

The Romano-Celtic Temple at Woodeaton

By RICHARD GOODCHILD AND JOAN R. KIRK

EXCAVATIONS were carried out by the Ashmolean Museum in Middle Hill field, Woodeaton, under our direction for a fortnight in September 1952. Permission to dig was courteously given by the Governing Body of Christ Church, the owners of the land, and by the late Mr. A. Woodcock, the tenant. The labour was provided entirely by volunteers, whose services we gratefully acknowledge;¹ and we also received much help and advice from senior members of the university, some of whom had long studied the archaeological problems of Woodeaton.²

For the preparation of the present report Mr. J. S. P. Bradford has examined the Iron Age pottery, Mr. B. R. Hartley the Samian ware, and Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland the coins. Mr. P. M. Finch's carefully-plotted plan (FIG. 12) of surface finds made during the years 1948-52 serves to illustrate the topographical relationship of such finds (for which Woodeaton has long been famous) to the underlying remains of the temple.

THE SITE (FIG. 6)

The excavations of 1952 took place on the south-eastern side of Middle Hill field. The choice of this site was determined by surface indications of an ancient building, and by some revealing air-photographs taken a few years ago by Mr. Richard Atkinson, who kindly placed them at our disposal. These photographs (PL. 1) seemed to show the robbed-out remains of a small square³ building set towards the centre of a large rectangular enclosure, a lay-out very reminiscent of the normal type of Romano-Celtic temple.

The abundance and the character of the bronzes and other objects picked up on the surface of Middle Hill during the past two centuries have long

¹ We must express our special indebtedness to Miss Eve Rutter and Mr. Alan Hall; to Mr. P. M. Finch; and to Mr. A. L. F. Rivet, Assistant Archaeology Officer of the Ordnance Survey. The Ordnance Survey were able to plot the structure accurately on the 1/2,500 map whilst its remains were still exposed.

² Mr. D. B. Harden's encouragement and practical help made the excavation possible, and Miss M. V. Taylor, C.B.E., whose paper of 1917 (*J. Rom. Stud.*, vii, 98 ff.) gave the first scientific description of the site, was a regular and most welcome visitor in all weathers.

³ The 'circular' crop-mark dimly visible in Major Allen's photograph of 1936 (*Oxoniensia*, xiv (1949), pl. i) is entirely accidental.

The plan shows a large rectangular enclosure labeled 'TEMENOS' with a hatched border. Inside the enclosure is a square structure labeled 'TEMPLE' with a smaller square inside it. A 'GATEWAY' is located on the right side of the temenos wall, with 'E.L.A.' and 'PITS' marked nearby. A 'MODERN TRACK' runs along the bottom right. The plan includes a north arrow and a scale bar from 0 to 25 metres (0 to 25 yards). Two inset maps are provided: the top left shows the site's location relative to 'UPPER HILL', 'MIDDLE HILL', 'LOWER HILL', 'POND', and 'BECLEY' with a 100 M. YDS. scale; the top right shows the site's location within a larger regional context including 'Alchester', 'Elsfield', and 'Oxford' with a 1 mile scale.

FIG. 6
WOODEATON, OXON.
Plan of site (pp. 15ff.)

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suggested⁴ that a Romano-Celtic temple stood on this hill-top, but conclusive structural evidence has been lacking. In 1802, when Middle Hill was first enclosed and brought under cultivation, extensive remains were found, but there is no clear record of their character: a length of demolished ancient walling was also seen by Mr. Hurst in 1884.⁵ The excavations carried out by the Oxford University Archaeological Society in 1921⁶ and again in 1934⁷ were somewhat inconclusive. On the former occasion wall-plaster was found, and on the latter some indeterminate remains of foundations and floors. The apparent absence of any very substantial structural remains led the late Dr. J. G. Milne to suggest that the site had been a fair-ground, periodically occupied rather than permanently built on.⁸

In anticipation of the pages that follow, it may be said that the Roman building which stood in this part of Middle Hill has now been found, and may be securely identified as a Romano-Celtic temple. It remains uncertain whether other structures await discovery elsewhere in this field or in the adjoining fields. There are some slight surface traces, in the form of a scatter of tiles and stones, lying between the temenos enclosure and the paved pond in the hedge bordering North Hill field; but on the whole the available air-photographs give no indication of any major structural remains other than those of the temple and its temenos.

The pond itself is perhaps worthy of attention. Hussey, writing in 1840, describes it as 'containing good water, which is said never to fail', and the present farmer confirms that it remains full during the driest of summers. When the pond was cleaned out some years ago it was found to be paved with stones packed tightly on edge. This paving and the roughly rectangular lay-out of the pond (12 by 17 m.) possibly indicate an ancient date.

During the 1952 campaign no attempt was made to carry out trial trenching away from the temple enclosure, but a pipe-line dug previously across the centre of Middle Hill, a little west of the temple site, is said to have revealed nothing of note. A surface scatter of Iron Age pottery does, however, continue south-west of the copse, close to the boundary between Middle and Upper Hills; and it may be assumed that the area of pre-Roman settlement was extensive.

⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.*, i, (1939), 299 ff.; Joan R. Kirk, 'Bronzes from Woodeaton', *Oxoniensia*, xiv (1949), 1-45.

⁵ R. Hussey, *An account of the Roman Road from Alchester to Dorchester* (Oxford, 1841), 37-8. *J. Rom. Stud.*, xxi (1931), 109.

⁶ *Antiquaries Journal*, i (1921), 339-40. We were unable to ascertain the exact locations of the trial trenches cut on this occasion.

⁷ *V.C.H. Oxon.*, i, 300. Dr. William Frend has kindly let us see his notes of this excavation, from which it appears that the main work took place within the temenos area, or in its immediate vicinity.

⁸ *Journ. Rom. Stud.*, xxi (1931), 101-9.

THE TEMENOS ENCLOSURE (FIG. 6)

The general outline of the temenos enclosure wall was suggested by Mr. Atkinson's air-photograph (PL. I, B), which showed three sides of a rather blurred, light-coloured rectangular crop-mark. Excavation proved that this feature was due not so much to the wall-foundation itself as to the fallen stone from its upper courses, which formed a closely packed layer immediately below the plough-soil. The actual line of the wall, here and there damaged by agricultural operations, could be distinguished by its straight faces and by the characteristic yellow mortar used in its construction.

The wall is 50 cm. broad, resting on a 60 cm. footing course, and its whole eastern length of 45 m. could be traced without difficulty. The northern and southern walls of the enclosure could only be traced for 22 and 35 m. respectively from their junction with the east wall, and the western side of the enclosure appears to have been destroyed, since there are no indications of it on the air-photographs. It may be recalled that in May, 1884, Mr. Hurst observed 'signs of a demolished wall or building for about 95 yards, N. and S. direction' aligned towards the copse.⁹ This was very probably the missing west wall, then in course of destruction for agricultural reasons; and we must assume that there is an error in the length, as given, since it can hardly have been more than 45 m. long.

Limitations of time and labour made it impracticable, in 1952, to do more than make cuttings across the temenos wall at intervals. No buttresses were encountered, but the evidence is hardly sufficient to show that they did not exist. By good fortune, however, one of the first exploratory trenches fell by chance across the main gateway, which lay in the east wall, rather to the north of its centre.

This gateway (FIG. 7, PL. II, C, E) is 2.60 m. broad between rectangular piers, each measuring 1.60 by 1.20 m. and bonded into the main wall. The inner face of each pier was broken away towards its centre in a manner which suggested sockets for two vertical gate-posts on which doors were hung. There were, it is true, no signs of deep post-holes, but these would not have been necessary, since the piers themselves would have kept the posts upright, with the aid of a wooden lintel above the doors.

On the outer side of the gateway a layer of fine gravel and worn stones marked the surface of the main approach to the entrance, but this layer extended laterally for some distance along the wall-face and was not a well-defined path. On the line of the doorway this gravelling gave way to larger stones packed vertically but loosely. Modern disturbance made it difficult to

⁹ *Id.*, 109.

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determine whether these stones represented a sill, a later blocking of the gate, or—as is just possible—the remains of a collapsed arch.

The large quantity of fallen material makes it probable that the gateway piers, and perhaps the temenos wall itself, were carried up to their full height in stone; but their foundations were poor, and it was noticeable that the surviving masonry had a pronounced outward sag towards the slope. No stratified dating evidence was found in the temenos cuttings, but the use of a distinctive yellow mortar not encountered in the fabric of the Period I temple suggests a secondary date, and it is therefore reasonable to associate the delimitation of the temenos with the Period II reconstruction of the temple.

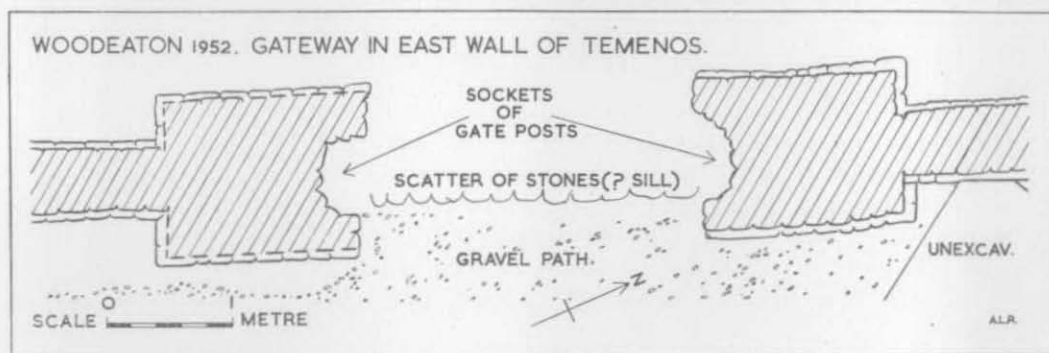


FIG. 7
WOODEATON, OXON.
Plan of temenos gateway (pp. 18f.)

The lay-out of the temenos was evidently perfectly rectangular—perhaps even square; but it is to be noted that the temple itself is neither centrally placed, nor accurately aligned with its enclosure. This is a phenomenon which has been found on other Romano-Celtic religious sites,¹⁰ and may indicate the presence within the temenos of some other important feature, perhaps of a perishable nature. Until, however, further excavations have been carried out no explanation can be offered.

Trenching within the temenos area was limited to two short cuttings running north and east from the temple. On the east the ground was much disturbed, but some traces of Iron Age pits were found close to the line of the temenos wall. They contained very black soil and some highly-burnished ware (p. 33, (c)). On the north, a gravelled surface, resting on Iron Age

¹⁰ Cp. Colchester, *Journ. Rom. Stud.*, xxvi (1936), 252, pl. xx.

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humus, was found to extend for at least 10 m. from the north ambulatory wall. It was intermittently discoloured by small patches of burning, and on it rested numerous fragments of animal bones, various bronzes (including the votive letters and Mars plaque, pp. 28f.) and a curious trident-shaped iron object of uncertain purpose (p. 29). Coins of the fourth century were abundant in this layer, but none was found sealed beneath the gravelling or embedded in it.

It is to be remarked that it is the open area of the temenos rather than the robbed temple site that has produced the most coins and bronzes, and that Mr. Finch's distribution plan shows a particular concentration of coins in the area of the temenos gateway. Here perhaps were situated open-air stalls catering for the needs of pilgrims and other visitors.

THE TEMPLE (FIGS. 8, 9)

The temple is the most important feature of the site, but is also the most damaged. Its floor-levels, as existing after the Period II rebuilding, were probably at least 50 cm. higher than the level of the temenos gravelling, and the site must have been a low mound before 1802, when the hill-top was still a common. But the nineteenth-century enclosers did their work well, removing most of the masonry of the walls, and reducing the mound down to the level of the field—with the consequent complete loss of the second-period floors.

On Mr. Atkinson's air-photographs, the temple appears clearly defined. On one photograph (PL. I, A) it shows up as a dark rectangle representing, it seems, the earth-filled robber-trenches of the outer wall. On the other, taken when the crop was higher (PL. I, B), it appears as a light-coloured hollow square, set in an irregular dark patch. This is due to the stunting of the crop over the make-up layers of heavy clay, and its greater growth in the soil disturbed by the stone-robbers.

With the aid of the photographs it was possible to lay out an exploratory trench passing diagonally through the centre of the temple and this fortunately intersected the still-surviving west wall of the *cella*. All four corners of the *cella* were cleared, and small cuttings established the corners of the outer ambulatory wall, from which almost all the masonry had been robbed. In view of the mutilated condition of the building and the consequent loss of all architectural features, it seemed unnecessary to strip its complete area. Moreover the two long trenches dug across its site and carried down to virgin soil (FIG. 9), revealed an absence of any pre-Roman structure on its site. If further evidence of the origins and later history of the temple is to be found, it must be sought elsewhere in the temenos area.

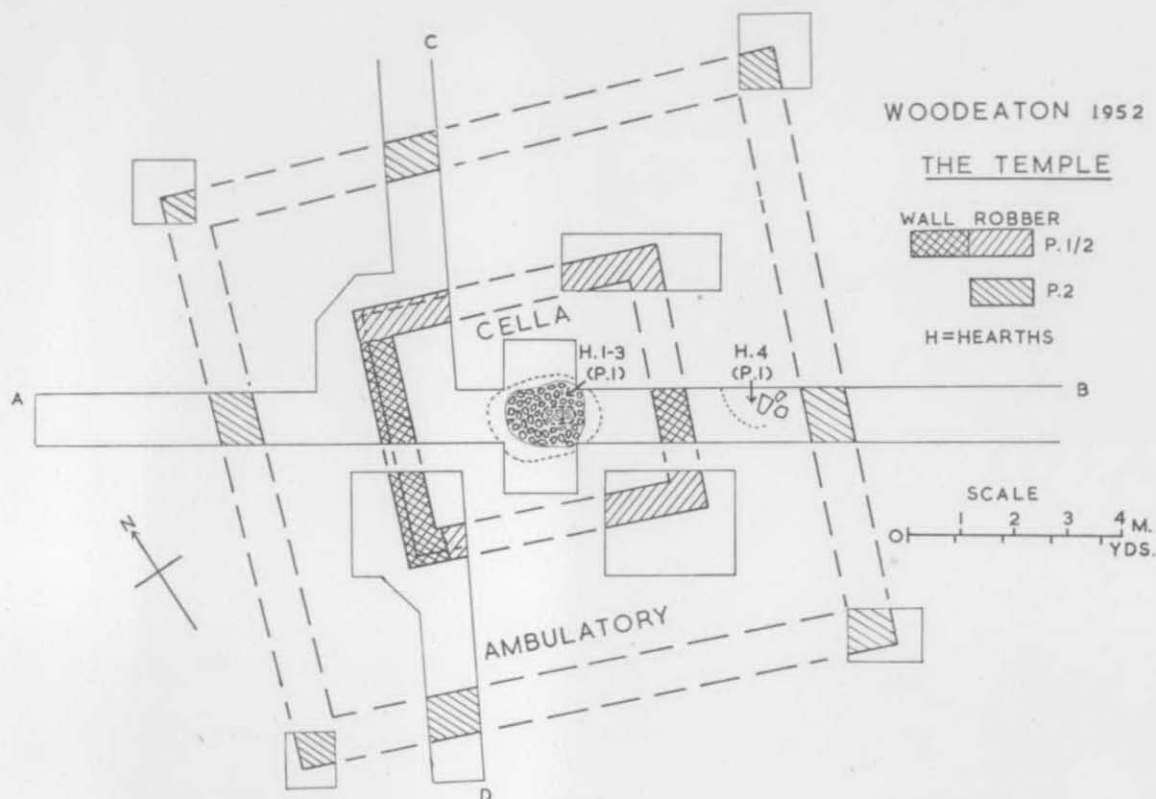


FIG. 8

WOODEATON 1952

SECTIONS OF TEMPLE

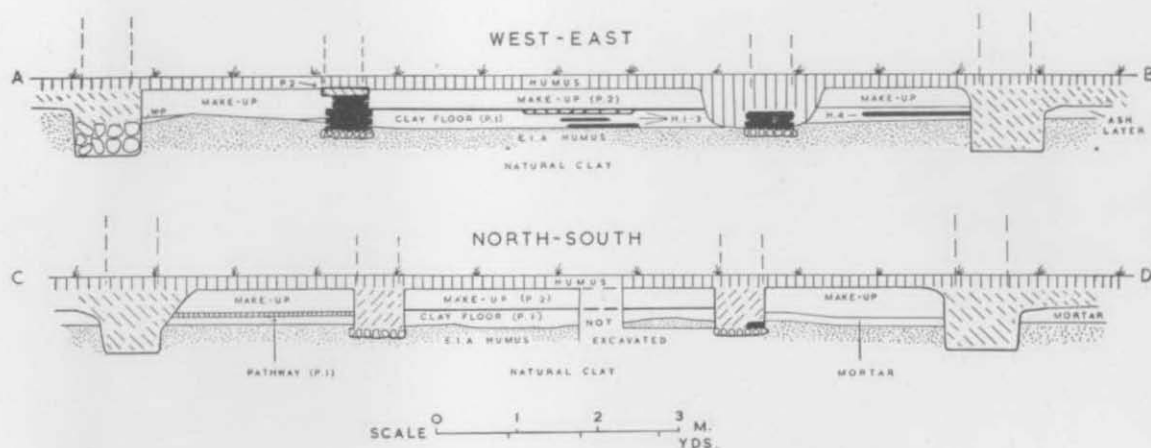


FIG. 9

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In describing the stratigraphy of the temple, the datum for vertical measurements is the top of the Period II make-up layer, which formed a horizontal plane immediately below some 20-25 cm. of plough-soil.

THE LAYERS UNDERLYING THE TEMPLE

At a uniform depth of 75 cm. below datum undisturbed yellow clay was encountered throughout the area of the temple. Excavations for a pipe-line some 100 m. further to the west have revealed a capping of oolite limestone close to the surface; but in the temple area this seems to have been removed by natural erosion, or—less probably—by human agency, long before the first Roman shrine was erected.

On top of the natural clay, into which it gradually merged, lay 25 cm. of dark brown humus containing a thin scatter of Iron Age sherds (p. 33 (a)), mixed with occasional animal bones. The small size of the sherds and their relative paucity indicate that they are strays from some habitation-site not far distant; no pits, post-holes or other features of structural character were encountered beneath the temple. Some of the Iron Age sherds appear to be of post-conquest date, but there was a complete absence of Romanized wares in these early levels.

THE PERIOD I TEMPLE

The first Roman temple to be constructed on the site consisted of a simple chamber, measuring 5.0 by 5.8 m. externally, the longer axis being from east to west. Shallow foundation-trenches, 60-70 cm. wide, had been dug into the Iron Age humus and packed with small slabs of oolite set in a very white mortar. On this foundation had been erected a wall, 60 cm. broad at its lowest course and narrowing to 45 cm. by exterior and interior offsets above the third course. This wall survived intact only on the west side of the building (PL. II, D) and elsewhere had been deeply robbed. In consequence there was no direct evidence for the site of the doorway. An eastern doorway would seem most probable in the case of a religious structure, but it may be noted that the only signs of an approach pathway occur on the north side, and consist of well-trodden tile fragments: the more normal orientation may not therefore have been observed.

This Period I *cella* was floored with a 20 cm. layer of clay resting on top of the Iron Age humus. A Samian bowl (Form 24/25: early to middle first century, p. 31, no. 1) was found at the bottom of the clay level and close up against the inner face of the west wall. It must have found its way there while the building was under construction, and therefore provides a *terminus post*

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quem. On the surface of the clay floor, and sealed by fallen wall-plaster overlaid by the second-period make-up, were a coin of Agrippa struck under Tiberius or Gaius (p. 34, no. 1) and two other Samian fragments (p. 31, nos. 2 and 3), one of Vespasianic date and the other Antonine.

Centrally placed within the *cella* were three superimposed hearths (FIG. 9, H.1-3). The earliest, lying directly on the Iron Age humus, consisted of two normal roof-tiles (*tegulae*) placed end to end so that their semicircular 'bottom' markings met to form an oval (PL. II, B). Their ridges had either been broken away deliberately or chipped away by prolonged use, and prolonged contact with heat had so cracked them that they fell to pieces on removal.

Immediately above this first hearth a thin layer of clay had been laid to form a second one, which measured about 50 cm. square, although its margins were irregular. This, in turn, had been covered by clay on which were laid small slabs of oolite forming a large hearth (PL. II, A) of roughly circular shape, 1.50 m. in diameter. The slabs had been burnt pink by prolonged burning, and the surrounding parts of the clay floor for some 20 cm. from the edge of the slabs had been scorched to a vivid orange colour.

Hearths 1 and 2 lay a little lower than the mean floor-level of the *cella*, but there is no reason to suppose that they preceded the construction of the temple, and one may infer that in the earlier phase the fires (whatever their purpose may have been) were lit, for safety and cleanliness, in a slight hollow in the floor. Hearth 3, larger than its predecessors and at floor-level, must have been a source of danger to the building, and the ash found scattered throughout the area of the *cella* may indicate a conflagration which necessitated the Period II rebuilding. But where deliberate burning has taken place, it is always hazardous to assume an accidental destruction by fire. No pottery was found in the hearths, and a few oyster-shells lying near hearth 3 were the only traces of food-refuse. A domestic use for these hearths is therefore improbable—more especially in a building which had a religious function.

It is uncertain whether the Period I *cella* had an outer portico, but if such a feature existed it was certainly of timber. In favour of the existence of such a portico was a thin layer of Period I wall-plaster adjoining the inner face of the ambulatory wall of Period II and sealed by the Period II make-up. Against it is the fact that a true floor-level occurs only in the *cella* itself. On the north, as we have already seen, a pathway of broken tile lay outside the *cella*; and on the south there was only an uneven trample of mortar resting on the Iron Age humus. No recognizable floor-level existed on the west, whilst on the east there was a thin layer of clay heavily burnt and covered by ash (FIG. 9, H.4). On the whole, the evidence of the sections weighs slightly against the existence of a portico in Period I, although the fact that the

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Period II ambulatory wall cuts through the earlier layers removes any certainty in this matter.

THE PERIOD II TEMPLE

At an uncertain date, no earlier than the middle of the second century (cp. the Antonine sherd, p. 31, no. 3), but not necessarily much later, the temple was completely rebuilt. Whether the earlier structure had been accidentally burnt down through careless management of the fire that burned within it, or whether it had simply proved inadequate for the requirements of a flourishing cult, cannot be determined. The earlier *cella* walls were stripped of their superstructure (perhaps of timber), a layer¹¹ of clean greenish clay was deposited to make up the new floor-levels, and new walls were erected.

To support the outer walls of the ambulatory (and of the whole structure) foundation trenches 75-80 cm. broad were dug through the Iron Age humus into the top of the natural clay and filled with large irregular stones, unmortared, of which some remains survived on the west side of the building. Some of these stones probably came from the earlier building, for they bore signs of burning and there were fragments of wall-plaster with them. A decorated Samian fragment (Form 30, early second century, p. 31, no. 4), found at the very bottom of the Period II foundation-trench on the east side of the building, seems to confirm the dating, although the possibility of robber-intrusion cannot be completely discounted.

The *cella* walls of Period II were not, however, given new foundations. The builders considered it adequate to widen the earlier walls from 45 to 60 cm., the outer edge of the new work resting simply on the clay make-up. By singular good fortune a short fragment of this reconstructed wall (PL. II, D) had survived both the stone-robbers of 1802 and the ploughmen who have cultivated the site since then.

The significance of the difference in the width and construction of the outer walls and those of the inner *cella* will be discussed more fully below. For the moment it will suffice to remark that this difference gives grounds for the assumption that the main weight of the Period II building rested on the outer walls, and that the inner walls played a secondary architectural role. It is for this reason that we have termed the corridor between the inner and outer squares of the ground-plan an 'ambulatory' rather than a 'portico'.

In the absence of any surviving Period II interior floors, only one other feature of this phase calls for comment. Outside the west wall of the building, extending for some 3 m. from the ambulatory, there were remains of a much

¹¹ This layer was virtually sterile, containing only a bronze spoon (p. 30, no. 10) of no value for dating.

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decomposed concrete floor resting on a packing of large stones. On the other three sides of the building this feature was absent, yet deep disturbance on its line seemed to indicate that it had previously existed and had been removed by stone-robbers. Other temple sites, including Frilford,¹² have produced evidence of a paved surround on all four sides of the building, probably to allow pilgrims to attach votive objects to the outer walls. That this feature existed at Woodeaton in Period II seems inherently probable.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Although stratified dating evidence was less abundant than one might have wished, the excavations of 1952 have thrown some fresh light on the history of the Woodeaton site. Early Iron Age occupation was relatively intensive on the south-eastern edge of Middle Hill, and extended, as surface finds have shown, down the slope of South Hill. The site of the temple seems, however, to have been on the fringes of the prehistoric occupation-area, and there are no signs of structures underlying it. If an Iron Age shrine preceded the first Roman one, it must lie elsewhere within the temenos, and we can only await the results of further excavation.

The first Roman temple at Woodeaton was a modest building, its stone walls probably supporting a half-timber superstructure; but plastered walls and a tiled roof gave it an outward air of sophistication. It was evidently built during the first wave of Romanization in the Oxford region which took place, it seems, in Neronian or early Flavian times;¹³ and it remained in continuous use until its reconstruction on a more grandiose scale some time in or after the middle of the second century.

Of the nature of the cult practised at Woodeaton in this early phase we have no direct evidence; but we cannot overlook the presence of the three superimposed hearths in the centre of the *cella*. A single hearth might result from a period of abandonment, or a burning of rubbish immediately before the reconstruction, but a succession of hearths cannot be so explained. Most surprising of all are the dimensions of the uppermost hearth (H.3) which occupied so large an area of the *cella* floor. If fires of commensurate size blazed on this hearth, a roofed shrine would surely have been smoke-filled. Should we then infer that the first temple was only partially roofed? Or was the large extent of burning due to a long succession of small fires kindled at different times? This is a difficult problem, and we do not venture to offer a

¹² *Oxoniensis*, IV, (1939), 29.

¹³ The Neronian (?) Samian bowl, p. 31, no. 1), found at the bottom of the clay floor and close to the west *cella* wall, probably reached the site with the actual temple-builders, since there are no indications of pre-temple Romanized occupation. Pre-Flavian pottery found at Alchester (*Antiq. Journ.*, IX (1929), 109) attests early settlement on that site.

solution. Hearth 4, lying outside the east wall of the *cella*, presents a further complication ; but since it has no artificial bed, it may be that it is not a true hearth at all, but a result of the collapse of burning timbers.

The temple of Period II presents further problems. Its ground-plan is of the familiar ' box within a box ' pattern ; but its outer walls had, as we have seen, deeper and broader foundations than the inner ones. Romano-Celtic temples of this ground-plan are normally restored as having a central high-standing *cella* surrounded by an open portico with pent roof supported either by full-length piers or columns, or by dwarf pillars on a low wall¹⁴ ; and there need be no doubt that in most instances this was the preferred design. Yet complete uniformity of pattern is not to be expected, and there seem adequate grounds for assuming that the Period II temple at Woodeaton had very different arrangements, and that its outer wall carried the full weight of the structure.

This interpretation receives welcome support from the analogy of the recently-discovered temple¹⁵ at Pagans Hill, Chew Stoke, in Somerset, an octagonal building with inner and outer walls, the latter provided with projecting buttresses. Discussing the architecture of the Pagans Hill temple, Mr. Radford¹⁶ has adduced parallels from the early Christian churches of Rome to support his view that the internal octagonal wall supported a colonnade on which rested a high clerestory, the outer wall being completely closed except for its doorway.

Without necessarily accepting the hypothesis of a clerestory, we may surely accept it as a fact that certain Romano-Celtic temples—a minority perhaps—had no outer portico, but an interior ambulatory protected from the winds of the average British hill top. In such buildings, whether square or octagonal, the inner wall may have served only a secondary structural function, the roofing resting mainly on the outer walls. But better-preserved remains than those of either Woodeaton or Pagans Hill must be found before the architecture of such buildings can be fully worked out.

Precisely how the Period II temple at Woodeaton was roofed is uncertain. In the later levels outside the building there were many fragments of limestone roofing-slabs, pierced with nail-holes, and we may therefore assume that at some period of the temple's history it was roofed with such slabs rather than with tiles. But if the cult practised in the temple in Period II still involved the kindling of fires, it is not impossible that the central square was used for

¹⁴ Cf. Sir Mortimer Wheeler in *Antiq. Journ.*, VIII (1928), 301-4, and pl. xlvii, 2.

¹⁵ *Proc. Somerset Archaeol. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, xcvi (1951), 112-142.

¹⁶ *Id.*, 120, fig. 1, and 123-6. Mr. Radford refers to a probable temple near Stuttgart consisting of a closed outer wall 85 ft. square, and an inner square of 40 ft. carried on 12 wooden pillars. Its mid-second century date coincides, perhaps significantly, with that of Woodeaton, Period II.

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this purpose¹⁷ and remained open to the sky, the slab roofing being confined to the ambulatory itself.

The floors of the Period II temple have completely vanished, and there is no evidence to suggest their character. It is most likely that they would have been tessellated, as appears to have been the case at Frilford, but not a single *tessera* was found in the excavations of 1952. Nor are there any structural indications of the position of the temple entrance which, normally, would have been in the east wall. Whilst an eastern entrance is certainly the more likely, it must be remarked that the siting of the temenos gateway leaves open the possibility of a northern entrance for the temple itself; and that there were, as already recorded, some slight indications that the Period I shrine had a northern entrance. Future excavations in the temenos area may help to resolve this problem.

Despite the many uncertainties arising from the mutilated condition of the temple, certain facts seem now to be firmly established. In the first place, it is clear that the site of an Iron Age settlement on the south-eastern slope of Middle Hill became, early in the Roman period, a religious shrine, possibly perpetuating the memory of a native predecessor still to be discovered. Rebuilt at a later period, and at the same time enclosed in a rectangular temenos, the temple served the religious needs of the surrounding countryside down to the end of the Roman period, and perhaps even into the Dark Ages.

The late Dr. Milne's hypothesis that Woodeaton was the site of a market or fair-ground was based, fundamentally, on the supposed absence of structural remains. But the discovery of the remains of the temple does not necessarily invalidate his arguments. The great quantities of coins, bronzes and other objects found on the temple sites of Roman Britain (Farley Heath¹⁸ in Surrey provides a typical instance) seem to indicate a flourishing commercial activity connected with the practice of the cult. Those who have seen the rows of stalls, not exclusively dedicated to religious trinkets, assembled outside the most popular sanctuaries of modern Italy (the sanctuary of Pompeii, for example) will have no difficulty in imagining a similar state of affairs prevailing at the hill-top sanctuaries of Roman Britain. At all times there would be a procession of pilgrims arriving to pay their vows and buy their souvenirs; and at special festivals these sanctuaries must have presented scenes of great animation. When trade is brisk, a coin, brooch or figurine dropped and trampled into the mud is not easily recovered by the loser.

¹⁷ At Pagans Hill the first investigator of the site found, in 1830, a 'mass of yellow vitreous material' covering the temple pavement. This had evidently been destroyed by the time of Mr. Philip Rahtz's scientific excavations of 1949; but it may not be without significance (*Id.*, 114).

¹⁸ M. F. Tupper, *A Record of Farley Heath* (Guildford, 1850); cf. *Surrey Archaeol. Coll.*, XLVI (1938), 10-25; XLVIII (1943), 31-40.

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One fundamental question remains to be answered. Who was the divinity who presided over the cult and commerce of Woodeaton? It must be confessed that we still do not know. To the representations of Minerva, Venus, Cupid and Jupiter's eagle already yielded by the site we may now add a plaque depicting Mars, and the curious trident-shaped iron object which may evoke a score of fantasies. The syncretism of Romano-Celtic religion was highly complex, and one must be chary of interpreting too rigidly the stray objects found on temple sites. So long as the temenos area remains largely unexcavated, no last word can be said on this fascinating subject.

THE FINDS

SMALL OBJECTS¹⁹ (PL. III, FIG. 10)

With the exception of nos. 10 and 12 all the objects described below were found outside the temple walls, the majority of them on the gravelled surface just outside the north ambulatory wall (see p. 20). More than half were clearly votive objects. During the course of the excavation a number of objects were also found on the surface of the field, but none of these were of sufficient interest to be listed here, being mostly indeterminate fragments of thin bronze. Other recent surface finds have been summarized in 'Notes and News' in *Oxoniensia*, xvii/xviii (1952-53), p. 217.

(a) *Bronze letters.* These were perhaps sold on the spot to enable visitors to set up their own votive inscriptions.²⁰

1. Letter M (PL. III, C, FIG. 10, A); the strokes raised to central ridges running off to the corners, five rivet holes for attachment to wood or other substance. H. 6.2 cm. Gravel spread outside north ambulatory wall. 1952.565.

2. Letter N (PL. III, C, FIG. 10, B); similar construction with four rivet-holes. H. 6.2 cm. Same site. 1952.566.

3. Bronze cross (PL. III, C, FIG. 10, C), representing TI or IT ligatured; similar construction, with two rivet-holes. As the ligatured I projects above the normal height of each letter, it is reasonable that this combined letter should be higher than the M or N (above) of the same alphabet. H. 7.5 cm. Same site. 1952.567.

4. Fragment of letter (FIG. 10, D), top or base of I or top of L; one rivet-hole remaining. H. 3.1 cm. Same site. 1952.568a.

5. Fragment of letter (FIG. 10, E), apparently foot of E or L; one rivet-hole remaining, broken at the other end, where it is splayed out on either margin. H. 3.3 cm. Same site. 1952.568b.

¹⁹ The finds have been presented to the Ashmolean Museum by the Governing Body of Christ Church. The Museum accession numbers are given after the description of each object.

²⁰ Cp. *Oxoniensia*. xiv (1949), 38, fig. 9, 11. We are indebted to Mr. R. P. Wright for the substance of this report on the bronze letters (see *J.R.S.*, XLIII (1953), 128-9).

THE ROMANO-CELTIC TEMPLE AT WOODEATON

(b) Other votive objects

6. Plaque, thin bronze (PL. III, B), rectangular, with rounded top; decorated in relief with the figure of a helmeted Mars to left, holding in his right hand a spear reversed, and with a shield carried over his left shoulder. He wears a chain-mail corslet, short tunic and high boots. H. 9 cm. W. 6.6 cm. Same site. 1952.569.

Similar votive plaques, some inscribed, have been found on this site and in other places.²¹

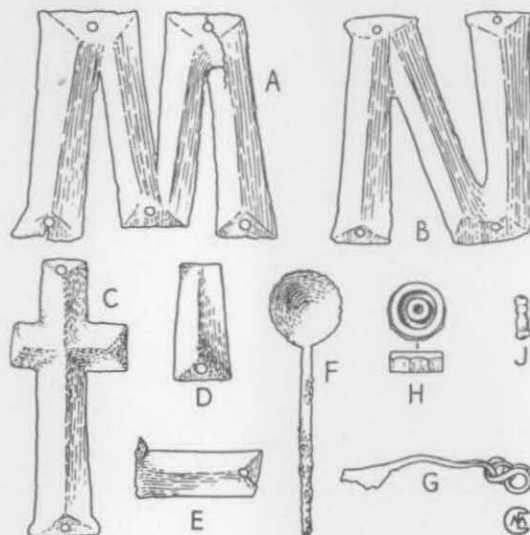


FIG. 10
WOODEATON, OXON.
Small finds (pp. 28ff.). Scale: $\frac{1}{2}$

7. Fragment of sceptre-binding; a thin bronze strip, embossed on each edge, with the remains of a rivet-hole at end.²² L. 4.1 cm. W. 1.9 cm. Same site. 1952.573.

8. Torch-holder (?), iron (PL. III, A); in shape resembling a trident, the two outer prongs being of flat, rectangular section, their ends bent outwards to a right angle, the centre prong terminating in a cluster of spikes, now much bent, but perhaps originally arranged as a claw to hold a torch, or some other object; the base is pointed for sticking into a wooden stem. L. 24.5 cm. W. 23 cm. Same site. 1952.581.

No parallel to this object has so far been found; the identification as a torch-holder is a mere hypothesis; it may have served some ritual or sacrificial purpose, whose nature can scarcely be hazarded.

²¹ *Oxoniensia*, xiv, 35 ff. Cp. especially the silver plaque from Barkway, Herts., dedicated to Mars Alator, where the god is standing in a similar position, with plumed helmet and spear reversed, but is resting his shield on the ground.

²² *Id.*, 37.

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(c) *Miscellaneous*

9. Four rods, solid bronze, circular in section. L. 9.1, 8.5, 5 and 4.8 cm. Same site. 1952.577.

The three larger bars are respectively of diameter 6.75, 4.5 and 3 mm.; all three have been drawn out to a very consistent thickness, though the thickest has been bored out (?) at one end.

The suggestion that such bars may have been the source from which flans were chopped off for 'minim' coinage, while it cannot be proved, could certainly be contemplated. Coins, of suitable types and of a suitable *terminus post quem*, found during the excavation, are of diameter 11, 10, 9, 8, 5, and a shade over 8 mm.; these figures could be repeated indefinitely from Woodeaton finds, and some smaller diameters would emerge from examination of other Woodeaton pieces.

Given a flan of from c. 5 mm. to c. 7 mm., it is conceivable that the process of striking would flatten this to a diameter of c. 7.8 to 9.10 mm. Laboratory tests would clearly be called for: this note merely records the possibilities to be looked for.

10. Spoon, bronze (FIG. 10, F), plain circular bowl, the end of the handle missing. L. 7 cm. West ambulatory, Period II make up. 1952.570.

11. Figure of a dolphin, bronze; hollowed out beneath, with a pin near the tail, perhaps for attachment to a box or the like. Another, better-made figure, with pin on the nose was found on the surface in 1952 by Mr. P. M. Finch. L. 4.5 cm. Temenos gateway, top of road surface. 1952.571.

12. Brooch, bronze (FIG. 10, G); 'poor man's' type, with double spring and loop passing under the bow; catch-plate solid, pin missing; bow flat, rectangular in section. First century A.D. L. 5 cm. *Cella*, N.E. corner, robber-trench. 1952.572.

13. Fragment of miniature 'poor man's' brooch, bronze, with single coil-spring and flat, ribbon bow. First century A.D. L. 2 cm. Temenos gateway. 1952.578b.

14. Counter, bone (FIG. 10, H); circular, the lower edge faceted; on the front a central depression. D. 1.5 cm. Gravel spread outside north ambulatory wall. 1952.579.

15 a-c. Beads, glass (FIG. 10, J), triple spheres:

(a) Green. L. 1 cm. Same site. 1952.580a.

(b) Green, fragmentary. Same site. 1952.580c.

(c) Blue, broken at one end. L. 7 cm. Temenos gateway. 1952.580b.

Several more beads of this shape in blue or green glass have been found from time to time on the surface.

WALL-PLASTER

Two varieties of painted wall-plaster were discovered:

(a) *Period I* (see p. 23). A plain white plaster with a simple linear pattern in brown and black, probably a double frame, but exact nature of the pattern uncertain. From the top of the Iron Age humus, west ambulatory.

(b) *Period II*. A red background with designs in white and bluish-green. Remains of a frame-border, scrolls and leaves.

Similar wall-plaster was discovered in the 1921 excavation, and some

THE ROMANO-CELTIC TEMPLE AT WOODEATON

fragments were large enough to be pieced together, giving the impression of a floral border-pattern.²³

ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS

1. Two small *voussoirs* of local oolite, found unstratified outside the north ambulatory wall, above the gravel layer.

(a) Keyed on both sides. H. 20.3 cm. W. 10.8 cm., thickness of top 8 cm., at base 5 cm. 1952.582a.

(b) Keyed on one side only. Less well preserved, and perhaps unfinished. H. 21 cm. W. 13 cm. Thickness at top 5.6 cm., at base 3.5 cm. 1952.582b.

These small *voussoirs* were probably intended for a small arched window, such as there might have been in the outer temple wall. They are too small to have formed part of a doorway. They do not appear to have been used and are perhaps the remnants of a builders' dump.

2. Moulding, of local oolite, rectangular, with rounded, moulded top, flat back, and sides lightly scored. From the robber trench of the south ambulatory wall. L. 27.5 cm. W. 14 cm. 1952.583.

SAMIAN POTTERY (FIG. 11)

By B. R. HARTLEY

Few fragments of Samian ware were found stratified, but nos. 1-3 help to provide dating evidence for the first building, and no. 4 may give some clue towards dating the Period II reconstruction, though it cannot count as reliable evidence owing to its position in a robber-trench.

1. Form 24/25, South Gaulish ware (FIG. 11, A). The upper wall is almost vertical and carries two rows of faint rouletting as on a vessel from Wroxeter (*Archaeologia*, LXXXVII (1937), 196, no. 5). The form was derived from an Arretine prototype and is characteristic of the early and mid-first century, rarely appearing on Vespasianic sites. The Woodeaton cup does not seem to have any close parallel among attested Claudian pieces and it most probably belongs to the Neronian period, as does the parallel from Wroxeter. Deep in *cella* floor and packed against west *cella* wall at time of construction.

2. Form 15/17, South Gaulish ware (FIG. 11, B). This dish is a typical first-century form not common in its true form after A.D. 85. The Woodeaton fragment is probably Vespasianic. On *cella* floor.

3. Form 37, Lezoux ware. This fragment is from one of the common middle and late second-century free-style bowls. The acanthus tip in the field was used by many potters. Date: Antonine (c. A.D. 140-165). In plaster and ash layer immediately overlying *cella* floor.

4. Form 30, Lezoux ware (FIG. 11, C). Panel decoration with borders of medium-sized oval beads. The St. Andrew's cross is found on a form 30 from Brecon

²³ *Antiq. Journ.*, 1 (1921), 339 f.

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(R. E. M. Wheeler, *The Roman Fort near Brecon* (1926), S. 211) which is almost certainly by the same potter, while a generally similar one has been ascribed by Oswald to PVGNVS. The other surviving panel contains the crown ornament used by many Central Gaulish potters and a warrior facing to right. Date: Trajan/Hadrian (c. A.D. 115-135). Foot of robber-trench of east ambulatory wall.

5. Form 36 (FIG. 11, D). In general, this form cannot be closely dated, especially as potters' stamps are found only on the late East Gaulish dishes. In this case the

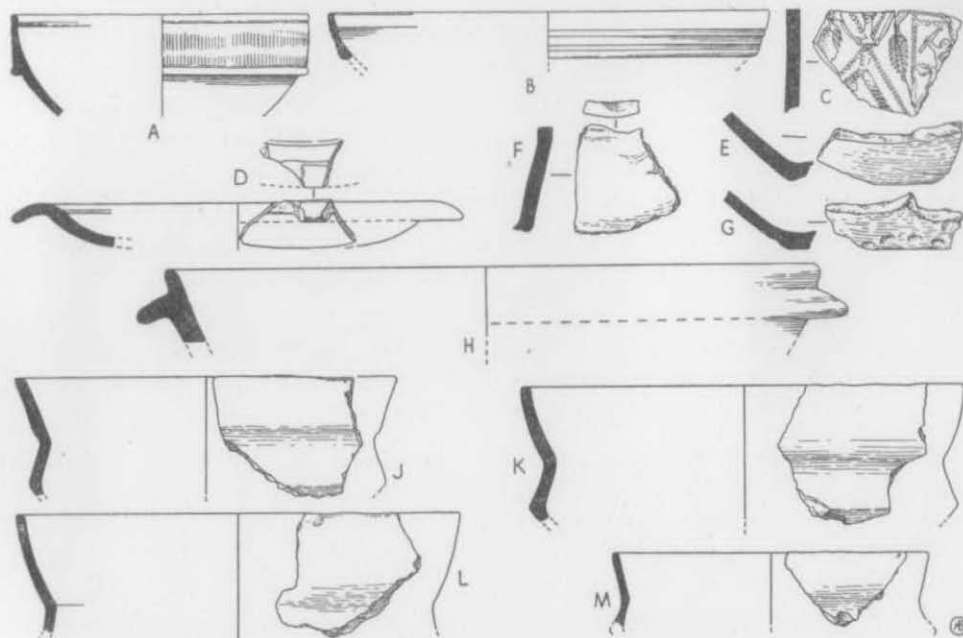


FIG. 11
WOODEATON, OXON.

Iron Age and Roman pottery (pp. 31ff.). Scale: $\frac{1}{4}$

fabric and glaze strongly suggest a South Gaulish origin and first-century date. Gravel spread outside north ambulatory wall.

6. Form 18/31 or 31, Central Gaulish ware. Date: Hadrian/Antonine. Temenos gateway, top layer.

7. Form 31, Central Gaulish ware. The bowl has been repaired at some time by riveting, though this does not necessarily mean that it had a long life, as is so often assumed in such cases. Date: Antonine. Temenos gateway, top layer.

8. A rim fragment with barbotine decoration. This piece may be a variant of form 36 (cp. F. Oswald and T. D. Pryce, *Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata* (1920), pl. liii., no. 6) or of Stanfield's forms 47-50 (*Archaeol. Journ.*, LXXXVI (1929), 113 ff.). Same site as 7.

THE ROMANO-CELTIC TEMPLE AT WOODEATON

9. Form 31, Central Gaulish ware. Date : Antonine. Temenos gateway, wall surround.

IRON AGE POTTERY (FIG. 11)

By J. S. P. BRADFORD

(a) *From the humus below the temple.* The sherds from this layer are all very small and fragmentary. Only 10 show rim forms or features of shape, all from small Iron Age A bowls. One small sherd from the neck of a bowl has a red slip, fired red, probably imitating the haematite red slip so fashionable in the Wessex Iron Age A period (e.g. at All Cannings Cross).²⁴

Seven sherds are of later form and fabric, wheel-turned and probably post-conquest in date.

(b) *On the edge of the robber trench in the south-east corner of the ambulatory* were found about 30 sherds of the lower part of a large Early Iron Age store-jar. It is of coarse ware, including much pounded grit, and the majority of the sherds which come from, and round, a large flat base, are very much burnt on the inside. With them were two small rim-sherds of the same coarse ware, but certainly late Iron Age, if not just post-conquest.

(c) *Iron Age pits by east temenos wall.* Thirty-six sherds of Early Iron Age pottery of a typical local variety were found in these pits (FIG. 11, E-M). All but four are of a highly burnished black ware, many being burnished on both surfaces. The pottery stands towards the beginning of the Iron Age series in the upper Thames valley, and can be compared with bowls from Long Wittenham,²⁵ Allen's Pit, Dorchester,²⁶ and also earlier finds from Woodeaton, which indicated a lengthy and perhaps continuous occupation, from a relatively early date in the local Iron Age onwards.

1. *Omphalos* base (FIG. 11, E). Slightly burnished on outside only. The characteristic Iron Age A base in the south of England.
2. Slightly everted rim of bowl with finger-tip decoration (FIG. 11, F). A good fragment of typical Iron Age A.
3. Sherd from just above the base of a bowl (FIG. 11, G). A light line was tooled round the circumference of the base, and above this a decoration of 'dimples', which was continued in a line or panel vertically up the side. Similar 'dimples' were found on pots from Long Wittenham.²⁷ 'Dimpled' patterns also occur on Iron Age B sherds, though rarely in this locality.
4. Local copy of a Romano-British *mortarium* rim (FIG. 11, H) burnished on outside only. Post-conquest.
- 5-8. Rim-sherds, nos. 5-7 highly burnished on the outside, and slightly burnished on the inside (FIG. 11, J-M). From sharply angular, carinated bowls of good early Iron Age A date and type.

²⁴ M. E. Cunnington, *All Cannings Cross* (1923), 144 ff.

²⁵ *Oxoniensia*, II (1937), 4, pl. ii, fig. 2.

²⁶ *Oxoniensia*, VII (1942), 45, fig. 10, no. 11.

²⁷ *Oxoniensia*, II, 5, fig. 2; and cp. also from Allen's Pit, Dorchester, *Oxoniensia*, VII, 42-4, fig. 8, 3, and references *ad loc.*

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ROMANO-BRITISH COARSE WARES

Although an abundance of sherds may be found on the surface, pottery from stratified layers was small both in quantity and size, and none of it has, therefore, been illustrated.

From the Period I floor came some fragments of coarse, gritty ware of Iron Age type; some rough black ware, which included a very small fragment possibly from a first-century jar with cordon at the base of the neck; and three fragments of fine light buff ware with white slip. Similar sherds of Iron Age type were found in the Period I layer of the west ambulatory.

The Period II make-up produced no pottery at all, nor was there any stratified pottery from the temenos. From the gravel-spread outside the north ambulatory, near the site of most of the small bronzes, came three rim-sherds of jars of white ware, all apparently late, and a small sherd of orange ware, with overhanging rim.

THE COINS

By C. H. V. SUTHERLAND

1. M. Agrippa (struck under Tiberius or Gaius).
Æ As. *RIC.* i, p. 108, no. 32. Worn. *Cella*, period I floor.
2. Vespasian, A.D. 69-79.
Æ As. *RIC.* 497(1), A.D. 71. Worn. North temenos, wall surround.
3. Trajan, A.D. 98-117.
Æ As. Variety uncertain: probably struck c. A.D. 102-114. Worn. North temenos, unstratified.
4. Trajan, A.D. 98-117.
Æ Dupondius. *RIC.* 679, A.D. 114-7. Worn. North temenos, wall surround.
5. Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138-61.
Æ Dupondius. *RIC.* 933, A.D. 154-5. A little worn. S.E. corner of temenos, wall surround.
6. Victorinus, A.D. 265-8.
Æ 3. *RIC.* 67. Fairly fresh. Temple, unstratified.
7. Constantine I, A.D. 307-37.
Æ 3. *Soli Invicto Comiti*, $\frac{S}{PLN} \frac{F}{N}$ = London. c. A.D. 315. Fresh. North temenos, unstratified.
8. Constantine I, A.D. 307-37.
Æ 3. *Sarmatia Devicta*, $\frac{S}{PLON} \frac{F}{N}$ = London. c. A.D. 323. Fresh. Gravel spread outside north ambulatory wall.

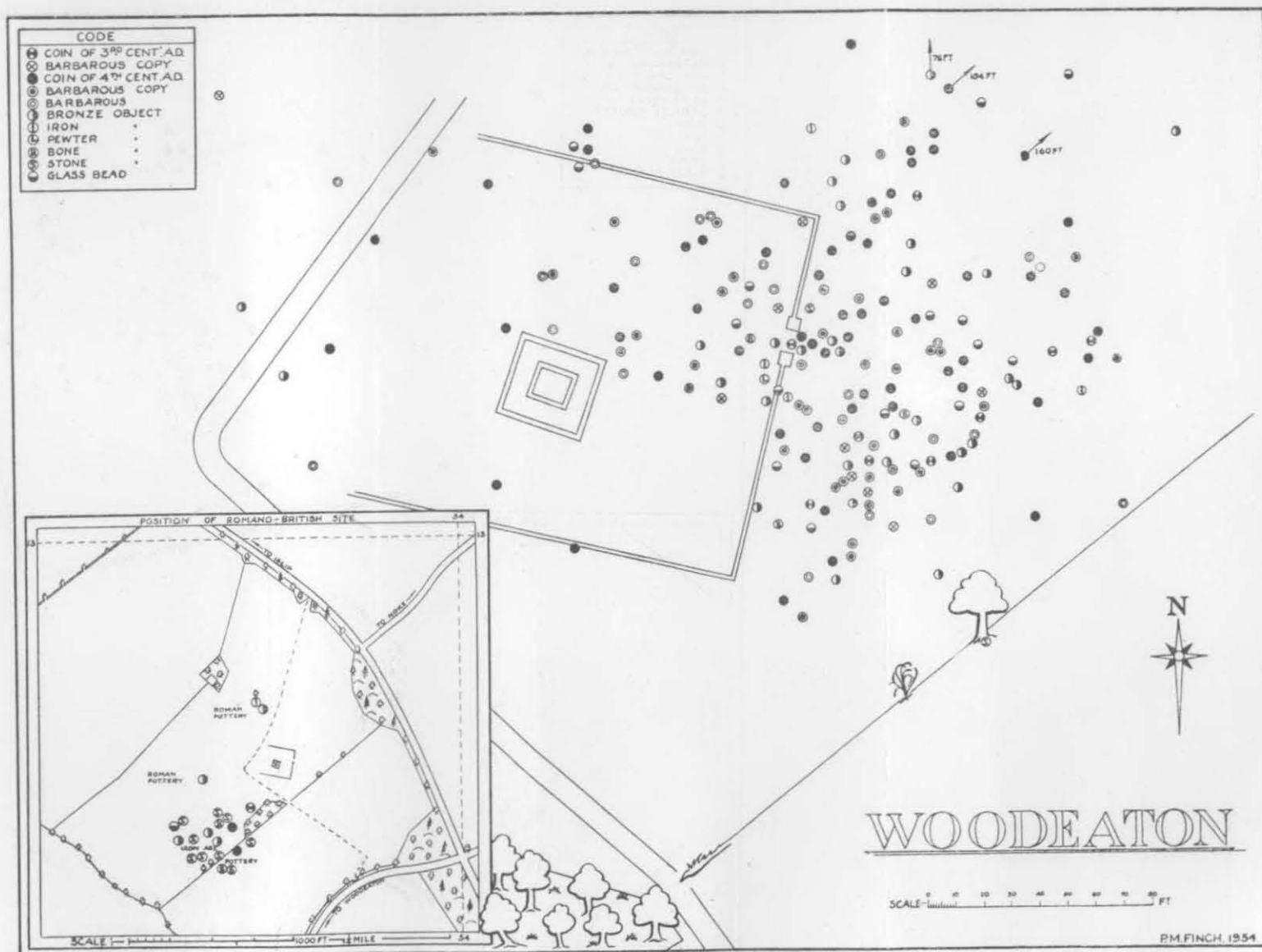


FIG. 12
WOODEATON, OXON.

Plan showing distribution of surface finds in relation to the temple (p. 37)

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9. Constantine I, A.D. 307-37.
 $\text{Æ 3. Constantinopolis, } \overline{\text{TR} \cdot \text{P}} = \text{Trier. c. A.D. 330-7. A little worn.}$
 Same site.
10. Constantine I, A.D. 307-37.
 $\text{Æ 4. Urbs Roma, } ? \overline{\text{TRP}} (= \text{Trier ?}). \text{ c. A.D. 330-7. Worn. Same}$
 site.
11. Constantine I, A.D. 307-37.
 $\text{Æ 4 of Helena. Pax Publica. Cohen 4. c. A.D. 330-7. A little worn.}$
 Same site.
12. Constans A.D. 337-50.
 $\text{Æ 4. Gloria Exercitus (1 standard). Mint uncertain. c. A.D. 337-40.}$
 Worn, and slightly double-struck. Same site.
13. Constans, A.D. 337-50.
 $\text{Æ 3. Victoria Dd Augg Q Nn. Cohen 176. Trier mint-mark ?}$
 Worn. Same site.
14. Constantius II, A.D. 337-61.
 $\text{Æ 3. Gloria Exercitus (1 standard). Lyons mint ? c. A.D. 337-40.}$
 Fairly fresh. East temenos, unstratified.
15. Constantius II, A.D. 337-61.
 $\text{Æ 3. Fel Temp Reparatio (horseman). Mint uncertain. c. A.D. 348-61.}$
 Fairly fresh. Gravel spread outside north ambulatory wall.
16. Magnentius, A.D. 350-3.
 $\text{Æ 2. Salus Dd Nn Aug et Caes. Cohen 29. Mint uncertain. Fresh.}$
 Same site.
17. Constantius Gallus, A.D. 351-4.
 $\text{Æ 2. Fel Temp Reparatio (horseman). Cf. Cohen 18. Mint uncer-}$
 tain. Fairly fresh. Same site.
18. Valentinian I, A.D. 364-75.
 $\text{Æ 3. Gloria Romanorum, } \frac{\text{O} | \text{Fl}}{\text{LVGSD}} = \text{Lyons (RIC. 20 (a)).}$
 c. A.D. 367-75. A little worn. Same site.
19. Valentinian I, A.D. 364-75.
 $\text{Æ 3. Securitas Reipublicae, } \frac{\text{OF} | ? \text{II}}{\text{CONST}} = \text{Arles (RIC. 9 (a)).}$
 c. A.D. 364-7. Worn. Same site.
20. Valentinian I, A.D. 364-75.
 $\text{Æ 3. Securitas Reipublicae, } \frac{\text{•SMAQS•}}{\text{•SMAQS•}} = \text{Aquileia (RIC. 12 (a)).}$
 c. A.D. 365-75. Worn. Same site.
21. Valentinian I, A.D. 364-75.
 $\text{Æ 3. Securitas Reipublicae. Mint uncertain. Fairly fresh. Same site.}$
22. Valens, A.D. 364-78.
 $\text{Æ 3. Securitas Reipublicae, } \frac{\text{OF} | \text{I}}{\text{LVGP-?}} = \text{Lyons (RIC. 21 (a)).}$
 c. A.D. 367-75. Worn. South temenos, unstratified.

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23. Valens, A.D. 364-78.
Æ 3. *Gloria Romanorum*, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{III}}{\text{CONST}} = \text{Arles (RIC. 7 (d))}$.
c. A.D. 364-7. A little worn. Gravel spread outside north ambulatory wall.
24. Valens, A.D. 364-78.
Æ 3. *Gloria Romanorum*. Mint uncertain. Broken, and a little worn. Top soil outside north ambulatory wall.
- 25-30. Small copies (two Æ 4, four of smaller and 'minim' module) of the *Fel Temp Reparatio* (horseman) type. Fairly fresh to considerably worn. 4 from gravel spread, outside north ambulatory wall, 2 from temenos, unstratified.
31. Minim, possibly though not certainly as 25-30. Gravel spread outside north ambulatory wall.
32. Uncertain minim, struck from dies too large for the flan. Either a *Fel Temp Reparatio* copy or less probably a cut-down Theodosian Æ 4. Same site.
- 33-8. Uncertain or illegible Æ 3 and Æ 4—one (Æ 4) possibly with portrait to l.? All same site.

The coins may conveniently be compared with the summary totals of Woodeaton coins collected from various sources (and mainly from the Heberden Coin Room in the Ashmolean Museum) by J. G. Milne and published by him in *Journ. Rom. Stud.*, xx (1931), 101 ff. To the thousand or so coins there listed others could be added which have come in to the Museum since that date, but it is very doubtful if they would materially affect the main outlines previously established.

These outlines showed a relative paucity of early imperial coins in silver and bronze; a build-up in silver from the end of the first century, reaching a peak in the early third, and declining sharply before the debasement of the *antoninianus* under Gallienus; a build-up in bronze from Trajan, with a peak under Pius and declining thereafter. In the period of the debased *antoninianus* the years 260-73 were strongly represented; but the 'reformed' issues from Aurelian onwards were sparse, though British mints stepped up the numbers for Carausius and Allectus. For the fourth century the coinage of Constantine and his associates showed a massive peak, repeated on a smaller scale for the periods 337-64 and 264-83, in the latter of which silver again made its appearance. For the Theodosian period finds were very thin in comparison.

In assessing the significance of these fluctuations it is, of course, of great importance that the circulation-life of coins should not be underestimated. The effectiveness of a frequency-peak for coins, e.g., of Pius, Constantine or Valens, may be valid, in part at least, for years substantially later than those reigns.

THE ROMANO-CELTIC TEMPLE AT WOODEATON

The present list of Woodeaton coins faithfully reflects the main outlines of the Milne list. Apart from the presence of the 'Agrippa' *as* of Gaius's reign—a reign not represented in the Milne list—we find that first and second century bronze (there is no silver) falls to Vespasian (1), Trajan (2) and Pius (1): the debased *antoninianus* is of Victorinus: the Constantinian and post-Constantinian group (11) is stronger than that of the house of Valens (6); and there are no certainly identifiable 'Theodosians'. No useful account can be taken of the small diademed copies, for these are obviously of uncertain date.

APPENDIX

The plan (FIG. 12) has been prepared by Mr. P. M. Finch, who has for a number of years, through the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Woodcock, watched the Woodeaton fields. Each object found by Mr. Finch was plotted on to a large-scale map of the fields, and this has now been combined with the plan of the temple, as excavated.

Neither during the long period of Mr. Finch's observation, nor during our own brief excavation, were many objects found on the site itself. This is doubtless due, in part, to the removal of the later layers of the temple in the enclosure in 1802.

The majority of finds, especially coins of all periods, are clustered round the gateway to the temenos. Here probably were the stalls where small bronze votive objects and keepsakes were sold. There may also have been some ritual, which included dropping a coin as the pilgrim went in at the gate, for in the Roman temple at Frilford, a large number of coins, all late, were found scattered over the entrance pathway. They were clearly not a hoard, and the excavators suggested that they had some ritual significance.²⁸

Some of Mr. Finch's finds have already been noted in a previous number of *Oxoniensia*.²⁹ They include objects of bronze, iron, pottery, bone and stone, and 149 coins ranging from the third to the late fourth century A.D.

²⁸ *Oxoniensia*, IV (1939), 32 f.

²⁹ *Oxoniensia*, XIV (1949), 22, 31, 41; for others, see *Oxon.* xvii/xviii, 217.

PLATE I



↑

A

↓



B

WOODEATON, OXON.

Air-views of the site

A. Looking south.

B. Looking east

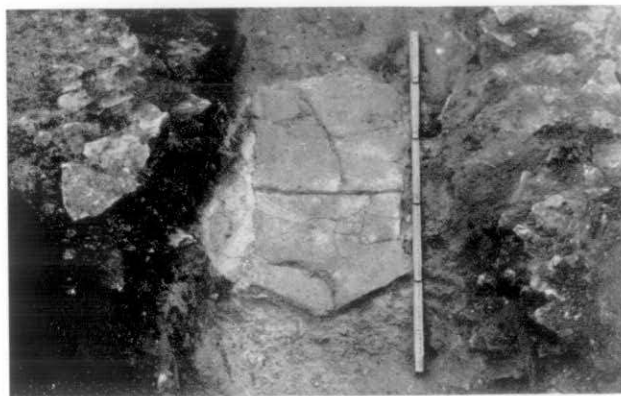
Phh.: R. J. C. Atkinson



A



D



B



C



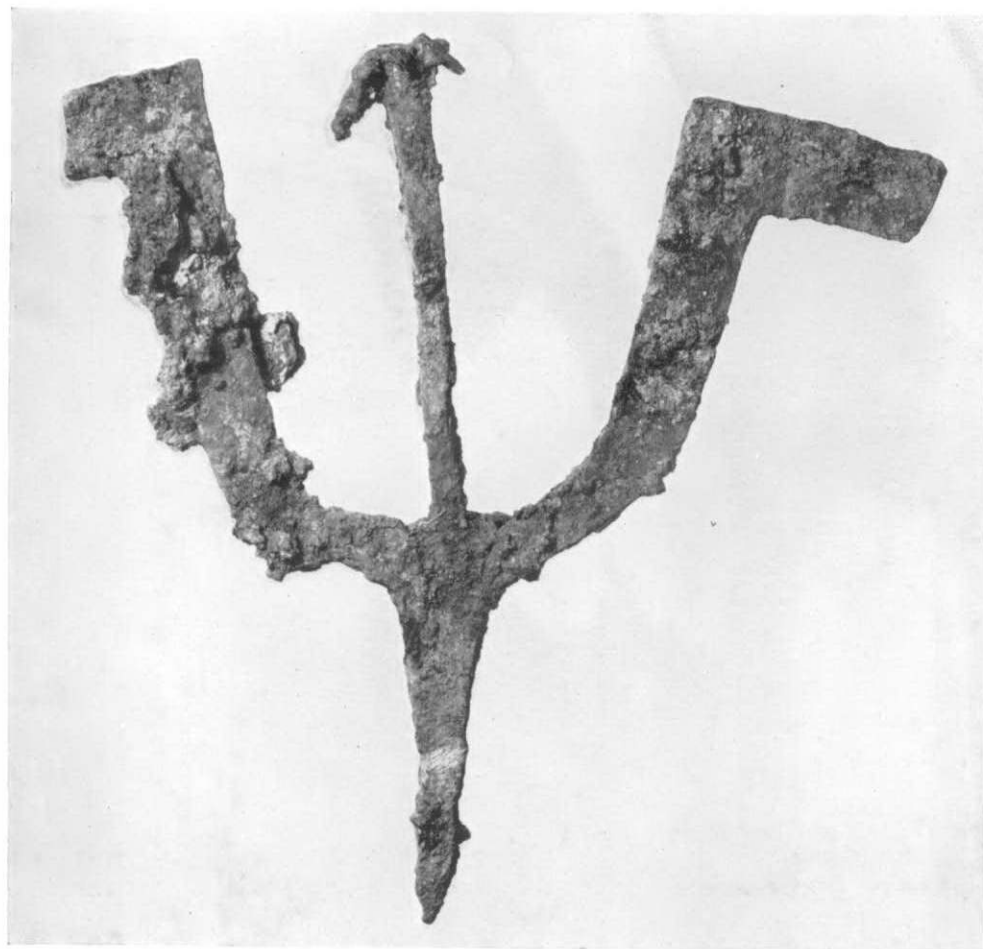
E

WOODEATON, OXON.

- A. Hearth 3 (p. 23).
B. Hearth 1 (p. 23).

- C. E. Temenos gateway (pp. 18 f.).
D. West wall of *cella* (p. 24).

Phh.: A-D, R. G. Goodchild
E, E. Rutter



A



B



C

WOODEATON, OXON.

- A. Iron torch-holder(?) (p. 29). Scale $\frac{1}{2}$
 B. Bronze plaque with figure of Mars (p. 29). Scale: $\frac{3}{4}$
 C. Bronze letters (p. 28). Scale: $\frac{1}{2}$