134. Cremation burial CF403

Pottery vessels (FIG. 133)

Local products

CF403.1 FIG. 133. C1425. C1426. Moulded platter: Camulodunum form 8 copy. Fabric SW. Central stamp: CATV/LVSSI
Condition: fragmented, all sherds present. The sherds exhibit unequal abrasion. One of the original halves has much more abraded surfaces and fractures and the original fracture edge is so abraded the pieces do not actually join together neatly.
CF403.2 FIG. 133. C1411. C1427. Stamped globular jar: Camulodunum form 108, *CAR* **10** Fabric GX, Type 104. Fabric PW, light grey; abraded surfaces, no finish survives. Decoration: double row of sloping impressions made with simple 4-prong comb.
Condition: fragmented, quantity of sherds missing; restorable to complete base circuit to maximum girth, lacking central disc of base, diminishing upwards to one quarter-rim circuit; very abraded fractures.

THE SHAFT OR PIT CF23 (FIGS 2, 8, 135)

A deep shaft or pit (CF23) was dug into the internal angle of the south-west corner of the ditch of Enclosure 5 (FIGS 2, 8). The feature was first recognised in the top of the lower fill of the ditch, and it appeared to have been cut from the level of the top of the lower fills. However, the shaft may have been cut from higher up since its fill would have been difficult to distinguish from the upper fills of the ditch. The depth of the feature was such that a two-stage excavation was needed to allow the lower part of the feature to be shored. The shaft was roughly circular, between 800–900 mm wide (FIG. 135). Its base was just under 2 m below the level at which it was first noted. At just over 1 m down were two small circular recesses (CF166 and CF167) cut into opposing sides of the shaft wall. CF166 was at a depth of 1.1 m in the south-east wall and was 130 mm long and 60 mm wide. CF167 was at a depth of 1.15 m in the north-west wall and was 200 mm long and 80 mm wide. It seems likely that these recesses were for a horizontal wooden bar which extended across the centre of the shaft.

The upper fill was a slightly stony sandy silt with common charcoal flecks and pieces (CL34). Just back from the section near the limit of the first stage of excavation was a band of charcoal (CL51). This charcoal band extended through the north half of the shaft and appears to divide the upper and lower fill sequences. Below this (in the second stage of excavation) were further charcoal-flecked sandy silts (CL122–124) and, at about 1.4 m, there was a second band of charcoal (CL125) that extended back into a shallow hole in the north side of the feature, which probably represents an area of ancient wall collapse. The charcoal band overlay more layers of sandy silt/loam (CL127–131), and in the base was a thick deposit of gravelly sand (CL132), which probably represents material collapse from the shaft edges. There was only one sherd of

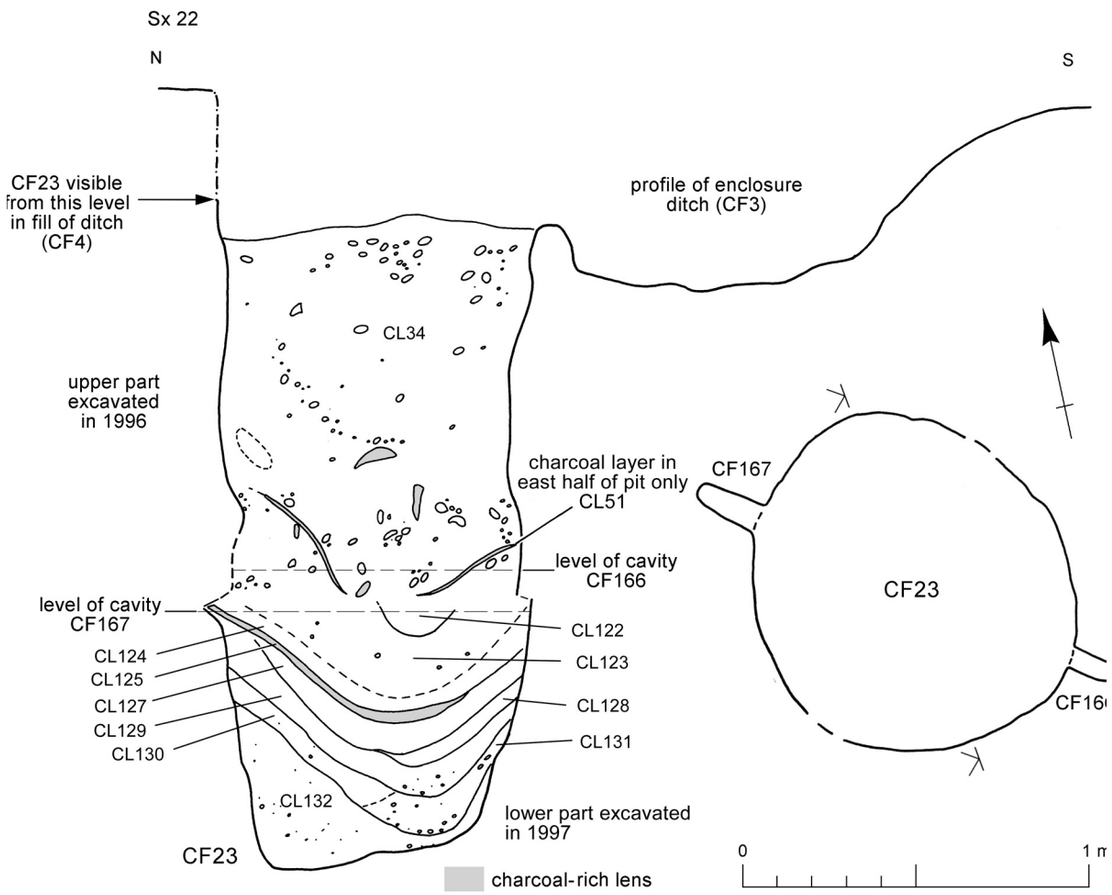


FIG. 135. Shaft or pit CF23: section and plan (scale 1:20)

pottery from this feature. This was a sherd from a large storage jar (Fabric HZ) from CL127 in the lower fill. It was badly degraded and possibly had been burnt. The upper layers (CL122–123) of the lower fill contained charred fruits and nuts from species including hawthorn, sloe, bullace and oak, which implies an episode of burning in the late summer or autumn. A similar group of material came from pit CF66, also in the enclosure ditch (pp. 8, 385).

THE SLOT OR TRENCH CF96 (FIGS 2, 8, 136–7)

Finds	CF96.1	coin of Claudius A.D. 50–60
	CF96.2	coin of Nero A.D. 64–8
		sherds of Claudian flagon
		fragments of iron nails

In Enclosure 5, approximately 6 m to the east of chamber CF42, and parallel to it, was a slot or trench (CF96) about 10 m in length (FIGS 2, 8). The slot varied in width from about 0.6 m to 1.0 m, and was between 0.1 m and 0.2 m in depth (FIGS 136–7). The central part of its eastern edge appeared to be irregular in shape, perhaps because of a small natural feature which the trench cut and could not be readily distinguished from it. The trench was filled with slightly stony, sandy silt. Its base was flat and undulating, and the sides were at about 45 degrees to the vertical. Finds were few, but included two Roman coins, one of Claudius and the other of Nero (p. 340, CF96.1–2), a very degraded top of a ring-neck flagon (FIG. 136, C169; Cam 154/155 dated Claudio–Neronian), an iron nail and some other iron fragments, possibly representing a second nail.

The coin of Nero is of considerable interest. Not only does this indicate that the slot may have been the latest feature on the site, but it provides clear proof that use of the site survived the colossal upheaval of the Boudican revolt (TABLE 79). Moreover, the coin has been heavily defaced, so that the portrait of Nero was no longer visible (FIG. 148, CF96.2).

The slot contained no charcoal, cremated bone, or other burnt material. Nor were there any signs of *in situ* scorching in its vicinity. It may therefore be that the slot was not part of a pyre-related feature, although because of the destructive effects of the ploughing, such a possibility cannot be ruled out. An alternative explanation is that it was related to an above-ground structure such as a timber temple or mausoleum which, like the temple at Gosbecks, occupied the south-east corner of the enclosure. This possibility is explored on pages 83, 447–8.

Coins (FIG. 148)

CF96.1 FIG. 148. SF197, C171: upper part of slot CF96 in Enclosure 5. Coin of Claudius A.D. 50–60 (*see* p. 340).
CF96.2 FIG. 148. SF203, C162: upper part of slot CF96 in Enclosure 5. Coin of Nero A.D. 64–8 (*see* p. 340).

Pottery sherds (FIG. 136)

FIG. 136. C169. Cam 154 ring-necked flagon. Fabric DJ(D). Part of neck rings only, very degraded and fragmented (10 sherds and fragments), Claudian.
C169. 2 sherds. Fabric HZ.

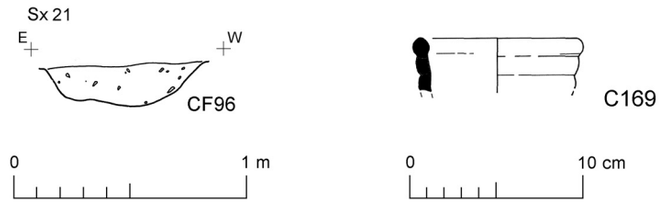


FIG. 136. Slot or trench CF96: section (scale 1:30) and rim from pottery flagon (scale 1:4)

FIG. 137. Slot or trench CF96, viewed from the north

Other finds (not illustrated)

SF195. C167. Long slot. Iron nail with most of the shank missing. Head diameter 16 mm, length 22 mm.
SF207. C168. Fragment of iron square-section shank, 13 mm long. Also a fragment possibly from a cupped setting or nail head, maximum diameter 13 mm.