LUCERNA

THE NEWSLETTER OF
THE ROMAN FINDS GROUP

In Memory of Jennifer Price

Justine Bayley wrote this appreciation that appeared in *Salon,* the Society of Antiquaries online newsletter, and has given her permission for it to appear in *Lucerna*.

Jennifer Price died on 17 May aged 79. She was elected a Fellow of the Society in March 1978, and later served on Council.

For some fifty years, Jennifer Price made substantial contributions to studies of Roman glass, not only in Britain, but across the Roman world. Her contributions extend way beyond her own writings; many of those now active in glass studies have benefitted from Jenny's insights into their material and its interpretation. She was one of the founding members of the Association for the History of Glass, and served both it and l'Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre as President – of the AHG from 1996–2003 and the l'Association, 1998–2003. She was an editorial advisor to the *Journal of Glass Studies* and a Trustee of the Bomford Collection of Ancient Glass in Bristol Museum.

Jenny came from a family of glassmakers in Stourbridge, Worcestershire and joined an evening class in archaeology while still at school, excavating local sites under Graham Webster FSA. However, on leaving school she joined the Civil Service, working for the Inland Revenue, while studying law. Soon after being called to the Bar in 1963 she resigned and spent three years working on excavations in southern Italy and in Israel, notably at Masada where one of her tasks was the reconstruction of some of the glass vessels. In 1966 she enrolled at University College Cardiff, University of Wales, for a BA in Archaeology, and on graduating in 1969 spent a further three years travelling and collecting material for her PhD on Roman Glass in Spain.

Jenny worked briefly in the British Museum before returning to Cardiff to teach prehistory. She then became Keeper of Archaeology in the Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum, until in 1980 she was appointed as Lecturer in Archaeology in the Adult Education Department of Leeds University. She remained there for ten years, teaching adults in West and North Yorkshire, and also established the very productive English Heritage-funded Romano-British Glass Project. Jenny then moved to the Department of Archaeology at Durham where she taught Roman provincial archaeology and archaeological glass studies, was promoted to a personal chair and spent three years as Head of Department, retiring in 2005.

To mark Jenny's retirement the Association for the History of Glass organised a conference in her honour, the papers from which were subsequently published as *Glass of the Roman World* edited by Justine Bayley, Ian Freestone and Caroline Jackson, who noted in their preface that 'Jennifer Price's knowledge of glass, from many historical periods and geographical regions, not only Roman, is impressive. However, her work is also firmly established in the archaeological roots of the discipline.' The volume includes a full bibliography up to 2014; notable publications include *Roman Vessel Glass from Excavations in Colchester, 1971–85*, with Hilary Cool FSA (1995), *Glass Vessels in Roman Britain: A Handbook,* with Sally Cottam (1998), and the edited volume *Glass in Britain and Ireland, AD 350–1100* (2000). In addition, anyone opening an excavation report on a Romano-British site will like as not come across one of her contributions.

LUCERNA: THE NEWSLETTER OF THE ROMAN FINDS GROUP
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Editorial

Greetings. A warm welcome to the 57th issue of *Lucerna*. In this issue we get underway with a feature piece ideal for anyone who has ever considered combining their love of the Romans with gaming, in the form of Summer L. Courts and Timothy M. Penn's overview of all the known Roman gaming boards from Britain. We also get an insight into a relatively newly discovered anthropomorphic cosmetic mortar from Flintham in Nottinghamshire, and have some reviews of the recent Instrumentum International Meeting at King's College London. Read on further for some excellent news regarding Bainbridge Roman Fort and, if you can, help those in need of information. There is also a review of one of the latest books on York's archaeology, as well as a couple of other notable recent publications and some upcoming conferences and events to ponder. And of course, don't forget to sign up for the upcoming RFG autumn conference that takes place on the 11th November. See you there!

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Lucerna Editor

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Contents

The Roman Finds Group Committee

The RFG AGM was held on Wednesday 12th June at King's College London during the spring conference where there were a few committee changes. We are pleased to announce that Stephen Greep is our new chair, replacing Justine Bayley who has stepped down. We would like to thank Justine for all of her hard work on everything RFG since she took on the post, and wish her well in her future endeavours. In other committee news, Edwin Wood was elected as a committee member.

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*Front cover image: the Gloucester hoard dog statuette
(PAS GLO-BE1187). Copyright Bristol City Council. See p.19.*

Membership Benefits

The objectives of the RFG are to promote the study, research, publication, teaching and conservation of the material culture of Roman Britain. Membership of the RFG will entitle individuals to:

• Two copies of our Newsletter, *Lucerna*, each year.

• Access to our Roman finds datasheets.

• Full access to the website (www.romanfindsgroup. org.uk) and twitter feeds, including the members only section which includes access to recent copies of *Lucerna*. The website has been developed to include access to *Lucerna* and Datasheets and to include finds catalogues and other finds-related works which are currently out-of-print as pdfs.

• Reduced fees to our twice-yearly meetings, held in the spring (typically a two day meeting) and autumn of each year.

• Free/reduced entrance to major finds-related exhibitions, where this can be negotiated.

• Discounts on finds-related books, or pre-publication offers, where these can be negotiated.

• Access to small grants to help with small finds research. These grants are available to individual, fully paid-up, members and will be awarded for applications seeking to support our objectives e.g. publication drawings and maps or travel to museums for object research. Special consideration is given to articles offered to *Lucerna*. £1,000 is available each year (reviewable). Details on how to apply are on our website (www.romanfindsgroup.org. uk).

• Access, through the website, to educational films promoting the importance of finds research. Specialists talk about identifying different materials and objects in a series of films that might ultimately be themed around the chapters of Artefacts in Roman Britain or Nina Crummy's object categories.

• Group payment for individual RFG members to Instrumentum, the European bi-annual magazine. Join through RFG to receive four years' worth of Instrumentum membership for three years payment. In addition the RFG will absorb the conversion fee in a bulk payment on your behalf. The cost for Instrumentum membership is currently 90 Euros for 4 years. Members will be notified by email, in *Lucerna* and on the website when the next renewal is due.

• Help us increase the Romano-British presence amongst a wider European small finds community e.g. by the provision of extra entries and links to objects in the Instrumentum/Artefacts website.

Follow the Roman Finds Group Online

Twitter (https://twitter.com/romanfindsgrp)

Our Roman Finds Group Twitter feed continues to go from strength to strength. We regularly post photographs, news items and links that may interest people with a passion for Roman objects, as well as sharing up-to-date information on the group. We post live-tweets from our conferences under the hashtags #rfg2019 #rfg2018 #rfg2017 etc., so that people from across the world can attend 'virtually'. We recently welcomed our 2736th follower! Do join us! @ RomanFindsGrp.

Website (www.romanfindsgroup.org.uk)

All of our tweets also appear in a scrolling feed on every page of our website www.romanfindsgroup. org.uk, which contains more infor-mation, as well as some beautiful images. Our new website is now fully operational and has been designed to work well on mobile phones, tablets and on desktop browsers. All Members of the Roman Finds Group may log into the new website and view extra resources that are exclusive to Members of RFG. These include the latest four editions of *Lucerna*, the collection of Roman Finds Group Datasheets, and a link to allow Members to download a facsimile of Manning's 1985 *Catalogue of the Romano-British Iron Tools, Fittings and Weapons in the British Museum*, a cornerstone of Roman small finds study, and now out of print. As Jenny Hall wrote in *Lucerna* 48, we have ambitions for this to become the central source for Roman finds; we are working to scan and host out-of-print finds catalogues, and to compile and maintain a detailed bibliography. Watch this space too for news on our forthcoming programme of short films on Roman finds!

Nicola Hembrey, RFG Communications Secretary

RFG Grants and Bursaries

A series of small grants are available from the Roman Finds Group to all fully paid-up members. The annual grant cycle will run from January 1st. Applications may be made at any time, but they will be reviewed and assessed on 1st April, 1st September and 1st December. The RFG has a target annual grant fund of £1,000, although this will be reviewed each year in light of available funds and demand.

Grants will be awarded against any area of the Group's objectives (to promote the study, research, publication, teaching and conservation of the material culture of Roman Britain) but applications must be very clear as to which of these objectives are being applied.

There is no specific application form, but the following details are essential:

• Name, address and institution (where applicable) including email address.

• Date of application – we will normally provide assessments and awards of applications within a six week period.

• Amount requested, other grants applied for and total amount of project. It will not be normal for RFG to fund an individual project to 100%.

• Details of the project and how it will meet the objectives of the Roman Finds Group.

• If it is a project leading to a publication, where is the intended publication? Priority will be given to contributions for *Lucerna*.

• Confirmation of RFG membership and year of joining (will be checked!).

• A short citation from at least one referee (who does not need to be a member of RFG).

All applications will be evaluated by a sub-group of three members of the RFG Committee. The committee reserves the right to seek further referee opinion and further information where it feels appropriate. The decision of the grant application 'subcommittee' (Stephen Greep, Nicola Hembrey and Sally Worrell) will be final.

Applications should be sent to the chairman of the grants sub-group, Stephen Greep (sjgreep@gmail.com).

We have also introduced a conference bursary scheme for members, with up to 10 awards of £100 available each year – see the Membership page on the website for details.

Grants Awarded

Three grants were awarded recently: Ruth Shaffrey received £250 towards the costs of thin sections of querns from Silchester as a part of a project on 'The organisation of grain processing and supply of flour in Calleva Atrebatum'; Glynn Davis was given £350 towards the cost of colour photography for the project 'Roman amber artefacts in Britain'; and Matt Fittock £225 towards photography fees for illustrations of pipeclay figurines to be published as a chapter in a book.

RFG Datasheets

A plea to all members to share their expertise and knowledge and contribute a datasheet (or two)! It could be on a particular find type, an industry or an update for ongoing research. They are a valuable resource to students, people just starting off in their finds careers and curators alike.

Gill Dunn is co-ordinating this so please contact her at the address below if you are interested in writing a datasheet.

Gill Dunn, Publications Co-ordinator
gill.c.dunn@outlook.com

Notes for Contributors

Contributions to *Lucerna* from members and non-members are always welcome. Whether you're an undergraduate or graduate student, seasoned academic or hobbyist, the Roman Finds Group is keen to publish new and continuing research on Roman material culture to help inform others of ongoing work and forge valuable links between fellow members with skills, knowledge and expertise in the same field. As well as fuller research articles, we would be particularly interested to hear about any old or new discoveries anyone is happy to share, as well as any mystery objects that need identifying. On the other hand, perhaps you're part way through your research and looking for a way to present some preliminary results or a short summary outlining your ongoing studies? Whatever the case, please don't hesitate - we would be delighted to hear from you!

If you wish to participate, all contributions should be sent as attachments via e-mail to Matthew Fittock (*Lucerna* Editor) at matthewfittock@googlemail.com. Submissions must be word-processed on Microsoft Word or an equivalent. The main article should include text only, with the paper title and author's name at the beginning and a full bibliography followed by contact details at the end, with no images but full reference to figures. The document should be single spaced with a full return in between each paragraph. All images should be provided as individual TIFF files at a minimum of 300 dpi, and all line-art as individual TIFF files at 1200 dpi, with captions in a separate document. Images in colour will appear in black and white in print and colour online. Tables must also be provided in a separate Microsoft Excel file with appropriate captions. There is no strict word limit but longer articles should be no more than 5000 words, excluding the bibliography. Submissions can be made at any time during the year: no later than the end of November for a January release and the end of June for the July edition, but please contact the editor in advance if you wish to discuss scheduling.

Matthew Fittock, Lucerna *Editor*

Next RFG Autumn Conference
Finds From Roman Colchester
Monday 11th November 2019

Our autumn meeting this year, in association with Colchester and Ipswich Museums will be based in the Castle Museum Colchester. A series of 11 papers, together with the opportunity to visit the new exhibition 'Adorn', plus lunchtime tours of the castle vaults and ramparts and the 'claudian arcade'. Speakers include Nina Crummy, Glynn Davis, Sophie Flynn, Frank Hargrave, Emma Holloway, Matt Fittock, Ben Paites, Adam Parker, Laura Pooley and Edwin Wood. £18 members (includes teas/coffees). Free entrance to the museum. Opportunities for book sales, posters and finds viewing (by prior agreement).

Sunday November 10th. Roman Colchester –
a pre-conference afternoon with Philip Crummy.

A pre meeting chance to hear about recent excavations at Colchester while on an afternoon walking tour of Roman Colchester. Starting from the main entrance gate into the Castle Park, concluding with an afternoon cream tea (included) at the recently discovered Roman Circus. Cost £5.

Full details for both the meeting and the pre conference walk are on the RFG web site or by contacting Stephen Greep at sjgreep@romanfinds.org.uk. Numbers will be restricted for both days so early booking advised.

A Corpus of Gaming Boards from Roman Britain

Summer L. Courts and Timothy M. Penn

Introduction

The enjoyment of leisure time is an important part of the human experience. While much scholarly effort has been applied to investigating top-down entertainment types embodied by amphitheatre games or races in the circus, board gaming, a potential bottom-up, do-it-yourself kind of leisure activity, has received comparatively little attention. Past work has made important progress in reconstructing the rules of ancient games (Austin 1934, 1935; Murray 1951; Bell 1979; Schädler 1994, 1995; Parlett 1999); examining the transmission of different kinds of games within the Roman world (Schädler 2007; Hall & Forsyth 2011); elucidating the connections between gaming, gambling and literacy (Purcell 1995; Harlow 2019); and investigating the phenomenological experience of playing ancient games, especially those involving the use of dice (Swift 2017, 123-148). This existing research has provided a firm understanding of many aspects of gaming in the Roman world, though as this contribution will show, there is considerable room for further work.

A common assumption running through many of the studies just outlined has been that gaming is characteristic of urban contexts where surplus currency and time allowed for gambling, a view which draws substantial support, at least in Italy, from textual sources (reviewed by Purcell 1995; Toner 1995, 94-95, and followed, for example, by Swift 2017, 127). Archaeological evidence in the form of gaming boards in the Roman Forum; the forum of Timgad in North Africa; the town of Italica, Spain; the public spaces of Sagalassos in Asia Minor; and the portable games found at the fort at Abu Sha'ar, Egypt (Trifilò 2011; Boeswillwald *et al*. 1905, 19–21, 27–32; Bendala Galán 1973; Lavan 2008, 206–207, 209; Mulvin & Sidebotham 2004) and gaming pieces excavated at Pompeii, Tarantum and elsewhere (Cool 2016) seems to support this interpretation. Less work has been done to investigate whether this assumption holds true elsewhere in the Roman Empire. Work by the Rural Settlement of Roman Britain project does seem to confirm that evidence for recreational gaming activities, including but not restricted to dice, dice shakers, gaming pieces and gaming boards, are relatively common across rural Romano-British sites. Indeed, relevant finds appear primarily in nucleated settlements and *vici*, but also in high status graves, industrial centres, villas and farmsteads. A brief discussion of the data published by this project maintains the common view that urbanized sites and sites with close ties to the army were the most likely to engage in gaming and gambling, stating that "most of the rural population were not spending any leisure time that they may have had playing games like XII Scripta or latrones" (Smith *et al*. 2018, 68). As this statement was made without any urban or military data being collected for comparison, it remains to be established whether the relative lack of evidence for leisure of this kind in the countryside is sufficient to justify the interpretation of such pursuits as "urban" in nature in Britain. While scholars working on literary evidence for social attitudes to gaming do acknowledge the potential for military connotations, their Italo-centric focus similarly means that the wider implications of the connections between soldiers and games have not been explored in detail (Toner 1995, 90; Purcell 1995, 4). However, work by Jilek and Breeze has highlighted the connection between gaming and military sites on the basis of a limited selection of excavated minor fortifications in Britain and Germany (Jilek & Breeze 2007). Generally speaking, experts seem unaware of the extent of the evidence for gaming in Britain; most discussion centres on a few famous and important finds, such as a well-preserved *duodecim scriptorum* board from Castle Lyons, and one recent grey literature report talked of "only 20 or so Roman gaming sets found in Britain" (T. Allen *et al*. 2012). In fairness to the authors of this report, the number of known gaming sets including gaming pieces and dice is probably considerably smaller, but we still believe that it is a fair illustration of the general scholarly perception, even among specialists. The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain Project similarly reported 14 rural gaming boards (M. Allen *et al*. 2018).

To address these gaps in current research, we have decided to assemble a corpus of all known gaming boards in Roman Britain, paying careful attention to the types of game played and the kinds of sites with which these artefacts have been associated. The current paper does not allow for an in-depth discussion of gambling, though it seems likely that at least some of the games played on the boards presented below would have allowed participants to play for stakes. For the rest of this contribution, we will present some brief preliminary results of our findings, as the final identifications of some boards, particularly at Vindolanda and Richborough, await site visits with the curatorial staff who have already been extremely generous and accommodating to our needs. We begin by offering a brief explanation of our data gathering methodology, before exploring the kinds of games represented, and interrogating the findspots of gaming boards for the insights they can provide into the practices of bottom-up leisure in Roman Britain. Chronological considerations will not be treated in detail here partly because the published data are frequently not of sufficient quality to support such an undertaking and because this topic has recently been treated in detail by other scholars (see Hall & Forsyth 2011). We finish by presenting a short appendix detailing the boards of which we are currently aware; if any *Lucerna* readers know of other relevant finds which we do not list, we would be delighted to hear from you. We would like to stress throughout that these figures remain provisional until it has been possible to undertake the necessary visits to museum collections, and we shall seek to avoid quantitative analysis until such a time, but we hope that our work to date will nevertheless provide some exciting new conclusions.

Methodology

Notably few Romano-British gaming boards have been published in detail. Until now, as far as we are aware, no attempt has been made to collect all known gaming boards from Roman Britain. We aimed to circumvent this difficulty by using a complementary range of data sources, including querying the state-of-the-art Rural Settlement of Roman Britain database hosted by the Archaeological Data Service; Historic England's National Heritage List for England (NHLE), Historic Environment Records (HERs); and the Portable Antiquities Scheme database. These data were supplemented by systematic trawls of regional archaeological journals. Finally, we crowdsourced our search through the British Archaeological Jobs and Resources Facebook pages, where many colleagues in the academic and commercial archaeology communities generously took the time to draw our attention to a number of unpublished or seldom-cited gaming boards.

Catalogue

The result of this methodology is summarised in Appendix 1. This table provides site names and counties; basic characterisations of the sites' nature (rural, urban, military); an estimate of the number of boards present, and the types. Where details cannot currently be specified but we hope to be able to confirm details after first-hand examination of the artefacts in question, minimum counts are indicated by (+) and uncertain identifications are denoted by (?). So far, we have gathered a catalogue of at least 98 potential Romano-British gaming boards, of which 66 are securely identified through reference to the known board game designs discussed below or associated finds such as gaming pieces and dice. Other examples are not securely identified due to lack of details in the reports or because, in the case of the 8 wooden boards, the precise game cannot be identified with certainty (more on this below). It is worth noting that this number is likely to rise considerably before the final publication of this project as many pieces remain unpublished: for example, only a handful of the possible boards from Richborough are currently published, but we have been advised that there are at least 13 extant fragments from the excavations now held in Dover Castle (P. Smithers, *pers comms)*. Similarly, not all of the examples from Vindolanda have been published and an extremely well-preserved example was excavated in the 2019 field season at that site (B. Birley, *pers comms*). In the final iteration of our work, we hope to present an itemized catalogue of every gaming board in Roman Britain with a supporting bibliography.

Although our project already represents one of the largest province-wide catalogues of gaming boards by the number of sites covered, we must stress that it is relatively modest in comparison to the huge number of boards known to be etched into the fixed architecture of some cities in Italy, where the *Forum Romanum* of Rome alone boasts up to 100 (Trifilò 2012; Keegan 2014, 216) and elsewhere in the Mediterranean; at Aphrodisias in Caria well over 100 such boards have recently been identified in the late antique phase of the Place of Palms (formerly known as the South Agora) alone (Wilson & Russell, In preparation). The modest figures in Britain may partly be due to the greater emphasis on open area excavations in other parts of the Roman world, where more large public spaces such as *fora* have

been uncovered. Another significant factor may be the materials used to make gaming boards in Britain. If Romano-British towns contained, for example, less orthogonal paving suitable for carving gaming boards, this may have encouraged the scratching of gaming boards into the bare dirt which naturally would not have survived. Additionally, the generally less clement weather of the British Isles may have discouraged the placement of gaming boards in fixed locations like pavements and stylobates, unlike in the public spaces of Mediterranean cities discussed above. It is possible that this encouraged a greater emphasis on portable gaming boards, made from tile, stone or wood; while the former two materials might survive, the latter is only preserved in exceptional circumstances. However, despite these possibilities, which merit further consideration in future, it is also important to keep in mind that the smaller number of known gaming boards in Britain may result from the simple fact that gaming was not practiced to the same extent in this north-western province as in the cities of the Mediterranean.

Types of Boards

The boards collected in this catalogue largely adhere to established types, probably corresponding to at least three different games, namely *ludus latrunculorum* (or *latrunculi*); merels (with variants known as three-, six- and nine-men's Morris); and backgammon-type games like *ludus duodecim scriptorum* (often styled as *XII scripta*) or *alea*. No firm evidence has yet been recovered for the playing of mancala (or scoops), a game attested elsewhere in the Roman world (Mulvin & Sidebotham 2004, 605-608). This section provides a short outline of each game represented, along with a discussion of the subtypes represented in Roman Britain. However, for the sake of conciseness, detailed discussion of the gaming rules will be limited, and interested readers can consult the relevant sections of Parlett's useful synthesis (Parlett 1999).

Type 1: ludus latrunculorum

Boards for playing *ludus latrunculorum* are the most numerous of our corpus, accounting for 58 examples (or 59 percent of the overall corpus). *Ludus latrunculorum* is a war-game mentioned by ancient authors including Varro (*de Lingua Latina,* 7.52), Ovid (*Ars Amatoria* 2.208; 3.358) and the lesser-known 1st-century AD poet, Bassus (*Laus Pisonis,* 193). This strategy game derives its name from the two lines of *latrunculi* ("soldiers"; "little robbers" or "bandits") deployed by each player against their opponent (Austin 1934, 26; Purcell 1995, 5); taking turns to move, perhaps along the lines rather than through the squares, the aim seems to have been to manoeuvre one's pieces as far forward as possible. Ovid's allusion to being surrounded by two enemies (*Ars Amatoria* 3.358) suggests that this may somehow have allowed pieces to be "taken" as in modern chess or draughts, albeit with two pieces necessary in order to remove an opponent's piece from play (Parlett 1999, 237). The silence of the sources in relation to the use of dice in *ludus latrunculorum* suggests that they were not part of this game (Austin 1934, 25).

Ludus Lantrunculorum boards are the most frequently found boards in the Roman world, possibly due to their recognizable design consisting of square grids, similar to the modern chequerboard. Numerous boards of this type exist across the Roman world with common configurations including 7x8, 8x8 and 9x10

squares (Bell 1979, 84). At this juncture, we would like to stress that the designations used here do not reflect any differentiation in grid-size as so few complete grids remain. Furthermore, any adjustments to grid-size probably did not reflect a substantial difference in game mechanics or underlying rules but would presumably help to tailor the time taken to complete an individual play through, with larger boards leading to lengthier gameplay. Type 1A is the simplest type of *ludus latrunculorum* board, comprising a series of vertical and horizontal lines arranged in a perpendicular fashion to form the playing squares (see Fig. 1). These boards are the most common in our dataset, with at least 54 examples (or 55 percent of our corpus) securely identified. Type 1B (Figs. 2-3) is differentiated from type 1A by two diagonal lines which bisect the playing squares into four triangles, though it is unclear whether this represents any difference in the playing of the game itself. This may reflect the possibility of diagonal moves, though the available textual evidence provides no support for this hypothesis. Alternatively, this variation may have been purely decorative. In general, this slightly more elaborate type of gaming board is less common with a total of 4 examples attested (4 percent). Boards for playing *ludus latruncolorum* are known in
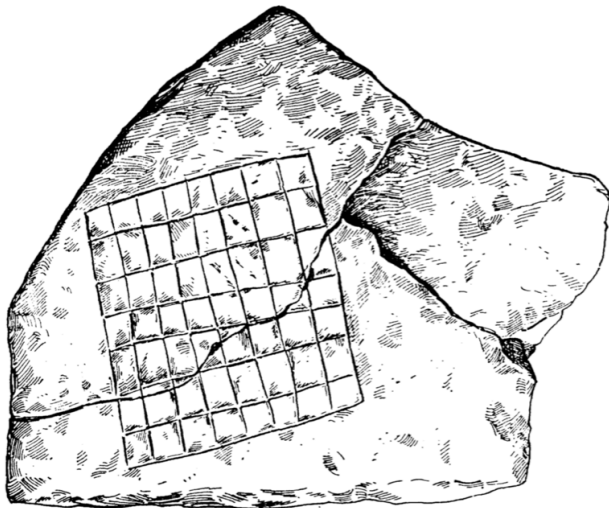
stone, ceramic, and perhaps wooden forms, though positive identification of the latter is made difficult due to the almost total decomposition of organic materials.

However, the easy recognizability and simplistic design of *Ludus Latrunculorum* boards may cause confusion. For instance, items from *Venta Icenorum* (Fig. 4), Balmuildy Fort, East Dunbartonshire (not illustrated), and a stray find from Ravenglass (not illustrated) all feature grids formed from lines scored into the surface of tiles. All of these items were reported as being possible gaming boards based on the presence of scored chequerboard

Fig. 1. Stone Ludus Latrunocolorum *board, corresponding to our type 1A. Found at Corbridge. From Austin 1934, p. 27, fig.2.*
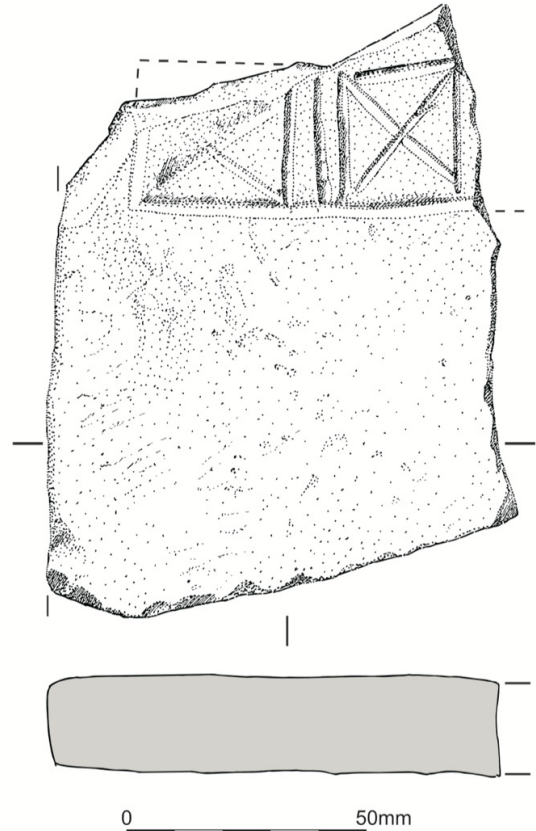

Fig. 2. Stone gaming board fragment, corresponding to our type 1B, found at Milecastle 9. From Wilmott 2013, p. 151, fig. 242. Reproduced Courtesy of Historic England.

Fig. 3. Stone gaming board, corresponding to our type 1B. Found at Richborough. Reproduced Courtesy of Historic England.

Fig. 4. Inscribed ceramic fragment, possibly a game board corresponding to our type 1A. Found at Venta Icenorum. From Harlow 2019, p. 12, fig. 16.

patterns. Indeed, it is possible that these items were reused as gaming boards, but comparative material from York (see McCormish 2015, 12, plate 5) suggests that the initial purpose of the scored chequerboard pattern may have been to more effectively affix these tiles to vertical surfaces with plaster. Difficulty differentiating gaming boards, especially those made from reused tiles, is further compounded when the material in question is fragmentary or lacking contextual data. As a result, these identifications must be handled with care, However, since we cannot exclude the possibility that they were used as gaming boards, we have preferred to err on the side of caution by including them in our provisional counts.

Type 2: Merels

Other games are considerably less common, such as our type 2 boards, used for playing merels (variants of which are known as three-, six- or nine-men's morris, as we have seen), though the only securely identified example is from Corbridge. There is one further possible piece, from Hadrian's Wall Milecastle 10, but it is too fragmentary for firm conclusions to be drawn. Although Ovid (*Ars Amatoria* 3.365-6) appears to refer to merels, its Roman name is not known to us and the modern term is derived from words in the Romance languages for mill (*cf.* French "marelle"; Italian "mulino" and so on (see Austin 1935, 80)). In this space game, players take turns to place (and subsequently move) their three, six, or nine pieces with the aim of lining them up either horizontally, vertically or diagonally; the first player to do so wins (Parlett 1999, 116-119). Typically, variations with more pieces will involve placement, movement and capture, though on the basis of the evidence from Roman Britain it is not possible to say which variations were being played. The Corbridge board (type 2A, see Fig. 5), carved in stone, takes the form of a square divided by two diagonal lines ending in the corners and forming and "x" shape, with two further intersecting lines, one horizontal and one vertical terminating at the centermost point of each side of the square (Bell 1977). The Milecastle 10 board (type 2B, see Fig. 6) is highly fragmentary but comprises a clumsily incised partial circle with five spokes radiating toward the centre – at least one of which extends beyond the perimeter of the circle itself (Wilmott 2013, 158, find 9970473).
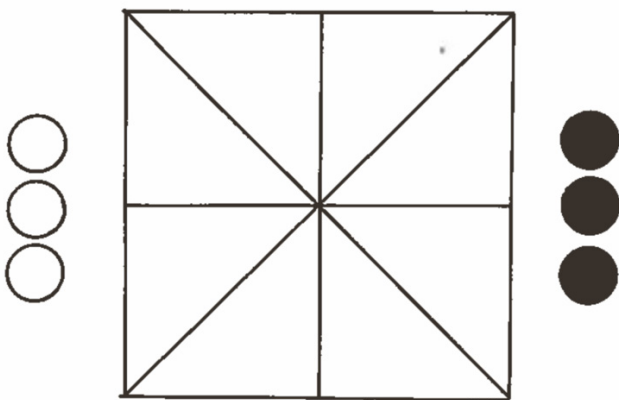

Fig. 5. Schematic diagram of merels board, corresponding to our type 2A. Found at Corbridge. From Bell 1977, p. 208, fig. 3. Reproduced courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne.
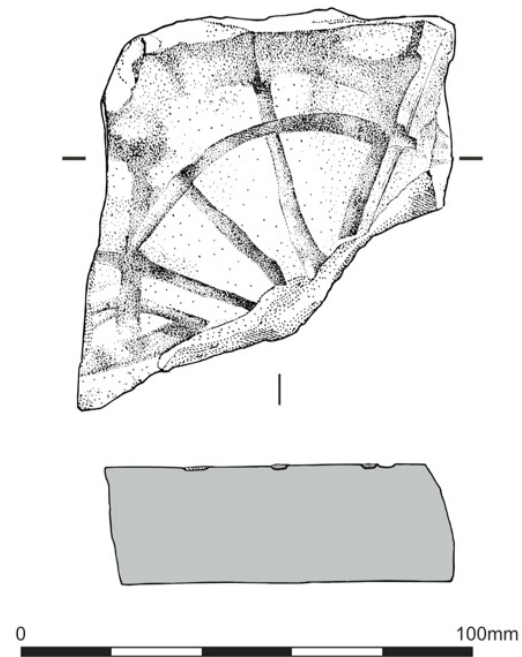

Fig. 6. Limestone fragment. Possibly a merels board corresponding to our type 2B. Found at Milecastle 10. From Wilmott 2013, p. 158, fig. 250. Reproduced Courtesy of Historic England.

Type 3: Backgammon-Type Games

Backgammon-type games including *ludus duodecim scriptorum* and *alea* are race-games, in which players advance their "teams" towards a finishing line (Parlett 1999, 72-73). Although the minutiae of the rules remain unclear, conceptually these games are not dissimilar from Medieval and modern backgammon, of which it may be an ancestor (Schädler 1999). For this reason, in the present publication we shall not attempt to make a distinction between boards for playing XII scripta and *alea* and discuss backgammon-type boards collectively. Interested readers can find further discussion of this problem in (Schädler 1995).

The game seems to have involved each player moving pieces, which might be differentiated by their colour or other markings, along either two or three rows, with the distance travelled dictated by dice throws (Parlett 1999, 30-34). Pieces could not move onto the second or third row until all of the player's pieces were on the board, and to win, a player had to be the first to see all their pieces exit the final row, and therefore the board. It is possible that blocking and capturing moves existed, but our understanding of the specifics is limited by the fragmentary evidence.

There are six extant examples (or 6 per cent of our sample) of type 3 boards for playing backgammon-like games. The most well-known example, herein type 3A (see Fig. 7), comes from the works-depot of the Twentieth Legion at Castle Lyons in Holt, Denbighshire (Grimes 1930, 212). This board, made of buffware with a buff slip, had a raised edge, now partially broken, and was decorated with two rows of twelve incised, confronted ivy leaves. Each row of ivy leaves has a geometrical pattern in the centre. The middle of the board sports twelve scrolls corresponding with the ivy leaves at either end, and a rosette enclosed in a circle
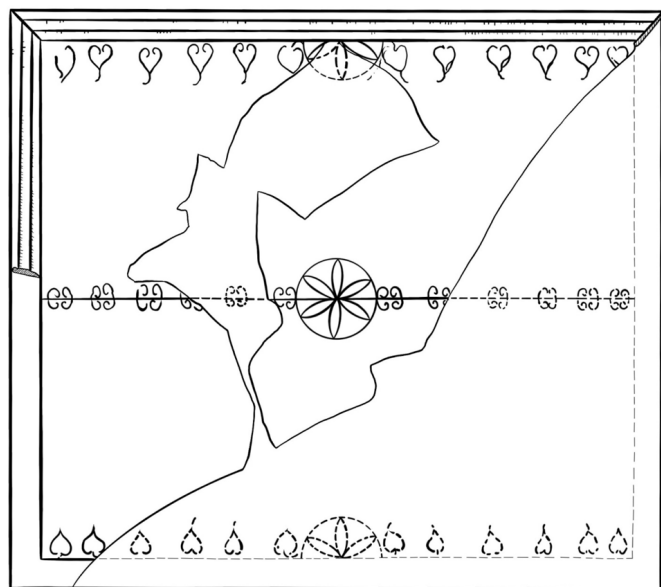
*Fig. 7. Duodecim scriptorum board corresponding
to our type 3A. Found at Castle Lyons, Holt.
From Grimes 1930, fig. 60.8, redrawn by K. Livingston.*

at the centremost point. The other four possible stone examples are far less elaborate, each following a basic type 3B layout with two parallel lines of circles. The most complete example noted is from Milecastle 40 and is comprised of two joining fragments of stone incised with a series of eight circles or partial circles along one side, and evidence for a line of at least three partial circles on the opposite side, all of which were surrounded by a raised border (Simpson 1976, 94). The second, found at Willowford's east turret, was reported by Shaw (1926, 444) as a fragment of stone board with an incised row of three circles with a probable fourth at one end. The third, from Milecastle 39, was excavated by Jim Crow (*pers comms* May 2019) during the 1980s. It is described in an unpublished report as "[p]art of a gaming board with a line of four smaller and one larger roughly pecked circles along one edge." A fourth board, which we have not yet been able to access, is likely a type 3B as it was listed as a comparanda for the Milecastle 39 board, and was found at Milecastle 30 (Jim Crow, *pers comms*). These boards bear a striking resemblance to the two-row type found in Rome (Gatti 1904, fig. 14.).

Finally, a rectangular wooden board found in a burial near a rural sanctuary at Northumberland Bottom, of which just the handles survive, might be identified as a *duodecim criptorium* board due to the presence of two sets of gaming pieces in contrasting colours accompanied by two dice (T. Allen *et al*. 2012). Additionally, Schädler has suggested that the wooden board from the Doctor's Grave in the Stanway burial ground near Colchester is consonant with the dimensions for a *duodecim criptorium* board (Schädler 2007, 365). The interpretation of this board is challenging as a result of the nature of the grave goods present in this burial. While the grave includes a number of well-preserved artefacts, including glass gaming counters and a range of metal artefacts, it is striking that dice are absent from this assemblage. Given the importance of dice in the playing of backgammon-type games, this may be a significant argument against this view. It is worth noting, however, that we cannot be certain that funerary contexts reproduce the setup of gaming boards and pieces in a way that is entirely faithful to the way that they were played in life. We do not therefore believe that it is possible to draw firm

conclusions about the game or games played on this board. Moreover, the early date of the Doctor's Grave, usually placed in the first half of the first century AD, either immediately before or after the conquest of *Britannia,* could suggest as Schädler posits, that this board provides evidence for a non-Roman gaming tradition (Schädler 1995). Schädler's hypothesis remains disputed by scholars of gaming in ancient Britain (Hall & Forsyth 2011, 1328). In view of the current state of evidence, we do not feel it is possible to draw a definitive conclusion in favour of either theory.

Discussion

At this stage, we can make some preliminary remarks on the distribution of these boards (Fig. 8). First, as the information contained in the appendix shows, that the vast majority of gaming boards identified in Roman Britain come from military contexts; while we are hesitant to undertake detailed quantitative analysis before we have finalized all of our data, of the 51 known sites with boards, 29 (56.8 percent) are either forts and fortlets on or near the frontiers, military *vici* or other sites explicitly linked to the army. The number of rural settlements (11, or 21.5 percent) or urban sites (8 or 15.6 percent) with boards is considerably smaller. Two gaming boards cannot presently be associated with any findspot, though in practice it is likely that these were from a rural context. The same patterns still hold true if we analyse the number of individual boards, rather than the number of unique sites at which they appear. Two boards (3 percent) cannot be associated with a specific site, but military sites account for 63 boards (64 percent), rural sites for 12 boards (12 percent) and urban contexts for 21 boards (21.4 percent). Of these boards, eight boards were found in burial contexts – seven of these were associated with urban centres and one with a rural context. This represents a substantial part of the sample known from Roman Britain and we hope to explore the significance of this trend in our future research. The current state of the data suggests that the number of boards from contexts with a military nature is, if anything, underrepresented. The wider communities linked to the army were certainly familiar with gaming, as is shown by the find spot of the South Shields gaming board in the civilian *vicus,* which we have grouped with our military sites (Allason-Jones & Miket 1984, 349, no. 12.1). See Appendix 1 for notes on site designations. Similarly, although we have classified the town of Corbridge as an urban site, its close proximity to Hadrian's Wall indicates strong military connections for this community. The same can be said of the mining works at Bryn Y Castell, which may have
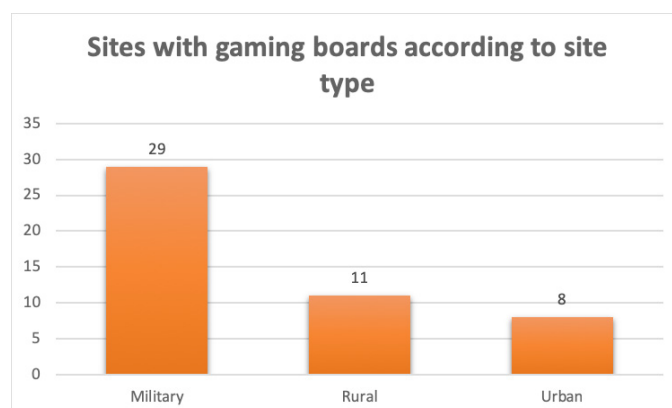

Fig. 8. Chart showing the number of sites with gaming boards grouped according to site type (data from Appendix 1).

been connected to the needs of the army. Moreover, the unpublished boards which we have not yet studied in detail predominantly come from military sites, namely Vindolanda and Richborough. The movement, trade and industry links between military sites and the surrounding settlements has been posited as a possible vector for the dissemination of board games and other recreational items to rural sites in Roman Britain (Smith *et al.* 2018, 61-69), a theme which we hope to explore in greater detail in subsequent publications.

At present, the evidence from gaming boards does not seem to support the view that gaming was predominantly urban in nature in Roman Britain, with a fair spread of evidence across sites of all types, though military sites certainly provide the greatest body of evidence for this kind of entertainment. The fact that a considerable number of the gaming boards we have collated come from urban settlements should not be entirely surprising but it is enlightening to note that they are by no means in the majority, suggesting that the Italy-centric model outlined above is not strictly applicable to Britain. As we have already seen, Jilek and Breeze (2007) have highlighted the evidence for gaming boards in fortlets; it should therefore come as no surprise that a similar pattern emerges in larger forts as well. This trend may speak to the extended periods of boredom inherent in military life; it is not difficult to imagine soldiers on duty whiling away the hours whilst on duty by indulging in gaming. Some of the rural sites with gaming boards – Chedworth, Bancroft, Lullingstone – are sumptuous villas perhaps indicating that, in at least some cases, the enjoyment of leisure through gaming was a pastime for those of greater economic and social means; the same might be said for the indigenous elite settlement of Graenog. In other cases, such as the boards from Thornham, Cowley, Newton St Loe, Cedar Ridge, Bryn Y Castell and Poulton, we may be looking at wider communities, including production sites for ceramics (Cowley) or iron (Bryn Y Castell), and farming settlements, which may or may not have engaged in industry, such as Thornham, Newton St Loe, Cedar Ridge and Poulton, who were partaking in gaming as a form of entertainment.

When we turn to the distribution of different kinds of gaming board in Roman Britain, further significant patterns are visible. As outlined above, boards for playing *ludus latrunculorum* are significantly more popular than their other counterparts, appearing with certainty at 38 (74.5 percent) of sites, and accounting for at least 58 boards (59 percent of the total sample). Moreover, these boards appear at all kinds of sites: military, urban and rural, indicating that the game was played in a range of milieus. Boards for playing *duodecim scriptorum*, alea and merels have proven considerably rarer, and are predominantly associated with military contexts. Mulvin and Sidebotham in their analysis of gaming boards from the fort of Abu Sha'ar in Egypt have suggested that the mobile nature of soldiers in the Roman army could have been a means by which knowledge, including of different kinds of board games, might have been transferred between different parts of the Roman Empire (Mulvin & Sidebotham 2004, 616). We hope to research the mechanics of gaming board distribution, especially in relation to specific decorative motifs, and military enabled dispersion in a future publication.

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Appendix 1

A note on site designations:

Any site with an established military presence has been listed as 'military' this includes forts, fortlets, milecastles, turrets, and *vici*. Sites either within or associated with sites designated as 'small towns' or larger settlements have been listed as 'urban'. Sites with small, nucleated settlements, farms, production works, roadside settlements, temples etc have been listed as 'rural.' These designations have led to discrepancies between the rural numbers herein and those listed by the Roman Settlement of Rural Britain project hosted on the ADS.

A note on chronology:

We have chosen to include in this catalogue a number of gaming boards of possible pre-conquest date, such as those from King's Harry Lane, Verulamium, Baldock and Stanway, because the possible date-range for these includes the period immediately following the conquest. However, we have excluded the board from Welwyn Garden City, dated to the second half of the first century BC, because this item significantly predates the Roman occupation of Britain and therefore provides limited information about the nature of gaming in our period.

Appendix 1 - Sites with gaming boards in Britain

Site	Site type	No. Boards	Gaming board Types			
			Ludus Latrunculorum	Merels	Backgammon-Type Games	Unclear
Weymouth and Portland, Dorset	Unknown	1	-	-	-	Unidentified fragment (1)
Provenance Unknown (held by Dorset County Museum).	Unknown	1	Type 1A (1)	-	-	-
Maryport, Cumbria	Military	1	Type 1A (1)	-	-	-
Birrens, Dumfriesshire	Military	1	Type 1A (1)	-	-	-
Chesters, Northumberland	Military	1	Type 1A (1)	-	-	-
Caerhun, Conway	Military	1	Type 1A (1)	-	-	-
Portus Dubris (Dover), Kent	Military	1	Type 1A (1)	-	-	-
Richborough, Kent	Military	2	Type 1A (1+); Type 1B (1)			-
Milecastle 9, Tyne and Wear	Military	2	Type 1A (1); Type 1B (1)	-	-	-
Milecastle 50, Cumbria	Military	1	Type 1A (1)	-	-	-
Milecastle 39, Northumberland	Military	7	Type 1A (7)	-	-	-
Sycamore Gap, Northumberland	Military	1	-	-	Type 3B (1)	-
Milefortlet 21, Cumbria	Military	1	Type 1A (1?)	-	-	-
Bowness-on-Solway, Cumbria	Military	1	Type 1A (1)	-	-	-
Milecastle 10, Tyne and Wear	Military	2	Type 1A (1)	Type 2B? (1)	-	-
Milecastle 79, Cumbria	Military	1	Type 1A (1)	-	-	-
Milefortlet 1, Cumbria	Military	1	Type 1A (1)	-	-	-
Milefortlet 25 (Tower 25A), Cumbria	Military	1	Type 1A (1)	-	-	-
Ravenglass, Cumbria	Military	3	Type 1A (2); Type 1B (1)	-	-	-
Milecastle 48 (Tower 48A), Cumbria	Military	2	Type 1A (1)	-	Type 3B (1)	-
Milecastle 40, Northumberland	Military	2	Type 1A (1)	-	Type 3B (1)	-
Bearsden, East Dunbartonshire	Military	1	Type 1A (1)	-	-	-
South Shields	Military	1	Type 1A (1)	-	-	-
Castle Lyons, Holt, Denbighshire	Military	2	-	-	Type 3A (1)	Unidentified fragment (1)
Vindolanda, Northumberland	Military	18	Type 1A (1+)	-	-	Unidentified (17)
Horsely, Northumberland	Military	1	-	-	-	Unidentified fragment (1)
Milecastle 35, Northumberland	Military	2	Type 1A (2)	-	-	-
Venta Icenorum, Caistor St Edmunds, Norfolk	Military	2	Type 1A (2)	-	-	-
Balmuildy Fort, East Dunbartonshire	Military	1	Type 1A (1)	-	-	-
Abonae, Sea Mills, Bristol	Military	1	-	-	-	Board recorded by the RSRB, but currently unconfirmed (1)
Ribchester Roman Fort, Lancashire	Military	1	-	-	-	Board recorded by the RSRB, but currently unconfirmed (1)
Milecastle 30 turret A or B, Northumberland	Military	1	-	-	Backgammon subtype, specifics currently unknown	-
Thornham, Norfolk	Rural	1	Type 1A (1)	-	-	-
Between Towns Road, Cowley, Oxfordshire	Rural	1	Type 1A (1)	-	-	-

Newton St Loe, Somerset	Rural	1	Type 1A (1)	-		-
Cedar Ridge, Garforth	Rural	1	Type 1A (1)	-		-
Chedworth, Gloucestershire	Rural	1	Type 1A (1)	-		-
Graenog, Clynnog	Rural	1	Type 1A (1)	-		-
Bancroft, Buckinghamshire	Rural	1	Type 1A (1)	-		-
Bryn Y Castell, Knighton	Rural	2	-	-		Unreported type (2)
Poulton, Cheshire	Rural	1	Type 1A (1)	-		-
Lullingstone, Kent	Rural	1	-	-		Wooden board of uncertain type
Northumberland Bottom, Kent	Rural	1	-	-	Wooden board of possible backgammon subtype	-
Silchester, Hampshire	Urban	4	Type 1A (3); Type 1B (1)	-		-
Corbridge, Northumberland	Urban	7	Type 1A (6)	Type 2A (1)		-
Shadwell, Greater London	Urban	1	Type 1A (1)	-		-
Stanway, Essex	Urban	3	-	-		Wooden board of uncertain type (3)
Exeter, Devon	Urban	2	Type 1A (2)	-		-
Alton, Hampshire	Urban	1	-	-		Wooden board of uncertain type (1)
Verulamium, St Albans, Hertfortshire	Urban	2	-	-		Wooden board of uncertain type. (2)
London Eastern Cemetery (MSL87), Greater London	Urban	1	-	-		Possible wooden board of uncertain type. (1).

An Anthropomorphic Cosmetic Mortar from Flintham, Nottinghamshire (DENO-F31694)

Alastair Willis

Late Iron Age and Roman cosmetic mortars and pestles (collectively referred to as cosmetic grinders) are fairly common metal detecting finds in England and Wales (see Worrell 2008, 347-52). 434 cosmetic mortars and 205 cosmetic pestles have been recorded on the PAS database, along with two complete sets (NMS-34C43D and ESS-4C0D26). Ralph Jackson (2010) lists 625 museum artefacts, excavated examples and metal detecting finds from pre-2004, some of which are recorded on the PAS database. These artefacts were initially identified as enigmatic grooved pendants, but discoveries in the 1960s and 70s of complete mortar and pestle sets and analysis of use-wear on these artefacts indicated that they were used for mixing or grinding substances (Jackson 2010, 10). The fact that cosmetic grinders have been discovered with other toilet implements (Jackson 1993, 166-7) suggests that the substances being ground up were cosmetic minerals, but no conclusive evidence has been discovered yet (Jackson 2010, 1). Cosmetic grinders are almost exclusively British finds and range in date from the 1st century BC to the 5th century AD, although most seem to date to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD (Jackson 2015). Most fall into two distinct groups: end-looped and centre-looped. They can be further categorised into sub-types A-O (Jackson 2010, 7, Tab. 7), distinguished by shape and decoration.

A cosmetic mortar (Fig. 9), found by metal detectorist Kevin Tindale in Flintham, Nottinghamshire, does not fit into any of these categories and there are no known parallels for it. The cosmetic mortar is anthropomorphic. It has a large ovoid head, from the top of which projects an incomplete suspension loop. The eyes are formed by round empty sockets, the nose by a slight ridge and the mouth by a short, shallow, horizontal groove. The torso and legs are short relative to the head; each forms roughly a third of the overall length. The arms are likewise relatively small compared to the body. They are bent and held across the body with hands clasped at waist height. The legs are slightly bent with a pointed-oval gap between them. The feet are depicted touching each other and pointing slightly downwards. On the reverse, the entire back of the body and legs is covered by a long pointed-oval projection containing a matching groove. This groove would have been used as the mortar - the pestle being used to grind a substance by rubbing it along the groove. The object has an olive-green patina with patches of paler green and red corrosion. Overall, the mortar measures 62 mm long, 12.9 mm wide and 13.3 mm thick. It weighs 31.29 g.

Ralph Jackson says of the object: "the size corresponds well, the groove has the kind of wear polish so often seen on cosmetic mortars, and the 'ledge' on one side is exactly paralleled by some cosmetic mortars which have seen heavy and slightly asymmetric use...the hollow eyes were almost certainly originally inlaid and that inlay would very probably have taken the form of two glass pellets" (*pers. comm.* 29/01/2019).

Some cosmetic grinders have zoomorphic decoration, such as bovid heads on the terminals or bird-heads on the loops. However, no other anthropomorphic cosmetic mortars are known.

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Fig. 9. The anthropomorphic cosmetic mortar from Flintham, Nottinghamshire (DENO-F31694).

Hoarding and Deposition in Europe from Later Prehistory to the Medieval Period – Finds in Context

Instrumentum International Meeting, King's College London, 12–14 June 2019

The latest Roman Finds Group meeting was in collaboration with the Finds Research Group, King's College London and the Instrumentum International Meetings. The following session reviews were kindly provided by RFG members.

Wed June 12th

Session 1

Iron Age hoards from Snettisham in context
Julia Farley and Jody Joy (British Museum & Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology, Cambridge)

Julia spoke about the site from the early discoveries in the 1940s to the more recent British Museum excavations in the early 1990s. There are 14 hoards with more than 150 torcs represented in the assemblage, which Julia suggests were deposited in three main phases of hoarding from the 2nd century BC to the end of the 1st century AD. The final phase possibly includes a Roman temple and enclosure. Debates over whether the hoards represent ritual deposits of wealth or simply scrap continue, increased scientific analysis of the objects is providing new insights into these incredible collections.

Le Câtillon, Jersey – a hoard like no other!
Philip De Jersey (Guernsey Museum)

Philip spoke about the discovery of the hoard in 2012 by two metal detectorists. It was found close to where the Le Câtillon I hoard was discovered in 1957. He spoke about the regional context and the possibility of it being buried during the Roman conquest of the region. While the mint sites remain unknown there is no reason to suggest they could not be on Jersey. The careful micro-excavation of the 70,000 coins and other objects has been digitally mapped allowing detailed interpretation of how the hoard was deposited.

Hoards and/or deposits from the Early Roman town on the Magdalensberg in Noricum (Austria)
Kordula Gostencnik (Magdalensberg-Arbeitsgemeinsschaft)

Magdalensberg became a Roman settlement after the annexation of Noricum in 15 BC by Augustus. Prior to this it had been an emporium established around 50BC to facilitate trade between the Roman provinces of Italy and Noricum. It remained in use until AD50 when it was abandoned in favour of nearby lowland sites, though the sanctuary on the hilltop remained in use until the mid 2nd century.

In 1502 a bronze statue of a youth with an axe and inscribed shield was found, as was a life size statue of a horse. While the horse was melted down in the mistaken belief it was gold, the Youth was preserved and eventually given away as a diplomatic gift before being lost in the 19th century. More recent excavations in the 1960s have revealed casting moulds for gold ingots inscribed as the property of the emperor Gaius (Caligula). The workshops were uncovered but featured no tools and appeared to have been deliberately put out of use when the settlement was abandoned.

A large number of ibex horn cores, some burnt, were found as were some bear skulls, though their contexts were not recorded at the time and many have since been disposed of. Preserved textiles were also found having been used as wrapping for burnt grains and buried under the threshold of a house, perhaps as a foundation deposit. One fragment when examined was thought to be a veil. The horns and the fabric were both thought to be ritual deposits, though the lack of context for the horns means it is difficult to say more.

The buried statues also suggest ritual deposition at the time of the sanctuary's closure. Unusually, several large pieces of rock crystal were also found together but were thought not to be a hoard by the excavators.

An Iron Age to Post-Roman landscape on the Berkshire Downs
John Naylor and Anni Byard (University of Oxford/ PAS & Oxfordshire Museum Service/PAS)

Since the early 2000s two metal detectorists have been searching a site on the Oxfordhire/Berkshire border. They amassed a collection of nearly 2000 objects and coins from the site and the landowner approached the Ashmolean Museum to help catalogue the finds using the Portable Antiquities Scheme database.

A geophysical survey was undertaken and found a trackway which passes through a small settlement. The finds range from Bronze Age to Post-Medieval, however, the majority are Roman, with 93 coins dating from AD43–260 including 22 denarii. The bulk of the coins are 4th century, approximately 1200 copper alloy nummi, with an unusual peak in Reece period 19 (AD 364–378) including 11 siliquae from AD348–402, but possibly lost later in the 5th century.

Peaks such as this are common at temple sites and the large number of brooches including a horse and rider type suggest this is a strong possibility. However, no structures have been identified, perhaps due to deep ploughing and there has been no controlled excavation of the site to corroborate this theory.

Other objects of interest from the site include an iron hipposandal, various mounts, nail cleaners, strap ends and steelyard weights. There is also a 4th century 'military' buckle from the site. It is notable that some of the brooches have replacement springs suggesting they have been repaired and remained in use for some time

before their deposition.

The site is comparable to nearby Lowbury Hill, in Oxfordshire, which also has an enclosure, with no architectural remains and a similar finds assemblage. This is a continuing project, with the current thinking being that the site is a domestic area with attached upland shrine and potential military presence in the 4th century.

Arwen Wood

Session 2

**Debunking ritual interpretations of
Later Bronze Age scrap hoards in England and Wales**
Rob Wiseman (Cambridge Archaeological Unit)
& Ben Roberts (Durham University)

Rob presented his joint paper by talking about memory and how the human brain remembers and he introduced us to the concept of the ritual frequency hypothesis. This posits that there are routine rituals and special rituals and applied this to hoards such as that from the Ewart Park hoard. Was it a special or routine act that put it into the ground?

When compared with sites such as the late Neolithic site at Durrington Walls, there was not the same sort of evidence for Bronze Age hoards being special. And when looking at whether hoarding was a regular and routine act, this also couldn't be the case as there wasn't enough bronze in production to fuel the activity. So, the conclusion was that as the act of hoarding was neither special nor routine, they could not be considered ritual. Then of course there were those that clearly were, such as the Whittingham hoard, swords that were placed quite deliberately in a circle with their points down. It was a fascinating and eye-opening paper that brought equally thought-provoking questions from the floor.

**Contents in Context:
Late Bronze Age hoards in south-eastern England**
Sophia Adams (University of Glasgow)

We take the term 'hoard' for granted, and Sophia discussed this as a convenient term, but it didn't give detail or context when we use it. She looked at the Boughton Malherbe and Badlesmere II hoards, both of which included bun-shaped bronze ingots or cakes. In Boughton Malherbe they were found in a ditch at a time of ending for the settlement it surrounded. At Badlesmere, they were packed into a feature almost as post packing – yet both are termed hoards. Sophia also considered non-metal hoards, a concept many of us hadn't come across before.

Grave goods, hoards and spectrums of depositional practice in later prehistoric Britain
Duncan Garrow (University of Reading)

Duncan began by defining what grave goods are – this proved difficult as it had to start with what constituted a grave. The project looked at 1000 sites over six study areas, and contextualised grave goods by looking at a spectrum of depositional practice. It began with the premise that there wasn't necessarily a link between

the person buried and the object buried with them and hence raised questions of identity. The project further questioned the categories we use – hoards, burial – and the fact these acts don't always correlate with past practice. The session ended with a call to embrace ambiguity, and how through this a better representation of the past will emerge.

Nicky Powell

Session 3

Late Iron Age silver hoards from Dacia
Mariana Egri and Aurel Rustoui (Institute of Archaeology and Art History Cluj-Napoca, Romania)

This paper outlined the practice of burying structured assemblages of silver jewellery, costume accessories, silver coins and drinking vessels (many of which had been intentionally damaged before burial), in isolated places but close to centres of power. Previous studies had focused on chronology, resulting in three horizons. Assemblages were discovered accidentally or by metal detector, some being from the nineteenth century and so information is scarce. More recent finds have undergone small-scale excavations. Analysis of these hoards has revealed that they are not just general groups of valuable items as almost all the sets of jewellery and costume accessories appear to have been made by an artisan for a single individual. The composition of the material suggests that the owners were women. The particular nature of these hoards and their treatment suggests that they were seen among the indigenous communities as an intrinsic part of the social self of the owners and their communities, rather than a way of communicating directly with the supernatural world.

Coin hoards in context
Eleanor Ghey (British Museum)
and Adrian Chadwick (University of Bristol)

The paper discussed a change in approach by numismatists to coin hoards in Britain by looking at their depositional context. An AHRC-funded project (running from 2013 to 2016) between the British Museum and University of Leicester gave numismatists the chance to look at the paper archives of 3,200 coin hoards from Iron Age and Roman Britain, cross-referencing with the PAS database, HER and publications, to look at the immediate and broader archaeological contexts.

The definition of a hoard was discussed, concluding that coins and artefacts should be considered together. Finds Liaison Officers are also looking at the landscape and archaeological contexts, which has made a huge impact on the quality of data regarding metal detection, whereas previously there has been a bias to chronological and geographical trends of coin hoards.

A number of case studies were discussed regarding the extent to which early Roman hoarding continues the Iron Age pattern e.g. Ashwell in Hertfordshire: late Roman deposits were excavated but evidence from the site shows earlier coin assemblages and evidence for feasting. Also, a large assemblage of Iron Age coins in placed deposits plus Roman weapons, Bronze Age hoard and weapons. The profile of the coins resembled the Harlow Temple profile. Geophysical

survey suggested a shrine and the hoards appeared to be embedded in wider daily life. At Frensham in Surrey (a small rural site dating to the 1st/2nd centuries) there was a series of deposits and finds along with a group of small pits in which several miniature pots, some of which contained aromatic plants, were found.

There was a peak of hoarding in the third century at a period of crisis and disturbance. Coin supply stagnated and poor copies were circulated, e.g. at Amber Valley in Derbyshire (a barbarous radiate hoard). Also Beau Street in Bath – an anomalous hoard where excavation and lab work showed that it was split into several bags of different denominations and hence not deposited in one go but sorted and built up over twenty to thirty years.

These detailed case studies showed the value of treating coin hoards as archaeological objects and the implications of this approach for their dating and interpretation.

Any old iron: Anglo-Saxon iron hoards
Kevin Leahy (Portable Antiquities Scheme)

The hoarding of iron tools and weapons, deposited between the 8th and 11th centuries by Christian Anglo-Saxons was discussed. A number of case studies were considered, looking at the content and context of the hoards and their possible meaning.

Some of the finds discussed were those from Middle Anglo-Saxon Flixborough – a small pit with iron ploughshare, cauldron chain, lead 'buckets' or vats with bell, spoon bits, axe etc. There are also several vats containing iron objects from north Lincolnshire, some of which can be dated by their decoration; at Stidriggs in Dumfriesshire (the most north and westerly hoard) a lead tank dated 775–892 was discovered. The context is important as it was near to a settlement, burnt mound, cairn and fort. The hoard included an axe, trident fish spear and spoon bit. At Asby Winderwath, Cumbria lathes and structural fittings were found associated with buildings; at Nazeing in Essex a trident, axes and copper-alloy vessel were recovered, though this was different from other hoards in that the material had been damaged. The finds of a coulter, axe and long seax from Scraptoft in Leicestershire show different elements in society and was possibly a 'ritual' deposit which may symbolically represent the Anglo-Saxon economy.

Picking and choosing?
Selection, retention and 'value' in Medieval English and Welsh coin hoards, AD c. 973–1544
Murray Andrews (Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd)

This paper was based on the speaker's PhD research – an analysis of 815 English and Welsh coin hoards buried c.AD 973–1544, focusing on the economic and non-economic value considerations behind the selection and retention of coins, jewellery and other objects within medieval hoard deposits.

The traditional view of a hoard as securing valuables to be retrieved at a later date was challenged by considering their non-economic value (i.e. as having symbolic, devotional, religious or magical characteristics). Some objects in hoards may also have a protective role (e.g. by

displaying images of Christianity). It was also suggested that medieval coins were not 'just money' but had religious or devotional implications, with the re-use of coins acting as protective charms. Deliberately bent or folded coins can serve as gratitude to saints or God.

The paper concluded that hoards, coins and other artefacts should be considered not only for their monetary value but also their social value and be looked at as medieval people did (i.e. as interlocking layers of social meaning).

Gill Dunn

Thurs June 13th

Session 1

The 'Brookfield' hoard:
a new Iron Age hoard from West Yorkshire
Rachel Wilkinson (British Museum)

Rachel discussed a hoard from near Wakefield in West Yorkshire, found during a metal detecting rally in 2015. It consisted of five copper-alloy bracelets, a copper-alloy strainer and a ceramic wide-mouthed jar. They were not recorded archaeologically *in situ*, but it appears that the strainer was inverted over the pot and that the bracelets had been placed below the pot; subsequent excavation of the findspot located a pit or ditch terminus containing Roman pottery that might have been related to the hoard.

The strainer had been plough-damaged on one side. It is a rounded bowl, without handles, with a large flat rim, the outer rim enclosed in a separate binding strip. At the base, the pierced holes for straining are arranged as a double concentric circle enclosing a triskele motif. A close parallel to this form with a more elaborate triskele design has been found in another hoard of vessels from Langstone, Newport, Wales and was probably produced between AD40 and 75. The pottery vessel, which fell to pieces during the discovery, might have sat beneath the strainer in use. No trace of cremated bone was found in the surviving soil within the vessel, showing that this group was not associated with a burial.

The bracelets suggest a potentially wide date range. They consist of two pairs of ribbed bracelets, with flat terminals and alternating broad plain and narrow beaded ribs and a single example of a narrow square-section band narrowing to form a damaged expandable fastening with wound wire, compared to an example from an early 2nd-century deposit at Vindolanda. The ribbed type is similar to Iron Age examples including the several from the East Yorkshire Arras burials and potentially dating between the late 3rd and 1st centuries BC. One pair is extremely worn and the other pair is relatively unworn, perhaps suggesting possession from several generations. This inclusion of older material, sometimes several centuries older, in Iron Age hoards is a feature Rachel has noted more widely in her research on these hoards (and something highlighted in other papers during the conference).

Although the chief characteristic of British Iron Age hoards seems to be their variability – for example the nearest contemporary example in West Yorkshire is Honley, found in 1894 and containing a group of Iron

Age coins alongside a Roman seal box and headstud brooch – there is the frequent reference in the 1st century hoards to wine (or other beverage) drinking with various kinds of metal strainers and cups. The distribution of the dozen hoards containing this material, including a substantial group in northern East Anglia and several in Wales, falls outside the main area of south-east Britain where the presence of wine amphorae suggests direct imports in the later Iron Age.

Between war and religion, the famous ritual hoard from the Gallic sanctuary of Tintignac (Naves, Corrèze, France): weapons, helmets, animals and war-trumpets
Christophe Maniquet (Institut National de Recherches Archéologiques Préventives)

Christophe presented one of the more spectacular hoard groups of the conference. 503 pieces of iron and copper alloy representing some 60 objects were found in 2004. It was found during excavations on a Gallo-Roman sanctuary, established in the mid-2nd century BC, in a pit in the north-east corner of the sanctuary enclosure. Much of the material is military in nature, including spearheads, swords and scabbards, a majority of which had been broken before deposition. Ten complete helmets of various types had also been crushed or cut; a set of copper-alloy discs may have been part of breastplates (of the Republican type known as cardiophylax) and there is a single iron shield boss. Other objects included a copper-alloy cauldron, a handled strainer and sheet depictions of animals. Remarkably there were the remains of 7 carnyces (a carnyx is a war trumpet), vastly increasing the numbers known of these, with a dramatic boar's head and one serpent head terminals. Even more visually amazing is a copper-alloy helmet in the shape of a swan with the bird's head and neck turned back towards the tail to form a crest.

The hoard demonstrates the recorded practice of depositing damaged weapons at religious sites in Gaul. Some of the pieces, however, predate the establishment of the Tintignac temple, potentially dating back to the 5th century BC. The date of deposition of the hoard is late 1st century BC, and is suggested to be associated with the demolition of the sanctuary at the time of changes associated with increased Roman control in this area. Christophe suggests perhaps the weapons and the sheet animals, perhaps representations of local deities, were previously displayed inside the sanctuary. The military equipment might be the spoils of war, but the long date range might also suggest commemoration of prestigious ancestors. At the time when the sanctuary building was dismantled it would not be permissible to remove the property of the gods, and so it was buried there.

The river swords:
Carolingian sword depositions in wet contexts
Dušan Maczek (Masaryk University Brno, Slovakia)

Dušan described his ongoing research into swords of the 8th to 10th centuries deposited in rivers and other wet contexts in north-west Europe. Because of the Christian character of the Frankish Empire at this time these deposits have traditionally been described as relating to battles or accidental losses rather than deliberate deposition. However, there is an interesting

contrast with the preceding Merovingian period (400-730) when the vast majority of sword finds are from burials with just a handful from rivers. This seemed to suggest an active substitution for previous funerary practices rather than a constant accidental pattern. The geographical distribution of the Carolingian sword finds showed strong concentrations in the major rivers, particularly at confluences, for example around Dorestad, Paris, Hamburg and Mainz. There seems to have been a chronological shift westwards of the deposits during the period. The symbolic significance of swords was discussed and the possible link between deposition and journeys safely concluded.

Jude Plouviez

Session 2

Secret Rivers: The research behind the exhibition
Kate Sumnall (Museum of London)

Kate described how the current Secret Rivers exhibition at the Museum of London Docklands (open until 27 October) combines the archaeological and art collections with those covering costume and ephemera to tell stories about London's lost and hidden rivers. Rather than studying the many watercourses individually, they chose themes that could be illustrated from specific rivers. The section on Sacred Rivers explored the potential for both sacred and profane deposits, illustrated in the Roman period by the various Walbrook deposits and by the Tabard Square temple close to one of the infilled Thames braided channels in Southwark, but also coming up to date with the new Christian ceremony of the annual Blessing of the Thames at London Bridge, when the pastor wore a cape incorporating rubbish items from the Thames.

In its depths what ~~treasure~~ rubbish? Ritual and Rubbish revisited in the Walbrook Valley tools
Owen Humphreys (Museum of London Archaeology)

Owen reviewed previous theories about the large numbers of finds recovered from the Walbrook Valley in the City of London. Accidents, rubbish disposal, offerings to deities and ritual activity have been proposed as reasons for the deposition of this mass of material in 1st- and early 2nd-century Londinium. His focus was on Roman ironwork hoards, widely interpreted as ritual deposits, though recently shown to be characterized by agricultural and craft tools. While apparently strange to throw away such large, useful and eminently recyclable objects, in the past they were potentially of great symbolic importance.

One of the largest collections of Roman tools in Europe, more than 800 objects, comes from the Walbrook Valley. Many are without reliable find spots or contextual information due to poor recording and recovery methods, particularly antiquarian finds or those from old or limited excavations. Poor preservation is an additional factor. Only one iron object was found to come from an obvious ironwork hoard. Modern excavations have aided recent reinterpretation and shown that the Walbrook Valley was not as wide as once thought. Re-examination of the evidence suggests that previous explanations are not the case and that many different processes were involved. An

important discovery was that of large-scale rubbish dumping onto dry land, rather than into the stream, to raise land levels during the Early Roman period.

Metal hoards in Roman Dacia
Dorottya Nyulas ('Babeș– Bolyai' University, Romania)

This paper reviewed metalwork hoards in the Roman Province of Dacia, an under-researched class of finds because reports have generally focused on the objects themselves rather than their contexts. Romanian researchers have not investigated whether these hoards are part of a widespread practice there or elsewhere in the Roman Empire. We were shown a number of Roman metal hoards from around Dacia, most containing iron tools and copper alloy scrap metal. Coin hoards and objects deliberately made to be used as offerings were excluded from her study.

Silver hoards found south of the Carpathians dating to the 3rd century AD are interpreted as ritual deposits, rather than items hidden for safekeeping. Some finds can be explained as workshop debris (Răcari), recycling (Ilișua fort), hoards of iron tools (Apoldu de Sus villa rustica), or votive deposits (Lechința de Mureș and 90kg of lead from Samizgetusa Ulpia Traiana). There are problems regarding dating, though 2nd–3rd century AD is the suggested date range. Both the unique aspects of these hoards and their common characteristics were discussed in this work in progress.

Ritual deposits and hoards in the Sabbia Valley (Brescia, Italy) between the Iron Age and Romanisation
Marco Raioni and Elisa Zentillini (Museo Archeologico della Valle Sabbia)

Elisa described ritual sites from the Early Iron Age to the Roman period in the lower Sabbia Valley, in the Alpine foothills west of Lake Garda. Here various Late Iron Age peoples co-existed, some totally Romanized and some not. Latin rights were granted in 89 BC; Brixia (Brescia) became a colonia in 29 BC.

Sacred landscapes exploiting natural features in woodland and rocky places identified recently show distinctive depositional practices, including depositing imitation Roman Republican coins. Some sites, such as Doss della Rocchetta, include structures. Finds range from later Iron Age brooches to Roman hobnails, with Iron Age objects mixed with those indicating Romanization, such as glass beads.

Fires, fragmentation of objects and scattering of decorative items and coins in high places hark back to Late Bronze and Iron Age Alpine *Brandopferplätze*. These sites are interpreted as places used by Iron Age and Roman communities or groups of individuals for ceremonies, and reveal the mixing of Iron Age and Roman culture.

The afternoon was given over to tours of Roman remains in the City of London and a tour of Secret Rivers*, the exhibition at Museum in Docklands.*

Pam Greenwood

Fri June 14th

Session 1

PAN and the new hoards register of the Netherlands: numbers, chronological trends and digital techniques
Stijn Heeren (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

Stijn provided a comprehensive and relevant review of the portable Antiquities of the Netherlands project that began in 2016. This was instigated at a time when detectorists and finders were starting to pass away and, along with them, any context for their finds. Stijn made reference to the English Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), pointing out that what now is perhaps common in England, regarding metal detecting and reporting, is certainly not the case in the Netherlands. Here there is still a problematic relationship between professional archaeology and the metal detecting community.

As well as recording finds, PAN seeks to engage in participatory heritage and demonstrate its social relevance. In regards to hoards, since beginning in 2016, the PAN has recorded 61 hoards (two Bronze Age, three Celtic, fifteen Roman (e.g. Someren-Lierop, Lienden and Grevenbicht), three 'early middle ages', and twenty 'later middle ages'). Stijn presented a number of interesting cases studies but of most interest to RFG members may be the Cuijk – de Nielt Hoard. This hoard comprised of two wooden cups with associated coinage. It has been interpreted as a 'smith' or bankers deposit probably dating to *c.*AD260 and included a lunate pendant and 70 corns of black pepper (an incredible discovery and one of the largest finds of black pepper from an archaeological context in the Roman world). However, as Stijn emphasised, there are many more hoards to discover and PAN will now enable anyone to access this data through their open-access database.

Out-of-time objects: materiality and temporal depth in Bronze Age Hoards
Matthew Knight (National Museums of Scotland)

Matthew presented an incredibly interesting paper exploring theoretical approaches to understanding 'out of time' Bronze Age (and other) objects (i.e. earlier Bronze Age objects turning up in later Bronze Age hoards). He presented a range of arguments for how we may approach the time span of Bronze Age hoards – how they may have been accumulated, and how Bronze Age societies interacted with these artefacts and hoards as part of their own past and sense of time. Matthew's study has identified 52 hoards with 'out of time' objects, although he discussed the issues with their selection and others exclusion.

Matthew presented a rich range of case studies but excavations at Heathrow Terminal 5 helped bring this phenomenon to the fore, setting it within the larger context of landscapes. Here, for instance, well defined stratigraphy revealed Middle Bronze Age objects that were uncovered by a Later Bronze Age society and yet returned/reburied to an original Middle Bronze Age feature. Matthew emphasised that hoards are not necessarily a single action in a single moment in time, an idea put forward by several papers during the run of the conference.

Complete, completely broken, or only half here? Depositional practices observed on tools and weapons at a middle Iron Age to early Roman period settlement at Brixworth, Northamptonshire
Jörn Schuster (ARCHÆOLOGICALsmallFINDS)

In contrast to the morning's other two papers, Jörn's paper focused on a single case study – a multi-period site in Brixworth, Northamptonshire. Focusing on artefact deposition from the Middle Iron Age to the Roman period, Jörn presented a detailed analysis of nineteen finds from three pits. Although seemingly disparate at first, Jörn's interpretation of three 'Preservation Categories' (1. Complete at point of deposition, 2. Deliberately fragmented/broken prior to deposition, 3. Post-corrosion break and subsequent deliberate redeposition) revealed a more nuanced interpretation for the grouping/potential hoarding of these iron artefacts. In particular the metal-working tools seemed to accord with his Preservation Category 1 and the weapons with Preservation Category 3. Changing from a micro-analysis to the macro-, he noted the significance of the alignment of features in these pit groups, which continued into the earliest Roman period.

Glynn Davis

Session 2

The Gloucester Hoard
Penny Coombe and Martin Henig
(University of Oxford)

Penny presented a joint paper on a hoard, a metal-detector find of August 2017, discovered in a field near Gloucester and not that far from the Lydney sanctuary. The hoard was deliberately deposited and the pieces were all found carefully buried in a sequence in a well. In the hole up to 2 ½ feet deep, the top layer consisted of a butt end of a staff or spear; then a layer of sheet copper-alloy sheet, fittings, a spoon and a face fragment; a layer of a buckle, casket handles and bucket escutcheons; a layer of statue fragments with a dog statuette at the bottom. The hound was over 20cm long with exceptional patterning. Such dogs are associated with healing – an interesting parallel being nearby Lydney where 7 small bronze dog statuettes were found in lying-down poses - and a bronze figurine from Llys Awel in Wales.

There were several pieces of the drapery from a life-size statue and a bear head and paw that may have come from the statue's boots and may represent Diana as a cult image – several marble statues have similar depictions. There was also a possible eye from a 2nd figure, ¼ life-size, and the face of a 3rd figure. XRF showed that most of the statuary was heavily leaded bronze except for the eye fragment which was either high leaded bronze or tinned and which would have looked redder and the bear head which was heavily leaded copper and would have looked silvery.

There were plates, decorated strip bindings, bell-shaped studs, 8 lock plates and 4 different handles perhaps from 4 caskets – perhaps used for temple funds. There was the handle of a folding pan, a bracelet and belt buckle, all dating to the late 4th century. There was a coin of Crispus, minted in Trier and dating to *c.*AD322/3, which gives a date for its deposit. There was also a part of a dodecahedron (perhaps of religious use or a tool for land management) and 4 vessel escutcheons, one with a lion. A rare inscription was incised on a thin copper-alloy strip. Letters, MCONLAT, are 2cm high and such a word was used for fund-raising or the recording of collective funds towards the cost of statues.

The hoard is coming up for auction in early July, after being with Bristol Museum for recording for 2 years.

Antoninus of Aquileia and the Vinkovci treasure of late Roman silver plate
Richard Hobbs (British Museum)

Richard gave an entertaining talk about a late Roman silver hoard found in Cibalae in Pannonia (modern-day Croatia) in 2012 - a town involved and badly damaged during the Balkan War. The hoard was fragmented, having been badly excavated and recorded by the local unit. The late Roman hoard had been carefully buried, placed on tiles in the bottom of a pit. It consisted of large platters, a spoon, ewers, bowls and candlesticks – a mix of dining and toilet vessels. The hoard is still under conservation.

Richard then went into detail about some of the pieces. One platter had a scallop shell and lion mask rim with a central scene of a hunter spearing a lion while a fish-shaped plate with a dolphin handle had drainage holes. Another platter, *c.* 50cm in diameter, with a rim of gilded busts had a pastoral central scene showing a basilica-style building and sheep. There was graffito [PXXAQ] on the base indicating *Pondi XX Aquileia.* Aquileia has a similar basilica with a bucolic or Good Shepherd scene mosaic. Does this indicate a connection with a silversmith in Aquileia, about 300 km away?

Richard then went on to describe a corroded hemi-spherical bowl which had an openwork footring and a central hole in the base. A hollow statue of a figure on a rock, Tantalus, was held in place in the centre of the bowl by a tube of silver. X rays showed a depiction of sea beasts around the bowl. The words '*Antoninus fecit Aquil*' was inscribed on the base. The vessel had holes on a separate ring which was attached to the underside of the bowl which allowed liquid to escape at the bottom – a party trick which allowed the liquid to flow out as the drinker tries to drink. This seems to be the first example of a 'Tantalus cup'.

The Echt and Lienden hoards: new windows on Romano-Frankish interaction in the 5th century in northern Gaul
Stijn Heeren (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

Stijn talked about several metal-detector discoveries which led to excavations in Echt and Leinden in the Netherlands. The Echt hoard, found in 2014, was found on a tongue of high land surrounded by water where there was no other Roman evidence. It consisted of 12 gold solidi and 163gr of hacksilver (the equivalent of a ½ Roman pound) – the latest coin was a solidus of Constantine III (AD408–411), a usurper from England who fought Honorius and needed gold to pay the Frank and Alaman mercenaries – the earliest influx of Roman-subsidised external fighter groups, the foederati.

The Lienden hoard was found buried in a prehistoric burial mound and consisted of 42 gold solidi with the

latest coin that of Majorian (AD457–461). It is the latest coin hoard to be found in the Lower Rhine frontier and shows that the Frankish recruiting base then stretched as far as the Rhine.

Although written sources of the period dealing with Roman struggles with Visigoths, Burgundians and Franks don't reach beyond the Seine, 29 hoards in total have been found from the Lower Rhine. Stijn suggested we shouldn't use the phrase 'decline and fall' but 'transformation' and looked at whether this was the case for the Lower Rhine frontier. The 2 hoards seemed to be the start and end of the deposition process and were buried in a time of crisis and at a time when there was a break before building styles change and before re-population by northern groups.

The Drapers' Gardens well in context
James Gerrard (Newcastle University)

James updated us with a considered view of the excavation of a waterlogged timber-lined well at Drapers Gardens in the City of London which was conducted in 2007. It was a mixed hoard of 20 copper-alloy, iron, pewter and tin vessels. The well had been cut by a 1960's concrete pile but amazingly most of the vessels had survived relatively undamaged.

The variety of vessels included a damaged (by the pile) hanging basin of Irchester bowl form, a Westland cauldron with an iron trivet of AD300–475, Hemmor buckets of the 3rd century, a repaired Helmsdale type bowl, a late Antique bucket with few parallels (in Sweden and northern Sudan), a handled pan, gadrooned bowls and a lead-alloy jar. There were several pearl-edged bowls, usually found in silver, these are the only copper-alloy examples in Roman Britain. All were in a good state of preservation.

The order of deposition indicated that 2 coins, nummi of Hostilian (AD367–375 and 375–8), were placed in first before a bent copper-alloy bracelet and iron bucket binding. The main hoard was put in next. A dismembered deer, a 4 to 5-month juvenile, was placed on top of the hoard – deer bones are not common in London. The hoard was deposited in the early 5th century and is thought to be a symbolic act bringing the use of the well to an end.

Structured deposition as demonstrated by lead tanks in the late 4th century
Maxime Ratcliffe (Durham University)

Maxime reviewed his post-graduate research. In the last 6 years, 6 new tanks have been discovered making a total of 36 lead tanks, complete and fragmented, from dry and wet contexts (4 came from wells) in a wide variety of contexts and locations in Roman Britain. He noted some examples from Icklingham in Suffolk, in wells at Brislington villa and at Ashton in the Nene Valley, near to Water Newton, where 2 lead tanks were found close to the river – a complete tank with a fragmentary one below. The well also had shoes, iron-working waste and pottery. One, found at Caversham, Reading, was associated with the Thames. It also included other objects – weapons, a scythe, horse gear and a ladle.

The late Roman period saw a dramatic increase in artefact deposition with such deposits termed as 'crisis'

hoards. All the buried tanks show clear evidence of structured or deliberate deposition.

Jenny Hall

Session 3

Everything, everywhere matters to everybody. Relational depositions during the early Bronze Age in the River Rhine landscape
Sabrina N. Autenrieth (Leiden University)

Conventional functional categories imply specific interpretations and the aim of this project was to step away from such categorisation and look beyond it. The paper examined early Bronze Age depositions in the River Rhine landscape according to their key elements: objects, bodies, landscapes and materials. Each element plays a crucial role in the practice of deposition but in some cases specific relationships between those elements were preferred.

Bridge over troubled water? Ritual or rubbish in Roman rivers
Hella Eckardt and Philippa Walton
(University of Reading)

In recent years Roman objects have frequently been discovered close to bridges and river crossings both on the Continent and in Britain. Classical sources hint that Roman bridges had symbolic, religious and ritual significance, but these assemblages have usually been interpreted as accidental loss, or rubbish deposits revealed by riverine erosion.

The Leverhulme funded project is challenging this assumption by systematically investigating the significance of numerous river crossings throughout the Roman Empire. By examining both the types of objects found and their exact contexts, the team is trying to ascertain whether they are ritual in nature, or rubbish. The project is looking at rivers in Britain and on the continent, comparing the deposits from river beds and banks, and also comparing them with excavated assemblages from the nearby settlements. The project is now at its half-way point and the talk gave an update on progress.

One of the case-studies is Piercebridge, County Durham, which lies on a main route north. The finds were recovered from the bed of the River Tees by a team of two divers between the 1980s and the present day. The assemblage now comprises over 3000 objects, including over 1000 coins, mostly dating from the 2nd as 3rd centuries AD. In addition, there is 40kg of Roman pottery and 10kg of animal bone.

All objects are being catalogued on the PAS database. Philippa took us through the various categories of personal adornment, which raised questions of origin, gender and belief. This detailed study is providing fascinating insights into why the objects were deposited and the identities of those responsible for their deposition.

Wood artefacts in context of wells from Ratiatum (Rezé, Loire-Atlantique, France) and western Gaul
Isabelle Bertrand (Musées de Chauvigny)

The city of Rezé (*Ratiatum*) was situated at the bottom of the Loire estuary, downstream from Nantes on the border between two Roman provinces, Gallia Lugdunensis and Aquitania. The city developed from the Augustan period to the first half of the 2nd century. In the south of the city, a large area with glass and pottery working was recognised.

The Saint-Lupien quarter is situated in the north-east of the city. Excavations from 2006–2015 revealed warehouses and craft-working areas dating from the mid-1st to the mid-2nd century AD together with harbour installations, houses and wells. Three wells, associated with partially excavated buildings, contained domestic artefacts of wood. The first masonry lined well was in use from the mid-1st to the mid-2nd century, the second was used from the mid-3rd to mid-4th century and the final one, probably 1st century.

About 70 wooden artefacts were recovered of which 20 have been conserved. They comprised pyxides, combs, writing tablets, a figurine, and various tools. Most are well known forms but of particular interest are a small mallet in oak, a feline head, perhaps from furniture and an extraordinary zoomorphic figurine, perhaps a dog, its body perforated to receive a stick. Domestic utensils included spatulae and a distinctive mixer or whisk, a type with parallels in France and more recently in London.

The paper concluded with a discussion of other groups of wooden artefacts from western Gaul, whether the artefacts within the wells were rubbish or ritual deposit, and how we can distinguish between them.

Angela Wardle

Session 4

The sword in the stream: finds of Medieval weaponry from the Thames in the London area
John Clark (Museum of London)

Over 2600 medieval objects now in the Museum of London collections have come from the 40-mile course of the River Thames within the Greater London area. They include dredged finds, chance discoveries, and recent metal-detector finds. But how did they get there? A study of this material seems to reveal clusters – productive locations, dates and types of object. Consistently, in all periods from the early Anglo-Saxon to the fifteenth century – and indeed later – *weapons* are frequent finds (about 350 in all). Previous studies of *Viking-Age* weapon finds from English rivers, and comparisons with Scandinavian evidence, have

suggested that at this period they were the result of deliberate 'ritual' deposition. Can we claim a similar rationale for (for example) finds of early Anglo-Saxon spearheads in particular localities? David Stocker and Paul Everson, in a study of finds from the River Witham (2003), proposed a 'ritual' explanation for the presence there of fine thirteenth- and fourteenth-century swords. Do the many late medieval swords (and daggers) from the Thames fit this pattern?

Examination of the collection from London showed a cluster of early Anglo-Saxon spearheads from Brentford – a liminal place used as a boundary or river crossing and there are ancient references to throwing a weapon to mark such a boundary. In the 10th and 11th centuries the objects recovered are more diverse, but there is still a concentration at Brentford. After looking at various other London deposits, including a group of 16th century weapons from Blackfriars that had been deliberately damaged and dumped, the conclusion was that purposeful deposition of objects in watery contexts may have been purposed in very different ways from one period to the next.

Deliberate disposition or accidental loss? – A new understanding and interpretation of an urban past
Gary Bankhead (Durham University)

It is evident that the 11,500+ artefacts recently recovered from a submerged multi-period archaeological site in the River Wear in Durham City constitutes a 'civic' scale sample of material. This riverine collection contains a wide variety of 'the small things forgotten' lost or discarded by its citizens into the river that reflect the changes in the possessions and activities of a town's inhabitants. This physical evidence of possessions has shown that people's daily lives were in fact far more focused on continuity; the functionality of preparing food and undertaking jobs, engaging in the enduring realities of relationships, fashion, wealth, belief and health. It is apparent that the river did not distinguish, it caught all that was deposited (lost or deliberately dumped) into it; a sampling process that has operated consistently throughout the history of Durham.

Objects were deliberately consigned to the water either as rubbish or as sacrifice; both cases see the river cleanse and remove those artefacts from the world of the present. The inclusion of artefacts associated with medieval pilgrimage adds to the debate that specific selected objects were thrown into the river as personal acts of belief as a thank you (*ex votos*) or supplication / promise offerings.

For additional information on this assemblage see: http://www.diveintodurham.uk/home.html

Angela Wardle

Information

Bainbridge Roman Fort

The Yorkshire Museum wishes to announce that the material archive relating to the excavations by B. R. Hartley at Bainbridge fort from 1956-1969, as well as some material from earlier excavations by Droop in 1928-1929, has now been deposited with us and accessioned into the collection as YORYM: 2016.201. The archive has been intermittently researched and published to date. We are very grateful to Alex Croom for working with us towards depositing the archive with the Yorkshire Museum, where it will now be curated indefinitely.

Two key publications relate to the archive:
- Bidwell, P. 2012. 'The Roman Fort at Bainbridge, Wensleydale: excavations by B. R. Hartley on the Principia and a summary account of other excavations and surveys', *Britannia* 43. 45-113 (supplementary material online).

- Croom, A. 2015. 'Small Finds from Bainbridge Roman Fort', *Arbeia Journal* 10.

We are grateful to the late Elizabeth Hartley, former Keeper of Archaeology at the Yorkshire Museum, for financing both the Principia publication and the costs of archiving the material. The archive comprises: animal bone (24 boxes), ceramics (24 boxes), painted plaster (3 boxes), metalworking debris (2 boxes), human remains (1 box), small finds (16 boxes), and associated paper archives (3 boxes).

We see great potential for this archive; note the accompanying image of an enamelled, bossed disc brooch from the fort (Fig. 10). Alex suggested, in particular, that there is a fragmentary iron shield boss that had been missed from previous publications.

The archive is available for research and the Yorkshire Museum welcomes any enquiries.

Adam Parker
Assistant Curator of Archaeology
York Museums Trust
adam.parker@ymt.org.uk

Fig. 10. An enamelled bossed disc brooch from Bainbridge Roman Fort

Piercebridge Follow-Up

Following up her appeal for information on mystery objects from Piercebridge in *Lucerna* 54, pp. 19-20, Philippa Walton would like to advise anyone trying to contact her of a change of email (p.j.walton@reading.ac.uk) and that if you have previously tried to get in touch, please do so again. Thank you.

Roman Crane at Ostia

I have been told that parts of what is thought to be a Roman crane were found at Ostia. It was suggested that the remains consisted of two long poles - and not much else. I have been trying to find out details but have not been able to find any reference to it. I would be most grateful for any information about this.

Richard Stein (mail@stein57.plus.com)

Erratum

Please note an editorial error in the previous edition of *Lucerna* within Harlow's article about gaming counters (Issue 56, tab. 2) has been amended in the online edition. Apologies to all involved.

Book Review

The Archaeology of Roman York
By A. Parker. 2019. Amberley Publishing. 96 p. 100 illustrations. ISBN: 978-1-4456-8607-3. £14.99 (Fig. 11).

This book is a really useful run-through of all aspects of life in Roman York. The chapters are split thematically rather than chronologically, dealing with the military settlement, the civilian space, death and burial etc. It is well illustrated throughout, particularly with many of the important artefacts held by York Museums Trust. These objects help to add the more personal touch
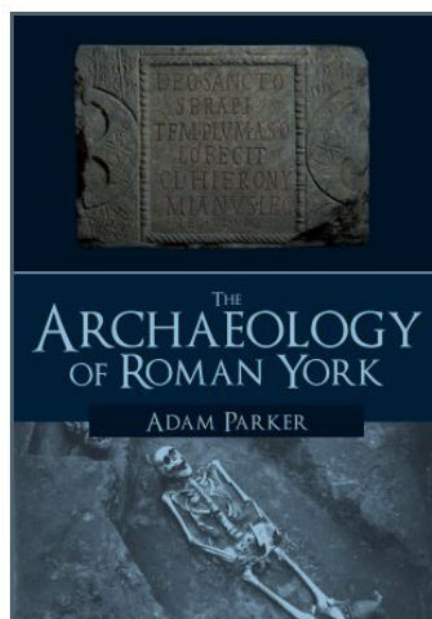

Fig. 11. Cover of Archaeology of Roman York

which would have been missing simply from the use of maps and images of monuments.

The book is written in a very readable tone whilst still imparting a huge amount of information. It mentions places to see parts of Roman York today, both in the Yorkshire Museum and around the city. The final chapter discusses the importance of Septimius Severus and his family to York (earlier on the facepots of Julia Domna and Caracalla have already featured), as well as Constantine the Great. This section helps to place York back into the wider Imperial context after the more in depth look at its local archaeology.

For those wanting an overview of Roman York this is a great place to start.

Frances McIntosh

Recent Publications

The Clayton Collection.
An archaeological appraisal of a 19th century collection of Roman artefacts from Hadrian's Wall
By. F. McIntosh. 2019. BAR Archaeology of Roman Britain, 1 (BAR no. B646). Paperback. 205 p. 36 tables, 96 figures, 23 graphs. ISBN 9781407321479. £38.

This book examines the archaeological material from Hadrian's Wall within the significant Clayton Collection. The Collection was formed through the work of John Clayton, antiquarian and landowner, in the 19th century. His work took place at a pivotal time in the study of Hadrian's Wall, as public interest was growing, access was improving, and the discipline of archaeology was developing. As part of a large network of antiquarians, Clayton excavated, studied and published his discoveries. After his death, his archaeological estate was retained, and the Collection was moved into a museum in 1896. Despite being in the public domain for so long, the material has never been studied as a whole, or in the light of its 19th century creation. This work is the first to bring together the history and development of the collection alongside the material itself. It offers an insight into how important antiquarian collections can provide valuable information about Roman life.

The Western Cemetery of Roman Cirencester : Excavations at the former Bridges Garage, Tetbury Road, Cirencester, 2011-2015.
By N. Holbrook, J. Wright , E.R. McSloy & J. Geber. 2019. Cotswold Archaeological Trust Ltd. Hardback. 170 p. ISBN13 9780993454530. Around £20.

Excavations in 2011 to 2015 within the Western Cemetery of Roman Cirencester resulted in the discovery of 118 inhumation and 8 cremation burials, the largest investigation of a Roman cemetery in Cirencester since the Bath Gate excavations of the 1970s. A greater quantity of grave goods was recovered from this cemetery compared to the Bath Gate cemetery, testifying to the higher status of those buried here.

Nine burials survived within a postulated walled cemetery. The pottery from the fills of these graves had a clear emphasis on amphorae, flagons and tazze,

indicative of funerary ceremonies involving the consumption of wine, or the pouring of it as libations, and the burning of substances. Just outside the walled cemetery, the burial of a 2 to 3-year-old child contained a magnificent enamelled bronze figurine of a cockerel, dateable to the 2nd century AD. Such figurines are rare finds, with only four or five similar examples known from Britain.

Burial activity continued into the 4th century AD. One unusual later grave had a reused sculpted and inscribed tombstone placed face down immediately over the coffin of an adult male. Only 15 inscribed tombstones have been previously recorded from Cirencester so this is a noteworthy discovery, made all the more important by its archaeological context. The tombstone is dedicated to a 27-year-old woman named Bodicacia and has a fine sculpted pediment containing a representation of the god Oceanus. Significantly the god's face and claws were deliberately mutilated prior to its placement within the grave, which could be a very rare example of Christian iconoclasm from Roman Britain.

Hadrian's Wall: A study in archaeological exploration and interpretation
By D.J. Breeze. 2019. Archaeopress. Paperback. 175x245mm; vi+190 pages; 125 figures, 4 tables (79 plates in colour). Available both in printed and e-versions. Printed ISBN 9781789691672. Epublication ISBN 9781789691689. Print RRP £19.99.

The lectures on which this publication is based were delivered as the Rhind Lectures to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in May 2019. The annual Rhind Lectures commemorate Alexander Henry Rhind (1833-1863), a Fellow of the Society renowned for his excavations (finds from which are now in the National Museum of Scotland) and publications. The 2019 lectures were generously sponsored by AOC Archaeology Group.

The first two lectures – chapters in this book – provide the historiographical background to our present understanding of Hadrian's Wall. They start with John Collingwood Bruce, the leading authority on the Wall, from 1848 until his death in 1892, who gave the Rhind lectures in 1883 and whose influence continues to this day. Research on the Wall in the field and in the study from 1892 to the present day are covered in the second lecture. The third and fourth lectures consider the purpose(s) and operation of Hadrian's Wall from the first plan drawn up soon after Hadrian became emperor in 117 through to the final days of its existence as a frontier shortly after 400. Five distinct 'plans' for the Wall are promulgated. The fifth lecture examines the impact of the frontier on the people living in its shadow and beyond. The last lecture reviews the processes which have brought us to an understanding of Hadrian's Wall and considers the value of research strategies, with some suggestions for the way forward. The chapters in this book reflect closely the lectures themselves with the main change being the addition of references.

Britannia Monographs Now Available Online!

Several Britannia Monographs, one of the many leading publications of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, are now available for free download online via the Archaeology Data Service (ADS). To

peruse and download the list of titles visit http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/library/browse/series.xhtml?recordId=280.

Conferences and Events

Roman London Family Walk
30th June – 21st September 2019
Museum of London

Go back 2,000 years and walk the streets of Roman Londinium on this hour-long family-friendly tour! Visit the remains of the Roman city wall, the location of a long-lost fort and Londinium's hidden amphitheatre, where brave gladiators and nimble acrobats entertained the raucous crowds on this interactive tour for families. Suitable for ages 5+ For more information and to book a place, visit: https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk

Binchester Roman Fort Archaeology 2019
July – August 2019
Binchester Roman Fort, County Durham

Binchester (known to the Romans as Vinovia) was one of the largest forts in Northern Britain, and housed foot soldiers and cavalrymen for over 350 years. A large civilian settlement also built up around the fort, and recent archaeological excavations have focussed on uncovering more information about how the soldiers and civilians lived. In 2019, the Binchester archaeology team will continue its excavations of the fort's north-east gate and surrounding settlement. There will be tours of the excavations running throughout July and August, alongside a variety of family friendly activities. For those who prefer to get even closer to the action, Binchester's Roman Festival Weekend is on 13th-14th July and 26th August; for further details of this event visit: https://www.durham.gov.uk/binchester

Liss Archaeology: Colemore Project
19th September – 14th October 2019 (site closed on Wednesdays)
Colemore, 42 Furze Hill Road, GU35 8HA

Since 2009, ongoing investigations by Liss Archaeology at this previously little-known site located in the west of the South Downs National Park has revealed a fascinating buried landscape of past rural settlement. During this time over half of the field has undergone geophysical survey, and ten seasons of excavations and test pits plus desk-based research and topographical survey have taken place. To date, many features, including a potentially winged corridor rural villa and a pond likely to be associated with the iron industry have been uncovered. Many additional features have also been unearthed that date throughout the whole Romano-British period. Tantalising hints of earlier occupation have additionally been seen adding an Iron Age origin to occupation on the site. In 2019, two excavations are planned. The September/October excavation target is likely to be determined upon the results of the spring excavation and a large trench is planned.

Volunteers from all walks of life and of all abilities are welcome to take part. Training is available in all aspects of archaeology. For further information, please contact lissarchaeology@gmail.com or book through www.lissarchaeology.uk

Germanicus
12th October 2019, 2pm - 5.30pm
Woburn Suite, Senate House

A Roman Society conference to mark the anniversary of the death of Germanicus in AD 19 with Siobhan Chomse, Richard Alston, Roland Mayer and Beth Severy-Hoven. A reception will follow. Booking forms can be downloaded from: https://www.romansociety.org/Events

Book Launch of Peter Wiseman's *The House of Augustus*
12th November 2019, 5.30pm
Room 349, Senate House

Roman Society event, generously sponsored by Princeton University Press, with Peter Wiseman, Mary Beard, and Henry Hurst. A wine reception will follow and copies of the book will be available to buy.

Roman Temples in Britain and Gaul - recent discoveries and interpretations
16th November 2019, 1.30pm - 5.30pm
BP Lecture Theatre, British Museum

A Roman Society Conference: with Ralph Haeussler, Andrew Birley, Mike Fulford and Tony King. Tickets for the event, including afternoon refreshments, cost £20 and booking forms can be downloaded from: https://www.romansociety.org/Events

Romans in North-East England: recent research
Friday 29th November - Sunday 1st December
Chancellor's Hall, Senate House

This year's Royal Archaeological Institute Conference will be a joint event with the Roman Society and will celebrate recent and ongoing work on Roman North-East England. The conference fees are £28; £26 for Royal Archaeological Institute/Roman Society members and £22 for full-time students. This is a non-residential conference with tea and coffee provided. The booking form and conference programme can be downloaded from: https://www.romansociety.org/Events. Deadline for booking is 18th November 2019.