REPORTS

More Votive Finds from Woodeaton, Oxfordshire

By JEAN BAGNALL SMITH

SUMMARY

A significant collection of finds from Woodeaton has recently been examined and found to contain objects that both confirm and extend current knowledge of the site. An early date for the first Romano-Celtic temple was originally diagnosed by the discovery during the excavation of 1952 of a fragment of South Gaulish samian characteristic of the early and mid 1st century, deep in the floor of the cella, *packed against the west wall. This has perhaps been confirmed by the discovery of an impression in sheet bronze of a rare gold coin of Cunobelin, which one would expect to have been melted down soon after the Conquest. There is also extensive confirmation of earlier suggestions that Woodeaton was a bronzeworking site, indicated by the very large quantity of bronze wire in different stages of manufacture, a second casting sprue and the numerous off-cuts and probable 'failures'. The discovery of a silver hand from a small votive statuette is interesting, particularly as the indications are that the deity may have been Mars, of whom there is believed to have been a cult at Woodeaton. Further support for a cult of Mars comes from a bronze letter 'A' and part of what appears to have been an 'M', which could well have been part of the dedication 'MARTI'. A little wing may have been part of a small Cupid figure or possibly from a model of a bird, of which several examples are known from this site. There is a model sword, a shield, and model spears, in addition to military equipment of normal size; in this last category is a corroded fragment of what was possibly chain-mail. There is a priest's rattle similar to that from Felmingham, Norfolk, a very large quantity of jewellery and much more besides. In all, this is a collection that has aroused considerable interest: the more so because it was made by a schoolboy without recourse to a metal detector, who found himself becoming more and more fascinated by the subject that has drawn, irresistibly, so many others.*

The village of Woodeaton lies 4 miles NE. of Oxford, just within the parish of Islip. Nearly two millennia ago, a Romano-Celtic temple of the 'square within a square' type stood on the top of the hill just N. of the village, with views to the N. and E. over Otmoor, and W. to the River Cherwell. The most important details of publications on the site are given below. The large number of brooches among the early finds prompted Miss M.V. Taylor to examine and publish all that were known in 1917.[1] Short reports followed two small excavations by the Oxford University Archaeological Society in 1920-1 and 1934.[2] Two articles about the numerous coins found were published in the 1930s by Mr. J.G. Milne.[3] In 1939, the site was described and several finds illustrated in *V.C.H. Oxfordshire*.[4] Ten years

[1] M.V. Taylor, 'Woodeaton', *Jnl. Roman Studies*, vii (1917), 98-119, Pl. VI-VII.

[2] 'Excavations at Woodeaton', *Antiq. Jnl.* i (1921), 339-49; *Ashmolean Museum Report* (1934), 14.

[3] J.G. Milne, 'Woodeaton Coins', *Jnl. Roman Studies*, xxi (1931), 101-9 & Pl. XIV (note ref. to 19th-century excavation by H. Hurst, p. 109); J.G. Milne, 'Coins Obtained by Sir Arthur Evans', *Numis. Chron.* ser. 5, xiii (1933), 81-7 & Pl. X.

[4] *V.C.H. Oxon.* i, 266, 270, 299-301, 345, Pls. XV-XVII.

later, all the small bronze objects discovered over the years were published by Miss Joan Kirk,[5] which led to her excavation in 1952, in partnership with Mr. R.G. Goodchild, on behalf of the Ashmolean Museum.[6] In the 1960s Professor D.W. Harding, whose particular interest lay in investigating the pre-Roman element of the site, headed an Oxford University Archaeological Society excavation to examine part of the *temenos*.[7] Several short notes have been published to record smaller excavations[8] or to discuss different finds.[9] Material from Woodeaton was also included in a preliminary survey of the votive finds from Oxfordshire published by the present author in 1995.[10]

Late in 1997, an interesting and significant collection of finds was brought to my attention, made by a field-walker when he was a boy, before he went up to university more than a quarter of a century ago. All the finds came from within 300 yards of the temple revealed in the excavation of 1952. The main concentration had been found close to where the public footpath turns to form a right angle. Although the ideal is to discover such finds in a secure votive context, it has here to be remembered that the distribution of votive objects at Woodeaton must have been seriously affected by the clearance and levelling of the top of the hill for enclosure in 1803; the excavators of 1952 found, in fact, that most of the second square temple built on top of the first had been removed during this clearance, and much of what lay inside must inevitably have been scattered in the process.

CATALOGUE

All the objects that might have been votive have been included below. The majority were made from an alloy of copper, but they are all described here simply as 'bronze'. All have been examined with a magnifying glass or microscope, but only the silver has been analysed scientifically. The objects have been treated thematically rather than by material: most have been photographed or drawn (scale 1:1), except for a number of beads (Group 10, Fig. 9) and all the miscellaneous items (Group 19). Their numbering corresponds to the numbers given in the text of the catalogue. Parallels have been suggested, either with objects found earlier at Woodeaton or with material from other Roman sites in Britain.

1 FIGURAL (Fig. 1)

1.1 *Hand, left, probably from a statuette* W. 1.6 cm. L. 2 cm. Base silver. Complete, hollow cast. Found a short distance outside the NW. *temenos* wall. The hand begins at the wrist with a stepped edge, probably designed to fit into the distal end of an arm. The fingers are curled over towards the palm; the thumb and forefinger form a circle which appears once to have enclosed a shaft – perhaps the shaft of a spear. There is a corresponding indentation in the metal of the hand below the base of the little finger, into which the lower part of the missing shaft would have fitted. The fingers are not clearly separated. The hand is sturdy and seems more likely to have been male than female. Parts of the body made individually or broken from a larger unit were common offerings by the sick at temple sites. However, the stepped edge of this hand suggests that it belonged to a small figure, probably of a deity: the body may have been made of an organic substance and has therefore long since decayed. There appears to have been a cult of Mars at Woodeaton, and if this was a figure of Mars, the hand would have held a spear. Possibly relevant is the suggestion by

[5] J. Kirk, 'Bronzes from Woodeaton, Oxon.', *Oxoniensia*, xiv (1949), 1-45 & Pls. I-IV.

[6] R.G. Goodchild and J. Kirk, 'The Romano-Celtic Temple at Woodeaton', *Oxoniensia*, xix (1954), 15-37.

[7] D.W. Harding, *Excavations in Oxfordshire, 1964-6*, i (Univ. of Edinburgh, Dept. of Archaeology, Occas. Paper 15, 1987), 1-25.

[8] *V.C.H. Oxon.* i, 300; J. Moore et al., 'Woodeaton, Temple Hill', *S. Midlands Archaeol.* xxii (1992), 53.

[9] Most of these have appeared in volumes of *Oxoniensia*.

[10] J. Bagnall Smith, 'Interim Report on the Votive Material from Romano-Celtic Temple Sites in Oxfordshire', *Oxoniensia*, lx (1995), 177-203.

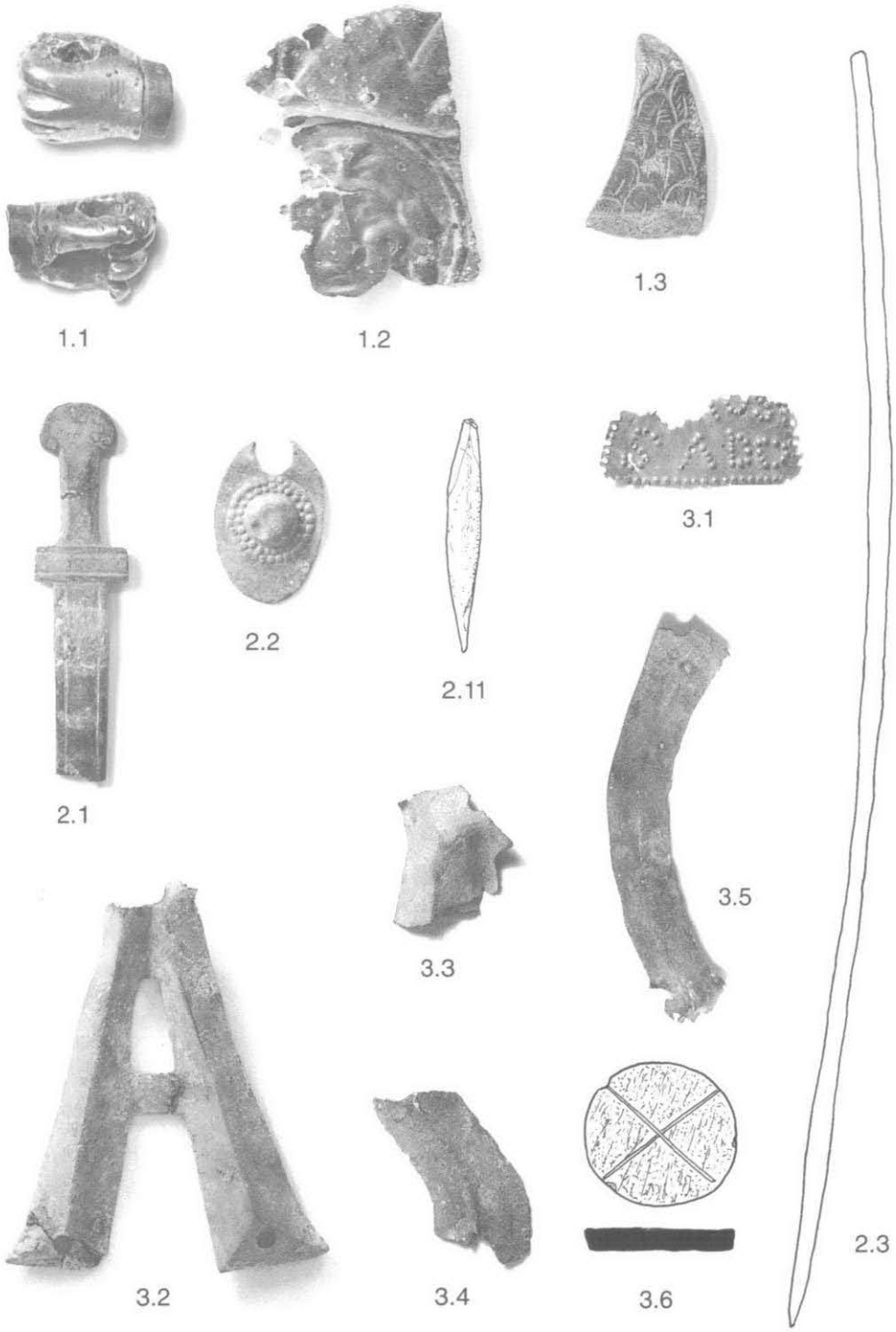


Fig. 1. Figural and Model Objects, and Inscriptions.

J.R.R. Tolkien that the name Nodens, epithet of the version of the god Mars venerated at the Lydney temple, is cognate with that of the mythological Irish king, Núadu Argat-lam, which translates 'Núadu of the Silver Hand'.[11]

1.2 *Plaque* W. 2.9 cm. L. 3.9 cm. Fragment of sheet bronze, embossed with part of the frontal head of Medusa. The image is set within a single raised circle: beyond this roundel, the fragment is embossed with the 'leaf-vein' or 'feather' decoration characteristic of many votive plaques of this period. Here the roundel is a circle enclosing a head, but often it takes the form of a little shrine containing the full-length figure or head of a deity (or deities). It is a well-known type of votive plaque, found commonly in bronze but also in silver.[12] Two other bronze examples have been found at Woodeaton, one, in two parts, depicting Cupid,[13] and the other showing Mars in full panoply.[14] The rendering of the face is very similar to that of a mask of Medusa depicted on a *phalera* from Verulamium described by Professor Toynbee.[15]

1.3 *Model wing* L. 3 cm. Width at widest part of wing: 1.7 cm. Bronze, cast. Complete. Small curving wing with overlapping feathers. These last are depicted by incised loose U-shapes, each bisected by a central line with more delicately incised, short lateral lines. On the underside, there are two rough lines formed of punchmarks, as well as irregular fine hatching. The tip of the wing turns downwards. There is no patination on a band 4 mm. wide which runs along the upper edge of the wing, probably where it was attached to, or covered by, the body of a figurine. The wing, which is short in relation to its width, seems more likely to have come from a Cupid-type figure than from a bird, although four birds have already been published from this site. A single bronze model eagle's wing was found at Icklingham[16] and the wing of a Cupid or Victory at Uley, Glos. Parts of the body were sometimes deliberately broken off figurines and used as *ex-votos*. Henig gives an example of the practice of offering wings at Matagne-la-Grande.[17]

2 MODEL OBJECTS (Fig. 1)

2.1 *Model sword* L. 5.4 cm. Bronze, cast. Lacking the lower end of the blade. The parallel-sided hilt has been repaired; its pommel is bun-shaped. The guard and blade are edged with an incised line. The blade of the sword tapers only very slightly: unless the missing lower part had a very rounded point or graduated to a point very sharply, the blade would appear to have originally been quite long. It is not possible to see whether the hilt break was ancient, but the break to the blade may be. Ritual damage was common practice with model objects.[18] The best-known parallel is the bronze model, also with a broken blade, discovered with a model shield in a pit inside the 'rotunda' at Frilford.[19] The blade of the Frilford model was probably of the long *spatha* type, believed to derive from the long, Celtic slashing sword and traditionally associated with auxiliary soldiers rather than legionaries.[20]

[11] J.R.R. Tolkien, 'Appendix I: The Name 'Nodens'', in R.E.M. and T.V. Wheeler (eds.), *Report on the Excavation of the Prehistoric, Roman, and Post-Roman Site in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire* (1932), 132-7.

[12] J.M.C. Toynbee, 'A Londinium Votive Leaf or Feather and its Fellows', in J. Bird, H. Chapman and J. Clark (eds.), *Collectanea Londiniensia: Studies in London Archaeology and History presented to Ralph Merrifield* (Lon. & Middx Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper No. 2, 1978), 129-47; M. Henig, *Religion in Roman Britain* (1984), 145-7.

[13] Kirk, op. cit. note 5, p. 41, no. 3, and Fig. 9, no. 2; Bagnall Smith, op. cit. note 10, pp. 187-8, Fig. 13.

[14] Ashmolean Museum 1952.569; Goodchild and Kirk, op. cit. note 6, p. 29, no. 6 and Pl. III, B.

[15] J.M.C. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain* (1962), 177, no. 126 and Pl. CXLVIII.

[16] M. Green, *A Corpus of Religious Material from the Civilian Areas of Roman Britain* (BAR xxiv, 1976), Pl. IX, k.

[17] M. Henig et al., 'Votive Objects: Images and Inscriptions', in A. Woodward and P. Leach (eds.), *The Uley Shrines: Excavation of a Ritual Complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire*: 1977-9 (1993), 100-1, Fig. 88, no. 1.

[18] L.V. Grinsell, 'The Breaking of Objects as a Funerary Rite', *Folklore*, lxxii (1961), 475-91; M. Green, *The Gods of the Celts* (1986), 143.

[19] J.S.P. Bradford and R.G. Goodchild, 'Excavations at Frilford, Berks.', *Oxoniensia*, iv (1939), 1-70, Pls. I-IV; Bagnall Smith, op. cit. note 10, p. 199 & Fig. 21.

[20] W.H. Manning, *Catalogue of the Romano-British Iron Tools, Fittings and Weapons in the British Museum* (1985), 149.

A model sword was found at Chesters on Hadrian's Wall, with half its blade missing,[21] two more at Castor, near Peterborough[22] and four at Harlow, Essex, where the blades are all of the waisted, 'Mainz' *gladius* type.[23] A bone model sword with a tapering iron blade has a London provenance, probably the Walbrook.[24] The Woodeaton example does not resemble any of these, nor was it made in the same style as the Woodeaton model shield, see below. The presence of a cult of Mars at Woodeaton could well be a reason for offering model weapons, or they might have been the offerings of soldiers visiting the site on their way northwards. However, models were often worn or carried simply as talismans or lucky charms.

2.2 *Model shield or, alternatively, a model breast* W. 1.6 cm. L. 2.4 cm. Bronze, raised from sheet metal. This flat, oval object has a central rounded umbo which is hollow and surrounded by two concentric circles of closely set, round dots, punched from behind. Two-thirds of a small circle of metal has been punched out of the shield at one end, reminiscent of the top or bottom of a hide-shaped, model shield.[25] There is no sign of a handle behind the umbo. It is possible that the part-circle that has been punched out is unrelated to the shape of the object but is a hole for suspension punched too close to the edge. Careless punching has occurred on other objects from Woodeaton.

Twenty-four miniature shields were discovered in mysterious circumstances at Salisbury in the late 1980s, in a hoard together with late Bronze Age artefacts. Two were oval and the other 22 hide-shaped, with convex sides and concave ends, the majority with engraved or chased decoration: the hide-shape had not been recognised in Britain at that time, in shields of full-size. One miniature, which had been edged with a separate strip of binding that ended in a knob at each of its four points, inspired an interesting discovery. While preparing an article on full-sized Iron Age shields, Dr. Ian Stead of the British Museum was studying this miniature when he suddenly realised where certain previously unidentified, full-size strips of binding in the Museum's collection must have come from: each of the unidentified examples had a straight length and curved length, which met in a knobbed point. Stead realised immediately that they must have come from full-sized, hide-shaped shields.[26] The miniatures illustrated in his book have spindle-shaped umbos and, where the back is shown, a handle across the centre of the underside.[27]

An oval shield with a round umbo surrounded by a plain repoussé ring was found at Langley, Oxon.[28] Oval shields with round umbos, surrounded by concentric decoration, can be seen carried by auxiliaries on Trajan's Column,[29] and the Woodeaton example could be a simplified version of the shields observed there. Oval shields with oval umbos were found at Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leics.[30] and Frilford where, as at Woodeaton, there was also a model sword. The Frilford sword and shield are a good match: they were discovered in what appears to have been an early Roman deposit in a pit inside the circular stone temple. At Woodeaton, the circumstances of the deposition of the sword and shield are not known.

While the concentric dots may have been intended to represent studs round the umbo of a shield they may, alternatively, have represented the Montgomery's tubercles that surround the nipple of a breast. A great number of model breasts have been found in the springs at the source of the Seine, which have been described by Simone Deyts.[31] Examples known from Britain have been found in sheet bronze, ivory or bone: an ivory pair from the sacred spring at Bath where another was found in bronze;[32] a bone or ivory, single

[21] M. Green, *A Corpus of Small Objects from the Military Areas of Roman Britain* (BAR Brit. Ser. lii, 1978), Pl. 125.

[22] M. Green, op. cit. note 16, 24.

[23] S.S. Frere, 'Roman Britain in 1990', *Britannia*, xxii (1991), 262; M. Green in R. Bartlett, forthcoming publication on the temple at Harlow.

[24] S. Greep, 'Model Sword from Bucklersbury House, London', *Trans. Lon. & Middx Archaeol. Soc.* xxxii (1981), 103-6 & Fig 1.

[25] I.M. Stead, 'Many More Iron Age Shields from Britain', *Antiq. Jnl.* lxxi (1991), 17, nos. 19 & 20.

[26] I. M. Stead, *The Salisbury Hoard* (1998), 18-19.

[27] Ibid. 15, Fig. 1, 19, Fig. 2, Pls. 1, 5 & 7.

[28] M. Green, 'A Votive Model Shield from Langley, Oxfordshire', *Oxf. Jnl. of Archaeol.* vi (1987), 237-42 & Fig. 1.

[29] G. Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army* (3rd edn. 1985), Pl. XII; see also M.C. Bishop and J.C.N. Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment from the Punic Wars to the Fall of Rome* (1993), 29, Fig. a.

[30] Note by I.M. Stead in J.S. Wacher, 'Excavations at Breedon-on-the-Hill', *Trans. Leics. Arch. & Hist. Soc.* lii (1976-7), 6-7 & Fig.4 (a).

[31] S. Deyts, *Un peuple des pèlerins; offrandes de pierre et de bronze des sources de la Seine* (1994), 81-3, In stone: Pl. XXXIV, nos. 1-9; Pl. XXXV, nos. 1-7; In bronze: Pl. 35, nos. 8-16.

[32] M. Henig et al., 'Objects from the Sacred Spring', in B. Cunliffe (ed.), *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath*, ii (Oxf. Univ. Comm. for Archaeol., Monograph 16, 1988), 8, nos. 4 & 5, Fig. 4, nos. 4 & 5, Pl. III for no. 4.

breast from Harlow[33] and a plaque of copper alloy depicting a single breast at Uley, Glos.[34] This last has enlarged *areolar* glands indicated by punched dots, with raylike lines of dots perhaps indicating the streaks of inflammation sometimes seen in mastitis. Model breasts are likely to have been offered by nursing mothers with feeding or mastitis problems, or where a child had been successfully weaned. Alternatively, a single breast might have been offered by a woman suffering from breast disease, such as cancer.

2.3 - 2.10 *Eight crudely made model spears* Bronze, hammered. All have one end flattened and the other left unfinished. The lengths: (2.3) 18.4 cm., circular section; (2.4) 19.8 cm., circular section; (2.5) 16.9 cm., circular section; (2.6) 17.5 cm., squarish section; (2.7) 17.1 cm., circular section; (2.8) 25 cm., circular section – this one is very slim; (2.9) 18.5 cm., twisted slim rod, the unfinished end bent at a right angle. (2.10) 16.5 cm., circular section – the flattened end is bent over, perhaps 'killed'. Only 2.3 is illustrated.

Other long model spears are known from Woodeaton as well as several shorter ones,[35] and it seems likely that many of the lengths of wire seen in the collection were intended to be sold there to visitors to the temple, perhaps as offerings to Mars. Wire of different gauge was clearly being manufactured on site, and it would have been very easy to cut an appropriate length and flatten one end for would-be purchasers (see below).

2.11 *Model leaf* L. 3.5 cm. Bone. Crude lanceolate three-dimensional leaf without a petiole carved from the shaft of a small bone, such as a fibula. One end has been worked to a point and the other shaped and polished. A similar lanceolate leaf was found at the bone-working site at Butt Road, Colchester, along with broad-leafed types.[36] Alternatively, it could have been made as a small, double-ended peg.[37]

3 INSCRIPTIONS (Fig. 1)

3.1 *Fragment of a bronze sheet plaque*, possibly originally triangular, 2.8 x 1.2 cm. The bottom edge and part of both side edges remain. A row of round dots has been punched from behind along the 3 edges, most of which have pierced the thin metal and several of which are damaged. Dots punched from behind have been used to outline the irregularly-spaced letters of the inscription, the bottom line of which remains, together with the base of some of the letters in the line above. The letters read:

[...] * A/MOS * S ADO[38]

No interpretation has yet been proposed, although it is possible that this includes elements of the name of the dedicator.

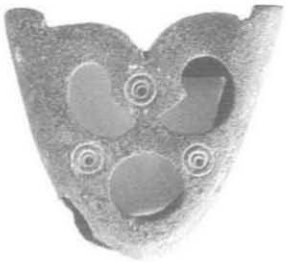
3.2 *Bronze letter A* W. 4.6 cm., and probably originally 5.5 cm. high. Complete except for the apex. The letter has been cut from sheet metal and has a shallow V-shaped profile. There was originally a hole for attachment at the damaged apex and there is another below the mitred base of each of the splaying side strokes. The foot of the left leg has been repaired. Three fragmentary letter As have been found at Woodeaton before, similar in style and probably in size to this example.[39]

3.3 *Bronze letter M* 1.6 x 1.9 cm. Fragment of a letter similar in style and patination to the last. It seems most likely to have been the serif and top left corner of a letter M.[40]

3.4 - 3.5 *Two curving fragments of bronze votive letters* which cannot be identified for certain, but are possibly an S (L. *c.* 2.7 cm.) and an O or a C (L. *c.* 5.1 cm.), also cut from bronze sheet and shaped to a shallow, V-shaped cross-section.

3.6 *Bone roundel* Diameter 2.1 cm. The obverse is countersunk and the reverse divided into four quadrants by two intersecting lines forming a saltire cross.[41]

[33] Frere, op. cit. note 23, p. 262. I am grateful to Richard Bartlett for drawing my attention to this model.
[34] Information from Dr. K. Knowles in Henig, op. cit. note 17, 107-8, Fig. 94, no. 1.
[35] Kirk, op. cit. note 5, pp. 40-1, nos. 6-11; Fig. 8, no. 13; Fig. 9, no. 1 and Pl. II, D1 & D2; Bagnall Smith, op. cit. note 10, pp. 184-5.
[36] N. Crummy, 'Boneworking at Colchester', *Britannia*, xii (1981), 277-85, see Fig. 1, no. 1; N. Crummy, *Roman Small Finds from Excavations in Colchester 1971-9* (Colchester Archaeol. Rep. 2, 1983), Figs. 187-9.
[37] Crummy, op. cit. note 36 (1983), Fig. 194, no. 4387.
[38] I am most grateful to R.S.O. Tomlin for his reading of this inscription.
[39] R.G. Collingwood and R.P. Wright, *Roman Inscriptions in Britain*, I (1965), no. 238.
[40] Cf. ibid. no. 239.
[41] Ibid. II, iii, 2440.256; Crummy, op. cit. note 36 (1983), Fig. 94, no. 2244.



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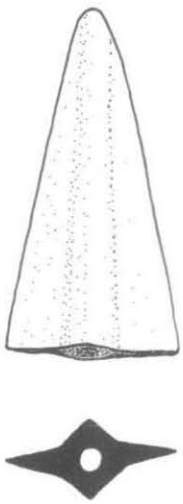

4.6

Fig. 2. Military Equipment.

4 MILITARY EQUIPMENT (Fig. 2)

4.1 *Scabbard chape* L. 3.2 cm. Width at the top: 3.6 cm. Bronze. Complete, but with some damage to the base. Openwork, rounded, tapering chape from the scabbard of a sword; the front has three piercings, two curvilinear and the third circular, and is decorated with three punched ring-and-dot motifs. The back is open, apart from a narrow strip of metal across the top, part of which is missing. No exact parallel has been found, but the type is quite common.[42]

4.2 *Scabbard chape* L. 7.5. W. 2.9 cm. Bronze. Fashioned from sheet and now somewhat squashed. Complete except for a tiny piece missing from the top edge. The chape has broken open down the top half of one side. This long, slim, gently-tapering chape appears to have come from the scabbard of a seax or slender knife. Round the end and sides of the rounded tip is a moulded strip - at first sight, apparently applied but, in fact, integral with the rest of the chape. The upper edge of the chape is decorated with two zones of fine incised parallel lines. No parallel has been found but the form, with its decorative edges, is thought more likely to have been post-Roman: comparisons may be made with, for example, the U-shaped, panelled silver chape with two small gold rivets belonging to a slender seax which was found in a princely Frankish grave at Krefeld-Gellep, and with the elaborately decorated and bordered, U-shaped gold chape of a sword scabbard with sheet metal front and back plates, from Picquigny, in northern France.[43] Although these examples were constructed differently, the appearance of the form is similar.

4.3 *Prick spur* H. 3 cm. W. 8 cm. D. 6.5 cm. Bronze, cast, with an iron prick that has a tinned area on either side of it. The sides, which are of different length, are flat on the inner, upper and lower surfaces, but have three facets on the decorated outer surface. The decoration consists of short diagonal hatched lines, arranged differently on each side of the spur, running the same way on the shorter side and in a pattern on the other. The terminals expand to form a ring with a hole in the centre. Attached to the outer surface of the ring-terminal on the shorter side is a thin disc of metal of similar diameter. There is iron corrosion in the centre of both terminals. A flange, with a small stepped moulding on either side, rises behind the heel into a curling crest with a debased animal-head terminal. The style of decoration suggests a late Roman date. A spur with an iron prick was published earlier by Kirk, and also illustrated in an article by Shortt, who found that spurs were not in common use in the Roman empire.[44]

4.4 *A lump of iron concretion containing metal links, probably a fragment of mail* An X-ray photograph revealed three linked butted bronze rings in the foreground. Behind were two similar rings, and three more, mixed up with probably three iron rings, one of which appears to have been riveted.[45] A larger lump containing alternate rows of welded and riveted iron links of similar dimensions to the above was found earlier at Woodeaton.[46] Mail made of interlinking iron rings was developed as a defensive garment in the Iron Age, becoming a symbol of status. Often of very fine quality, its manufacture was a long and painstaking process. It was adopted by the Romans, with perhaps a broadening of the social range allowed to wear it.[47] It rarely survives in the archaeological record, but a jacket of mail in a bag was found outside Verulamium in a Celtic princely burial in 1992.[48] There are several more bronze links, possibly associated with the above or perhaps part of some form of jewellery or decoration. A group found earlier, linked laterally as well as lengthways, had two pierced Roman coins attached.[49] Decorative chain has been reported at several temple sites.[50]

[42] B. Cunliffe, *Fifth Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent*, v (1968), Pl. XXXIV, 91-2.

[43] R. Pirling, 'Ein fränkische Fürstengrab aus Krefeld-Gellep', *Germania*, xlii (1964), 197, no. 15, 198, Fig. 7; I am very grateful to H. Hamerow for this reference; A.G. MacGregor, *Summary of the Collections, Roman Iron Age, Migration Period and Early Medieval* (1997), 184, no. 79.1, in gold.

[44] Ashmolean Museum R100; Kirk, op. cit. note 5, p. 27 and Pl. IIIA; H. de S. Shortt, 'A Provincial Roman Spur from Longstock, Hants, and Other Spurs from Roman Britain', *Antiq. Jnl.* xxxix (1959), 60-76, Pls. XIV-XV: the second Woodeaton spur most resembles no. 4, from Chedworth; H. de S. Shortt, 'Another Spur of the First Century AD from Suffolk', *Antiq. Jnl.* xliv (1964), 60-1 and Pl. XXXIV, a & b, and Fig. 1.

[45] I am very grateful to Esther Cameron for taking the X-ray photograph and to Brian Gilmour for examining the object and for his advice.

[46] E.M. Jope, 'A Fragment of Chain-Mail from the Roman-British Temple Site at Woodeaton', *Oxoniensia*, xxii (1957), 106-7.

[47] Bishop and Coulston, op. cit. note 29, pp. 59-60, 85-7 and Fig. 48, no. 2.

[48] A. Selkirk, 'A Royal Burial at St. Albans', *Current Archaeology*, cxxxii (1993), 484-8 (based on a lecture given by Rosalind Niblett of St. Albans Museum to the Society of Antiquaries).

[49] Bagnall Smith, op. cit. note 10, pp. 189, 191.

[50] Wheeler and Wheeler, op. cit. note 11, p. 91 & Pl. XXX, B; R.E.M. Wheeler, *Maiden Castle, Dorset* (1943), 284 and Fig. 95, no. 6.

Prehistoric Weapons

4.5 *Arrowhead* L. 2.6 W. at base: c. 2 cm. Flint. Damaged. Early Bronze Age type. Beautifully worked and originally barbed and tanged. Now lacking its barbs. A group of six was found recently in a beaker grave group at Yarnton, near Cassington, Oxon.[51]

4.6 *Spearhead* L. 4.5 cm. W. at base: 2.3 cm. Bronze. Incomplete. The upper part of a Middle Bronze Age socketed spearhead, the type uncertain as none of the lower part remains.[52]

5 JEWELLERY – Brooches (Figs. 3-4)

All are bronze, except no. 5.2 which is iron.

5.1 *Birdlip type* L. 6.2 cm. Cast. The condition of the surface of the bronze is only fair. The brooch lacks part of its catchplate and its hinged pin: corroded remains of the point of the iron pin remain in the hollow of the catchplate and there are further corrosion products around the two rearward lugs which project behind the head. The bow has a trumpet-head and is long, narrow, and half-round in section. Below the head is a triple moulded flange, the central moulding being the largest. Beneath the flange projects the forward-curling tongue, characteristic of the type; this has moulded decoration on its underside. The long catchplate has two irregular piercings. The first Birdlip brooch to be found was discovered in the Iron Age grave at Birdlip, Glos. together with the Birdlip Mirror.[53]

Although all Birdlip brooches have a projecting tongue, the width and form of the bow varies. Earlier Birdlip brooches have a spring, the end of which is inserted into a hole behind the head; the majority of published Birdlip brooches have been sprung. The two rearward lugs and hinged pin of this example reflect a slightly later development. The type occurs only in Britain and dates to the early part of the 1st century AD. It is believed to derive from the continental *Flügelfibel* and *fibule à ailettes*.[54] The shape and slightly 'turned-up' foot of the bow of this brooch is reminiscent of the Aylesford brooch-type, of which Hattat gives an example from Bicester, thus Alchester.[55] A Birdlip brooch is known from Drunshill, a very short distance from the temple at Woodeaton. This has a curling tongue and two rearward lugs, but the bow is broad and has a button instead of a flange at the junction of bow and foot.[56]

5.2 *Modified La Tène III 'safety-pin' form.* L. 5.5 cm. Iron. Sprung. Lacking over half the pin and heavily corroded. The upper surface of the tapering bow is rounded and the catchplate solid: the catchplate and tip of the bow have been repaired. A similar brooch believed to date to the later 1st century BC was found at Swarling, Kent, and part of another with pre-Conquest associations was discovered at Oare, Wilts. 1st-century AD contexts have been established for brooches of this type from Knap Hill, Woodcuts and Rotherley in Cranborne Chase,[57] an early Roman date for one from the Roman temple at Harlow[58] and for one from Colchester.[59] Almost identical to this brooch, and with its pin broken in almost exactly the same place, is an early Roman example from Alchester.[60]

5.3 - 5.5 *La Tène III, Nauheim Derivative or 'Poor Man's' Brooches* Three examples of this simple common brooch were found: because the type was cheap and quick to make, it continued to be produced throughout the 1st century.

5.3, L. 5.5 cm. is a complete but distorted example with a line of punched 'basket-weave' decoration down each side of the bow.

[51] G. Hey, 'Yarnton Cassington Evaluation', *S. Midlands Archaeol.* xxiv (1994), 49-50 and 51, Fig. H.

[52] Cf. C. Burgess and D. Coombs, *Bronze Age Hoards* (BAR Brit. Ser. lxvii, 1979), 96, Fig. 3.2, no. 11 (from the Andover Hoard); see also M. Ehrenberg, *Bronze Age Spearheads from Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire* (BAR xxxiv, 1977). Many examples would be possible.

[53] Y.J.E. Staelens, 'The Birdlip Cemetery', *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Archaeol. Soc.* c (1982), 19-31.

[54] R. Hattat, *Ancient Brooches and other Artefacts* (1989), 20-1 and references, Fig. 154: the Woodeaton example most resembles Fig. 154, no. 266, although the catchplate of this last is unperforated.

[55] Ibid. 17, Fig. 6.

[56] Ashmolean Museum, Pr. 418; Taylor, op. cit. note 1, p. 111, no. 51 & Fig. 8.

[57] C.F.C. Hawkes and M.R. Hull, *Camulodunum* (1947), 308, Type II, gives many examples.

[58] R.E.M. Wheeler, 'A 'Romano-Celtic' Temple near Harlow, Essex', *Antiq. Jnl.* viii (1928), 307-8 & Fig. 4, 1.

[59] Hawkes and Hull, op. cit. note 57, p. 308, no. 4, Pl. LXXXIX, no.4.

[60] J. Iliffe, 'Excavations at Alchester, 1928', *Antiq. Jnl.* xii (1932), 65, Pl. xviii, 4.

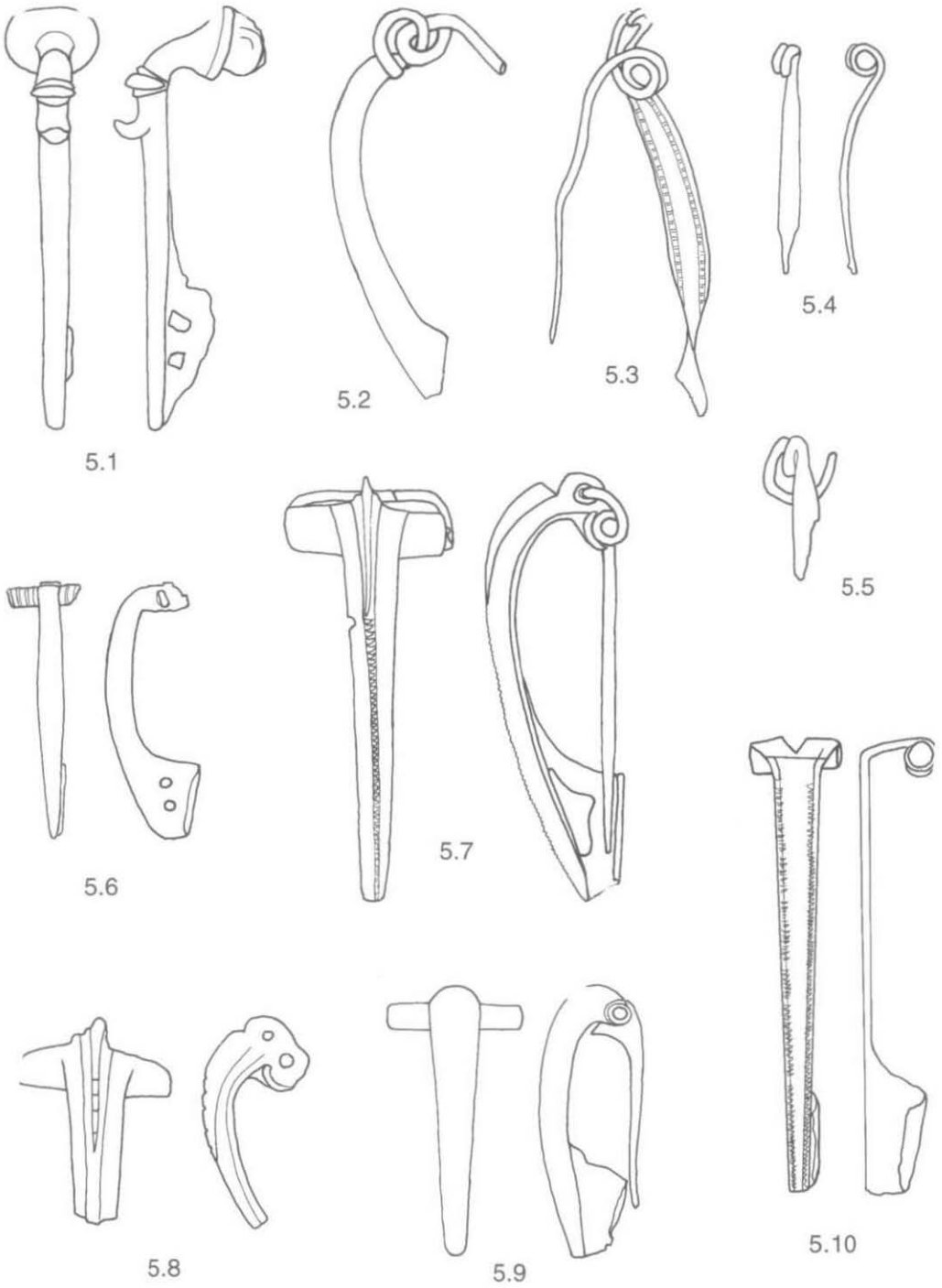

Fig. 3. Brooches.

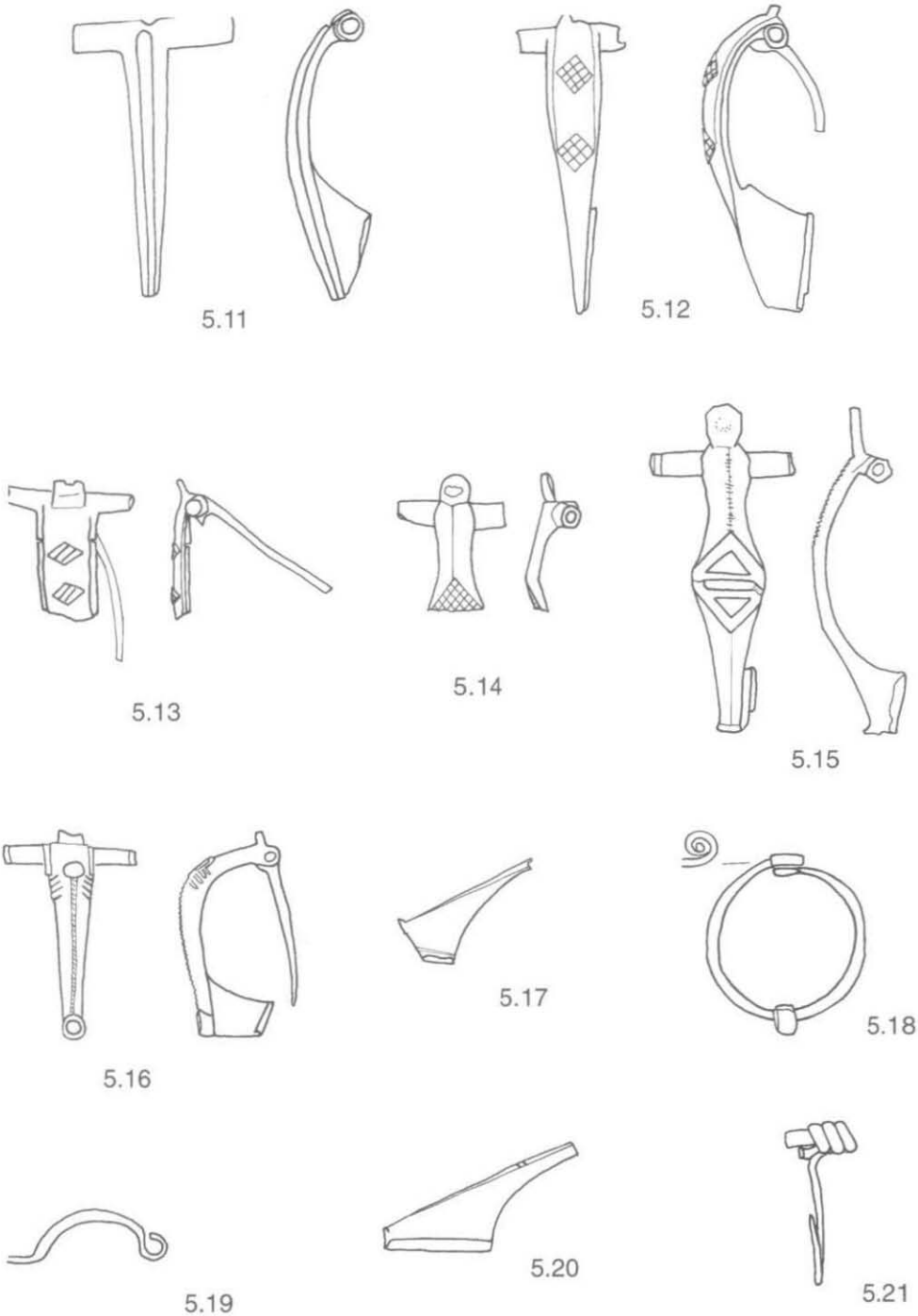

Fig. 4. Brooches.

5.4, L. 3.3 cm. is small and flimsy. It lacks part of the spring and the catch plate.

5.5, L. 2.1 cm. is also small and flimsy: the bow tapers sharply and its surface is too corroded for any decoration to be visible.[61]

5.6 *Colchester, 1-piece brooch*. L. 3.7 cm. Cast. Lacking part of one of the short, ridged wings, the pin and the pin mechanism. A stump projects from the centre of the back of the wing-plate and there is another on the head of the brooch behind the wings which is probably the remains of a chord-hook. The bow is rounded and the catchplate has two round perforations.[62] 1st century.

5.7 *Colchester, 2-piece sprung brooch* L. 6.3 cm. cast, complete and in very good condition. It has decoration on the central ridge and cavetto mouldings. 1st century.

5.8 *Colchester, 2-piece sprung brooch* L. 3.1 cm. cast. In poor condition and lacking its foot, catchplate, spring and pin. It has decoration on the central ridge and cavetto mouldings. 1st century, but later than the one-piece example mentioned above. A similar brooch was found earlier at Woodeaton.[63]

5.9 *Dolphin Type* L.3.9 cm. Cast. Hinged. Complete, except where surface corrosion has caused pitting damage. Characteristically, the head of the undecorated bow, a little more than hemispherical in section, is humped to beyond the level of the cylindrical wings. 1st century.

5.10 *Aucissa Derivative Strip Bow* L. 6.6 cm. Cast. Lacking the pin. The condition of this strong, well made, flat bow is excellent. The head of the bow curves down almost at a right-angle towards the hinge mechanism of the now-absent pin. There it bifurcates to form the very short cylindrical wings which cover the axis pin, most of which remains *in situ*. An impressed line with fine rocker-tracer decoration runs parallel to each side of the bow. The catchplate is solid and well formed. 1st century AD.

5.11 *T-shaped* L. 3.9 cm. Cast. Lacking the hinged pin, but with much of the axis pin remaining within the cylindrical wings No decoration apart from the moulded medial ridge. 1st-2nd century AD.

Five cast brooches, three of which have raised, moulded decoration in geometric designs while the other two have some features in common with the first three but probably contained enamel. Each has a headloop, or the remains of a headloop, which in one case is not pierced. On three of the five, part or all of the bow is arrised. Where the catch still remains, it is placed to one side of the foot. A foot and catchplate fragment of the same type have been included:

5.12 *T-shaped* L. 4.5 cm., has a tapering, gently curved bow with a narrow stepped border, the upper half of which is decorated with two raised moulded lozenges, of 'scored' lattice design. A similar brooch was found earlier at Woodeaton. This brooch is rarely found beyond the lower Severn area.

5.13 *T-shaped* L. 2 cm., lacks all but the upper half of the flattish bow, the cylindrical wings and the bent hinged pin. The headloop has broken off. The bow is edged with a narrow stepped border and decorated with two raised flat lozenges, incised with diagonal lines. There would originally have been at least one more lozenge. No parallel has been found, but this brooch is probably related to 5.12.

5.14 *T-shaped* L. 2 cm., lacking the lower half of the bow and the hinged pin. The upper half of the bow is arrised. It expands towards the centre to contain a moulded 'scored' lattice panel that is now triangular but on the complete brooch would probably have been lozengiform. The headloop is complete but was punched perilously near the edge on one side. No exact parallel has been found, but it appears to be of similar type.

5.15 *T-shaped* L. 4.8 cm., the bow is arrised with medial knurling on the upper half. The centre expands to contain a diamond-shaped panel, in which two opposing recessed triangles are separated by a recessed rectangular central strip. The reserves contain the remains of decayed enamel. The headloop has the outline of a hole but is not actually pierced.

5.16 *T-shaped* L. 2.9 cm., small headstud brooch which shares many of the characteristics of the previous four brooches. Complete except for the empty circular recesses at the head and foot of the bow, probably intended for enamel. The headloop has broken off. Below it on either side of the head of the bow is a small stepped moulding. The lower part of the bow is arrised with medial knurling and four short incised lines decorate each side, near the base of the headstud.

5.17 *T-shaped* L. 1.9 cm., the foot of the slightly arrised bow of a brooch. The catchplate is attached to one side of the foot. It is possible that this fragment belonged to 5.14.

5.18 *Penannular* Diameter 2 cm. Lacking all but the head of the pin which is curled in a ring round the wire of the brooch. Small flimsy ring of plain thin wire of uneven section. It has upturned spiral terminals. This is Hattat's Type C.[66]

The following were also found:
5.19 Humped pin of a small penannular brooch, L. 2.4 cm.

5.20 Solid catchplate and very narrow, tapering foot of a brooch, L. 2.9 cm.

5.21 Four coils and bent-back pin of a Colchester-type brooch, with half the axis pin still *in situ*.

6 JEWELLERY – Rings (Fig. 5)

All the rings are bronze except for 6.20 which is iron, and 6.27-8 which are jet/shale. Where applicable, the classification follows M. Robinson, 'Roman Trinket-Rings from Oxfordshire', *Oxoniensia*, xliii (1978), 249-51.

6.1 *Intaglio* 1.2 x 0.9 x 0.2 cm. Nicolo ringstone, Henig, form F4.[67] Probably end 1st or early 2nd century. Oval, with flat surface of edges bevelled outwards. The design has been engraved through the lighter blue layer of the gem. Unset, possibly originally set in an iron ring. Red squirrel in profile, to right, crouching to eat a large acorn, surmounted by a small sprig. The tail curves above him following the curve of the reserve. The motif is not common, but an example dating to the 1st century AD may be seen in the Dutch Royal Coin Cabinet, which was at The Hague and is now housed at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.[68] Another, from Bourgoin (Isère) in France, on nicolo, in classical linear style, is described by H. Guiraud,[69] and a third, on sardonyx, in a very richly ornamented gold setting from the Rhineland, by G. Platz-Horster.[70] Pliny mentioned the exceptionally bushy tail of the squirrel and how it served for a covering: he described the animal's habit of storing nuts for the winter and how it would sit up and use its forepaws to feed itself.[71] Martial implies that squirrels were sometimes kept as pets.[72] Other intaglios are known from Woodeaton, one set in a bronze ring depicting Neptune, a gold ring with a hare performing human actions[73] and another gold ring set with a depiction of Minerva, found 'near Oxford':[74] the first two were possibly moulded blue glass, imitating nicolo, and the third cut on genuine nicolo. There is also an imitation *intaglio* of cast green glass, with a crude, possibly male figure.

Rings with glass settings

6.2 Hoop 1.6 wide x 1.4 cm. deep. Complete but flimsy ring of wire of D-section. There is a decorative ridge on each side of the oval bezel, which contains a flat oval setting of pale green glass. A central horizontal line with a short vertical line above and below the middle of it has been cut into the glass setting. Robinson Type 8.

6.3 Hoop 1.7 x 1.4 cm. Complete, but the flat wire of the hoop has fractured between the base of the high round bezel and one of the shoulders. The bezel is set with dark blue glass, which rises almost hemispherically above the bezel. Robinson Type 8, as above. A similar ring is already known from Woodeaton.[75]

[61] The best parallel for the first two is R. Hattat, *Brooches of Antiquity* (1987), no. 739; for the third, there are several illustrated in Hattat, op. cit. note 54, Fig. 149.
[62] Cf. Hawkes and Hull, op. cit. note 57, Pl. LXXXIX, 6-13 and Pl. XC, 14-25, (Type III).
[63] *V.C.H. Oxon.* i, Pl. XVI, brooch no. 11, reading from left to right.
[64] Ibid. Pl. XVI, centre bottom line.
[65] Hattat, op. cit. note 61 (1987), p. 102, Fig. 35 = Hull's Corpus, Type H 106.
[66] Hattat, op. cit. note 54, p. 259, Type C; Wheeler, op. cit. note 49 (1943), 264 & Fig. 86, no. 6.
[67] M. Henig, *A Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from British Sites* (BAR Brit. Ser. viii, 2nd edn. 1978), 35, Fig. 1.
[68] M. Maaskant-Kleibrink, *Cat. of the Engraved Gems in the Royal Coin Cabinet, the Hague: the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Collections* (1978), no. 615a.
[69] H. Guiraud, *Intailles et Camées de l'Époque Romaine en Gaule*, (Éditions du Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1988), no. 701A, Pl. XLVII.
[70] G. Platz-Horster, *Die Antiken Gemmen im Rheinischen Landesmuseum, Bonn* (1984), no. 55, Pl. XV.
[71] Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, viii, 138 - xi, 245 (Loeb Classical Library, transl. H. Rackham, repr. 1967).
[72] Martial, *Epigrams* i, LCL 94, Bk. v, 37, 13 (Loeb Classical Library, transl. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, 1993); J.M.C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (1973), 293.
[73] Both these last are shown in M. Henig, 'Woodeaton Intaglios', *Oxoniensia*, xxv (1970), 105-6 and Pl. XVII.
[74] M. Henig, 'A Gold Ring Found Near Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xxxix (1974), 97-8, Pl. VIII, B.
[75] Kirk, op. cit. note 5, p. 22, no. 4, & Fig. 5, no.10.

Rings with enamel settings

6.4 Hoop 1.7 x 1.4 cm. Complete. The D-section hoop expands to form decorative shoulders on either side of the bezel. Enamel decoration has been applied to the flat, circular bezel. The design is four small coloured dots, alternately blue and white, with a white dot in the centre, on a background that is now a yellowish-beige.

6.5 Hoop 1.7 x 1.5 cm. Complete. Of thin wire of circular section which expands near the bezel to form raised shoulders. The bezel is decorated with a flower design in enamel: in the centre is a raised ring of little curved bronze 'stamens' which stand out against the discoloured, decayed enamel background.

6.6 Bezel area of the hoop remains, L. 1.3 cm. The design on the bezel is similar to that on 6.5, but is smaller. (not illustrated)

Decorative metal rings

6.7 Hoop complete but fractured at the back. 1.8 x 1.6 cm. The wire is of oval section, expanding at the front to form a long, lozenge-shaped bezel, across the centre of which one horizontal line has been incised. Robinson Type 7.

6.8 Complete hoop, diameter 1.7 cm. The exterior is made up of four flat rectangular reserves, separated by four short lengths of wire hoop, each with two oval exterior knobs. No parallel has so far been seen.

6.9 Complete flimsy hoop with milled lines on the exterior surface. Diameter 1.8 cm.

6.10 Flimsy curving fragment of a ring with milled lines on the exterior surface. L. 1 cm.

6.11 L. 3.8 cm. W. 1.5 cm. Flimsy, distorted ring of flat narrow wire decorated on alternate sides along the outside edges with very faint 'corrugations'. Although the ends are pulled apart and distorted, they curve round toward each other, suggesting that this length of wire was once a small ring. Robinson Type 2.

Polygonal finger-rings

6.12 Complete hoop, diameter 1.9 cm., of wire 0.3 cm. wide. Exterior seven-sided but interior circular. Condition poor: parts of the exterior surface are shiny and a bright golden colour while other parts are dark and pitted with corrosion.

6.13 Fragment of a hoop with one side and two angles of a polygon. L. 1.3 cm. and W. 0.5 cm. It is circular on the inside.

6.14 Fragment of a hoop, L. 1.4 cm. and W. 0.45 cm. with one side and two angles of a polygon. Its inner surface is sub-polygonal.

Polygonal rings are found frequently on temple sites. Bearing in mind that bronze was clearly being worked at Woodeaton (see below), nos. 6.13 and 6.14 may have been 'off-cuts' rather than the remains of complete rings. The differing widths and form of the hoops suggest that this was a popular type.

Improvised finger-rings

6.15 Diameter 1.4 cm. The tapering shaft of a pin has been bent round to form a penannular ring

6.16 Diameter *c.* 1.5 cm. A penannular ring, roughly made from a short, odd, tapering length of wire of D-section, 0.5 cm. W. The ring is damaged at one terminal and is hooked at the other.

6.17 Diameter 1.5 cm. A spiral pennanular ring of wire of oval section, decorated on the outside with small cubes of metal separated by zones of transverse hatching. Robinson Type 3. Appears to have been cut down from a bracelet.[76]

6.18 Diameter 1.3 cm. W. varies from 0.4 cm. at one end to 0.6 cm. at the other. Small flimsy expandable ring made from a scrap of thin sheet bronze.

6.19 Diameter 1.2 cm. Small flimsy expandable ring made of a length of thin sheet bronze, with widely spaced, punched, uneven horizontal dots.

6.20 Diameter 1.2 cm. Iron. Ring with overlapping terminals, one pointed. Very heavily corroded.

[76]For bracelet type see Wheeler, op. cit. note 11, Fig. 17, Q.

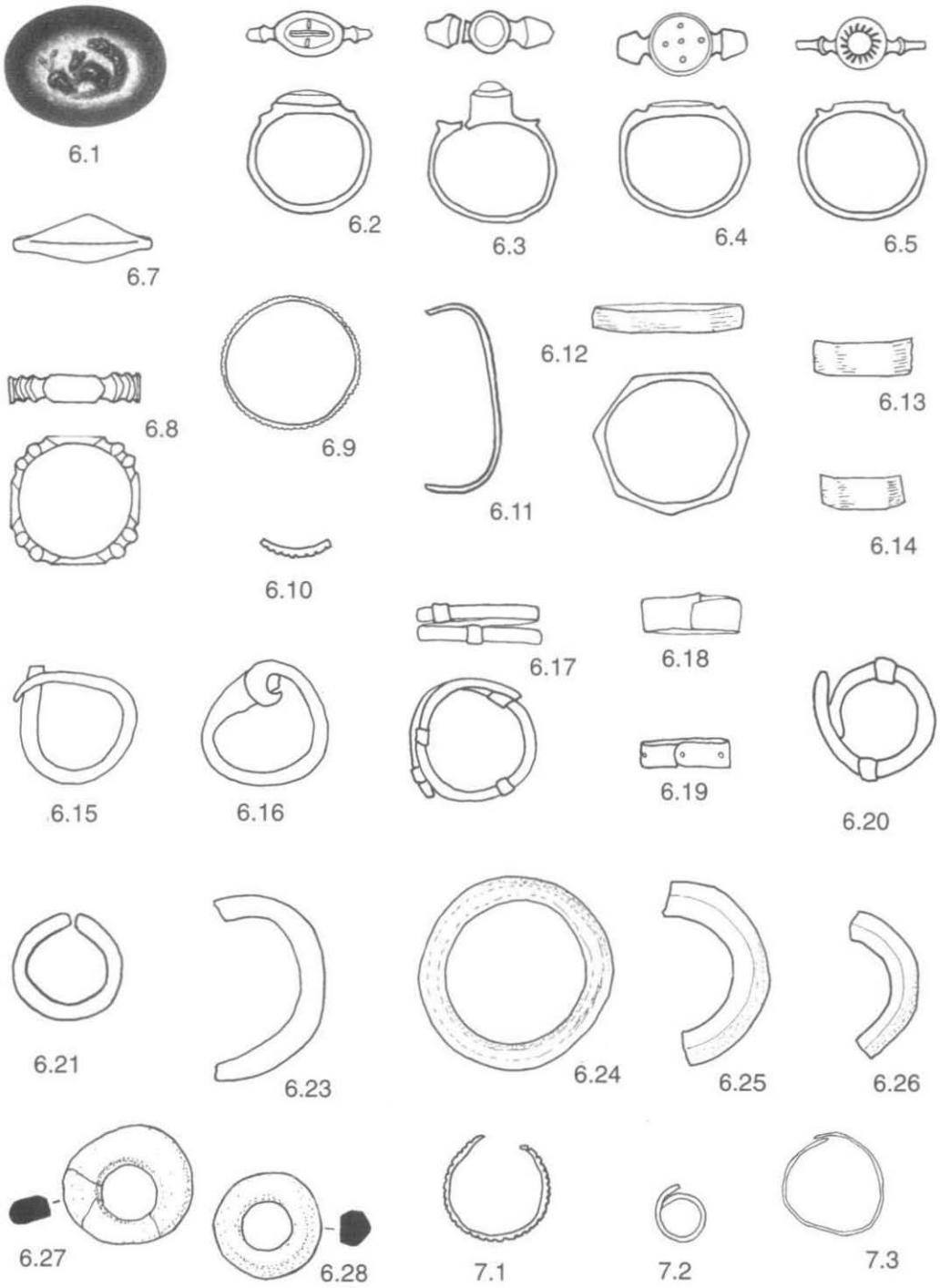

Fig. 5. Rings and Ear Rings.

Heavier rings

6.21 Penannular ring. Diameter 1.2 cm., of stout wire of circular section.

6.22 Large ring of thick wire of uneven circular section, diameter *c.* 0.8 cm. Diameter of ring 3 cm. Complete. (not illustrated)

6.23 Half only of a ring of wire of circular section. Diameter of wire 0.3 cm. Diameter of ring *c.* 2.1 cm.

6.24 Ring of wire of hexagonal section. W. of wire 0.35 cm. Diameter of ring 2.1 cm. Complete.

6.25 Ring of wire of lozengiform section. W. of wire 0.5 cm. Half only of the ring, whose diameter is 2.75 cm.

6.26 Ring of wire of square section, turned to rest on one 'point' of the square rather than on one of the flat sides. W. of wire measured from one corner to the opposite corner 0.45 cm. Diameter of the ring *c.* 1.5 cm.

Jet or Shale rings Identification of jet, shale and associated materials is notoriously difficult and I have been advised to use the term 'jet/shale'. See A. Lawson, 'Shale and Jet Objects from Silchester', *Archaeologia*, cv (1975), 241-74 and L. Allason-Jones, *Roman Jet in the Yorkshire Museum* (1996).

6.27 Diameter 1.7 cm. Depth 0.4 cm. Plain ring, mid-grey in colour, that has been repaired. One side of the ring is thinner than the other, indicating that it was probably carried or worn on a string.

6.28 Diameter 1.5 cm. Depth 0.5 cm. Plain ring of a light grey colour, with an angular outer profile.

7 JEWELLERY – Ear-rings All are bronze. (Fig. 5)

7.1 Flimsy small penannular ear-ring. Diameter 1.3 cm. with milled lines on the exterior surface.[77]

7.2 Very tiny ring with overlapping ends, possibly an ear-ring. Diameter 0.6 cm., made from wire less than 0.1 cm. in diameter.

7.3 Tiny expandable ring, probably an ear-ring. Diameter 1.4 cm. W. 0.1 cm. The barely visible external decoration on this very flimsy ring consists of zones containing a transverse line alternating with zones containing three or four little transverse lines. Robinson Type 2.

8 JEWELLERY – Bracelets (Figs. 6-7)

All are bronze, with the exception of 8.18 which is base silver and 8.40 - 8.42 which are jet/shale. Where relevant, the following classification has been applied: G. Clarke, *Pre-Roman and Roman Winchester, ii: The Roman Cemetery at Lankhills* (1979), 301-14 and Fig. 37.[78] Where it is necessary to show only the pattern or where the object was severely distorted, these have been shown diagramatically. Some of the bracelets or bangles may have been worn round the ankle rather than the wrist.

Pre-Roman Type

8.1 L. 3.5 cm. The internal diameter would have been 1.75 cm. Fragment of a cast bracelet, of semi-circular section, of Hallstatt type, in poor condition. The exterior face is formed by a succession of oval knobs, separated from each other by single ribs, in this example very worn.[79]

Flat 'bangle' type bracelets

8.2 L. 3.1 cm. Width of wire 0.4 cm. Curving fragment of flat wire with 'pie-crust' decoration on the shallow outside edge.

[77] Cf. L. Allason-Jones, *Ear-Rings in Roman Britain* (BAR Brit. Ser. cci, 1989), Fig. 3, 291.

[78] I have been advised by Vanessa Fell not to attempt identification as this is notoriously difficult.

[79] For comparisons, see Kirk, op. cit. note 5, p. 16, Fig. 4, no. 12; R. Smith, *A Guide to the Antiquities of the Early Iron Age* (British Museum Guide, 1925), 35, Fig. 33, no. 2; B. Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain* (1974), 146, Fig. 10.15, no. 5.

8.3 L. *c.* 3.8 cm. About three-fifths of a badly out-of-shape bracelet of flat, shallow wire, c. 0.4 cm. wide, with similar decoration. Almost the same width as the previous example. Original diameter probably 4 cm. Both edges of the upper surface are decorated with continuous short nicks (not illustrated).

8.4 L. 1.5 cm. Small curving fragment of flat shallow wire with notches arranged on alternate edges of the exterior side face.

8.5 L. 3.7 cm. Small, curving, flimsy fragment of very shallow, narrow wire decorated on the outside edge with a 'picot' profile.

8.6 L. 2.5 cm. Small curving, flimsy fragment of narrow, flat, very shallow wire, the outside edge decorated in profile with small raised rectangles followed by zones of five grooves.[80]

8.7 L. 2.4 cm. A small curving fragment of narrow, very flat wire decorated in profile with a series of five grooves between plain areas.

8.8 L. 3.5 cm. Two-thirds of a distorted bracelet of flat metal incised with small nicks arranged along each outside edge of the upper surface.

Penannular bracelets with snakehead terminals Evidence for the manufacture of snakehead rings and bracelets was found at Alchester (the mould is in the Ashmolean Museum), noted by M. Henig in 1995[81] and to be published.

8.9 L. 8.7 cm. Complete but very crudely made and schematically decorated small bracelet. It has been badly distorted. One terminal ends in a sharp point for the snake's tail, the other is less sharply pointed, has a punchmark across the 'nose' and four punchmarks in a diagonal line behind it. There is another zone in which a line of five punchmarks runs diagonally the opposite way; beyond these zones, the exterior has transverse hatching to the tip of the tail.[82]

8.10 Diameter *c.* 3.5 cm. Complete but bent small bracelet with schematically represented snakes' heads at the terminals. Behind each head are six roughly incised transverse lines.[83]

8.11 L. 5.5 cm. Fragment of a sturdy bracelet with a stylised snake's head stamped out in low relief on the remaining terminal. There is a transverse line impressed across the front of the head, with a reversed arrow for the 'nose' behind it, two small round projections for the eyes and three saltire crosses behind the head to represent the skin. The decoration is schematic and sketchy. A line has been deeply impressed along each side to give a narrow raised border.[84]

8.12 L. 3.6 cm. Fragment of a sturdy, narrow, D-profile bracelet. One squared-off terminal remains, on which a stylised snake's head is stamped out in low relief. The main elements are present: the sides of the jaws, the 'arrow' for the 'nose' and the long and short swellings for the top of the head. Just below the terminal there is a zone of twelve incised lines.[85]

Cabled bracelets (none complete)[86]

8.13 L. 6 cm. Part of a triple-twist bracelet of fine wire, of circular section. At one end, one wire has broken off, a second is drawn up to make the hook, and the third is wound round the base of the hook to give a tidy finish.

8.14 L. 6.3 cm. Three-strand fragment with wire of rectangular section. Flattened on the inside. One end has a hook-terminal.

8.15 L. 6.1 cm. Three-strand fragment with wire of rectangular section, flattened on the inside like 8.14 and probably from the same bracelet.[87]

[80] G. Clarke, *Pre-Roman and Roman Winchester, ii: The Roman Cemetery at Lankhills* (1979), Type D, Fig. 37, no. 568.

[81] M. Henig, *The Art of Roman Britain* (1995), 131.

[82] C. Johns, 'The Snake Jewellery', in *The Snettisham Jeweller's Hoard* (1997), 35, Type A.

[83] Ibid. p. 36, Fig. 9, Type Bii.

[84] Ibid., probably Type Bii.

[85] Ibid., probably Type Bii.

[86] Cf. Kirk, op. cit. note 5, p. 20, nos. 18-22 & Fig. 4, no. 13; Clarke, op. cit. note 80, pp. 302-3, Type A.

[87] Kirk, op. cit. note 5, p. 20, no. 22 would be a parallel.

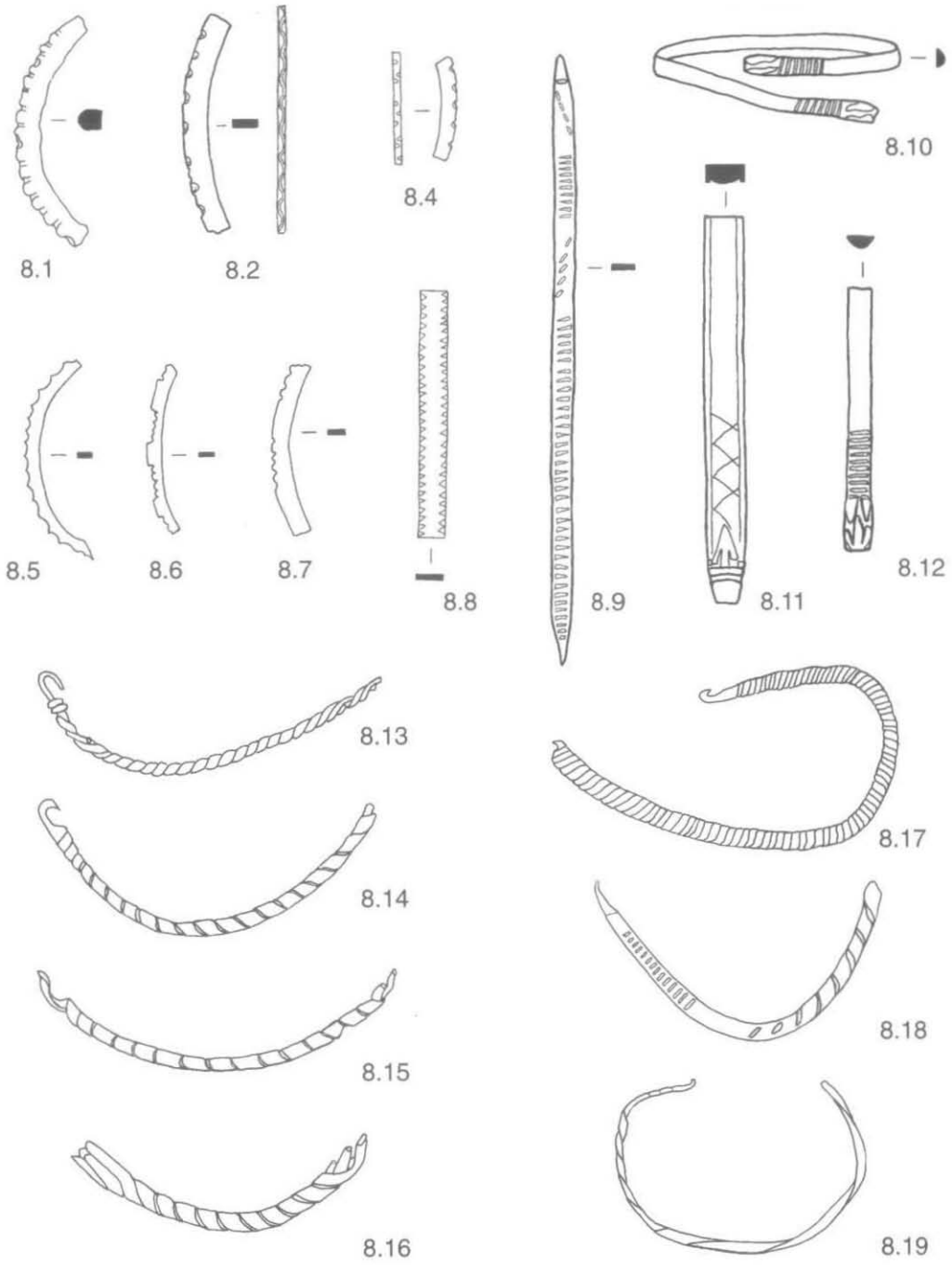

Fig. 6. Bracelets.

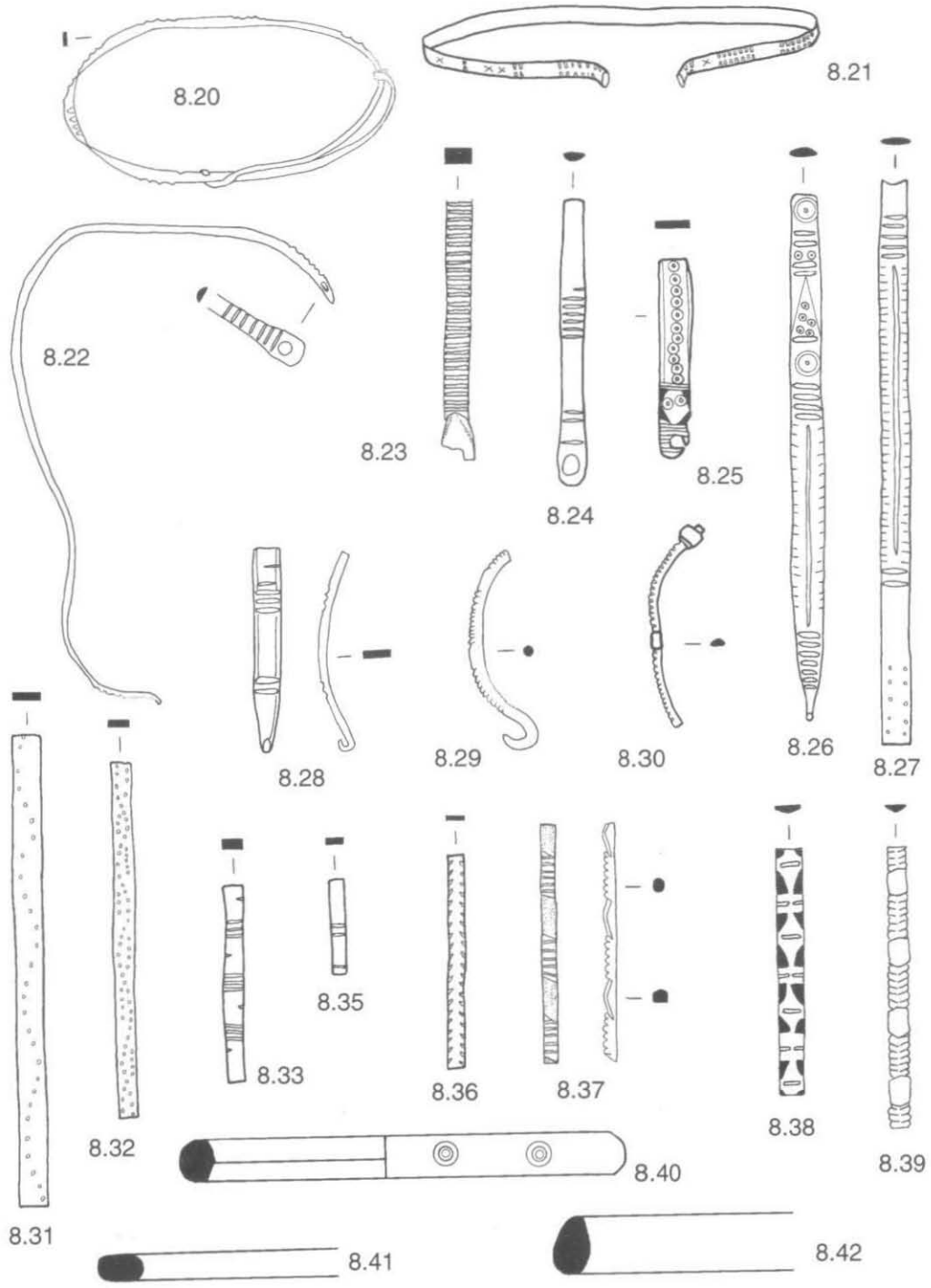

Fig. 7. Bracelets.

8.16 L. 5 cm. A curving length of four-strand cable which is broken at one end and clearly unfinished at the other. It may have been abandoned during manufacture because of the poor quality of two of the wires, which can be traced through the coil. The unfinished end appears to have been held by a tool of some kind, while the rest was twisted.

8.17 L. 9.6 cm. A four-strand bracelet, different in appearance from the others, with a hook at one end. The individual wires are of rectangular section, but are narrow and closely twisted round a central bronze wire. This last was drawn up to form the shaped hook. (A green circular area is visible in the midst of the corrosion inside the broken end.)[88]

Cast imitation cabled bracelet (incomplete)

8.18 L. 6.4 cm. Imitation wire-twist, base silver bracelet, of sub-circular section, which has been cast and has the remains of the terminal at one end. The outside of what would have been the middle of the bracelet appears at first like a normal 4-strand cable bracelet. But closer inspection reveals that the lines separating the twists of the supposed cabling do not continue on the inside, where the surface is smooth. About 2 cm. before the hook, short transverse nicks on the upper surface of the bracelet can be seen. This imitates the binding of a wire strand round the terminal that is found in a true wire-twist bracelet.[89]

Twisted wire bracelet

8.19 W. 3.2 cm. Depth from front to back 2.3 cm. Very small, simple bracelet of lightly twisted, single-strand wire. One end has been left with a straight edge but the other tapers, is decorated with three little transverse nicks and has a slightly hooked terminal.

Expandable bracelet

8.20 Diameter *c.* 3.2 cm. Complete but squashed, small, flimsy, expandable bracelet, crudely made from thin flat strip, decorated on alternate edges with groups of four notches. The ends overlap and are twisted round the main hoop. It is too small and flimsy for normal wear, even by a child. An expandable bracelet of wire of circular section was published earlier from this site.[90]

Penannular strip bracelet

8.21 Diameter *c.* 5.5 cm. An almost complete, simple small bracelet of wire of oval section, with faint zones of grooves on the outer surface. The terminals curve outwards slightly.

'Hook and eye' strip bracelets All Clarke Type D (with an invariably D-shaped or rectangular cross-section and continuous repetitive decoration) except for the two with more complex panelled decoration, nos. 8.26 and 8.27:

8.22 L. 12.6 cm. (the diameter would have been small). Only the very tip of the hook is missing from this distorted, flimsy bracelet of plain wire of D-section, which is decorated with seven grooves before each terminal. The 'eye' terminal expands to provide space for the 'eye' to be punched. The other end of the bracelet tapers to become the turned back hook.

8.23 L. 3.8 cm. Worn inverted fragment of strip with a continuously milled edge and with part of the damaged 'eye'.

8.24 L. 4.2 cm. Worn fragment of uneven width with two zones of transverse lines. The 'eye' has been punched rather close to one edge of the terminal.

8.25 L. 3 cm. Fragment of strip decorated with a horizontal line of continuous unevenly placed ring-and-dot motifs between two bordering lines. The small panel next to the fastening is chip carved, with two more ring-and-dot motifs. Beyond it, the 'eye' was punched too close to the edge, and is broken. This fragment was probably a reject.[91]

[88] L. Allason-Jones and R. Miket, *The Catalogue of Small Finds from South Shields Roman Fort* (1984), pp. 135-6, no. 3.275.

[89] Clarke, op. cit. note 80, p. 304, Type B2b; cf. Wheeler and Wheeler, op. cit. note 11, Fig. 17, N.

[90] Kirk, op. cit. note 5, p. 20, no. 17 & Fig. 5, no. 1.

[91] No exact parallel found, but see Wheeler and Wheeler, op. cit. note 11, Fig. 17, E.

8.26 L. 7.6 cm. Fragment with hook terminal. Decorated in panels, becoming more elaborate towards the middle of the bracelet.[92]

8.27 L. 8.9 cm. Fragment similar in type to the last, with the remains of the 'eye' terminal. As on the last example, the panels of decoration are complex. The two fragments may be from the same bracelet, although the decoration on this strip is slightly different and its width is narrower in parts.

8.28 L. 3 cm. Fragment of strip decorated with two zones of transverse lines and a faint linear border. Hook terminal.[93]

8.29 L. of wire 3.3 cm. Fragment of small curving bracelet of wire of circular section. One end tapers to form a point curled back on itself to make a hook. The exterior surface is decorated with alternate milled and plain zones.[94]

8.30 L. 3.2 cm. Curving fragment of narrow wire of sturdy, rectangular section, with a closely milled outer surface. Zones of milling are separated by encircling narrow bands of bronze, one looking like a bead and the other like a rectangular 'cube'.[95]

Fragments of strip which are not curved and have neither hook nor eye and may therefore not have been bracelets but 'off-cuts'

8.31 & 8.32 L. 5.4 & 5.9 cm. 2 worn strips with a pattern of scallops marked out in punched dots. Both are Clarke Type D.

8.33 & 8.34 L. 2.9 & 5 cm. Two fragments of strip decorated with groups of three lines, with a single deep, wide notch on alternate sides in the spaces between. (8.34 not illustrated)

8.35 L. 1.5 cm. Small fragment with one pair of grooves and one line of another. This fragment might, alternatively, have been made for a finger ring.

8.36 L. 3 cm. Fragment decorated with continuous slanting nicks along both edges.

8.37 L. 10.7 cm. Distorted fragment of wire of circular section with neither terminal. The outer surface is decorated with zones of five or six milled lines separated by zones which are pillow-shaped. No parallel for this pattern has been found.

8.38 L. 3.7 cm. Fragment of worn strip bracelet with festoons of chip-carving, which have been made using a file.[96]

8.39 L. 4.1 cm. Fragment of flat wire, originally 1 mm. thick. There are alternate plain and incised zones. There is a medial peak along the centre of each incised zone, made by cutting away a small strip of triangular section on each side. Nicks have been incised along each side of the peak: they do not meet in the middle.[97]

Jet /shale (See refs. for rings)

8.40 L. 4 cm. Cross section 0.6 x 0.5 cm. Fragment of jet/shale armlet. Lathe turned. Polished, black. Flat upper and lower surface. Angular inner face showing signs of hand trimming. Rounded outer profile with widely spaced, horizontal ring-and-dot decoration. Has broken with a concoidal fracture.

8.41 L. 1.9 cm. Oval cross section 0.4 x 0.7 cm. Fragment of a good quality jet/shale armlet. Lathe turned. Polished, black. Undecorated. Has broken with a concoidal fracture.

[92] Very similar to Clarke, op. cit. note 80, Fig. 37, no. 525.

[93] Ibid. Fig. 37, no. 163.

[94] The parallels found both show wire of D rather than circular section: Wheeler and Wheeler, op. cit. note 11, Fig. 17, S; Clarke, op. cit. note 80, Fig. 37, no. 163.

[95] The nearest parallels found are Wheeler and Wheeler, op. cit. note 11, Fig. 17, no. 57; P. Rahtz and P. Greenfield, *Excavations at Chew Lake Somerset* (1977), Fig. 112, no. 18; D. Neal, 'A Sanctuary at Wood Lane End, Hemel Hempstead', *Britannia*, xv (1984), 209, Fig. 10, no. 3.

[96] Clarke, op. cit. note 80, Fig. 37, no. 265; Kirk, op. cit. note 5, p. 20, no. 16, Fig. 4, no. 14.

[97] No parallel has been found with the arrised grooved areas. The nearest to the design is Wheeler and Wheeler, op. cit. note 11, Fig. 17, Q.

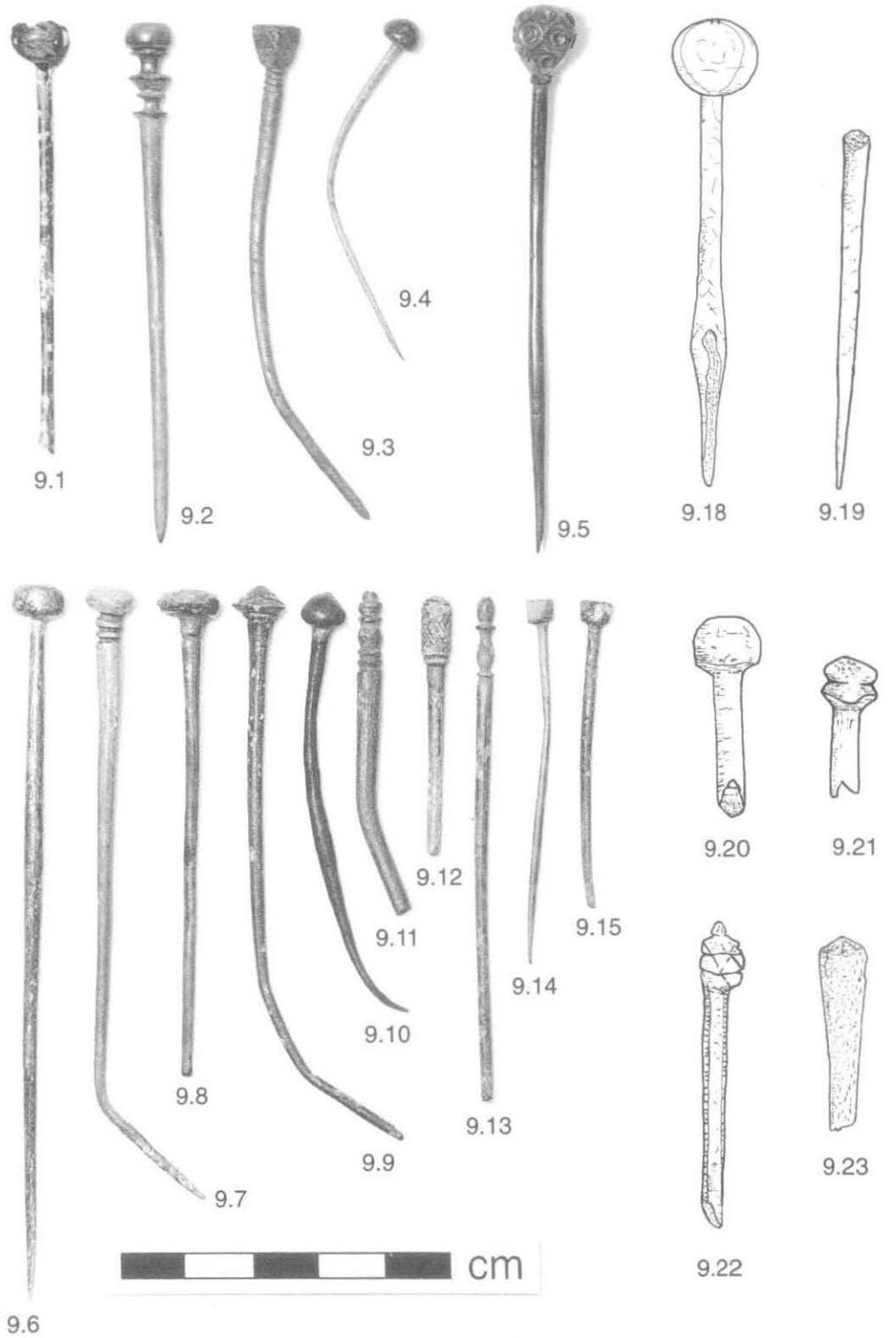
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Fig. 8. Pins.

8.42 L. 1.7 cm. D-shaped cross section 0.8 x 0.5 cm. Fragment of jet/shale armlet. Polished, but there are some minute cracks right through the material which has a drier appearance than that of the two last examples. Undecorated.

9 JEWELLERY – Pins (Fig. 8)

Bronze Pins

The bronze pins are classified according to H. Cool, 'Roman Metal Pins from Southern Britain', *Archaeol. Jnl.* cxlvii (1990), 148-82.

9.1 L. 6.4 cm. Bronze. Almost complete. The head is formed of four claws, one of them missing, which hold a very pale yellow glass bead with a 'dimpled' centre, perhaps made round a rod. Below the glass head is a plain slim shaft, lacking its pointed end. It is similar to another pin, better made and with four collars, published earlier from Woodeaton.[98] Cool, Group 14.[99]

9.2 L. 7.6 cm. Bronze. Complete. Sturdy and well-made, with four moulded collars below the round 'button-shaped' head. In the top of the head is a concentric setting of glass, white in the centre, surrounded by a circle of blue, with a circle of clear glass on the outside. Cool, Group 14.[100]

9.3 L. 7.8 cm. Bronze. Complete except for the missing glass inset; there is a deep, empty hole in the top. The head is a tapering cube, with three incised diagonal lines incised across one upper corner of each side. The pin has an incised spiral collar.[101] The shaft is bent.

9.4 L. 5.5 cm. Bronze. Complete but bent, with a slim shaft and conical head of green glass. This pin also is similar to one published earlier from the site.[102]

9.5 L. 8.1 cm. Bronze. Complete pin with a pear-shaped head decorated all over with ring-and-dot motifs of an unusual kind: the rings are raised, the dots recessed and each dot is surrounded by a roundish area of flat metal, none of which are exactly the same shape. The head rests on a small facetted collar above a slightly expanded shaft. No Roman parallel has so far been found. Possibly Anglo-Saxon.

9.6 L. 10.7 cm. Bronze. Complete, well-made pin with a deep button-shaped head and a gently expanding shaft. Cool, Group 6.

9.7 L. 10 cm. Bronze. Complete but bent, tapering pin with a button-shaped head and three grooves cut into the shaft below it, giving two collars. Cool, Group 6.

9.8 L. 7.2 cm. Bronze. Complete except for the pointed end of the tapering shaft. It has a broad, button-shaped head with two grooves cut into the shaft below it, forming one collar. Similar to others already published from Woodeaton.[103] Cool, Group 6.

9.9 L. 9.2 cm. Bronze. Complete except for the tip of the tapering shaft, which is bent towards the end. Bi-conical head decorated with three pairs of grooves on the upper surface. A horizontal groove has been cut into the lower half of the head, giving the impression that the head sits on a collar. Cool, Group 10.[104] This is a not uncommon type: another is already known from Woodeaton.[105]

9.10 L. 7 cm. Bronze. Complete but bent near the tip, this pin has an onion-shaped head and expanded shaft. Cool, Group 1.

[98] Kirk, op. cit. note 5, p. 18, no. 35 & Fig. 4, no. 3; cf. 1927.815 from Bicester in the Evans Colln., Ashmolean Museum.

[99] H. Cool, 'Roman Metal Pins from Southern Britain', *Archaeol. Jnl.* cxlvii (1990), 148-82, see Fig. 9, no. 2.

[100] See also Wheeler and Wheeler, op. cit. note 11, pp. 84-5, nos. 67 & 68. The glass in both is green.

[101] Cool, op. cit. note 99, p. 164, Fig. 9, no. 3.

[102] Kirk, op. cit. note 5, p. 17, no. 32 & Pl. II, A, 1.

[103] Ibid. 17, nos. 19 & 24 & Pl. II, A, 6 & 8.

[104] Cool, op. cit. note 99, p. 160, Group 10, Fig. 6, no. 10.

[105] Kirk, op. cit. note 5, p. 17, no. 28 and Pl. II, A, 7.

9.11 L. 4.8 cm. Bronze. Lacking the top of the head and the lower part of the shaft, condition not good. A sturdy, tapering pin on which grooved decoration has been cut into the top of the shaft, so that head and shaft are the same diameter. It is believed to be a 1st-2nd century form. Cool, Group 3.[106]

9.12 L. 3.8 cm. Bronze. Top part only of a tapering pin with a cylindrical head on which is a zone decorated with incised cross hatching. There is a groove above the zone separating it from the rounded top of the head and another below, giving a narrow band at the base of the head, above the shaft. Cool, Group 23.[107]

9.13 L. 7.5 cm. Bronze. Lacking the pointed end of the shaft. This is a much more slender and better made pin than the last; its head has been made from the top of the tapering shaft, rather than cast. Cool, Group 3.[108] A pin with the same style of head from Woodeaton was published earlier, but in this case the head was probably cast, as it is wider than the shaft.[109]

9.14 L. 4.5 cm. Bronze. Lacking the pointed end of the shaft. Slim shaft and a small head which has been cut to give triangular facets. Cool, Group 15.[110]

9.15 L. 5.4 cm. Bronze. Lacking half the head which would have been an applied cube with three crenellations each side on the top. This is a small, very slim pin with a slightly expanded shaft for which no parallel has been found.

9.16 L. 8.6 cm. Bronze. Complete, slightly bent, plain pin with a plain, rounded top to the shaft. Plain pins were used most often in the 2nd century. Cool, Group 24. (not illustrated)

9.17 Three sturdy headless bronze pins: two 5.8 cm. long, one with expanded shaft and the other with tapering shaft; the third bends very slightly below the upper end and is 4.5 cm. long. (not illustrated)

Bone Pins (Fig. 8)

The following are classified according to N. Crummy, *Roman Small Finds from Excavations in Colchester 1971-9* (Colchester Archaeol. Report 2, 1983), Figs. 187-9:

9. 18 L. 6.9 cm. Bone. Incomplete. The spherical head has been made separately and applied. Two lathe marks remain on the top. Originally this well-made polished pin had a longer shaft, indicated by the rough area on one side of the now truncated central swelling, where the break occurred. The broken end has been reworked into a fresh point. Crummy, Head Type 3.[111]

9.19 L. 5.2 cm. Bone. Incomplete. Lower tapering shaft and point only, lacking the head and upper shaft. The bone is of similar colour and texture to 9.18, and has similar small surface marks: it may be the missing point of 9.18.

9.20 L. 3 cm. Bone. Incomplete. The almost-spherical head and the shaft, now largely missing, were worked from the same piece of bone. The head is of greater diameter than the shaft. Crummy, Head Type 3.[112]

9.21 L. 2.1 cm. Bone. Incomplete. The head and shaft, now largely missing, were made from the same piece of bone. The head is a stilted cone, with one horizontal groove cut round the middle. The head is of greater diameter than the shaft. Crummy, Head Type 5.[113]

9.22 L. 4.4 cm. Bone. Incomplete and crudely worked, perhaps unfinished. Lacking part of one side of the head and the lower end of the shaft. The head is wider in diameter than the shaft. It has three grooves and a low conical tip. Head and shaft were worked from a single piece of bone.[114]

[106] Cool, op. cit. note 99, p. 154, Group 3, sub-group A, & in Fig. 2, the nearest is no. 11.
[107] Ibid. 170, Fig. 12, nos. 1-3 for the type.
[108] Ibid. 154, Group 3 & Fig. 2, no. 6.
[109] Kirk, op. cit. note 5, p. 18, no. 39 & Fig. 4, no. 7.
[110] Cool, op. cit. note 99, p. 164, Group 15; the best parallel is Fig. 9, no. 14.
[111] N. Crummy, op. cit. note 36 (1983), pp. 21-2, no. 252 (which is, in fact, Anglo-Saxon).
[112] Ibid. 22, no. 275.
[113] Ibid. 24, no. 404 is the most like it.
[114] Ibid. 24, nos. 400 & 411.

9.23 L. 2.9 cm. Only the undecorated conical head and the top 2-3 cm. of the tapering pin remain. Crummy, Head Type 1.[115]

9.24 & 9.25 L. 1.6 and 1.4 cm. Two fragments of fine polished bone pin now stained green from proximity to bronze. (not illustrated)

10 JEWELLERY – Beads of glass (Fig. 9) Only a selection has been drawn.

10.1 Diameter 2 cm. H. 1.2 cm. Half a bead of translucent royal-blue with two bosses (one damaged), and part of a third, with applied spirals of white. The 'horns' of glass were probably pulled out of the re-heated metal of the bead: alternatively, they were part of the manufacturing process; the white trail was then wound round them.[116] Guido, Class 6: Oldbury type, well-known in continental Celtic Europe during the last 150 years BC, but most common during the later 1st century BC. Survivals are known from the early Roman period.[117] (Fig. 9)

10.2 Diameter 1.9 cm. H. 6 cm. Half a bead of translucent dark blue with uneven cabling of plain blue and blue with thin threads of white. In section, the white threads can be seen to run right through the glass. Not unlike a Celtic Whirl Type.[118] (Fig. 9)

10.3 Diameter *c.* 1.8 cm. H. 0.8 cm. Half an annular bead of translucent royal blue with part of two 'eyes' remaining. One is red and the other a translucent lighter blue: each is surrounded by a marbled trail of white. Guido, Class 3: South Harting Type, a non-Roman bead of continental origin or inspiration although examples have usually been found in an early Romano-British context. (Fig. 9)

10.4 Diameter 1.7 cm. H. 1 cm. Half an annular bead of translucent mid-blue glass with white wave decoration. (Fig. 9)

10.5 Diameter 2.2 cm. H. 0.75 cm. Half an annular bead of translucent moss-green with pale yellow wave decoration. (Fig. 9)

10.6 Diameter 2.2 cm. H. 1.1 cm. Almost complete but pitted and cracked large annular bead of translucent pale green glass, with internal bubbles and iridescence along fracture lines. The pits are bubble shaped.[119] (Fig. 9)

Roman-Type Beads

The smaller beads particularly may have come from a single necklace, but it is possible that some were offered individually. Where relevant, the forms have been classified according to M. Guido, *Prehistoric and Roman Glass Beads in Britain and Ireland* (1978), 92, Fig. 37.

Melon Bead

10.7 Diam. 1.8 cm. H. 1.4 - 1.6 cm. Complete, dull turquoise, opaque bead, F22. (Fig. 9)

Long cylindrical beads

10.8-10.10 2 green and one greenish-blue. Minute longitudinal striations can be seen on the surface, caused by the drawing out of the glass. (10.8 is illustrated in Fig. 9)

[115] Ibid. 20, no. 113.

[116] J. Henderson, 'A Reconsideration of the Glass: some Archaeological and Technological Aspects', in J. Coles and S. Minnitt (eds.), *Industrious and Fairly Civilized: The Glastonbury Lake Village* (1995), 155-6, Fig. 6.12b.

[117] M. Guido, *Prehistoric and Roman Glass Beads in Britain and Ireland* (Rep. of Soc. of Antiq. of London, 1978), no. XXX, 53-7 and Pl. 1, 6a.

[118] Ibid. Pl. 1, 7a.

[119] I am very grateful to Helen Hughes-Brock for her interest and comments on 10.3 & 10.6.

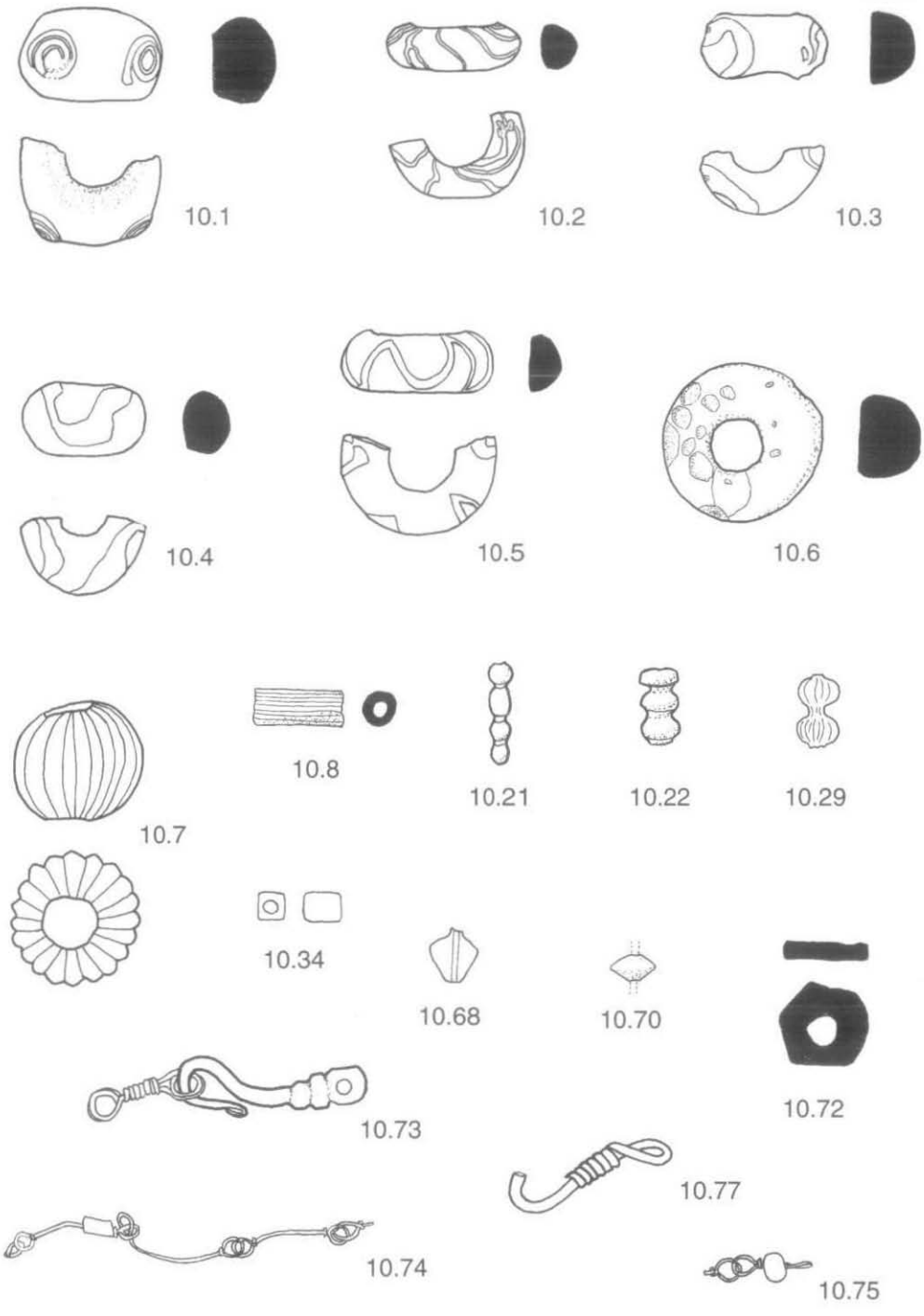
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Fig. 9. Beads.

Small segmented beads, 22 altogether

Sky blue – 8 beads, all opaque:

10.11-10.13 3 with 4 segments, F1: Diam. of all 0.25 cm., Lengths 1.3, 1.2, & 1.1 cm.

10.14 1 with 3 segments, F1: Diam. 0.3 cm., L. 0.7 cm.

10.15-10.18 4 with 2 segments, F1: Diam. of all 0.3 cm., Lengths 0.9, 0.6, 0.6 & 0.6 cm.

Green – 10 beads, all opaque except one:

10.19-10.21 3 with 4 segments, all F1, 1 translucent. One damaged. Diam. of all 0.25 cm., Lengths 1, 1.2 & 1.4 cm. (10.21 is illustrated in Fig. 9)

10.22-10.23 2 with 3 segments, both F2. Diam. 0.5 cm., L. 1 cm.; Diam. 0.4 cm., L. 0.9 cm. (10.22 is illustrated in Fig. 9)

10.24-10.27 4 with 2 segments, all probably F2. Diam. 0.4 cm, L. 0.8 cm.; other three beads Diam. 0.35 cm, L. 0.7 cm.

10.28 1 with 1 segment which has a broken cuff: Diam. 0.25 cm., L. 0.35 cm.

Colourless – 1 bead, probably originally translucent:

10.29 1 with 2 very regular segments. Internal striation visible. The form is similar to F3 (but with no foil included). Diam. 0.6 cm., L. 1 cm. (Fig. 9)

White – 1 bead, opaque:

10.30 1 with 2 segments, F1: Diam. 0.4 cm., L. 0.7 cm.

Black or very dark glass - 2 beads, both opaque:

10.31-10.32 2 beads with 3 segments, 1 (F2) with streaks of iridescence of silver and gold appearance. Examination under a microscope revealed that the surface of the glass was 'flaking'. The bead has not been examined scientifically, but the iridescence appears to be decay and not the remains of included foil, as in the type described by Boon.[120] Diam. 0.5 cm., L. 1.4 cm.; Diam. 0.4 cm., L. 1.1 cm.

Beads of square section, 9 beads altogether, all opaque F 6/7

10.33-10.36 *Sky blue* x 4: L. 1 cm. x 0.4 x 0.4 cm.; L. 0.5 x 0.4 x 0.4 cm.; L. 0.4 x 0.4 x 0.4 cm., 2 beads. (10.34 is illustrated in Fig. 9)

10.37-10.40 *Green* x 4 (1 decayed): L. 0.9 x 0.25 x 0.25 cm.; L. 0.7 x 0.4 x 0.4 cm.; L 0.5 x 0.25 x 0.25 cm.; L. 0.4 x 0.25 x 0.25 cm.

10.41 *Black* x 1: L. 0.8 x 0.25 x 0.25 cm.

Beads of lozengiform section, 3 beads altogether, all opaque

10.42-10.44 *Sky blue* x 3: L. 0.5 x 0.4 x 0.4 cm., 2 beads; L. 0.4 x 0.4 x 0.4 cm.

Annular beads, 3 beads altogether, 2 opaque and 1 translucent

10.45-10.47 *Sky blue* x 3: Diam. 0.8 cm., L. 0.4 cm.; Diam. 0.8 cm., L. 0.45 cm.; Diam. 0.9 cm., L. 0.4 cm.

Small annular beads, 5 beads altogether, 3 of them translucent

10.48-10.52 *Sky blue* x 5: Diam. 0.3 cm., L. 0.3 cm., 3 beads; Diam. 0.4 cm., L. 0.25 cm.; Diam. 0.4 cm. x 0.4 cm.

Globular beads, 8 beads altogether, 6 opaque and 2 translucent

10.53-10.55 *Sky blue* x 3 (1 still threaded on the wire of a necklace, illustrated as 10.75). All opaque. Diam. 0.5 cm., L. 0.45 cm.; Diam. 0.4 cm., L. 0.35 cm.; Diam. 0.35 cm. x L. 0.35 cm.

[120] G. Boon, 'Gilt Beads from Caerleon and Elsewhere', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, xxii (1) (1966), 104-9; G. Boon, 'Gold-in-Glass Beads from the Ancient World', *Britannia*, viii (1977), 193-207.

10.56	*Green* x 1 translucent: Diam. 0.5 cm. x L. 0.5 cm.
10.57	*Black* x 1 opaque: Diam. 0.5 cm. x L. 0.3 cm.
10.58-10.59	*Turquoise* x 1 opaque & 1 larger, translucent bead (half): Diam. 0.35 cm., L. 0.25 cm.; Diam. 0.9 cm. x L. 0.9 cm.
10.60	*White* x half an opaque larger bead, with greenish-blue surface, possibly from contact with copper alloy. Diam. 0.8 cm. x L. 1 cm.

Urn-shaped, 8 beads altogether, 6 opaque and 2 translucent

10.61-10.65	*Sky blue* x 5 opaque: Lengths: 0.6 cm., 0.6 cm., 0.4 cm., 0.4 cm., 0.4 cm.
10.66-10.67	*Small turquoise* x 2: Lengths of both 0.5 cm., 1 of them translucent.
10.68	*Larger translucent turquoise* x 1: Diam. 0.8 cm., L. 0.8 cm. (Fig. 9)

Short cylinder, 1 opaque bead only

10.69	*Bright turquoise* x 1 opaque, F5: Diam. 0.5 cm., L. 0.4 cm.

Bi-conical, 3 opaque beads altogether

10.70	*Dark blue* x 3, opaque, F 12: 0.6 cm., Depth 0.4 cm. (Fig. 9)

Droplet of glass

10.71 A small round droplet of sky-blue glass with no central hole.

Bead of jet / shale

10.72 Diameter 1.2 cm. Depth 0.4 cm. Flat, hand-made, irregular, pentagonal black bead.

Fittings for jewellery

10.73 L. 4 cm. Hook and eye clasp for a necklace. (Fig. 9)

10.74 L. *c.* 5.8 cm. Fragment of decorative wire necklace with one small small decayed cylinder bead remaining. (Fig. 9)

10.75 Fragment of decorative wire with one round blue bead still threaded, possibly part of 10.74. (Fig. 9)

10.76 1 cm. one 'S' link.

10.77 L. 2.4 cm. Hook fitting. (Fig. 9)

11 TOILET ARTICLES – Tweezers (Fig. 10)

11.1 L. 5.6 cm. Complete pair with splayed arms and in-turning ends.

11.2 L. 5.3 cm. One splayed arm only with gently in-turning end (not illustrated).

11.3 L. 4.3 cm. One splayed arm only with sharply in-turning end (not illustrated).

TOILET ARTICLES – Nail-cleaners (Fig. 10)

11.4 L. 5.2 cm. Complete except for the tips of the bifid end. Made from wire of rectangular section which tapers towards the top to become narrow enough to bend over into a loop and twist twice round the shaft. The same treatment of the head can be seen on a toilet spoon from Woodeaton.[121]

[121] Kirk, op. cit. note 5, p. 24, B2 and Fig. 6, no. 4.

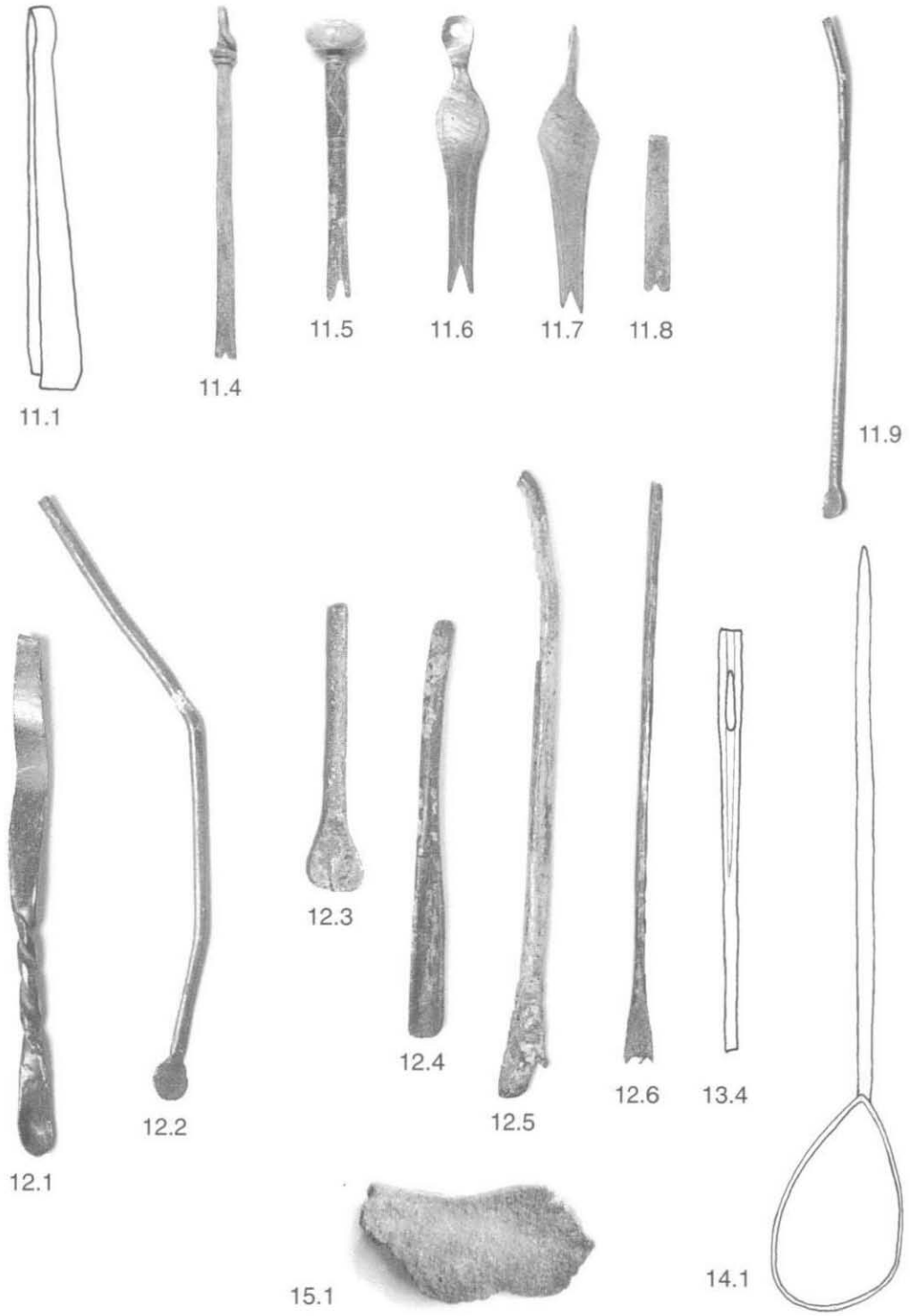

Fig. 10. Toilet Articles, Medical Instruments, Needle, Spoon and Vessel Fragment.

11.5 L. 4.1 cm. Complete. Shaft of circular section, the upper part decorated with an incised latticed pattern. The head is a paste bead, now stained green from proximity to copper alloy. The lower end is flattened and bifid. A similar example is known from Woodeaton.[122]

11.6 L. 4.1 cm. Complete, leaf-shaped, bifid nail-cleaner with, on one surface, an incised line bordering the lower half of each side. Flat metal, with a flat head pierced for suspension on the same plane.

11.7 L. 4.2 cm. Complete nail-cleaner, as above except that the ring for suspension is at 90 degrees to the shaft.

11.8 L. 2.3 cm. Upper half of this flat nail-cleaner is missing; also the points of its bifid end.

TOILET ARTICLE – Bronze Toilet Spoon (Fig. 10)

11.9 L. 7.4 cm. Diameter of spoon-bowl: 3.5 mm. Lacking the upper end of the shaft. The wire is of circular section: the lower or distal end has been flattened to form a small shallow spoon-bowl. There is a zone 8 mm. long of incised spiral decoration at the distal end of the stem. A similar instrument was found earlier at Woodeaton.[123]

TOILET ARTICLES OR POSSIBLY MEDICAL INSTRUMENTS, Bronze (Fig. 10)

12.1 L. 7.6 cm. Perhaps a *cyathiscomele*. A sturdy flat rectangular strip of metal was twisted three times two-thirds of the way down. The flat upper end above the wrythen area was left flat, probably for use as a *spatula*; the flat lower end, which was considerably shorter, was given a dished bowl at its extremity. Hattat has noted an example from a collection of 18 medical instruments from Pompeii which is similar, except that it has a probe instead of a *spatula* at one end.[124]

12.2 L. 9.4 cm. Diameter of round flat 'spoon' 6 mm. *Specillum*. The shaft lacks its proximal end and is bent halfway down. The flattened 'bowl' area is slightly angled.

12.3 L. 4.3 cm. *Spathomele*. Lacks the proximal end of the shaft and the lower part of the 'bowl'. Part of an instrument made from stout wire of circular section hammered flat at one end. A similar example was found at Pompeii.[125]

12.4 L. 6.3 cm. *Curette*. Lacking the upper end of the shaft. A length of thick wire of circular section, 3 mm. in diameter, has been shaped at one end into a long, slightly flaring curette 'bowl', which is U-shaped in section.

12.5 L. 9.4 cm. *Spatula*. Lacking the proximal end of the shaft and also the lower part of the spatula end. Thick wire a variable 2.5 mm. in diameter. This might be the other end of the last entry.

12.6 L. 8.7 cm. *Spatula*. Lacking the proximal end of the shaft and the lower part of the *spatula* end.

There are two other small instruments of wire 1.5 mm. in diameter and another long example of wire 2 mm. in diameter of which insufficient remains of the lower or 'bowl' area for identification. (not illustrated)

13 NEEDLES, Bronze (Fig. 10)

13 .1 L. 12.6 cm. Complete needle with a long eye, which is rounded at each end. The needle has been bent back on itself, perhaps 'killed'. (not illustrated)

13.2 L. 12.1 cm. Complete needle with eye of similar type in good condition. (not illustrated)

13.3 L. 4.4 cm. Fragment with eye of similar type. (not illustrated)

13.4 L. 6.2 cm. Fragment with a shorter, broader eye than the others mentioned above.

[122] Ibid. 25, E1 and Fig. 6, no. 5.
[123] Ibid. 24, B3 and Fig. 6, no. 3.
[124] Hattat, op. cit. note 54, p. 478 and Fig. 29, no. 182.
[125] Hattat, op. cit. note 54, p. 477 and Fig. 29, no. 180.

14 SPOONS, Bronze (Fig. 10)

14.1 L. 11.3 cm. Complete small spoon with a pear-shaped bowl and a plain pointed handle. Worn on one side of its rounded bowl from repeated use by a right-handed person.

14.2 L. 6.8 cm. The lower part of the undecorated handle of a spoon, with a fragment of its angled joint remaining (not illustrated).

15 VESSEL-FRAGMENT (Fig. 10)

15.1 Bronze, curving piece with fragment of rebate 3.4 cm. x 1.5 cm.

16 PRIESTLY REGALIA (Fig. 11)

16.1 *Bell.* H. 3.9 cm. Diam. *c.* 4.5 cm. Badly bent. Raised from sheet bronze. The top of the tapering 'skirt' of the bell terminates in a step inwards, above which a small hemisphere has been pierced with two simple holes. The holes would have been used for the attachment of a clapper and perhaps for suspension. When found, a doubled-over piece of bronze tubing covering a length of wire was firmly *in situ* inside the bell, apparently used as an improvised clapper.[126]

16.2 *Rattle* W. 4.7 cm., H. 5.7 cm., Depth 3.7 cm. Complete. Cast. Almost spherical hollow ball formed in two halves, each decorated on the outside with three small flat plain studs in a vertical line. The ends of a loop for attachment made of flat wire have been inserted through the top of one half of the rattle and flattened on the underside. Near the loop, the edge of one side of the rattle has been bent upwards, probably to insert an object like a pea or small stone to make a rattle-like noise. The best parallel is the example reinterpreted by the late George Boon, which was found with the cache of objects of religious significance at Felmingham Hall, Norfolk.[127]

17 OBJECTS OF SHEET BRONZE (Fig. 11)

17.1 *Coin impression* of the reverse of a gold stater of Cunobelin.[128] The metal was not applied to a die as the design and inscription would have been reversed. The coin was of a very rare type, thus enabling precise identification to be made. It belongs to the series defined by Derek Allen as Classic B,[129] listed more recently by R.D. Van Arsdell as VA 2029-1.[130]

Of the large series of coins with an ear of barley on the obverse this is the only type on which the horse on the reverse faces left rather than right. It is difficult to be certain, but the impression seems to have come from a coin from Allen's reverse die 'b'. This is a very rare type indeed with only three examples recorded in the Celtic Coin Index.[131] Traditionally the type would be placed towards the end of the reign of Cunobelin, in the 30s AD. It may have been the rarity or the quality of the engraving on this coin that prompted the manufacture of the impression. Such coins would not be expected to remain in circulation for long after the Conquest: they would not have been legal tender and the majority would have been melted down for their gold content. If the impression was taken from a coin in circulation, this would have been a very early votive; but it may have been an *objet trouvé* – many such coins were found, for instance, at Wanborough in Surrey[132] – in which case it could, of course, have been as late as the other impressions found at Woodeaton.

[126] A similar bell found earlier at Woodeaton is on display at the Ashmolean Museum (R 28).

[127] G. Boon, 'A Priest's Rattle of the Third Century AD from the Felmingham, Norfolk, Find', *Antiq. Jnl.* lxiii, pt. 2 (1983), 363-4, Fig. 1.

[128] I am most grateful to Dr. Philip de Jersey of the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford, who examined this object and provided me with the comments included here. He had not seen a similar impression of an Iron Age coin.

[129] D. Allen, 'Cunobelin's Gold', *Britannia*, vi (1975),1-19.

[130] R.D. Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain* (1989), 412.

[131] CCI 98.1260, seen recently in trade and said to be from Suffolk; CCI 98.0616, now in the British Museum, from a hoard found at Essendon, Herts. in 1994; CCI 82.0250, unprovenanced, now in the National Museum of Wales.

[132] C. Cheesman in M.G. O'Donnell and J. Bird, 'The Roman Temple at Wanborough: Excavations 1985-6', *Surrey Archaeol. Collections*, lxxxii (1994), 31-92.

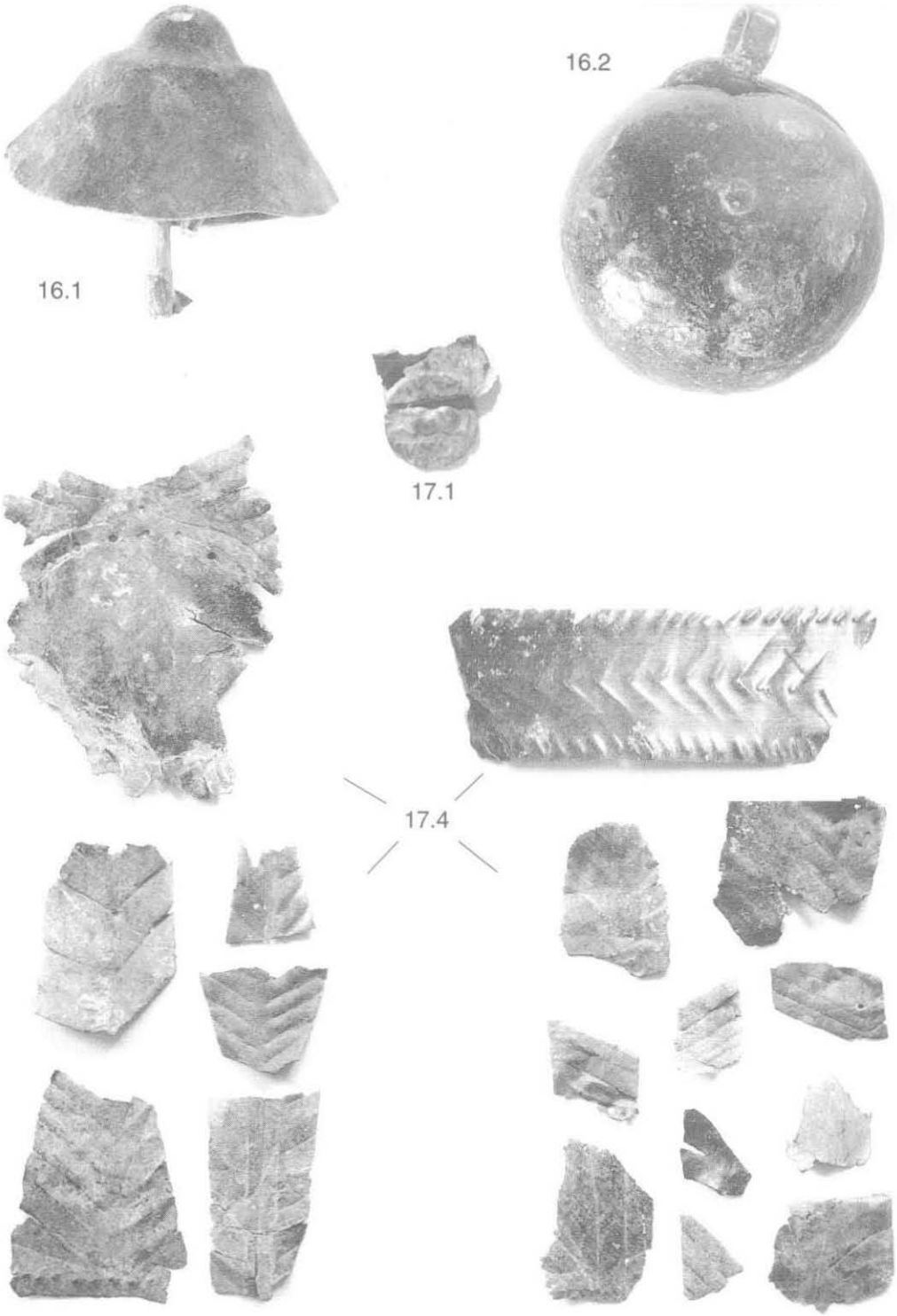

Fig. 11. Priestly Regalia and Objects of Sheet Bronze.

In his *Natural History of Oxfordshire*, published in 1677, Dr. Robert Plot described two British coins which had been discovered 'amongst old foundations' near the old manor-house at Woodeaton. One of these was a gold coin of Cunobelin, but here with the more usual horse facing right.[133] The coin impressions from Woodeaton published earlier were all of late 3rd- and 4th-century coins.[134]

17.2 *Mirror Fragment* 2.1 x 2.1 cm. A roughly triangular fragment of sheet bronze with a high tin content, 1.5 mm. thick. (not illustrated)

17.3 *Pierced disc* Diameter 1.5 cm. Crudely cut and very worn, with no decoration or legend visible. (not illustrated)

Punched or incised fragments

The collection includes a very large number of fragments with punched or incised decoration of different kinds; amongst them is a fragment incised with a swastika which, in Roman times, was a good luck symbol connected with the sun.[135] Much of the type of decoration seen here has already been described by Joan Kirk.[136]

17.4 *Punched or incised 'leaf' veining*[137] The decorative strip is a handsome example. Some of these fragments decorated boxes, but others may have been pinned up as votive plaques. One has to remember that when newly made, bronze would have been as shiny as gold.

18 EVIDENCE OF BRONZE-WORKING (Fig. 12)

18.1 *Casting jet* Another was published by Kirk.[138]

18.2 *Examples of off-cuts from manufacturing*

18.3 *Examples of wire in the process of being manufactured*[139]

(a) A fragment, probably from a moulded ingot that was being gradually hammered out and lengthened to produce wire of roundish section.
(b) A rod of square section ready to be block twisted.
(c) Part of a length with evidence of block twisting.
(d) Fragment of a length cut from bronze sheet and folded into a hollow tube.
(e) A twisted strip.

There are a great many more examples, but these demonstrate clearly the techniques of hammering, rod-twisting and strip-folding that were being practised at Woodeaton. Four lengths of wire and several fragments of base silver further suggest that metal-working was taking place. This is not the appropriate place for a detailed assessment of the numerous fragments of different types, many of which were, perhaps, intended for re-cycling. An article in conjunction with Dr. Peter Northover, who has kindly examined the material and tested the silver, will appear later in a scientific journal.

19 MISCELLANEOUS (none illustrated)

STONE[140]

19.1 *Whetstone* L. 5.4 cm. Depth 1.4 cm. Fragment of honestone in a light grey calcareous sandstone, oval in section. The source suggested for this type of stone was originally the Stony Stratford – Towcester area of Northamptonshire, but recent research and analysis has noted its similarity to Kentish Rag.[141] This was a stone which was peddled as far north as York and as far south as Ilchester, Somerset.

[133] R. Plot, *The Natural History of Oxfordshire* (1677), 308-10 and Tab. XV, 19 and 20.
[134] Kirk, op. cit. note 5, pp. 44-5, Fig. 9, nos. 5 & 8.
[135] For an earlier example, see ibid. 43, no. 6, and Pl. VI, C.
[136] Ibid. 41-4.
[137] Ibid. 44.
[138] Kirk, op. cit. note 5, p. 30, no. 16, and Fig. 7 no. 7.
[139] I am most grateful to Vanessa Fell of the Institute of Archaeology for pointing this out. See J. Ogden, *Jewellery of the Ancient World* (1982), 46-52; W. Oddy, 'The Production of Gold Wire in Antiquity', *Gold Bull.* x, no.3 (1977), 79; W. Oddy, 'Hand-made Wire in Antiquity, a Correction', *MASCA Jnl.* i no.2 (1979), 44.
[140] I am greatly indebted to Mrs. Fiona Roe, who examined these whetstones and provided the information given.

Fig. 12. Evidence of Bronze-working.

19.2 *Whetstone* L. 5.0 cm., W. 2.1 cm. Depth 2 cm. Square section. Fragment of fine-grained, very dark grey, sedimentary rock which was probably picked up from Pleistocene drift. Some banding is visible, caused by the laying down of strata. The fragment is smooth and the surface has quite a gloss: this suggests that it would not have been very useful as a whetstone.

BAKED CLAY

19.3 *Slingshot* Diameter 2.5 cm. H. 4 cm. Ovoid clay slingshot of common type. Cf. E.M. Clifford, *Bagendon: a Belgic Oppidum* (1961), 196 and Pl. LIII.

19.4 *Spindle-whorl / Slingshot* Diameter 2.7 cm. H. 1.7 cm. Sub-globular ball with a shallow conical hole surrounded by a blackened area at the top. A large patch has broken away underneath and another on one side. Perhaps an unfinished spindle-whorl, damaged during manufacture, and used instead as slingshot.

19.5 *Spindle-whorl* Diameter: 3.1 cm. H. 2.7 cm. Pierced, globular clay ball. There is a blackened slanting irregular hole in one side. Cf. R.E.M. Wheeler, *Maiden Castle, Dorset* (1943), Pl. XXXIII A, 2-5 (opp. p. 294).

GLASS

19.6 *Gaming piece* Circular. Diameter 1.3 cm. Complete disc of decayed glass, bun-shaped in profile, which is now a light greenish-grey colour.[142]

LEAD WITH ?TIN

19.7 *? Gaming-piece* Lead with ?tin. Circular. Diameter 1.8 cm. Complete disc flat under surface and an upper surface that rises to a low peak. The small 'warts' on the surface and the colour are typical of lead, but the disc is not heavy enough to be solid lead.

BRONZE

Button and Loop Fasteners

19.8 Rectangle: 1.7 x 1 cm. Complete cast bronze fastener of flat plain rectangular form with an angled shank and heavy ring-loop beyond it.[144]

19.9 Diameter of ring 1.7 cm. H. 1.4 cm. Complete cast fastener with a single small rounded boss from the back of which projects a short shank. Where this meets the heavy ring-loop there is a deep slanting groove on either side.[145]

Head of Linch Pin

19.10 W. 5.1 cm. Double-horned linch-pin with beginnings of a shaft, now broken. Pair to one seen earlier by Kirk[146] and not unlike one from Verulamium.[147] This is a reminder of the part played by horses.

BONE

19.11 *Bone sleeve* L. 7.8 cm. Diam. *c.* 2.2 cm. Part of a cylindrical, lathe-turned sleeve. One end is sawn and smoothed, the other fractured. The exterior is simply decorated with two pairs of incised rings.

19.12 *Bone sleeve* L. 4.1 cm. Diam. 1.8 cm. Part of a cylindrical, lathe-turned sleeve. One end is sawn and polished, the other has broken across. It has no surface decoration.

[141] M. Rhodes, 'Stone Objects', in T. Dyson (ed.), *The Roman Quay at St. Magnus House, London. Excavations at New Fresh Wharf, Lower Thames Street, London 1974-8* (Lon. and Middx. Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper, no. 8, 1986), 240-1.

[142] Allason-Jones and Miket, op. cit. note 88, pp. 276-8; Wheeler, op. cit. note 49 (1943), Pl. XXXII, A9.

[143] I am grateful to Esther Cameron who kindly provided this information

[144] J.P. Wild, 'Button-and-Loop Fasteners in the Roman Provinces', *Britannia*, i (1970), 141 and Fig. 11, Class VI b.

[145] H.E. Kilbride-Jones, *Celtic Craftsmanship in Bronze* (1980), 159 (a) and Fig. 45, no. 4.

[146] Kirk, op. cit. note 5, p. 30, no. 19 and Fig. 6, no.15.

[147] R.E.M. and T.V. Wheeler, *Verulamium: a Belgic and Two Roman Cities* (Soc. of Antiquaries of London, 1936), 217-18, Pl. LXII, no. 2.

DISCUSSION

Although no physical remains of an Iron Age temple have so far been been found at Woodeaton, many archaeologists feel fairly confident that there was a temple or shrine of some kind before the Romano-British period. The number of brooches and pins of Iron Age date recovered over the years has been slowly mounting, and there have been other finds appropriate to an Iron Age shrine, such as the chape from the scabbard of a sword. Fragments of Iron Age pottery and metalwork discovered over many years have indicated that there was activity in the early Iron Age over much of the top of the hill, and also lower down on South Hill between the temple and the village. In this last area, postholes of at least one round house associated with pits, a charcoal-rich layer, burnt limestone and daub, and slag were noted during an evaluation by the Oxford Archaeological Unit.[148] Early Iron Age pits were discovered by Goodchild and Kirk in their excavation of 1952, on the east side of the *temenos*. One of these was probably the one associated with bronze-working that Harding found during his excavation with the Oxford University team in the 1960s. Harding believed that the area of pits that Goodchild and Kirk had seen might have been part of a more extensive industrial quarter. The evidence of his excavation included material which could be found in assemblages dated to as early as the late Bronze Age. This possibility, together with the small bronze objects already known from the site, led him to conclude that the Woodeaton site had been important from at least the middle of the first millennium BC, with an industrial role and possible cult importance from long before the establishment of the Romano-Celtic temple.

Among the objects discussed in the catalogue above are several that add to the story of Woodeaton in the Iron Age. The jewellery includes part of a solid-cast, knobbed bracelet of Hallstatt type; there are also a hinged Birdlip brooch and an iron La Tène III example dating to the late Iron Age and to just before or just after the Conquest, respectively. Another Birdlip brooch is known from Drun's Hill, close by. The catalogue includes a few Iron Age beads of continental origin or inspiration, which hint at the possible trading patterns and socio-economic systems that existed. No. 10.1, Guido's Oldbury, Class 6, belongs to a well-known continental group dating to the last 150 years BC, but was evidently most common in the last 100 years of the millennium. There are two possibly Iron Age fragments of wave beads, one white on blue and the other yellow on green, also an unevenly cabled, dark blue bead, with thin threads of white incorporated right through parts of the glass. One of the beads from Woodeaton in the Ashmolean Museum collection is recognisably of the same type as the one of continental origin, dated probably to the 3rd or 4th century BC, found at the important Iron Age ritual site at Findon, Sussex, Guido's Class 4. However, a reminder of the need for caution in the use of beads for dating is introduced by the presence in this collection of another non-Roman bead of continental inspiration, Guido's Class 3, South Harting type.[149] This bead does occur in late Iron Age settings but is, in fact, found more often in an early Roman context.

The discovery of the impression in sheet bronze of an exceptionally rare coin of Cunobelin is interesting for several reasons. Was it known at the time that this was a very rare type, and was this, as Philip de Jersey has suggested, one of the reasons why it was singled out? Several other coin impressions from Woodeaton are known already, but the coins used for these were much later in date:[150] the practice of making such impressions may, therefore, have been very long-lived. However, the coin from which the impression

[148] Moore, op. cit. note 8, p. 53.
[149] Guido, op. cit. note 117, p. 49, Fig. 8, & Pl. 1, no. 3; for Findon bead, see pp. 50-1 & Fig. 10.
[150] Kirk, op. cit. note 5, p. 44 and Fig. 9, nos. 5 and 6.

was taken was perhaps an *objet trouvé*, as the metal of its impression is similar in appearance to that of the other coin impressions. Another gold coin of Cunobelin, but of a more usual type, was found amongst the rubble of the old manor house at Woodeaton in the 17th century, together with an uninscribed, small British coin. Both coins were shown to the well-known 17th-century antiquary, Dr. Robert Plot, who included and illustrated them in his *Natural History of Oxfordshire*.[151]

A brass coin, and two other British coins, one plated with gold and the other with tin, were found many years ago on Middle Hill, where the temple stood.[152] Plated coins have been discovered at many temple sites, sometimes in very large numbers, as at Hayling Island, where the authors of the coin report have put forward several possible explanations.[153] One of these is that plated issues perhaps carried some special *cachet* that made them more acceptable. Another is that the coins of solid metal had been removed by the temple authorities or others in preference to the plated ones, so that only the plated examples survived to be recovered during excavation. Yet another explanation is that worshippers believed that the deity could transmute what was symbolic into the real thing in the same way that miniature weapons would become full-sized ones in the hands of the divine. It is interesting that there should have been plated British coins near where the Romano-Celtic temple stood at Woodeaton. It is possible that the coins from the top of the hill, together with the rare coin of Cunobelin, still lay in an Iron Age temple precinct in early Roman times. They might, therefore, have been offerings at an Iron Age shrine. Equally, they could have been offered, although not of any monetary value, at the early Roman temple.

The silver hand would appear to have come from a figurine of some importance: it may have fallen off the arm of the figure but was possibly offered on its own by a sufferer with a hand problem, such as arthritis. The fact that it looks masculine and appears to have held an object with a shaft such as a spear adds to the other clues that have identified a cult of Mars at Woodeaton. The bronze letters 'M' and 'A' amongst the letters of sheet bronze in the collection could very well have been part of a dedication to Mars that was nailed up on the outside wall of the temple, as was believed to have been the case with the letters found on the gravelled surface during the 1952 excavation.[154] Although Mars was predominantly an agricultural god, his martial aspect would have appealed to soldiers of the Roman army in their great push northwards in the early days of the temple: an early fort and parade ground have recently been discovered at Alchester, a short distance away.[155]

The weapons in the collection may also have been dedicated by soldiers. The Roman chape is from the scabbard of a sword; the later, probably Frankish, chape is from a slender seax or knife, which invites the question as to how and when it arrived there! Prick spurs were not common in the Roman provinces, so it is interesting that there are now two from Woodeaton, and that one of the small group of others known in Britain was found at Chedworth, now known certainly to have been a temple complex; the example from the catalogue is of late Roman date. The lump of corrosion containing bronze and iron links is interesting too: if it comes from mail, it may well have been part of the earlier find that has now disappeared, which Jope believed to have been a votive offering.[156] This could date

[151] Plot, op. cit. note 131, pp. 308-9, Tab. XV.
[152] Taylor, op. cit. note 1, p. 119.
[153] D. Briggs et al., 'Iron Age and Roman Coins from Hayling Temple', *Brit. Numis. Jnl.* lxii (1993), 1-62.
[154] Goodchild and Kirk, op. cit. note 6, p. 28 and Fig. 10.
[155] E. Sauer with S. Crutchley, 'Alchester: a Roman Fort and Parade-ground?', *Current Archaeology*, clvii (1998), 34-7.
[156] Jope, op. cit. note 46, pp. 106-7.

either to the Iron Age or to the Roman period. The Bronze Age weapons may also have been votive offerings: I am reminded of the occurrence at other Roman temple sites of weapons of a pre-Roman date, considered suitable offerings, evidently, to the Roman gods.[157] The Middle Bronze Age spearhead might relate to the possible Bronze Age assemblage discovered by Harding; the barbed and tanged arrow-head, however, was of too early a date to be included in this group.

The models in this collection are interesting too. The tiny weapons, like the full-size examples, may have been suitable offerings for soldiers to give – as well as for Mars to receive, in his role as god of war. The little sword was perhaps purposely snapped in two, to send it through to the next world. The shield or breast appears to have no parallel. The spears, crude though they are, must have been ideal votives to prepare quickly for the waiting customer. The little wing, which is the right size for a small figure, may have come adrift from the shoulder to which it was attached. But, like the silver hand, it may have been offered on its own, perhaps in connection with the five birds published by Kirk, who believed that they were intended to represent eagles.

Woodeaton has already produced a large quantity of jewellery and this collection has added a great deal more. There can be little doubt that early suggestions that it was being marketed on site are correct[158] or that a great many items were being sold specifically as votive offerings. Several earlier authors have believed that manufacturing was taking place on site[159] and Kirk, in 1949, published a casting jet and four small ingots.[160] There are a number of lengths of wire in the Ashmolean collection from Woodeaton, and a great many fragments. Even without the Ashmolean examples, the collection described above includes such a large number of lengths of wire of different diameter, so many examples of wire in the making, so many off-cuts and lumps of waste as well as a second sprue, that it is abundantly clear that here manufacturing was being undertaken on a considerable scale, in what may have grown into a more extensive settlement, as happened at Nettleton Shrub, Wilts.[161]

Most discoveries from Woodeaton have been surface finds and however much the finders have been careful and responsible in their collecting, these inevitably lack context. Although it is unlikely that very much more in the nature of such votives remains, there should be traces of the bottom of foundations remaining. The main *desiderata* are thus a more extensive survey of the area, together with scientific excavation, which would further serve to place in context this rich assemblage of finds.

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[157] E.g. R. Turner and J.J. Wymer, 'An Assemblage of Palaeolithic Hand-axes from the Roman Religious Complex at Ivy Chimneys, Witham, Essex', *Antiq. Jnl.* lxvii, pt i, 43-60; Henig, op. cit. note 12, pp. 188-9.

[158] Milne, op. cit. note 3, p. 101.

[159] Taylor, op. cit. note 1, p. 99.

[160] Kirk, op. cit. note 5, Fig. 7 no. 7 & Fig. 8, 9-11.

[161] J. Wedlake, *The Excavation of the Shrine of Apollo at Nettleton, Wiltshire, 1956-71* (Soc. of Antiq. of London, 1982), 67-75, 111.

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